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Architectural Taste and Patronage in Newcastle upon Tyne

1870-1914

Michael Andrew Johnson

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of the requirements of the
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for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis examines architectural taste and patronage in Newcastle upon Tyne between 1870 and 1914. During this period, the city experienced dramatic expansion as the wealth generated in industry, finance and retail was channelled into commercial and public architecture. The overall aim is to determine whether Newcastle formed a distinctive architectural culture.

Newcastle's economic and social profile gave rise to specific patterns of taste and patronage. The thesis explores the cultural networks that shaped the built form of the city, arguing that architectural patronage in Newcastle was dominated by a cultural oligarchy. This group formed an 'architectural culture', a relatively self-contained community in which particular styles and architects were favoured above others.

Newcastle was a major centre of industry, finance and retail, and played a significant role in the national economy. The thesis seeks to reposition Newcastle within the context of the dynamic forces that were reshaping Britain's built environment. As the period progressed, the distinctive patterns of taste and patronage within the city were eroded by the increasingly national economy, the influence of the metropolis and the more active role played by the centralised state.

The thesis relates the architectural culture under study to the national mainstream, thus shedding light on the relationship between provincial architecture and the metropolis. The thesis employs a range of methodological strategies in order to bring the different facets of architecture into focus. With clearly defined geographical and temporal boundaries, it seeks to clarify the economic, social and cultural factors that underpin architectural production, thus offering a new insight into architectural patronage.

Contents

Volume 1

List of Illustrations	iv
Acknowledgements	xiii
Author's Declaration	xiv
Introduction	1
1 'A Rebuilding of Rome': Newcastle's architectural culture	36
2 Private Wealth and the Public Sphere	84
3 Newcastle's Financial Axis: Collingwood and Mosley Streets	138
4 Mapping the Spaces of Retail	192
5 Purchasing Power: the architecture of retail	243
6 Newcastle School Board	298
7 'A Citizen of No Mean City': the architectural patronage of Sir W.H. Stephenson	351
Conclusion	390
Bibliography	408

Volume 2

Appendix	1
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List of Illustrations

Introduction

Figure 1 The Central Exchange. (Author's photograph).

Chapter 1

Figure 1 General Post Office. (Author's photograph).

Figure 2 Hancock Museum. (Author's photograph).

Figure 3 Union Club. (Author's photograph).

Figure 4 Stained glass window, Union Club. (Author's photograph).

Figure 5 Plan of the Union Club. (*The Builder*, 29 October 1887, p615).

Figure 6 Alexander and Henman's unexecuted design for the Union Club. (*The British Architect*, vol.3, 1875, p68).

Figure 7 Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company Offices, designed by John Johnstone 1884-6. (Author's photograph).

Figure 8 Postcard showing the junction of Collingwood Street and Neville Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 9 Police Courts by John Lamb. (*The Builder*, 14 November 1874, p949).

Figure 10 Tyne Improvement Commissioners Building. (Author's photograph).

Figure 11 Advertisement for Burmantoft's faïence. (*Building News*, 22 November 1895, p766).

Figure 12 Neville Hall, designed by A.M. Dunn, 1869-72. (Author's photograph).

Figure 13 A page from A.M. Dunn's *Notes and Sketches of an Architect*, showing his sketch of a church in Bologna dated 26 January 1876.

Figure 14 Sketch of the Castle Keep by W.H. Knowles. (*The Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne' vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307).

Figure 15 *Iron and Coal*, by William Bell Scott, 1861.

Figure 16 Neville Hall. (*Building News*, 15 November 1872).

Figure 17 Free Library and Laing Art Gallery c.1939. (Anon. [1939] *A Souvenir of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Valentine & Sons).

Figure 18 Statue of Joseph Cowen MP. (Author's photograph).

Figure 19 Head office of Newcastle Breweries. (Author's photograph).

Figure 20 Northern Conservative Club, dining room, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick, 1909. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*. London: Edward J. Burrow & Co. for Stephen Easton Ltd, p16).

Figure 21 Northern Conservative Club, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick, 1909. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*, p15).

Figure 22 The Northern Architectural Association c.1896. (MacKellar, R.N. 'The Story of the NAA' in *Northern Architect*, no.40, May 1968).

Chapter 2

Figure 1 Undated postcard depicting the Stephenson Monument, post-1873. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 2 Newcastle upon Tyne in 1870-1. (Christie, J. (1871) *Plan of Newcastle and Gateshead from Ordnance and Actual Surveys*).

Figure 3 Newcastle upon Tyne in 1913-4. (Ordnance Survey 1913-4 with additions 1938).

Figure 4 Undated photograph entitled 'The Tyne at Work.' (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 5 Sir William George Armstrong. (www.bamburghcastle.com)

Figure 6 *Bird's Eye View of Elswick Works*, 1887. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 7 Elswick Ordnance Works, boring and turning shop. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 8 Opening of the Swing Bridge. (*Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1876).

Figure 9 Unveiling of the Armstrong Monument, 24 July 1906. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 10 Sir Andrew Noble and Sir W.G. Armstrong. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 11 Jesmond Dene House, west front. (Author's photograph).

Figure 12 Jesmond Dene House, south elevation. (Author's photograph).

Figure 13 Sir Andrew Noble (centre) with delegates from the Japanese navy. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 14 Charles Mitchell. (Keys, D and Smith, K. [1997] *From Walker to the World: Charles Mitchell's Low Walker Shipyard*. Newcastle: Newcastle Libraries & Information Services).

Figure 15 Walker Hospital. (Keys, D and Smith, K. [1997] *From Walker to the World*).

Figure 16 *The Baikal*. (Keys, D and Smith, K. (1997) *From Walker to the World*).

Figure 17 Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Company. (Author's photograph).

Figure 18 Elswick Mechanics' Institute. (Benwell Community Project [1978] *The Making of a Ruling Class: Two Centuries of Capital Development on Tyneside*, Final Report, no.6. Newcastle upon Tyne: Benwell Community Project).

Figure 19 Elswick Works Elementary School in 1972. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 20 West Acres, Benwell. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*. York: Jill Raines).

Figure 21 Wingrove House, Fenham. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

Figure 22 Heaton Hall. (Faulkner, T.E and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

Figure 23 Blenkinsop Hall, Haltwhistle. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 24 Guyzance Ackington. (*Building News*, vol.71, 25 September 1896, p447).

Figure 25 Eshott Hall, Northumberland. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 26 Jesmond Dean. (*Monthly Chronicle*, January 1887).

Figure 27 Jesmond Dene Banqueting Hall, designed by John Dobson, 1860-2. (Author's photograph).

Figure 28 Entrance Lodge to Armstrong's Banqueting Hall, designed by Norman Shaw, 1869-70. (Author's photograph).

Figure 29 Cragside c.1864. (McKenzie, P. [1983] *W.G. Armstrong: The Life and Times of Sir William George Armstrong, Baron Armstrong of Cragside*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Longhirst, p106).

Figure 30 Design for Cragside, Rothbury, Northumberland - south west prospect, Richard Norman Shaw. (Royal Academy of Arts, London).

Figure 31 Design for Cragside, Rothbury, Northumberland - perspective of drawing-room chimneypiece, William Richard Lethaby. (Royal Academy of Arts, London).

Figure 32 Armstrong working by electric lighting in his study at Cragside. (Document on display at Cragside, 1881).

Figure 33 Jesmond Towers picture gallery c.1898. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 34 Jesmond Towers. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 35 St. George's Church, Jesmond, designed by T.R. Spence, 1887-9. (Author's photograph).

Chapter 3

Figure 1 Nos. 3-5 Mosley Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 2 Mosley Street in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

Figure 3 Collingwood Street in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

Figure 4 South elevation of Newcastle Town Hall. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 5 Town Hall, north elevation facing onto the Bigg Market. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 6 Newcastle Joint Stock Bank, Nos. 40-44 Mosley Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 7 National Provincial Bank. (Author's photograph).

Figure 8 Northern Assurance Company. (Author's photograph).

Figure 9 Elevation of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank drawn by R.J. Johnson (TWAS - T186/12969).

Figure 10 Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank, Collingwood Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 11 Detail of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank, Collingwood Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 12 Board members of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. in 1894. (Phillips, M. (1894) *A History of Banks, Bankers and Banking in Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire*).

Figure 13 Mosley Chambers, Nos. 28 and 30 Mosley Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 14 No. 8 Mosley Street designed by Armstrong and Knowles. (*The Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne' vol. 75, 8 October 1898, p305).

Figure 15 Collingwood Street c. 1899. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

Figure 16 Collingwood Buildings. (Author's photograph).

Figure 17 Preliminary design for Collingwood Buildings by Oliver and Leeson. (*The Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898).

Figure 18 Sun Insurance Company. (Author's photograph).

Figure 19 Western entrance to Collingwood Street, c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views of Newcastle, Gateshead, Whitely Bay and District*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan Ltd).

Figure 20 J.C. Eno's premises, No. 5 Collingwood Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 21 Unveiling of the Queen Victoria Monument, 24 April 1903. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 22 St. Nicholas' Square c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Figure 23 Scottish Provident building. (Author's photograph).

Figure 24 Prudential Assurance Company offices. (Author's photograph).

Figure 25 Interior of the Prudential Assurance Company offices. (Author's photograph).

Figure 26 Edinburgh Life Assurance Company office, Nos. 17-21 Mosley Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 27 Edinburgh Life Assurance Company offices, No. 10 Grey Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 28 Alliance Assurance Company offices, Nos. 2 and 4 Mosley Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 29 Wilkinson and Marshall offices. (Author's photograph).

Figure 30 Mosley Street, c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c. 1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Chapter 4

Figure 1 Paddy's Market, Newcastle Quayside c.1900. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 2 Newcastle Quayside, c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Figure 3 Dean Street, c.1863. (Reid, A. [1863] *Reid's Handbook To Newcastle upon Tyne*).

Figure 4 Cathedral Buildings. (Author's photograph).

Figure 5 Milburn House. (Author's photograph).

Figure 6 Milburn House under construction. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*. London: Edward J. Burrow & Co. for Stephen Easten Ltd).

Figure 7 Grainger Street West. (Author's photograph).

Figure 8 Grainger Street West in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

Figure 9 Victoria Buildings. (Author's photograph).

Figure 10 Victoria Buildings – alternative design in the Gothic style. (TWAS T186/4720).

Figure 11 Chaucer Buildings, Nos. 53-61 Grainger Street West. (Author's photograph).

Figure 12 The Emporium, Grainger Street West. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 13 Oxford House, Nos. 34-40 Grainger Street West. (Author's photograph).

Figure 14 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 15 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 16 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 17 Northern Goldsmith's Building, Nos. 1-7 Blackett Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 18 Blackett Street c.1895. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 19 Gem Chambers. (Author's photograph).

Figure 20 Interior of Victoria Wine, Blackett Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 21 Northumberland Street and New Bridge Street in 1896. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

Figure 22 Blackett Street c.1902. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 23 Nos. 24-26 Blackett Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 24 No. 22 Blackett Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 25 No. 22 Blackett Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 26 Alternative design for Eldon Buildings by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, dated August 1892. (TWAS - T186/12273).

Figure 27 Eldon Buildings. (Author's photograph).

Figure 28 Emerson Chambers. (Author's photograph).

Figure 29 Blackett Street during the Royal visit to Newcastle in 1906. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 30 Nos. 1-15 Gallowgate. (Author's photograph).

Figure 31 Atlas Chambers. (Author's photograph).

Figure 32 Lockhart, Smith and Co., original premises on Westgate Road. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

Figure 33 Lockhart, Smith and Company's premises, Westgate Road. (Author's photograph).

Figure 34 Northern Goldsmiths, Westgate Road. (Author's photograph).

Chapter 5

Figure 1 Publicity material from 1925. (Bainbridge & Co. *Bainbridge Chronicle*, vol.37 no.38, October 1988).

Figure 2 Bainbridge's premises in 1912. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making.' Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co., p1).

Figure 3 Bainbridge's advertisement. (Bainbridge & Co. [1913] *The Albert House Yearbook*. Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co).

Figure 4 Illustration. (Bainbridge & Co. *Bainbridge Chronicle*, vol.37, no.38, October 1988).

Figure 5 Bainbridge's arcade windows in 1912. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making').

Figure 6 Bainbridge's Panhard Levasser delivery van. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making').

Figure 7 Mawson, Swan and Morgan's fine art showroom at Nos. 26-32 Grey Street. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [1909] *Gifts for Every Taste and Gifts for Every Occasion*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan, p149).

Figure 8 Mawson, Swan and Morgan's Grey Street premises. (Author's photograph).

Figure 9 Fenwick's summer sale, late 1890s. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

Figure 10 Fenwick's advertisement. (*Newcastle Monthly Chronicle*, September 1890).

Figure 11 Fenwick's showrooms. (Fenwick Ltd. [1982] *The Fenwick Album, 1882-1982*. Newcastle: Fenwick Ltd).

Figure 12 Fenwick's, Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 13 Reopening of Fenwick's. (*Newcastle Journal*, 10 October 1913).

Figure 14 Advertisement from 1910, reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album, 1882-1982*. Newcastle: Fenwick Ltd.

Figure 15 Advertisement from 1910, reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album*.

Figure 16 Northumberland Street c. 1914. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 17 Northumberland Street in 1897. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection)

Figure 18 Northumberland Street in 1949. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 19 Pearl Assurance building, Northumberland Street c.1930. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 20 Plans of Nos. 54 and 56 Northumberland Street, by Oliver and Leeson, dated June 1890. (TWAS - T186/15642).

Figure 21 Northumberland Street in 1958. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 22 Nos. 61 and 63 Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 23 No. 45 Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 24 North end of Northumberland Street in 1897. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 25 No. 132-134 Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 26 Looking north up Pilgrim Street c.1912. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 27 Itinerant street trader on Northumberland Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 28 Bigg Market c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Figure 29 Central Arcade, interior. (Author's photograph).

Figure 30 Grainger Market c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Figure 31 Fish Market. (Author's photograph).

Figure 32 Detail of the Fish Market. (Author's photograph).

Chapter 6

Figure 1 Bath Lane School. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 2 Arthur's Hill Board School, Snow Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 3 St. Peter's Board School. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 4 Morpeth Street Board School, Spital Tongues. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 5 Bentinck School in 1965. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 6 Raby Street Board School, Byker, designed by W. L. Newcombe, 1895-7. (Author's photograph).

Figure 7 Blackheath Road School, London, designed by E.R. Robson and J.J. Stevenson. (*Building News*, 19 February 1875).

Figure 8 Dame Allan School, College Street. (Author's photograph).

Figure 9 Todd's Nook Board School. (*Building News*, vol.69, 15 November 1895, p701).

Figure 10 Todd's Nook Board School. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 11 Elswick Road Board School. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 12 Pupils of Elswick Road Board School, 1908. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 13 Westgate Hill Board School. (Author's photograph).

Figure 14 Victoria Jubilee School at Unwin Road, Byker. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 15 Chillingham Road Board School, designed by Oliver and Leeeson, 1893. (Author's photograph).

Figure 16 Detail of Chillingham Road Board School. (Author's photograph).

Figure 17 Aerial view of Chillingham Road Board School. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 18 Ouseburn Board School. (Author's photograph).

Figure 19 Welbeck Road School, designed by W.H. Knowles, executed 1905-6. (Author's photograph).

Figure 20 Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial School. (*Building News*, vol.45, 1883, p367).

Figure 21 Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial School in 1964. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 22 Heaton Park Road Board School (1900), S.D. Robins and F.W. Rich. (TWAS – T186/19471).

Figure 23 Pupils at Heaton Park Road Board School in 1885. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 24 Heaton Park Road Board School. (Author's photograph).

Figure 25 Unexecuted design for Newcastle School Board offices and pupil-teachers' centre. (*Building News*, vol.79, 7 September 1900, p323).

Chapter 7

Figure 1 W.H. Stephenson, photograph by Bacon, James & Sons, 1894-5. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 2 Throckley Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1902. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 3 Elswick House. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

Figure 4 Unidentified press cutting satirising Stephenson in his role as director of the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company, reprinted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *The Making of a Ruling Class*.

Figure 5 Stephenson Library, Elswick. (Author's photograph).

Figure 6 Stephenson Library, Elswick – dedication plaque, 1983. (Newcastle City Library),

Figure 7 Stephenson Library, Elswick – first floor library hall, 1983. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 8 Elswick Park drinking fountain. (Author's photograph).

Figure 9 Postcard showing the Stephenson Library from the rear. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 10 Stephenson Library, Elswick. (*Building News*, vol.70, 24 January 1896, p130).

Figure 11 Victoria Library, Heaton. (*Building News*, vol.77, 28 July 1899, p97).

Figure 12 Victoria Library, Heaton. (Author's photograph).

Figure 13 Detail of Victoria Library, Heaton – Stephenson's coat of arms. (Author's photograph).

Figure 14 Victoria Library, Heaton – ground floor reading room in 1970. (Newcastle City Library).

Figure 15 Lady Stephenson Library, Walker. (Author's photograph).

Figure 16 Unidentified press cutting depicting Stephenson as the proprietor of a soup kitchen. (Walker Library).

Figure 17 Unidentified press cutting mocking Stephenson's role as Chairman of the Finance Committee of Newcastle Corporation, reprinted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *The Making of a Ruling Class*.

Figure 18 Westgate Hall, Westgate Road. (Author's photograph).

Figure 19 Queen Victoria Monument, St. Nicholas' Square. (Author's photograph).

Figure 20 Stephenson's tomb in Elswick Cemetery. (Author's photograph).

Appendix

Figure 1 Robert Burns Dick. (British Architectural Library, Biographical File)

Figure 2 F.M. Dryden. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 3 Archibald Matthias Dunn. (*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326)

Figure 4 Edward Joseph Hansom. (*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326)

Figure 5 J.W. Dyson (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 6 William Glover. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 7 W.S. Hicks. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 8 Robert James Johnson. (*Building News*)

Figure 9 W.H. Knowles. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 10 W.L. Newcombe. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 11 A.B. Plummer. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

Figure 12 F.W. Rich. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Michael Andrew Johnson

October 2008

Introduction

This thesis examines architectural taste and patronage in Newcastle upon Tyne between 1870 and 1914, asking how distinctive was Newcastle architecture during this period?

Newcastle was the commercial and administrative centre of the industrial conurbation of Tyneside and stood at the forefront of regional economic growth; as such, the emphasis of the thesis will be on the commercial and public buildings which proliferated as a result, and which in terms of this region have been comparatively little researched. The definition of commercial and public buildings includes banks, offices, museums, libraries, schools and retail outlets. Indicative of the city's modernity and exhibiting newly-fashionable styles, these represent the best means by which to investigate the issues of taste and patronage.

Conversely, the thesis does not examine housing or industrial architecture as these tended to be largely utilitarian. Ecclesiastical architecture is not considered, since relatively few churches were built within the centre of the city.¹ Architectural discussion revolves around powerful local firms such as Oliver and Leeson, Austin, Johnson and Hicks, and Cackett and Burns Dick, as well as 'national' (i.e. London-based) architects commissioned to work in the region. The central objective is to produce a focussed study of patronage and taste in a given architectural culture.

The chronological parameters encompass the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, a time of remarkable prosperity and expansion in Newcastle. 1870-1914 is commonly viewed as a transitional period, characterised by growing doubts over the validity of traditional styles and their use in a modern context. This gave rise to hybrid styles such as 'Queen Anne' and provoked the search for a more valid basis for architectural form than style (exemplified by the Arts and Crafts Movement).² The period saw significant changes in patronage both within the

¹ Aspects of Newcastle's ecclesiastical architecture have been explored in the author's MA dissertation. See Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*. University of Northumbria: unpublished MA dissertation. The current thesis stems from an urge to study other facets of building activity.

² Writers who have examined this field include Mark Girouard, Alan Powers and Alistair Service. See for example, Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light: The 'Queen Anne' Movement, 1860-1900*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. This book examines the progressive architects and patrons who powered the shift in taste from the dogmatic Gothic Revival to the light and informal Queen Anne style. See also Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture: A Handbook to Building Design in Britain, 1890-1914*. London: Thames and Hudson. This is an excellent general survey of the period which introduces the key strands of taste and patronage; the current thesis asks how these impacted on Newcastle. Alan Powers's work deals with architectural education, a field in which the chief concerns of the day were thrown into sharp relief, as protagonists were striving to establish a firm basis from which architecture might proceed. Powers also highlights the heterogeneity of British architecture in this

region and nationally. Municipal and private (commercial) clients emerged as the dominant force. Accordingly, Newcastle Corporation and the city's leading industrialists figure prominently in the research, as do newly-formed public bodies such as Newcastle School Board. The First World War is used as the cut-off point. Some historians see the conflict of 1914-18 as a cataclysm that brought pre-war society and culture to an abrupt and definitive end. Others have argued that the war 'merely accelerated a less dramatic but more fundamental process of evolutionary change.'³ Jose Harris treats the period 1870-1914 as an entity, citing the re-negotiation of gender roles, the increasingly strong labour movement, multifarious programmes of social reform, religious uncertainty and a preoccupation with modernity as processes which were firmly established before the war, but which continued to gather momentum in the twentieth century.⁴ The war was a landmark in that it brought architecture for civilian use to a virtual standstill and many architects were seconded to military service. However, many trends of pre-war architectural development were resumed after 1918.⁵ The geographical parameters used in the thesis have been defined to focus on Newcastle itself, as it emerged that Newcastle formed a coherent architectural culture.⁶ Networks of patronage did, of course, extend beyond the boundaries of the city, particularly into rural Northumberland, but this was usually within the field of domestic architecture. Domestic buildings largely fall outside the remit of the thesis, but private houses are used to assess the taste of patrons and to measure their capacity to build.

Within this cultural and historical context, the thesis asks to what extent architectural patronage and taste followed a distinct path or conformed to national patterns. It examines the economic and social profile of the region, asking how this dictated patterns of patronage and how these in turn influenced the practise of architecture by promoting certain architects, styles and building types above others. It relates the architectural climate under study to the national picture, thus illuminating the theme of provincial architecture generally. This will offer a valuable insight into the interaction of the social, economic and cultural forces that shaped

period by comparing the major educational centres and revealing their sometimes divergent approaches. See Powers, A. (1982) *Architectural Education in Britain 1880-1914*. Cambridge University: PhD thesis.

³ See Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914*. London: Penguin, p1.

⁴ Ibid., p2.

⁵ The Newcastle architect Robert Burns Dick wrote a significant text on the war and its implications for architecture. See Burns Dick, R. 'The Cataclysm – and After' in *RIBA Journal*, vol.24, December 1916, pp38-41.

⁶ During the period, the boundaries of the city were redrawn to include suburbs such as Benwell and Walker. See Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas of Newcastle upon Tyne*. Newcastle upon Tyne: PETRAS. Newcastle's changing geography is dealt with *inter alia*.

the built environment. Above all, the project seeks to establish the extent to which the specificity or otherwise of the region gave rise to an architectural culture substantially different from that observed in other centres of regional building, or from that current in the national mainstream.

Methodology

This section analyses the theoretical and methodological issues underpinning the research; it seeks to locate the thesis within the recent historiography of architectural history and to address some of the epistemological debates that impinge upon my research processes. The discipline of architectural history has become self-reflexive comparatively recently. Many of the key writers have been reticent when it comes to analysing their own procedures, methods and assumptions and the implications these have for the subject. As it was traditionally practised, architectural history was highly empirical in nature, with an emphasis on establishing the date, authorship and style of buildings. David Watkin's assertion that the aims of architectural history are *practical* ('to establish what was built, when it was built, and the names of the patron and designer'), *historical* ('why the building was built'), and *aesthetic* ('to describe and perhaps account for the visual or stylistic differences between one building and another') sets out the basic concerns of the discipline but seems rather uninspiring.⁷

Architectural history has used traditional techniques such as formal analysis, dating and the ascription of value. There has been a particularly strong emphasis on classification according to pre-existing categories such as *author* or *style*. With a major concern being to establish a canon, priority was given to named architects and the practice of attribution became a dominant methodology. Buildings to which names could not be assigned received more cursory treatment. For example, Howard Colvin's *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (1954) became something of a handbook for architectural historians.⁸ Colvin advocated empirical research – concentrated on the wide range of documentary sources which architecture produces – instead of speculative attribution on the basis of style.

⁷ The development of the discipline is examined in Watkin, D. (1980) *The Rise of Architectural History*. London: Architectural Press. However, even this book is indicative of the lack of reflexivity within the discipline. Watkin's study is essentially a bibliographical survey. Innovative methods such as the socio-historical work of Mark Girouard are discussed with a degree of scepticism: 'These are often stimulating and contain valuable truths or hints, but are rarely satisfactory in the end, and tend to shed more light on the time and place in which they were made than on the work of art itself.' [p.iii].

⁸ See Colvin, H. (1954) *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*. London: John Murray, which established attribution and biographical inquiry as key methods of architectural history.

This marked a step beyond the techniques of the connoisseur, but remained focussed on the architect as 'author'.⁹ Such studies foreground the architect and assess buildings primarily as part of his or her *oeuvre*. Another method favoured by architectural historians is to compile 'histories of style'. These chart the development of specific architectural styles and often take the form of teleological narratives, illustrated with a parade of iconic buildings, each one influencing the next. Style is one of the major categories into which architectural history has been divided: buildings are grouped together according to common stylistic traits. It is logical to use this strategy, as styles do indeed form neat categories that yield much of interest when subjected to formal analysis.¹⁰ Style, however, is only one of the ways in which architecture communicates meaning.

By such means, architectural historians have mapped out the architecture of the past, establishing a body of knowledge and a range of procedures for extending it along accepted trajectories. These are the key works of architectural history; they have established the remit and form of the discipline and have developed useful analytical strategies for studying architecture. However, many of these methods have epistemological implications which must be investigated. Arguably, these approaches emphasise certain styles, individuals and developments at the expense of others according to the cultural and political beliefs of the author. As Dana Arnold has pointed out, such accounts make architectural history conform to a teleological narrative of progress, implying a coherence and sense of intellectual purpose that may not have been present or comprehensible at the time.¹¹ Overall, there is a tacit agreement on the benefit – and indeed the possibility – of letting buildings 'speak for themselves'.¹²

In the last decade there has been a growing awareness of the need for greater theoretical rigour and reflexivity. Recent work has begun to ask additional questions of architecture, concerning its economic basis, its political functions and its role in structuring the

⁹ Colvin's magisterial work has been the subject of a timely critique by Dana Arnold. See Arnold, D. (2002) *Reading Architectural History*, London: Routledge, p99. Arnold goes on to examine the implications of the biographical method in 'The Authority of the Author: biography and the reconstruction of the canon' in Arnold, D. (ed.) *Reading Architectural History*, pp35-50.

¹⁰ For example, Summerson, J. (1964) *The Classical Language of Architecture*. London: Methuen & Co. is an exemplary history of a specific style.

¹¹ Arnold, D. (2002) *Reading Architectural History*, p99.

¹² This was a particular watchword of Kenneth Frampton. See Frampton, K. (1980) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. London: Thames and Hudson.

identities of its consumers – patrons, users and critics. *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories* (2000), a reader edited by Iain Borden and Jane Rendell, systematically applied a range of theoretical and analytical strategies to the study of architecture.¹³ Dana Arnold's *Reading Architectural History* (2002) identified problems inherent in the discipline as it has traditionally been practised, and highlighted the need for a radical rethinking. In 2006 a conference was held at the Yale Center for British Art, entitled *Histories of British Architecture: Where Next?* This investigated some of the theoretical and methodological problems facing practitioners of the discipline. Addressing epistemological issues, writers have also begun to question the role of architectural history in mediating one's experience of architecture.¹⁴

The current project adapts and extends this more reflexive approach. The canon of architectural history has supplied a range of methodologies which still have much to offer; they represent different ways of engaging with the intricacy of the subject. Alternative methodologies include Mark Girouard's socio-historical procedure. Girouard has engaged with the issue of space as a complex field of meaning. In *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (1978), Girouard interrogates a culturally dominant building type, one that has been a primary focus of British architectural history.¹⁵ Departing from traditional approaches, however, Girouard investigates the social groups who lived and worked in these highly-regimented spaces, revealing that spatial form and patterns of use set up and reinforce social hierarchies. Taken together, the various procedures of architectural history present a range of useful analytical tools from which a more interrogative approach can be formulated. The thesis uses a number of analytical strategies, including stylistic, economic, spatial, typological and biographical. In doing so, the aim is to study the different facets of architectural taste, deploying a range of perspectives.

As discussed above, style is a key aspect of the currency of architecture, and it must be addressed. However, the thesis does so in a substantially different way from traditional

¹³ See Borden, I. and Rendell, J. (eds.) (2000) *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*. London: Routledge. Likewise, Forty, A. (2000) *Words and Buildings*. London: Thames and Hudson, systematically interrogates architecture from a range of theoretical standpoints.

¹⁴ For example, Dana Arnold outlines how guidebooks such as Pevsner's monumental *Buildings of England* series, published from 1951 onwards, establish protocols for visiting and conceptualising buildings – mediating our experience of architecture while purporting to give direct access. See 'The Illusion of Inclusion: The guidebook and historic architecture' in Arnold, D. (2002) *Reading Architectural History*, pp173-188.

¹⁵ Girouard, M. (1978) *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*. London: Yale University Press.

histories of style. Within the nexus of architecture and patronage, taste was a critical determinant. The thesis investigates architectural style in the context of formations of taste, analysing the aesthetic and ideological significance placed upon styles by patrons, architects and critics. The historiography of taste as both an aesthetic and sociological concept is extensive. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has investigated the formation of taste in relation to social background.¹⁶ Challenging the myth (often utilised by Victorian philanthropists) that access to works of art leads to moral and spiritual improvement irrespective of one's social circumstances, Bourdieu argues that high culture is impenetrable to those who lack the requisite education and social attributes. According to Bourdieu, working class viewers frequently lack the cognitive procedures needed to discern meaning in the work of art. Bourdieu thus intended to prove that taste is not an innate quality – a 'gift of nature' – but is socially constructed. His work has immense importance for the current study, but his methods illustrate some of the epistemological difficulties involved in research. Bourdieu failed to take account of the vast range of factors which shape identity and tended to treat social class as a given. Within the thesis, Bourdieu's class-focussed analysis will be adapted and expanded, allowing a more reflexive investigation into the formation of taste and identity.

The years 1870-1914 were intensely variegated and turbulent. Harris argues that British society in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods cannot be satisfactorily defined as the sum of social relations existing within the nation, since social relations were highly localised and fragmented, producing strong social and cultural variations between provincial cities.¹⁷ At the same time, Britain had trade and power relationships that spanned the globe. As the thesis demonstrates, Newcastle was a particularly localised city, but it was also engaged in international trade. This tension permeates the history of Newcastle's architectural development. The period was also one of profound social change. The Reform Act of 1867 dramatically increased the size and social profile of the electorate.¹⁸ Harris argues that during the period 1870-1914 society was stratified according to property ownership, while 'the organization of work, schools, housing, welfare, culture and recreation .

¹⁶ See Bourdieu, P. (1989) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge.

¹⁷ Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p3.

¹⁸ The franchise was extended to male householders resident in cities and who paid their own rates. Harris reminds us that 'those deemed incapable of political and economic independence' were still excluded. Thus the extension of the franchise allowed greater participation, but largely preserved the tradition of independent freemen. [Ibid., p14].

. . all conspired to compartmentalize British society on class lines.'¹⁹ However, class boundaries were not fixed. The forces of egalitarianism, consumerism and the rise of feminism irrevocably changed the social order. Harris argues that the class boundary most frequently traversed was that from upper working class to lower middle class.²⁰ In the course of analysing architectural patronage the thesis examines the ways in which class divisions were established and enforced, whilst maintaining a sense of their permeability.

Another method deployed in the thesis is the analysis of urban space. Architectural history frequently extracts buildings from their physical context by categorically grouping them according to shared stylistic traits. The current project addresses the dynamic interaction of buildings and their surrounding spaces. In doing so it overlaps with the field of urban morphology. Architectural history and geography coalesce in this emergent discipline, which aims to understand how urban space is formed and how it functions.²¹ Urban space is revealed to be much more than a rigid agglomeration of buildings; it is a matrix of fluid relationships that simultaneously shapes and derives meaning from the evolving architectural forms, juxtapositions and social practices played out within its confines. Buildings likewise act in dynamic relationships with each other. Several models of urban morphology have been developed in response to Newcastle upon Tyne and its vicinity. M.R.G. Conzen, who may be regarded as the founder of the discipline, practised in Newcastle and produced a study of the Northumberland market town of Alnwick in 1960.²² Michael Barke and R.J. Buswell have applied similar techniques to Newcastle in their *Historical Atlas of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1980).²³ In this cartographic study, a series of maps build up a composite picture of Newcastle's historical and geographical development beginning with its geological foundation and tracing the overlay of urban development, transport systems and public utility networks. These texts make it clear that architecture cannot be reduced to a series of isolated monuments or visual images, and that it is vital to study buildings in their spatial contexts.

¹⁹ Ibid., p7.

²⁰ Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p8.

²¹ Several notable examples of urban morphology have occurred in recent years, including many published in the journal *Urban History*. Formerly known as the *Yearbook of Urban Studies*, this journal has published work that analyses the spatial aspects of architecture as well as more traditional geographical studies.

²² See Conzen, M.R.G. (1960) *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town-Plan Analysis*. London: George Philip and Son. More recently, David Lovie, a former city planning officer for Newcastle, has devised a simple anatomical metaphor for city, in which the roads and streets correspond to the skeleton, buildings to the flesh and usage to the blood. Lovie, D. (1997) 'Anatomy of a Townscape' in *Northern Architect*, winter 1994/5, pp30-34.

²³ Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*.

A key method of urban morphology is the typological study of buildings and designed spaces, which often involves formal analysis of architecture. Since much of this work has been written by scholars trained in the methods of geography, it sometimes lacks acuity in the analysis of architectural forms, which it tends to treat as signs with only one signification. In his article 'Identity, Competition and Place Promotion in the Five Towns' (2003), for example, Jon Stobart refers to 'straightforward "ornaments of grandeur" such as friezes, columns, towers and domes'.²⁴ These elements form the basic vocabulary of Classicism, but like the words of a language they are subject to manipulation and do not necessarily mean the same thing in all contexts. In fact, these elements are polysemic, and their meanings depend to a large extent upon the contexts in which they are produced and consumed. The current thesis attempts to combine the methods of urban history with the established analytical techniques of architectural history. It addresses the formation of urban environments by studying buildings in their physical context (a vital aspect of their ability to connote meaning), but it also analyses style in order to understand changing tastes and patterns of patronage. This method is elucidated in Chapter 3 'Newcastle's Financial Axis: Collingwood and Mosley Streets', which addresses the harmonies and discontinuities of style as they occur in actual urban spaces. It charts the formation (both planned and haphazard) of cityscapes through building plans, maps and official reports in order to determine how buildings interacted within these fluid spatial contexts.

The work of Henri Lefebvre has dealt with space as a stage for social interaction. Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* was first published in French in 1974 and translated into English by Donald Nicholson-Smith in 1991.²⁵ Lefebvre introduced the concept of *social space*, which he understood as being at once physical and conceptual. Social space is the realm in which the 'cultural life of society' is enacted, but it is not a 'form or container of a virtually neutral kind, designed simply to receive whatever is poured into it.'²⁶ Instead, space is 'secreted' by society: it is produced by patterns of social interaction, but also imposes itself on its users and thus shapes society. Space encourages and discourages certain forms of

²⁴ Stobart, J. (2003) 'Identity, Competition and Place Promotion in the Five Towns' in *Urban History*, vol.30 , no.2, pp163-182.

²⁵ See Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A recent application of these debates to architecture and designed space can be found in Forty, A. (2000) *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. London: Thames and Hudson.

²⁶ Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, p94.

interaction and gives form to social structures and ideologies. It thus perpetuates the power of dominant groups. Lefebvre's concern with space bears comparison with Gramsci's theory of hegemony.²⁷ Clearly, architecture can function as an agent of hegemony: buildings normalise the authority of specific social groups, set out spatial boundaries, and function as emblems of social values. However, Lefebvre insists that the agents of hegemony – whether political, religious or cultural – are fundamentally *spatial*. For example, he writes that Church and State would be mere abstractions without the spaces in which to manifest themselves and exercise their power.

Significantly, Lefebvre argues that space cannot be readily comprehended as functioning in this way because capitalism splits social space into conceptual and physical components in order to obscure its social functions. Space is rendered into an abstraction by representing it through means such as Cartesian coordinates, Euclidean geometry, cartography, and indeed the building plans that form an important resource for the current project.²⁸ These abstractions appear to make space transparent and intelligible, but as Lefebvre writes 'this transparency is deceptive, and everything is concealed.'²⁹ Much of Lefebvre's project was concerned with undermining this division between conceptual and physical space.

The thesis looks at the ideologies of Newcastle's dominant groups and asks how they were given form in the spaces of the city. This will be achieved by analysing space and the social relations constructed within it, for which a study of internal planning is crucial. The thesis asks how social and professional hierarchies are constructed within and between buildings. Space embodies the values of the patrons and architects who shape it and transmits these to its users. This will direct attention to the consumers of architecture. Census records, street directories, photographs and newspapers are used to give a sense of the lived experience of space. Lefebvre's theory underpins the analytical procedures used

²⁷ The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci developed the theory of hegemony as a model for understanding how ideology is propagated within societies. Hegemony is a system of control operating through a loose coalition of agencies - political, religious and cultural - which depends not on coercion (at least not exclusively), but on soliciting the conscious or unconscious consent of subordinated groups. See Forgacs, D. (ed.) (1999) *A Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*. London: Lawrence & Wishart. For Lefebvre's comments on the theory of hegemony, see Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, p10.

²⁸ According to Lefebvre, 'Euclidean space is defined by its "isotropy" (or homogeneity), a property which guarantees its social and political utility. The reduction of this homogenous Euclidean space, first of nature's space, then of all social space, has conferred a redoubtable power upon it. All the more so since that initial reduction leads easily to another – namely, the reduction of three-dimensional realities to two dimensions (for example, a "plan", a blank sheet of paper, something drawn on paper, a map, or any kind of graphic representation or projection.)' [Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, p285].

²⁹ Ibid., p287.

throughout the thesis, but in particular it is elucidated in the chapter on Collingwood and Mosley Streets, which analyses the evolution of social relationships within a complex, continuously unfolding space.

In studying the architecture of a particular city it is important to address the issue of distinctiveness and how this can be determined. The period 1870-1914 was a transitional phase in British architecture. The output of the High Victorian period (c.1850-1870) had been confident and strident; Britain's economy was buoyant and the spirit of Muscular Christianity provided a tremendous moral conviction. By 1870 this certainty was coming to an end. Dogmatic approaches to Neo-Classicism and the Gothic Revival were disintegrating and there was a proliferation of new styles. Newcastle drew on the same stylistic pool as other cities, but individual styles were manifested in different ways. Manchester had a strong Greek Revival tradition that was established in the 1830s, but Gothic and Italianate styles became increasingly important.³⁰ Ruskinian Gothic was introduced by Waterhouse in the 1850s and became a major strand in Manchester's Victorian architecture, growing in strength in the 1880s.³¹ In the corresponding period, Newcastle tended to avoid secular Gothic architecture and instead pursued North European Renaissance styles. Likewise, the Queen Anne style was not popular in central Manchester, but flourished in Newcastle and South Shields.³²

Newcastle architecture was distinctive in some respects. One aspect of the city's specificity is its topography, the dramatic contrasts in level which produce sublime effects. To a large extent, Newcastle's architecture has been tailored to its geography, as can be seen from the soaring buildings on Dean Street and the bridges that vault over the Tyne. Likewise, Newcastle's street patterns have been shaped by its ancient streams or 'denes.' Newcastle architecture was further distinguished by materials. The local building stone is a honey-coloured sandstone; this represents the basic fabric of Newcastle's architecture and it underscores all differences and continuities of style. The stone lends itself to a monumentality and austerity which are deemed appropriate for the harsh northern climate and the supposed hardness of the people. This quality is readily associated with Newcastle's

³⁰ Barry had designed the Atheneum in the palazzo-style (1836-7) and this was the foundation for commercial architecture designed on Renaissance models.

³¹ For example, the Reform Club was designed by Edward Salomons in the Venetian Gothic style (1870-1). See Hartwell, C. (2001) *Manchester*. London: Penguin, p28.

³² Ibid., p28. Girouard examines North Eastern examples of Queen Anne in his study of the movement. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*.

Classical architecture, but can also be observed in Gothic buildings.³³ Thus, it is in its building materials that the specific character of Newcastle architecture lies.³⁴

In his study of Birmingham, Gordon E. Cherry states, 'It is usually argued that industrial cities are very similar.'³⁵ On the surface, this seems to be a valid judgement, since industrial cities have followed broadly similar patterns of development. However, conclusions inevitably depend upon the methodologies employed and the level at which analysis takes place: 'It can equally be asserted that industrial cities are very different, and with a deeper penetration of analysis, the more this is seen to be so.'³⁶ Accordingly, the thesis does not undertake a sustained comparative analysis with other cities, as this would have only revealed the broad patterns of similarity and would have failed to unearth Newcastle's idiosyncrasies. Instead, the aim is to determine how Newcastle's architecture was shaped by its social and economic structures. Cherry produced a 'city portrait' of Birmingham, a penetrating analysis that brings into focus 'a place and community which is distinctive, very different from other cities with which it might be compared, its character emergent over time, structured from the warp and weft of social and economic change, and articulated through its institutions and political processes.'³⁷ Cherry outlines how the *genius loci* of a city is formed from the complex interaction between geography, economic forces, political history and town planning. The thesis provides a similar portrait of Newcastle, surveying the formative elements of its *genius loci*. It examines the changing urban form and spatial patterns, asking how these interact with local economic forces, personalities and the interplay of power structures, as well as external influences.

Although the thesis is not primarily comparative, some degree of comparison with other cities is essential for evaluating Newcastle's distinctiveness or otherwise. A specific methodology has been developed to achieve this. Among the key primary sources were architectural periodicals including *The Builder*, *Building News*, *The Architect* and *The British Architect*. Individual volumes are well indexed, but relying on the indices would have

³³ Faulkner argues that bold forms and dramatic massing executed in durable local stone are the defining characteristics of Newcastle architecture. See Faulkner, T.E 'Architecture in Newcastle' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*. Chichester: Phillimore, p231.

³⁴ By comparison, Manchester's local stone is a purplish-red sandstone, and the traditional building materials are red brick and buff sandstone. Terracotta was used extensively in cities because it was resistant to soot, but reached a peak of popularity in Manchester in the early decades of the twentieth century. See Hartwell, C. *Manchester*, p170.

³⁵ Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham: a study in geography, history and planning*. Chichester: Wiley, p7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p1.

extracted Newcastle architecture from the broader picture. Instead, I worked through each volume systematically on a page-by-page basis, covering the period 1870-1914 in minute detail. I also surveyed a five-year period before and after the date frame, in order to gain an understanding of the historical narratives that spanned the period. In this way, Newcastle architecture was viewed in the context of national developments and debates. This methodology facilitated comparison with other cities. Particularly useful was a series of articles published in *The Builder* entitled 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns'. Towns and cities including Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle and Sheffield were examined in turn.³⁸ As each was evaluated from a metropolitan perspective at a specific historical juncture, the commentary is consistent in its aesthetic judgements, thus aiding comparison.

Fieldwork was a valuable aspect of my research practice. During the course of study I visited London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bradford and Glasgow, compiling albums of digital photographs to permit comparison with buildings in Newcastle. Chronology was established by using the *Images of England* website. Maintained by English Heritage, this is a valuable modern resource which includes images and textual descriptions of the buildings included on the Statutory List of buildings of special architectural or historic interest.³⁹ The database allows strategic comparison by period, geographical area, architect and building type. This makes it possible to compare the architecture of cities with a high degree of acuity.

Using this methodology, comparison can shed light on the main themes addressed in the thesis. Cities developed at different rates and comparison illuminates this shifting chronology. For example, Manchester was the world's first industrial economy, its wealth principally derived from cotton. Manchester became the financial centre of the North and was shaped by trade rather than industry; its central area was rebuilt to provide commercial offices, shops and banks.⁴⁰ Economic success undermined Manchester's parochialism, as can be observed from its architectural sophistication and prominent cultural institutions. Newcastle's prosperity predated the era of industrialisation. In common with Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow, it had a long commercial history and had made its mark before the Industrial

³⁸ See the bibliography for full references to these articles.

³⁹ As a register of listed buildings, the database is necessarily selective. For a discussion of the selection process used for drawing up the initial lists see Cherry, B. 'The Pevsner 50: Nikolaus Pevsner and the listing of modern buildings' in *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, vol.46, 2002, pp97-110.

⁴⁰ Hartwell, C. (2001) *Manchester*, p31.

Revolution. By contrast, Birmingham was among the cities that germinated during the escalation of industrial activity in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁴¹

Despite differing rates of development, nineteenth-century towns and cities share many aspects of their institutional history. Administrative reform was desperately needed to cope with urban expansion and swelling populations. Manchester and Birmingham were among the first provincial centres to establish a statutory authority. Manchester Council introduced amenities such as free public libraries and university education.⁴² In effect, Birmingham's governing body was compromised by shortage of funds and lack of power.⁴³ Newcastle experienced similar inaction in the municipal field and lagged behind other cities in the provision of educational facilities. Liverpool kept pace with Manchester in most respects and led the way in health reform. It was the first city to appoint a Medical Officer of Health (in 1846) and the city was a pioneer in the provision of public baths and washhouses.⁴⁴ Again, Newcastle was late to adopt these measures.

Municipal power was frequently supplemented by civic elites, and this theme can be illuminated by geographical comparison. Many cities had a cultural oligarchy comparable to that of Newcastle. In Liverpool, members of the local business elite infiltrated the Council, a connection that was underscored by the proximity of the Exchange and the Municipal Buildings.⁴⁵ In Manchester, Non-Conformist magnates established a municipal corporation in 1838.⁴⁶ Manchester's civic elite supplied the infrastructure of culture and education. Non-Conformist philanthropists were particularly active as architectural patrons: Sir Joseph Whitworth funded the Whitworth Art Gallery (1908); the John Rylands Library (1890-99) was funded by Rylands's widow. These venues helped to form a group identity among Manchester's prosperous elite.⁴⁷ Birmingham had a local elite dominated by Non-Conformists: Unitarians and Quakers occupied key positions in business and local government and the mayors of Birmingham were almost uniformly Unitarian between 1840

⁴¹ The built fabric of the city dates from the era of industrialisation and Birmingham is therefore marked by its modernity. Cherry asserts that this gave the city a propensity for innovation, an urge to be progressive. See Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham*, p6.

⁴² The first Free Public Library was opened in 1852, with branches in residential areas following soon afterwards. As in Newcastle, this programme was fuelled by the doctrine of self-improvement.

⁴³ Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham*, p75.

⁴⁴ Giles, C. (2008) *Building a Better Society: Liverpool's historic institutional buildings*. Swindon: English Heritage, p53.

⁴⁵ Sharples, J. and Stonard, J. (2008) *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's central business district*. Swindon: English Heritage, p29.

⁴⁶ Hartwell, C. (2001) *Manchester*, p21.

⁴⁷ In Birmingham, the Lunar Society existed from 1766-1809 and provided a forum for discussion and scientific endeavour. Members included Josiah Wedgwood and James Watt. See Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham*, p36.

and 1880.⁴⁸ Members of the business elite joined the Council and established what Cherry terms the 'iron rule of a little clique.'⁴⁹ Further study could reveal how the power of these elite groups was constituted and thereby illuminate the particular nature of Newcastle's power structures. However, this is beyond the scope of the present study.

Comparison with other cities illuminates the broad development in Classicism nationally. Classicism figured differently in other provincial cities. Manchester, for example, was at the forefront of the Greek Revival, using the style for public buildings in the early nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Manchester therefore had a Classical tradition comparable to that of Newcastle, although the city's architecture became increasingly eclectic. In Birmingham, a new market hall was opened in 1834 to designs by Charles Edge. Resembling Newcastle's Grainger Market, it had a Doric portico and was regarded as one of the finest market halls in England.⁵¹ However, there was no guiding hand to give Birmingham a singular architectural style, and Cherry concludes that Birmingham became 'a city of bits and pieces'.⁵²

Liverpool had a Classical tradition that was enacted by Unitarian philanthropists. This group created a 'Classical stage set' for the city.⁵³ William Brown Street boasts a concentration of cultural institutions, including the Walker Art Gallery (1874-7, designed by Sherlock and Vale), the Picton Reading Room (1875-9, by Cornelius Sherlock) and the Liverpool Free Public Library (1857-60, by John Weightman), later renamed the William Brown Library after the merchant and banker.⁵⁴ All were designed in the Neo-Classical style, echoing the grandeur of St. George's Hall. Defined by uniformly Classical buildings, this space embodied Liverpool's civic consciousness. Like Newcastle, then, Liverpool used Classicism to manifest its civic values and to give an heroic expression of the city.

The thesis examines the years 1870-1914, but knowledge of subsequent developments can help to clarify trends within the period. Viewed from the vantage point of the 1920s, it is apparent that Classicism was undergoing continuous reinterpretation in the

⁴⁸ Ibid., p78.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p82.

⁵⁰ Hartwell, C. (2001) *Manchester*, p165. A major exponent was Thomas Harrison of Chester.

⁵¹ Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham*, p56.

⁵² Ibid., p86.

⁵³ Giles, C. (2008) *Building a Better Society*, p3.

⁵⁴ The brewer Andrew Barclay Walker funded the Walker Art Gallery. This is a direct parallel of the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle. Classicism was also manifested in Liverpool's commercial sphere. Joint-stock banks were established in the 1830s and most were executed in a monumental Neo-Classical style. See, for example, North and South Wales Bank (1838-40), Union Bank and the Royal Bank. Cockerell's Branch Bank of England was built in 1844.

early twentieth century. The Edwardian era had been dominated by the Baroque Grand Manner, but by the midpoint of Edward VII's reign Baroque was beginning to fall from grace. This has been attributed to the development of steel frame construction, which made the animated plasticity of Baroque stonework seem untenable. Another factor was the emergence of new schools of architecture, which tended to endorse purer modes of Classicism.⁵⁵ For these reasons, 'All forms of classical architecture, other than the Baroque, suddenly seemed interesting to many architects.'⁵⁶

Numerous variations of Classicism occurred in the years leading to the First World War, and many of these continued to develop after 1918.⁵⁷ Former Arts and Crafts practitioners created public and commercial buildings in a bold Classical style. For example, Sir Edwin Lutyens designed Nos. 67 and 68 Pall Mall (1928-30) and the Midland Bank in Manchester (1929), both remarkable for their geometric massing. Much neo-Georgian work was produced in the 1910s and 20s, manifested in Newcastle by the City Hall and Baths in Northumberland Road (1928, by C. Nicholas and J.E. Dixon-Spain). The neo-Georgian style appeared in domestic architecture as well as public buildings.⁵⁸ A monumental civic Classicism became prominent in Liverpool, where Charles Reilly, director of the Liverpool School of Architecture, was a major proponent. As a port, Liverpool was receptive to transatlantic influence and became the chief conduit for American-style Classicism. In the 1920s and 30s Classicism was reduced to the severe, almost abstract form known as Stripped Classicism. Notable examples include the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (1926-8) by P. Morley Horder and V. Rees, and Senate House (1932-8) by Charles Holden. In Newcastle, Carlisle House (1924-8) and the Magistrates Court, Police and Fire Station (1931-3) typify this new idiom; both resemble London's interwar architecture. Thus, the Classical tradition continued, but was adapted in various ways for the new century. This helps to clarify the nature of Newcastle's Classical tradition, revealing it as part of the long remarking of Classicism that occurred throughout the period and beyond.

⁵⁵ Service, A. (ed.) (1975) *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*. London: Architectural Press, p304.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p425.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p304.

⁵⁸ Numerous neo-Georgian houses were illustrated in *Country Life* during the 1920s. See, for example, articles on Edmaston Manor, Derbyshire (24 March 1923, pp398-405) and Little Court, Cobham, Surrey (16 May 1925, pp785-786).

Literature review

The thesis contributes to debates surrounding architectural patronage. The literature on this subject is not substantial. Frank Jenkins's *Architect and Patron* (1961) laid the groundwork, but this early study has not been subjected to any comprehensive revaluation in the intervening years.⁵⁹ The majority of architectural histories and monographs give some consideration of the patron, but there are relatively few studies in which patronage is used as the primary means of approaching architecture. The sociology of taste is more extensive. Bourdieu's investigation of taste in relation to social background is highly relevant in this regard. Before Victorian architecture was re-evaluated by scholars such as Pevsner and Muthesius, a number of books portrayed Victorian patrons as *nouveaux riches* philistines who emulated their aristocratic forebears.⁶⁰ This literature was coloured by the intellectual preoccupations and cultural prejudices of its time. More recent studies such as Jules Lubbock's *The Tyranny of Taste* (1995) and J. Mordaunt Crook's *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches* (1999) have employed a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of how architecture can be used to communicate specific codes.⁶¹ Treating patronage as an indicator of social status, these writers argue that the middle classes used their consumption of architecture to formulate a distinct cultural identity for themselves.

In dealing with taste it is vital to study debates circulating *within* Victorian and Edwardian culture by drawing on contemporary accounts. An important commentator was John J. Stevenson (1831-1908), who was a practising architect as well as a cogent thinker on matters of taste. Stevenson's family was based in South Shields and he maintained a friendship with the Newcastle architect R.J. Johnson, collaborating with him on the Tyne Improvement Commissioners' building. In 1880 Stevenson published *House Architecture*, a book with a wider remit than the title suggests; it illuminates debates about style, patronage and public taste in architecture.⁶² His essay 'On the Recent Re-action of Taste in English

⁵⁹ See Jenkins, F. (1961) *Architect and Patron*. London: Oxford University Press.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Steegman, J. (1970) *Victorian Taste: a study of the arts and architecture from 1830 to 1870*. London: Nelson, and Gloag, J. (1972) *Victorian Taste*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. Another example is Gloag, J. (1944) *The Englishman's Castle*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

⁶¹ See Crook, J.M. (1999) *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches*. London: John Murray, and Lubbock, J. (1995) *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain, 1550-1960*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁶² Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*. London: Macmillan and Co. This unconventional example of an architectural polemic aimed to justify the Queen Anne style in aesthetic, practical and nationalistic terms.

Architecture' (1874) was published in *The Builder*.⁶³ These are valuable discussions of taste in the late nineteenth century and it is highly beneficial to have written accounts by a nationally-renowned figure with ties to the North East. The architectural press became increasingly important as an arbiter of taste. These and other voices will be heard throughout the thesis and will be used to represent the discourses of late Victorian and Edwardian architecture.

A major theme within British architecture during the period was that of 'professionalisation' – manifested in the growth of large offices capable of working throughout the country and initiatives among architects to elevate their public standing.⁶⁴ This trend dramatically altered regional practice, and the thesis asks how this change was negotiated in the North East. It argues that professionalisation acted as a catalyst for the erosion of local idioms, establishing a more standardised, metropolitan model of design and practice. At the same time, professionalisation created a number of large regional firms, some of which were able to work around the country. For example, Thomas Oliver Junior had a strategic approach to commissions which led to much work for School Boards and Congregationalists. This turning point in the history of the profession is explored in Barrington Kaye's *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Approach* (1960). More recently, Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock's *Architecture, Art or Profession?: Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain* (1994) constitutes a valuable survey of architectural professionalism, to which the current thesis will contribute a North Eastern dimension.⁶⁵

One possible approach for the thesis would have been to undertake a sustained comparative study, but it became apparent that this was unfeasible and was not what was needed. There is a body of literature on the Victorian city and nineteenth-century civic culture. A foundation was provided by H.J. Dyos and M. Wolfe's *The Victorian City: Images*

⁶³ See Stevenson, J.J. 'On the Recent Re-Action of Taste in English Architecture' in *The Builder*, vol.43, 27 June 1874, pp539-540.

⁶⁴ The wider context for this shift was the rise of a professional middle class throughout Britain, which has been explored in Perkin, H. (1989) *The Rise of Professional Society: England Since 1880*. London: Routledge. These changes generated a need for codes of practice among architects in order to justify their role to the public. There has been a great deal of work on the subject. Alan Powers's thesis and his work on architectural education are important contributions to this study. See Powers, A. 'Edwardian Architectural Education: A Study of Three Schools of Architecture' in *AA Files*, vol.5, 1884, pp47-59.

⁶⁵ See Kaye, B. (1960) *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Approach*. London: George Allen and Unwin. Crinson, M. and Lubbock, J. (1994) *Architecture, Art or Profession?: Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

and Realities (1973).⁶⁶ Manchester was examined in J.H.G. Archer's *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester* (1985) and A.J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts's *City, Class and Culture: Studies of cultural production and social policy in Victorian Manchester* (1985).⁶⁷ More recently, Manchester was the subject of a new Pevsner Architectural Guide by Clare Hartwell (2001). Much new work has been published on Liverpool, coinciding with its status as European Capital of Culture, including C. Giles's *Building a Better Society: Liverpool's historic institutional buildings* (2008) and Joseph Sharples and J. Stonard's *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's central business district* (2008).⁶⁸ The exhibition catalogue *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture, 1904-1933* (1996) studies the pivotal role of Charles Reilly and illuminates the complex architectural narratives of the early twentieth century.⁶⁹ Reilly is also examined in Peter Richmond's *Marketing Modernisms: the architecture and influence of Charles Reilly* (2001).⁷⁰ Kate Hill's essay 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece' (1999) provides a useful way of thinking about discourses of the city and urban culture.⁷¹ M. Hessler and C. Zimmermann's *Creative Urban Milieus* (2006) presents innovative work on the nineteenth-century European city.⁷² Although the literature on Victorian cities is extensive, it is explicitly focused on Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow; Newcastle has not been part of this discourse.⁷³ This is perhaps due to a perception that Newcastle's urban form was established in the early Victorian period by Richard Grainger, and that it changed little until T. Dan Smith's regrettable intervention in the 1960s. Rather than producing a comparative study – which would have recapitulated points made in secondary sources – the thesis examines Newcastle architecture in depth and demonstrates that the late Victorian and Edwardian periods were a crucial phase in its development.

⁶⁶ See Dyos, H.J. and Wolfe, M. (eds.) (1973) *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*. London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁶⁷ See Archer, J.H.G. (ed.) (1985) *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, and Kidd, A.J. and Roberts, K.W. (eds.) (1985) *City, Class and Culture: Studies of cultural production and social policy in Victorian Manchester*. Oxford: Alden Press.

⁶⁸ See Giles, C. (2008) *Building a Better Society: Liverpool's historic institutional buildings*. Swindon: English Heritage, and Sharples, J. and Stonard, J. (2008) *Built on Commerce: Liverpool's central business district*. Swindon: English Heritage.

⁶⁹ See Sharples, J. (ed.) (1996) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture, 1904-1933*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

⁷⁰ See Richmond, P. (2001) *Marketing Modernisms: the architecture and influence of Charles Reilly*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

⁷¹ See Hill, K. "'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece': Symbolism and Space in Victorian Civic Culture' in Kidd, A. and Nichols, D. (1999) *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp99-111.

⁷² See Hessler, M. and Zimmermann, C. (eds.) (2006) *Creative Urban Milieus*. Frankfurt: Campus.

⁷³ There is a substantial body of work on Newcastle architecture (see below), but Newcastle has rarely been subjected to the kind of rigorous study that could illuminate discourses of the Victorian city.



Figure 23 Grainger's Central Exchange, attributed to Walker and Wardle, c. 1840. (Author's photograph).

The architectural history of North East England has been mapped out by Thomas Faulkner, Andrew Greg and others.⁷⁴ The urban infrastructure of Newcastle was established earlier than most British provincial cities due to the superlative achievements of the speculative builder Richard Grainger and his architects between 1834 and 1840 [Fig. 1].⁷⁵ Much work has understandably focussed on this stage of Newcastle's development, which created an architecture of great consistency.⁷⁶ Together these works trace the emergence of the 'Tyneside Classical' tradition, a distinctively severe and monumental treatment of the Classical style executed in durable local stone. The thesis will add to work which has enquired how this exceptional foundation was negotiated and adapted in later decades.

⁷⁴ Notable examples are Faulkner, T.E. 'Architecture in Newcastle' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*. Chichester: Phillimore, and Wilkes, L. and Dodds, G. (1964) *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton*. London: John Murray.

⁷⁵ According to the *Newcastle Journal*, 'Mr. Grainger's buildings are a source of wonder and admiration to the thousands who have been led to Newcastle during the week.' [Supplement to *Newcastle Journal*, 25 August 1838].

⁷⁶ See Greg, A. (1980) *The Tyneside Classical Tradition: Architecture in the North East, c.1700-1850*. Newcastle: Laing Art Gallery, and Ayris, A. (1997) *A City of Palaces: Richard Grainger and the Making of Newcastle upon Tyne*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle Libraries & Information Service. The Victorian Society produced two significant texts on Newcastle: a published booklet entitled *Newcastle: Three Architectural Walks* (1977) and a series of unpublished notes entitled 'Northumbrian Weekend.' See Lloyd, D. (1977) *Newcastle: Three Architectural Walks*. The Victorian Society, and Victorian Society (1980) 'Northumbrian Weekend'. Unpublished notes.

A text that closely parallels the current thesis is Andrew Greg's essay 'Newcastle's Victorian Architecture: Patronage, Prestige and the Public Good' (1995), which surveys architectural patronage during an overlapping period.⁷⁷ This is a concise account of local architecture, but it is an introductory text. A major influence is the work of Dr. Thomas Faulkner, who has researched the architectural and planning history of Newcastle and produced definitive studies of several major practitioners, including John Dobson and R.J. Johnson.⁷⁸ Faulkner and Greg's monograph *John Dobson: Architect of Newcastle* (2001) is exemplary.⁷⁹ On the subject of patronage, Iain Black has produced a valuable account of John Gibson's National Provincial Bank offices in the North East, the highest geographical concentration of his work for the firm.⁸⁰

Although these works are key starting-points, the thesis asks additional questions of the subject and employs substantially different methods. With the issues of patronage, taste and spatial organisation at the forefront, the enquiry should lead to an assessment of architecture and space as the medium of urban democracy, analysing its significance at the levels of producer and consumer. Ultimately, the originality of the thesis is two-fold. By employing novel methodological and theoretical strategies it offers a new insight into architectural patronage, with patrons, architects and users emerging as equally important agents. Through focussed analysis of a specific area and period, it seeks to clarify the economic, social and cultural factors that underpin architectural production. In doing so, it is hoped to provide a model with wider application, one that can be used to analyse the architecture of other provincial cities which developed during this period.

Chapter structure

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Each functions in the manner of a case study, addressing a specific area of building activity. These have been chosen because they allow the key issues of taste and patronage to be investigated most effectively. At the same time, each chapter utilises and develops one of the key methodologies of architectural history.

⁷⁷ Greg, A. 'Newcastle's Victorian Architecture: Patronage, Prestige and the Public Good' in *Northern Architect*, winter 1994/5.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Faulkner, T.E. (1995) 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary' in *Durham University Journal*, January 1995, pp3-10.

⁷⁹ See Faulkner, T.E. and Greg, A. (2001) *John Dobson: Architect of the North East*. Newcastle: Tyne Bridge.

⁸⁰ Black, I.S. (2003) 'National Provincial Bank Buildings in North-East England in the later Nineteenth Century' in *Durham Archaeological Journal*, vol.17, pp63-82.

Thus, the thesis studies the different facets of architecture from multiple perspectives. The following section sets out the structure and remit of each chapter, explaining its rationale within the thesis.

Chapter 1, “‘A Rebuilding of Rome’: Newcastle’s architectural culture’, draws on methods of stylistic analysis, examining the evolution of architectural style in Newcastle and comparing it to the national mainstream. It argues that Newcastle architects adhered to Classical and Renaissance styles initially due to cultural inertia and the continued influence of Grainger and Dobson. The chapter explores patterns of patronage, examining the architectural, antiquarian and artistic societies in which architects and patrons circulated. These cultural networks had a crucial influence on formations of taste, encouraging a unified approach. The chapter surveys the community of architects formed by the Northern Architectural Association – the major professional body in the North East and one of the first institutions of its kind in the country. The chapter traces its connections with the London-based architectural establishment, arguing that the circumstances of municipal patronage mobilised Newcastle architects in their pursuit of professional regulation and affiliation with the Royal Institute of British Architects. A key theme is the role of architectural journals such as *The Builder* in disseminating national, mainstream models of practice. Overall, the chapter argues that Newcastle constituted a coherent architectural culture that was only gradually eroded by external forces.

The chapter will survey the permutations of architectural style in Newcastle, relating these to evidence for the existence of a community of architects and patrons. Examining the persistence of Neo-Classicism and its derivatives, it argues that the legacy of Grainger and Dobson was frequently invoked in order to justify the use of Renaissance styles later in the period. Questions of Newcastle’s civic identity will be examined, asking how dominant groups used architectural patronage to construct images of the city and thereby reinforce their authority. Using the headquarters of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers as a case study, it argues that local coal barons used this building to define Newcastle as the heart of the North East coal trade and to formulate a group identity for themselves. Newcastle’s dominant individuals supplied much of the city’s infrastructure, thus reshaping it to their own ends. The chapter will explore the cultural networks in which

architects and patrons circulated, arguing that their membership of local architectural, antiquarian and artistic societies fostered a taste consensus. Finally, it will investigate the pre-eminent architectural body in Newcastle – the Northern Architectural Association – which galvanised local architects into a unified group, but also established links with the metropolitan centre, thereby initiating the erosion of Newcastle's specificity.

Chapter 2, 'Private Wealth and the Public Sphere', presents an overview of Newcastle's economic development during the period 1870-1914 and maps out the networks of patronage that shaped the city. An analysis of Newcastle's economic profile is essential for identifying the key patrons and understanding their role in local architecture. In particular, the chapter explores the relationship between the industrial, financial and retail sectors. It determines how capital was generated and how power structures influenced patrons' capacity to build. It argues that Newcastle's leading citizens formed a cultural oligarchy bound by business, social and family ties.

The chapter will survey Newcastle's economic development, concentrating on three main economic sectors – industry, finance and retail – and exploring the connections between them. Newcastle's leading citizens formed an integrated ruling elite that was able to dominate architectural patronage. This will be elucidated by examining three of the major figures operating within this group – the industrialist and inventor Lord Armstrong, the armaments manufacturer Sir Andrew Noble, and the shipbuilder Charles Mitchell – in order to provide a detailed analysis of how they transformed the physical space of the city. The chapter asks how Newcastle's most influential figures extended their power into the public sphere, tracing their involvement with public utility companies and the public amenities they provided through philanthropy. Examining the houses built or purchased by members of Newcastle's elite, it will argue that houses and estates helped them to consolidate their power and formed important venues for their business negotiations.

Chapter 3, 'Newcastle's Financial Axis: Collingwood and Mosley Streets', offers a spatial analysis of Collingwood and Mosley Streets during the period 1870-1914, using the methods of urban morphology. A major centre of commercial development, Collingwood and Mosley Streets were transformed into Newcastle's primary financial district as powerful financial institutions built offices here. This chapter examines the architectural patronage of

banks, building societies and insurance companies, both locally-based firms and national corporations that built branch offices in the area. The architecture exemplifies the eclecticism of the period, exhibiting a great variety of styles and materials. As these institutions sold confidence and peace of mind rather than tangible products, image and corporate identity were vital in attracting investors and depositors. The gradual decline of private banking and the rise of joint-stock companies and national branch networks set up new procedures of architectural patronage. London-based architects designed important additions to the cityscape. Ultimately, the processes of amalgamation and takeover transformed local business structures and gradually undermined local specificity.

The chapter will survey the early development of Collingwood and Mosley Streets, identifying the spatial and economic factors that stimulated subsequent growth. Charting the transformation of these streets into an important financial axis, the chapter will analyse the proliferation of banks and insurance companies. It will examine the ways in which style was used to communicate corporate identity and attract investors. The links between Newcastle's industrial and capitalist classes will be explored, asking how these enabled financiers to erect imposing and sophisticated buildings. The chapter will investigate two key public spaces in the vicinity – St. Nicholas's Square and the intersection of Collingwood Street and Neville Street – arguing that these were used to visualise Newcastle's civic values and to articulate local power structures.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with Newcastle's retail architecture. This is partly because the research has yielded a wealth of material, and partly because it is important to demonstrate that the corollary of Newcastle's industrial success was sustained commercial development and the emergence of a modern consumer culture. The rationale for splitting the chapters is as follows: Chapter 4, 'Mapping the Spaces of Retail', examines the spatial evolution of retail, charting the emergence of Newcastle's sophisticated consumer culture. Chapter 5 focuses on key spaces within the urban matrix and investigates their role in the construction and display of social and gender identities. Applying techniques of spatial analysis to the study of retail, Chapter 4 maps out the spatial distribution of shops and other sites of consumption (cafés, tearooms, restaurants etc.). The chapter utilises painstaking empirical study of patterns of use (based on street directories and archival photographs) to reconstruct the

overall spatial field of retail. It demonstrates that this field was not static, but evolved during the period. Shop design is an effective meter of architectural taste, since it had to keep up with changing fashions. The luxury shops that germinated during the period were designed in a range of fashionable styles. The chapter argues that the buildings and patterns of use associated with retail contributed to the shift of Newcastle's commercial centre from the Quayside to Northumberland Street.

The chapter begins by reviewing the recent historiography of consumption and examining the place of retail in Newcastle's economic history. It surveys the spatial evolution of retail, mapping out the distribution of shops and related sites of consumption. The shift of Newcastle's commercial centre from the Quayside to Northumberland Street will be charted, examining the role of shop design in this process. Finally, the chapter will assess the commercial expansion that took place beyond the margins of the Grainger scheme, focussing on the development of Blakett Street and Westgate Road.

Chapter 5, 'Purchasing Power: the architecture of retail', examines Newcastle's modern consumer culture in depth, focussing on key sites of retail. The chapter examines Newcastle's pioneering department stores, arguing that they formed an arena in which identities could be constructed and displayed. The major stores stimulated development in the surrounding spaces, drawing new retail outlets into the city. During this period, Northumberland Street emerged as Newcastle's premier shopping district. As Newcastle's social profile changed, the Corporation initiated urban renewal programmes, turning the city into an arena for consumption and the pursuit of urban leisure.

The chapter will present an account of Bainbridge's department store, tracing the evolution of the store and the ways in which it appealed to consumers. It will argue that stores provided an arena in which consumers – principally women – could reconfigure their identities, negotiating new social and gender roles in the context of modernity. The important firm of Mawson, Swan and Morgan will be discussed; this was a major retailer that operated from numerous sites within the urban matrix. The chapter will survey the development of Fenwick's department store, the major rival of Bainbridge's, investigating the strategies used to market Fenwick's as a more exclusive store. This will be followed by a discussion of Fenwick's impact on Northumberland Street, elucidating its rapid transformation into

Newcastle's key space of consumption. In summary, the chapter will address the commodification of space, the process by which retailers and the Corporation transformed the ambiguous and heterogeneous spaces of the city into sanitised, highly-regulated sites of consumption.

Chapter 6, 'Newcastle School Board', addresses the architectural patronage of Newcastle School Board, which built 22 schools in the borough in accordance with the Elementary Education Act of 1870. In dealing almost exclusively with school architecture, the chapter has much in common with studies of specific building types, a standard method of architectural history that permits detailed typological analysis. While this method frequently overlooks networks of patronage, however, the chapter focuses on a group of buildings that were produced by a single patron, thus adding another dimension to the discussion of patronage. Newcastle School Board is used as an example of the new public bodies established during the period and which exemplify the increasingly central role played by the state. There has been extensive discussion of the Education Act itself, but a study of the buildings produced under its aegis helps to reveal how England's first system of universal education functioned in practice.⁸¹ As a nationwide initiative, the school board programme allows direct comparison between provincial architecture and the national mainstream. The chapter examines the influence of metropolitan models, situating Newcastle School Board in the national context of educational reform and asking how the architectural programme pioneered by the London School Board was negotiated in the city. Examining the composition of the School Board, it demonstrates that members of Newcastle's ruling elite participated in its organisation. They were thus able to use education to train the working classes for future employment in their industrial complexes and to inculcate respect for the social order.

The chapter will outline the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and examine the election of the first Newcastle School Board. It will investigate the early Board Schools, beginning with the initial programme to erect three new schools in the city's industrial districts. Examining the mature Queen Anne Board Schools, it will assess the influence of metropolitan models, with particular reference to the work of E.R. Robson. The chapter will account for the

⁸¹ See for example Rich, E.E. (1970) *The Education Act, 1870: A study of public opinion*. London: Longmans, and Murphy, J. (1972) *The Education Act, 1870: Text and Commentary*. London: David and Charles.

use of the Queen Anne style in Newcastle, arguing that links with the metropolis and the agency of the architectural press facilitated its dissemination. Heaton Park Road Board School (an exemplary school which still survives) will be used as a case study and the internal planning will be examined. The chapter will analyse the spatial distribution of Board Schools, arguing that they were used to bring the 'unknown' spaces of the city under the control of the ratepayers and School Board officials. The role of the Board Schools in promoting distinctive social and gender relations will be considered. The chapter will conclude by analysing one of the Board's atypical commissions, the combined head office and pupil-teacher centre (1900-2), asking how this adapted the template established in the Board Schools.

Chapter 7, "A Citizen of No Mean City": the architectural patronage of Sir W.H. Stephenson', employs the biographical method that has been a mainstay of architectural history, but applies it to a patron, rather than an architect. In doing so, it seeks to reveal that the agency of patrons was crucial – their tastes and ambitions had a determining influence on architectural form and the buildings they commissioned were manifestations of their power. A major theme in Victorian cultural history is the role of philanthropists. Such figures were integral to the operation of Newcastle. The chapter examines the architectural patronage of Sir W.H. Stephenson, focussing on the building of three public libraries and a monument to Queen Victoria.⁸² The chapter investigates Stephenson's extraordinary career in order to understand how power was constituted in Victorian Newcastle. An industrialist and Lord Mayor on seven occasions, Stephenson personified the overlap between private and municipal patronage. His stupendous wealth was derived mainly from industry, but he was active in the Corporation, using his connections and personal fortune to influence Council decisions. As Chairman of the Town Improvement Committee, the Finance Committee and the Tyne Improvement Commission, he exerted an influence over the physical form of the city that was almost unparalleled. He thus created a public persona that existed at the interface between private and municipal power.

The chapter will give an account of Stephenson's life and career, explaining the rationale for using the biographical method. It will survey the campaign to establish free

⁸² The Queen Victoria Monument is discussed firstly in Chapter 3, where its public reception and relationship to Collingwood and Mosley Streets are examined. Chapter 7 discusses Stephenson's role as a patron and reveals that the monument was an attempt to inscribe Newcastle's civic values onto urban space.

libraries in Newcastle in order to contextualise the three Stephenson libraries. Analysing the Stephenson libraries in depth, it will investigate the aesthetic and social precepts embodied in their design.⁸³ Stephenson's municipal and religious patronage will be considered in order to demonstrate the full range of his influence over the built form of the city. Finally, the chapter will examine the Queen Victoria Monument, arguing that Stephenson used this iconic sculpture to proclaim Newcastle's loyalties and to secure his own place in the city's history.

The thesis ends with an Appendix that forms an important supplement to the main text. The structure of the thesis is necessarily strategic, with each chapter functioning as a case study in order to examine different facets of Newcastle architecture. The Appendix represents a more comprehensive survey of building activity. Due to the emphasis on patronage, the agency of individual architects is not a primary focus of the thesis, although it is dealt with *inter alia*. Nevertheless, architects were major agents within the formation of the built environment and the Appendix presents a detailed overview of their activities. It consists of a series of files, each dealing with a specific architectural practice that operated in Newcastle during the period 1870-1914. These are arranged in alphabetical order.

Each file consists of a brief biographical account, together with information on the organisation of the practice. Where appropriate, a list of each architect's publications is given.⁸⁴ The main component of each file is a list of designs produced by the firm. As well as executed buildings, this includes both successful and unsuccessful competition entries and projects for which the architect was an assessor. Thus, the Appendix aims to document the full range of professional activity in which each practice engaged. For the sake of clarity, the references in each file have been abbreviated. Full details can be found in the bibliography. Key biographical sources are listed at the end of each file.

The Appendix is intended to support one's reading of the thesis, acting as a reference source to which the reader can turn for further information on the principal architects discussed in the text. With its focus on Newcastle, the thesis cannot deal in detail with buildings that lie outside the city. However, many Newcastle architects worked further afield and these commissions were an important component of their practice. The Appendix

⁸³ In order to explore the connections that existed between the School Board programme and the free library movement, the chapter dealing with the Stephenson Libraries follows the School Board chapter. W.H. Stephenson was active in both fields. This demonstrates that Board Schools and free libraries shared an ethos and purpose, and indeed an aesthetic.

⁸⁴ Not all of these appear in the bibliography because some have proved impossible to locate.

therefore helps to resituate Newcastle architecture within the national picture and provides a valuable insight into the scale and range of work undertaken by provincial architects in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.

Sources

The thesis relies on a range of primary and secondary sources; this section surveys the material that has been utilised and contemplates the methodological strategies employed in dealing with it. The key primary sources are housed in public repositories such as the Tyne and Wear Archives and Newcastle City Library's Local Studies Department. Municipal patronage generated a wealth of records. These include the minutes of Newcastle Council meetings, which were published annually as *Newcastle Council Proceedings*. Each volume commences with a summary of building activity undertaken during the year. The reports of various sub-committees within the Corporation are useful, illuminating the activities of the Town Improvement Committee and the Finance Committee, which were key participants in municipal patronage. Reports of Newcastle School Board have been used extensively in Chapter 6. These records have proved invaluable for research, making it possible to follow Council debates and to uncover the political motivations behind building and planning schemes. They yield valuable details on finance, the procurement of land, and the selection of architects. However, there is no discussion of architectural style or taste, except in the most cursory terms.

Material relating to commercial patronage is more difficult to assess because it is heterogeneous in nature and often haphazard. The Tyne and Wear Archives have an extensive collection of Newcastle building plans, which were accumulated by the Town Improvement Committee, the local government body charged with regulating building activity.⁸⁵ These have been used to analyse commercial building, alongside reports in local newspapers and the national building press.

It has been necessary to explore cultural networks in Newcastle. The records of local architectural and antiquarian societies have been examined in order to establish their membership and operation, and these are assessed in Chapters 1 and 2. Besides the

⁸⁵ From 1858, all proposals for new buildings or alterations had to be approved by this committee before work could commence, and fortunately many of the Newcastle plans have been retained.

Northern Architectural Association, this includes groups such as the Literary and Philosophical Society. A thorough account of architects' involvement with these is provided in the Appendix. The Northern Architectural Association was the major professional body in the North East and the vast majority of Newcastle architects were members. Unfortunately it has no central archive; the discussion of its activities has therefore been based on a synthesis of disparate source material. Firstly, the activities of this and similar associations were thoroughly documented in the building press. Secondly, a selection of annual reports is held by the Literary and Philosophical Society. These often include presidential addresses and papers read before the association. Thirdly, letters from members of the Northern Architectural Association to the RIBA survive as part of the 'Letters to the Council' collection in the RIBA search rooms.⁸⁶ Professional papers of architectural firms and other businesses have survived more sporadically. However, the records of several important Newcastle practices have been donated to the Tyne and Wear Archives, including Simpson, Lawson and Raine and Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar.⁸⁷ The papers of W.H. Wood deal with commissions undertaken by his office. Wood's professional diaries give a tantalising glimpse of his professional dealings.⁸⁸

Photographs are among the key primary sources used in the thesis, which draws on a large corpus of images preserved in Newcastle City Library's Local Studies Department. The photographs in this collection were taken for specific reasons. Some represent Newcastle at its best (many of these images reappear as postcards); some show the city in transition, and depict the laying of tramlines or the demolition and erection of buildings. Others chronicle major public events, such as Royal visits and civic ceremonies. However, using photographs for research is problematic. Elizabeth Edwards's recent work has identified the 'beguiling realism' of photographs, which seem to offer the promise of truth and neutrality.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ This allows correspondence from Newcastle architects to be viewed alongside that from architects in other provincial centres, giving a sense of the ongoing dialogue surrounding issues such as the registration of architects and compulsory examination.

⁸⁷ The papers of Simpson, Lawson and Raine are contained in an uncatalogued collection under the reference 1731. Likewise, the papers of Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar have yet to be properly catalogued.

⁸⁸ See 'The Diary of W.H. Wood of the firm of Oliver, Leeson and Wood.' [TWAS - DT/WO/5/1-3]. These volumes record Wood's visits to clients and his supervision of building operations. Unfortunately, they contain little evidence of Wood's tastes or the intentions that lay behind the work.

⁸⁹ Edwards, E. 'Thinking with Photographs', a research paper presented at Northumbria University, 1 May 2008. See also Edwards, E. and Hart, J. (eds.) (2003) *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London: Routledge.

Photographs appear to give an unmediated view of the past, free of the partiality that colours written documents. However, the illusion of direct contact is deceptive. Photographs are not unmediated: in each case, the subject has been selected, framed, and thus partially constructed by the photographer. Photographs contain a 'chaos of information.' They preserve an instant, but this too is problematic due to the entropic nature of urban space. The image itself is formed by mechanical and chemical processes, and may have been cropped, retouched or tinted. Furthermore, photographs do not exist as disembodied images. They are objects with particular social currency, and may be passed around, mounted or collected in albums according to a range of social conventions and practices which are historically specific.

Unfortunately, photographs are not always subject to the same procedures of documentation as other archival sources. In many cases, the name of the photographer has not been recorded, nor is there any information as to why the photograph was taken. Photographs are often undated, or the dates may prove to be inaccurate when cross-referenced with other sources, such as street directories. In the present work, photographs have been compared with architectural plans, illustrations from the building press, street directories, and the buildings themselves (where they survive) in order to test and corroborate the information contained within them. Ultimately, it is crucial to reposition photographs as constitutive of the discourses of urban space.

The thesis argues that space conditions the social interaction of its users. Following Lefebvre, space simultaneously shapes and derives its meaning from the social relations played out within it. Lefebvre argues that the social functions of space are frequently obscured by representing space through abstract means. Therefore, the thesis must also deal with the ways in which urban space was represented to patrons and the public. Maps, building plans, local directories and archival photographs document building activity, but much of this material was used to influence patrons' decisions and thus partially determined how architecture was produced and consumed. Where possible, this material has been compared with the surviving buildings to produce a composite picture. Census records, trade directories and local newspapers provide a sense of the lived experience of space. Local directories

such as *Ward's* and *Christie's* have been used to determine patterns of use within the urban matrix. Findings have been cross-referenced against the extensive photographic collection in Newcastle City Library. Some building initiatives in Newcastle were large enough to attract the attention of the national press. Reports in *The Times* have been consulted via the *Times Online Archive*. This resource is invaluable for building up a picture of the activities of the major patrons – industrialists, financiers and political figures – revealing how they operated on regional, national and international levels. Obituaries printed in *The Times* have been particularly useful in illuminating patrons' social and professional dealings.

It has been vital to reconstitute the national context in which the architecture of Newcastle is to be situated. The national mainstream has been investigated via a systematic review of architectural journals and a strategic approach to metropolitan archives. These reveal how architects in London and the major provincial centres responded to key debates of the period, such as the Architects' Registration Bill and the issue of architectural education. The RIBA Kalendar (published annually) is a valuable resource, revealing how RIBA policy on a variety of issues developed from year to year. It has particularly valuable sections on provincial architectural societies and the educational facilities available to them, which facilitates comparison between Newcastle and other provincial centres.

Above all, patterns of taste have been deduced from the commentary in journals: those which are specifically architectural, such as *The Builder*, *Building News*, *Architect* and *British Architect*, but also art-orientated journals such as *The Studio* and *The Art Journal*, which contain much in the way of architectural comment and discussion. Architectural journals are an invaluable resource, serving as detailed empirical records of architecture as an art, a profession and a business. They are useful in establishing a chronology of local buildings and acquiring a contextual perspective. Systematic coverage of architectural journals has been used to map out the architecture of the period under study. As discussed above, journals make it possible to analyse debates within the profession and gauge how Newcastle architecture was viewed from a national perspective. However, journals cannot be treated simply as documentary records; they actively participated in architectural practice, disseminating ideas and styles on a national basis. Competitions were publicised and the entries were illustrated and discussed. Advertisements were used by architects when

selecting building contractors, craftsmen and materials. The publicity offered by coverage in these journals could increase the notability and reputation of an architect. Journals acted as arbiters of taste, and as such determined to a large extent not just how architecture was practised but how it was understood and valued.⁹⁰ Such periodicals were a significant catalyst in the decline of the genuinely regional practitioner, a process which is examined in the thesis. Many journals were lavishly illustrated and the images are particularly valuable when the building in question has been demolished. Yet these too must be viewed with caution. The illustrations were rarely drawn by the architects, but by the staff of the journal in a standardised style and according to definite specifications. In addition, architects' drawings were produced to convince patrons, and judicious use of pictorial conventions – well-placed birds, clouds or trees – could render almost any design acceptable to less discerning viewers. We must ask what was the purpose of the image, who produced it and for whom? It is therefore necessary to compare these illustrations with the original architectural plans and wherever possible with the buildings themselves.

There are a great number of local records held in metropolitan archives. The thesis relies substantially on material in the British Library, the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings and Manuscripts Collection and the British Architectural Library at Portland Place. The RIBA search rooms at the Victoria and Albert Museum contain correspondence between Newcastle architects and the RIBA. The RIBA Competitions Collection includes the regulations and conditions of architectural competitions, including several major competitions held in Newcastle.

The use of sources raises questions about epistemological strategies and the perennial problems of the researcher's subjectivity. To some extent historical knowledge is always coloured by the intellectual climate in which it is constructed, since history is a dialogue between the past and the present. When undertaking research, it is essential that one does not simply look for material that seems to confirm one's presumptions. Beneath these concerns is the related question of how knowledge develops and functions, which forms part of the project of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault was primarily

⁹⁰ For example, Maurice B. Adams (1849-1933), a staff member of the *Building News*, was an enthusiastic promoter of the Queen Anne style, and illustrated many quintessential examples for the journal. See also Adams, M.B. (1883) *Artists' Homes. A portfolio of drawings, including the houses and studios of several eminent painters, sculptors, etc.* London: B. T. Batsford.

concerned with understanding the relationship between knowledge and power. He argues that discourses structure and distribute knowledge in ways that reinforce the power of the dominant groups. History, for example, can be seen as a discourse that represents the past according to the exigencies of the present. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) Foucault investigates the methodological and theoretical strategies employed in his previous books *Madness and Civilisation* (1961), *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963) and *The Order of Things* (1966), which dealt with the discourses of psychiatry, medicine and the human sciences respectively.⁹¹ Offering an exegesis on these works, Foucault argues that the history of a discourse is not that of its 'progressive refinement' towards an ultimate rationality or state of 'pure' knowledge, but a series of breaks, interruptions and thresholds in which knowledge is interpreted according to successive conceptual models. This realisation has in turn problematised historical analysis.

Applying Foucault's work to architectural history, we can see that the teleological narratives that have dominated much of the discipline are based on the exclusion of discontinuities, interruptions and aberrant tendencies. Foucault uses the term *episteme* – the overall pattern of knowledge prevailing in a given historical context.⁹² The episteme involves a complex of accepted facts, methodologies and theories encapsulated within an overall framework. Yet Foucault rejects the idea that 'between all the events of a well-defined spatio-temporal area, between all the phenomena of which traces have been found, it must be possible to establish a system of homogenous relations [. . .]'.⁹³ The episteme does not imply an ontological belief in a fundamentally ordered world and does not necessarily involve progress – steady evolution leading to greater understanding. In this model of epistemological revolution, knowledge does not build on past knowledge, but supplants it, invalidating what has gone before. As a consequence knowledge is always provisional.

⁹¹ Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

⁹² The episteme is analogous to the notion of the *paradigm* devised by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Attempting to write a history of science, Kuhn eventually concluded that this was impossible: his inability to trace the evolution of scientific discourse led him to conclude that knowledge develops through revolutions – violent breaks or ruptures which invalidate a previously accepted complex of knowledge and theory, or paradigm. Each paradigm persists as new data begins to challenge it, until eventually the sheer weight of contrary evidence forces a paradigm shift. Kuhn implies that the paradigm is both necessary and problematic. As he states, 'No natural history can be interpreted in the absence of at least some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism.' Yet the paradigm also sets up lines of enquiry, determining what we look for and conditioning our interpretation of data. This frequently means that work which challenges the paradigm is ignored or devalued by the research community. See Kuhn, T. (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Second edition.

⁹³ Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p11.

Addressing the discontinuities that were beginning to surface in historiography during the 1960s and 70s – the breaks and ruptures of lived historical experience as opposed to the ordered narratives of written history – Foucault asks how historians are to understand the past without resorting to notions of a spirit of the age or as he terms it ‘total history’. This is the assumption that in a given civilisation all historical factors are linked by uniform connections and are subject to the same transformations. Relating these problems to the period in question, Jose Harris notes the scepticism with which the notion of ‘total history’ is viewed within recent historiography, and argues for a more relativist interpretation of the past.⁹⁴ In light of Foucault’s remarks, the stable structures and teleological narratives that form the basis of much historical writing become untenable.

With clear topographical and chronological boundaries established at the outset, the current study is designed to facilitate a more ‘cross-sectional’ approach, one that can take account of the diversity of agencies acting within a given area and timeframe, without pursuing the ideal of ‘total history’. The thesis examines the multiplicity of agencies operating within the field and seeks to understand both the interfaces and limits between determining forces. Central to this procedure will be the consideration of Newcastle as an ‘architectural culture’, a self-contained community that was engaged in architectural debate. Architects and patrons were bound together by social and professional ties. Within this community, individual tastes inevitably differed, but the overall effect was to foster a general consensus of taste. The thesis argues that the insularity of this culture was gradually undermined as the period progressed, but the existence of a coherent community of architects and patrons remained crucial. This approach allows the social and cultural networks, channels of influence and disparate agencies acting within the city to be brought into focus.

Buildings are viewed as indices of the dynamic social and cultural networks that gave rise to them and which they in turn defined and shaped. The thesis does not use buildings simply as a means of understanding architects, styles, or any of the other categories into which architectural production is conventionally ordered. Buildings are not only remnants of the past; they were agents of the social and cultural forces that were in operation at the time. We divest buildings of much of their meaning if we fail to address their economic and political

⁹⁴ However, Harris insists that ‘objective’ history is not entirely beyond the reach of historians, and that the past can be meaningfully studied. See Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, pvii.

determinants, the agency of the patron, spatial organisation and symbolic or rhetorical content in favour of a narrow aesthetic definition of architecture. In summary, the thesis examines Newcastle's architectural taste and patronage, and asks whether the city constituted a coherent architectural culture.

1 'A Rebuilding of Rome': Newcastle's architectural culture

This chapter presents an overview of Newcastle's architectural development during the period 1870-1914. Using methods of stylistic analysis, it traces patterns of taste as manifested in the city's buildings. Exploring the agencies that lay behind this stylistic evolution, the chapter introduces the key networks of patronage that shaped the city. This is intended to illuminate the main theme of Newcastle's status as an architectural culture. The first objective is to chart the range of architectural styles that patrons used to communicate their ambitions. Within the period, a growing preoccupation with modernity was provoking anxieties about architectural style. Dogmatic approaches to the Gothic Revival and Neo-Classicism were questioned and a range of hybrid styles proliferated. Newcastle initially responded to this uncertain situation by adhering to Neo-Classicism and its derivatives. To an influential group of patrons, the Tyneside Classicism of Grainger and Dobson remained the apotheosis of architectural dignity. However, a major theme of Victorian architecture is the propagation of 'national', mainstream models of practise via expanding print media, particularly illustrated architectural journals such as *The Builder*, and architects' efforts to elevate their professional status. An increasingly wide range of styles was explored as national influences permeated local culture.

The second objective is to analyse the workings of patronage. Newcastle was dominated by an elite class of industrialists, financiers and men-of-letters. Crucially, this oligarchic class invested in social and cultural networks and thereby turned them to their advantage. The chapter argues that this self-contained community preserved a thread of continuity in terms of architectural taste. Exploring these networks further, the chapter examines the state of the architectural profession in Newcastle. The circumstances of municipal patronage galvanised Newcastle architects in their pursuit of professional regulation and affiliation with the Royal Institute of British Architects. Focussing on the Northern Architectural Association, the chapter demonstrates that this body had a two-fold impact; it fostered a strong community of architects, but increasingly linked this community to the metropolitan centre. In the long term, this undermined Newcastle's specificity. Above all, the

chapter argues that Newcastle constituted a coherent architectural culture that was only gradually eroded by external forces.

Architectural style in Newcastle

The defining characteristic of Newcastle architecture is the persistence of the Neo-Classical tradition established by the speculative builder Richard Grainger and his forebears.¹ This encompassed the central core of Newcastle, including key emblems of the town's identity such as the Central Station (1849-50), Town Hall (1858-63, demolished) and Literary and Philosophical Society (1822-5). Neo-Classicism, the revival of ancient Greek and Roman models, was recognised as a fundamental trait of the city's identity at both local and national level. In his inaugural address as President of the Northern Architectural Association in 1897, the architect Frank W. Rich testified to the high regard in which Grainger and Dobson were held by the younger generation of Newcastle architects.² Grainger was described as 'one of those men of indomitable will, one of those *captains of industry* for which Newcastle is so justly celebrated.'³ This portrays Grainger as the cultural equivalent of the industrial capitalists who were establishing Newcastle's profile on a global economic stage, and views the architectural core as the arena for this explosion of industrial development and prosperity. Many commentators lamented the absence of such a visionary figure during the period under review. Archibald Reed wrote:

Mr Richard Grainger, seventy years ago, set Newcastle an example in looking ahead, when he built streets like Grey Street, Grainger Street, and Clayton Street. What has been done since? Every opportunity to run on similar lines neglected, until the main

¹ Classicism had previously been used by Robert Trollope (d. 1686), William Newton (1730-1798) and David Stephenson (1757-1819), the first Newcastle architect to train at the Royal Academy. This interpretation of Classicism – deliberately severe and executed in local stone – has been conceptualised as 'Tyneside Classicism.' See Wilkes, L. and Dodds, G. (1964) *Tyneside Classical*. The style came to be particularly associated with John Dobson, Newcastle's most influential architect, whose works have been examined in Faulkner, T.E. and Greg, A. (2001) *John Dobson*.

² Frank West Rich (1840-1929) was born in Darfield, South Yorkshire. He trained with William Parnell in Newcastle and began independent practice in Mosley Street in 1872. Rich was consulting architect to Sir W.G. Armstrong and to the Duke of Northumberland. Rich's career has been partially explored by Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA: Newcastle Architect*. University of Newcastle: unpublished BA dissertation. An obituary was printed in the *Journal and Northern Star*, 1 March 1929, p12. For further details of Rich's practice, see Appendix.

³ Rich spoke of his personal admiration for the visionary Grainger and commended his 'good sense' in using local architects to execute his schemes. He also suggested that modern Newcastle was in need of a coordinating influence such as Grainger had provided: 'But is it not a fact that all so-called improvements not only in this city, but almost in all others, are not the result of a well-devised and comprehensive scheme but one worked out piecemeal by the Council collectively, where nearly every member individually would hesitate before attempting such a task?' [Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Inaugural Presidential Address to the Northern Architectural Association*, reproduced in *The Builder*, vol.45, 19 January 1884, p111].

arteries are all gorged. Old lanes such as High Bridge and the Pudding Chare are being rebuilt without any attempt to open up a parallel street to Grainger Street from Stephenson's monument to the east of the city.⁴

From a national standpoint, too, Newcastle was defined by its Classical centre. A year after Rich's address to the assembly of Newcastle architects, the influential periodical *The Builder* published a special issue on the city, praising the 'gigantic schemes' of Richard Grainger, whose vision placed Newcastle architecture 'on the high level it has since on the whole well maintained.'⁵ Discussing Eldon Square, John Dobson's sedate residential development, for example, *The Builder* commented: 'The whole quiet, simple, solid composition looks like a bit of old Bath dropped down in Northumberland.'⁶ In fact, this consistently high standard had been achieved by adhering closely to Grainger's Classical idiom. Thus Newcastle was one of a number of cities, including Liverpool and Belfast, which had continued to communicate their ideals through Classicism.

At the outset of the period Newcastle built two examples of undiluted Classicism. The General Post Office (1871-4) on St. Nicholas's Street responds directly to Grainger's legacy [Fig. 1]. Built when the Post Office was establishing a national branch network in a series of buildings erected by Her Majesty's Office of Works, the Newcastle branch was designed by chief architect James Williams.⁷ The style of these buildings varied between High Renaissance and Baroque Revival, but the Newcastle Post Office reflected the monumentality of Dobson's Central Station (1845-50), the supreme Classical statement of Victorian Newcastle. Williams made inventive use of Classical devices, without recourse to established conventions of composition.⁸ The entrance is recessed within a vast portal forming a double-height portico *in antis* that punctures the two lower storeys. The façade is divided horizontally by a subsidiary cornice, but is held in unity by the vertical emphasis of the

⁴ Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School, with a Peep at Newcastle in the Fifties*. London and Newcastle: Walter Scott Publishing Co. p142.

⁵ *Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p306. This indicates that Newcastle's architecture broadly accorded with mainstream tastes in the 1890s. During the 1870s, however, Newcastle's habitual use of Neo-Classicism – instead of the more fashionable Gothic – had earned it the condemnation of the *Building News* (see below).

⁶ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p308.

⁷ James Williams (1824-1892) entered Her Majesty's Office of Works at the age of 24. In 1859 he was appointed surveyor for the erection of post offices, and supervised the building of Manchester, Nottingham (1868), Sheffield (1893), Hull (1908) and Bristol post offices, as well as the Newcastle branch. He did not employ a uniform style for these buildings: the Nottingham office is Italianate; Hull is Baroque and Sheffield manifests a Free Classical style.

⁸ C.R. Cockerall made similarly bold and original use of Classicism at his Liverpool branch of the Bank of England (1845-8).

pilasters. Terminating the composition is a heavy entablature bearing the words 'Post Office'. The interplay of solid and void is wilfully monumental. The bold use of Classical forms divided opinion, particularly the unusual portico with incised columns: *The British Architect* objected that 'the entasis of these columns is painfully evident.'⁹ Looking back on the building in 1898, *The Builder* was more complimentary:

The effect seems to be due to the deep recessing of the middle bay of the two lower storeys, the reduction of the lower entablature to a minimum, thus giving prominence to the crowning one . . . its lesson seems to be that style and detail are second in importance to the way in which they are used.¹⁰



Figure 24 General Post Office, St. Nicholas's Street, designed by James Williams, 1871-4. (Author's photograph).

⁹ *British Architect*, vol.3, 1 January 1875, p7.

¹⁰ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307.

Ultimately the building was a conscious reinterpretation of the Classicism that lay at the heart of Newcastle. At the same time, Newcastle's Post Office exemplified the brand of government patronage that used Neo-Classicism to project an image of strength and dignity throughout the provinces and indeed the Empire. Bold Roman Classicism, with its imperial overtones, communicated this ambition clearly.¹¹ As a node in national and international communication networks the Post Office helped to mitigate Newcastle's remoteness. The building thus consolidated the city's modernity even as it invoked its past.

Even later in the period, the Hancock Museum (1879-84) marked a dramatic last stand of Dobsonian Classicism, with a powerful austerity that evokes ancient Greek prototypes [Fig. 2].¹² This is not wholly surprising since it was designed by John Wardle Junior, the son of Grainger's collaborator John Wardle.¹³ The building of the museum was initiated by John Hancock, a natural historian and taxidermist. Additional impetus was provided by Colonel John Joicey, who paid £6000 for the site, plus £2000 to secure the lease.¹⁴ Hancock had sent stuffed falcons to the Great Exhibition and 'these birds were the first to make his name famous as a taxidermist.'¹⁵ The museum replaced an earlier building on the same site, and provided a permanent home for the collection of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, one of Newcastle's major cultural institutions.¹⁶ The façade is articulated with stark square pilasters echoing both the design and the intellectual aura of the Literary and Philosophical Society's premises on Neville Street (1822-5). The wide, level frontage is broken by projecting side pavilions surmounted by monumental accretions of stone. Above the entrance, the name of the museum is executed in a simple, but dramatic sans serif font. From a national perspective the Museum seems remarkably anachronistic, but it invokes a key attribute of Newcastle's

¹¹ Indeed, the building consolidated many of the governmental departments operating in Newcastle since it accommodated the postal, telegraph and Inland Revenue departments, which had previously been dispersed throughout the town. See Kelly, E.R. (ed.) (1879) *Post Office Directory of Durham and Northumberland*. London: Kelly and Co., p664.

¹² John Dobson became the pre-eminent architect in Newcastle, earning the respect of his peers and exerting an influence on his successors. The London School Board architect E.R. Robson had received training in Dobson's office. Robson's obituary, written by his son Philip A. Robson, described Dobson as 'the best-known practitioner in the north of England' [Robson, P.A. (1917) 'Edward Robert Robson: A Memoir by his Son' in *RIBA Journal*, February 1917, p92].

¹³ John Wardle Senior was responsible for many of the buildings in Grainger's scheme, although it is difficult to make exact attributions. See Greg, A. (1980) *The Tyneside Classical Tradition*, pp20-21.

¹⁴ *Builder*, vol.46, 30 August 1884, p305.

¹⁵ Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p183.

¹⁶ The previous museum was built in on both sides and opened onto a narrow lane. It was decided to build a replacement on the present site. John Wardle and Son of Ridley Place were the architects and the scheme was overseen by John Hancock. The total cost was just over £40,000. [*Builder*, vol.46, 30 August 1884, p305].

cultural identity – the long-standing association between Greek antiquity and intellectual pursuits.¹⁷ Institutions such as the Literary and Philosophical Society defined intellectuals as the traditional guardians of Classical culture. By utilising the Neo-Classical style, the influential patrons who created the Hancock Museum were able to join the city's intelligentsia. In a number of important public buildings, then, Neo-Classicism continued to punctuate the architecture of Newcastle.



Figure 25 Hancock Museum, designed by John Wardle, 1879-84. (Author's photograph).

Architectural history has traditionally used empirical methodologies, with a particular emphasis on stylistic classification. As discussed above, there are a number of problems with this approach. The focus on style tends to elide other aspects of buildings, to seal them off and deny that they participate in other ways. The main objection is that this approach lifts buildings from their spatial context and orchestrates them into a meta-narrative of stylistic evolution. As well as tracing the permutations of architectural style, it is important to address

¹⁷ This equation was not unique to Newcastle, however. It had a long pedigree in British culture, beginning in the eighteenth century when wealthy individuals and groups such as the Society of Dilettanti began to visit Greece as part of the Grand Tour. The publication of works such as Stewart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (1762) introduced architects to the original sources of Neo-Classicism. The study of Greek antiquities was championed by Newcastle's Literary and Philosophical Society and, significantly, both Grainger and Dobson were members. See Parish, C. (1990) *The History of the Lit and Phil, 1896-1989*. Newcastle: Literary and Philosophical Society.

the harmonies and discontinuities of styles as they occur in actual urban spaces. Style, however, is part of the currency of architecture and a critical determinant within the nexus of architecture and patronage. Styles are invested with both aesthetic and ideological significance. This was particularly true of the period under study, as style was fundamental to Victorian conceptions of architecture. Individual styles constituted a coherent, recognisable body of imagery that was redolent with meaning. Imbued with complex values and associations, styles formed systems of communication that could be read by those familiar with the codes. Crucially, these systems were pliable: the significations of style were determined by those able to manipulate and interpret its form – principally architects, patrons and critics.

Adapting to the changing fashions of the 1870s and 80s, Neo-Classicism gradually gave way to the Italian Renaissance style within the national mainstream and subsequently in Newcastle.¹⁸ The Victorian writer James Fergusson explicitly defined 'Renaissance' as the adaptation or dilution of Classical architecture: 'What distinguishes Renaissance buildings is their being *wilful* adaptations of past styles.'¹⁹ Thus, Victorian arbiters of taste made a crucial distinction between the Classical and Renaissance styles and this distinction had a fundamental influence on how the two styles were used and understood. Renaissance styles became popular in the vigorous climate of commercial enterprise of c.1840-1880, and were widely used in Newcastle from c.1870 to the end of the century.²⁰ Significantly, however, the legacy of Grainger and Dobson was used to justify these new styles. In a revealing sleight of hand, Frank W. Rich described Newcastle's modern buildings as being 'of the finest Renaissance design', but praised them as 'a veritable rebuilding of Rome.'²¹ Eliding over a thousand years of history, Rich deliberately conflated the Neo-Classicism of the Grainger era with the refined Italian Renaissance Classicism that makes up the substantial part of post-1870 commercial buildings in Newcastle, and which Rich himself employed at Bolbec Hall

¹⁸ The Italian Renaissance style has a protracted history. Roman Classicism had been revived during the Renaissance, but was refined and altered by architects like Brunelleschi, Alberti and Serlio. For evidence of how these permutations were understood during the period see Fergusson, J. (1873) *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*. London: John Murray. 2nd edition.

¹⁹ James Fergusson quoted in *The Builder*, vol.46, 14 September 1884, p375.

²⁰ In 1873 the architect Sir William Tite left an annual legacy of £1000 to support the study of Italian architecture. The RIBA decided that this sum should be used to promote study, the building of new work, the delivery of essays and papers, and the purchase of casts for the purposes of education. [*Builder*, vol.42, 12 December 1874, p1028]. Italianate styles were lauded by the building press. This was a selective revival, however. The palazzo style achieved widespread popularity, but Palladianism did not experience a similar rebirth.

²¹ Rich, F.W. (1897-8) *Presidential Address to the Northern Architectural Association*. Rich's address was printed in the Northern Architectural Association's *Annual Report* of 1899.

(1907). By blurring this distinction, Rich stressed the continuity between the Grainger era and his own, implying that within the vagaries of architectural taste, the Renaissance manner was merely an extrapolation of the Classicism of Newcastle's 'great epoch'.²² In doing so, his purpose was twofold. By promoting a sense of continuity, Rich portrayed himself and his colleagues as worthy successors to the 'visionary' Grainger, a measure which surely helped to attract patrons. The notion of uninterrupted architectural progress also helped to smooth over the turbulent activity and harsh aesthetics of Newcastle's industrial expansion.

Indeed, Newcastle was widely perceived as an industrial wasteland, one either devoid of architectural merit or so polluted that its buildings could not shine through the pall of soot and smoke. In 1889, for example, *The Times* complained of the 'native murkiness of the town, which has been "digging for coal" for six centuries'.²³ Compounding this situation was Newcastle's poor record in providing amenities for its expanding population.²⁴ The Public Health Act of 1848 gave local authorities the power to form Boards of Health and to appoint Medical Officers of Health. Newcastle did not do so until 1872. This was a source of concern to architects such as Thomas Oliver Junior, who sent a plea to the Newcastle press, in the form of a poem:

What clouds of blinding dust
In every crowded street
And odours, mingling with each gust
Our eyes and noses greet!
Some noses and some eyes
Should have a dreadful doze,
Until they better systematize
Their scavengers and hose.

Our councillors may smile;
I cannot but repine,
To see the dirt and dust defile
The noblest town on Tyne.
A night of clouds on high
And lakes of mud below,
According as it's wet or dry
Oh! Why should this be so?

Dear Editor, I hope
You'll listen to my song
And help me all you can to cope
With sanitary wrong.

²² Ibid.

²³ *The Times*, 12 September 1889, p8.

²⁴ During the cholera epidemic of 1853, for example, 1500 of Newcastle's 90,000 population died within five weeks. See Sowden, J.C. 'Public Health in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas of Newcastle upon Tyne*. Newcastle: PETRAS.

Our councillors invoke
Their ways for once to mend,
To clear the town of dirt and smoke
And these complaints to end.²⁵

Eager to throw off this unflattering image, Newcastle's most powerful citizens were keen to portray the city as the 'Metropolis of the North,' to quote a portentous but resonant phrase.²⁶ In constructing discourses of provincial cities, Victorian civic leaders often drew parallels with ancient or Renaissance city-states.²⁷ In Newcastle, the emphatic use of Classical and Renaissance styles facilitated this project.

At the outset of the period, Newcastle seemed largely impervious to the prevailing trends of Victorian architecture. As the Gothic Revival entered its 'High Victorian' phase (c.1850-70), architects began to study French and Italian models, and a range of continental motifs were diffused into British architecture.²⁸ The influential critic John Ruskin drew attention to the buildings of Northern Italy with his publication *The Stones of Venice* (1851-3). The *Building News* advocated foreign travel, stating that, 'It is the bounden duty of the architect who would really study his art, to avail himself of those facilities of visiting the greatest architectural monuments in Europe . . . It is no degradation to learn from others what we cannot know ourselves.'²⁹ A consequence of the persistence of Classicism in Newcastle was that Gothic, the standard alternative, was rarely used except for ecclesiastical work.³⁰ Newcastle largely resisted the fashion for Gothic street architecture of the 1870s and consequently drew criticism from the *Building News*. Observing Grainger Street West in 1870, a *Building News* correspondent stated, 'I regret that Newcastle will not be able in the case of this thoroughfare to boast of an entirely Gothic street, for one house is about to be commenced in it designed in the Renaissance style of the reign of Queen Anne.'³¹ Turning his attention to John Gibson's design for the National Provincial Bank on the corner of Dean Street and Mosley Street (1870), the correspondent continued, 'The building is, I regret to

²⁵ It is not known which paper this poem was sent to. The text is quoted from the subsequent publication Oliver, T. (1865) *A Pamphlet of Poems*. Newcastle: Guardian Office.

²⁶ *The British Architect* used this phrase to describe Newcastle in a special article on the town. See *British Architect*, vol.3, 1 January 1875, p6.

²⁷ This tendency is discussed in Hill, K. "Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece", p101.

²⁸ This periodisation was established in texts such as Muthesius, S. (1972) *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture, 1850-1870*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

²⁹ *Building News* quoted in Blau, E. (1982) *Ruskinian Gothic: The Architecture of Deane and Woodward*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p59.

³⁰ Exceptions include the Chaucher Buildings in Grainger Street by Gibson Kyle (1869) and the Maple Street Masonic Hall by John Johnstone (1870-2).

³¹ 'Notes from Newcastle upon Tyne,' *Building News*, vol.19, 30 September 1870, p220.

say, in a Classical style, and although the neighbouring Grey-street might call for such a treatment, I consider its selection a most excellent opportunity for a commanding Gothic building thrown away.³² It should be acknowledged that a strong Gothic tradition emerged in ecclesiastical architecture. St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral on Clayton Street (1842-4) had been designed by A.W.N. Pugin, a leader of the Gothic Revival, and the tower was eventually completed by the local architects Dunn and Hansom (1872), who became prominent Catholic church-builders.³³ Other Gothic specialists included R.J. Johnson and Hicks and Charlewood.³⁴

Victorian architecture was characterised by contentious debates over which style was most appropriate for the industrial age and the host of modern building types to which it gave rise. By the mid-nineteenth century, a liberal-progressive model of history as a continuous narrative was emerging.³⁵ The preoccupation with progress caused anxiety among Victorian architectural writers who began to feel that culture should move in synchronisation with the forward march of history. There were numerous efforts to reform architecture, purging it of the eclecticism that today seems quintessentially Victorian. The architect and critic George Aitchison (1825-1910) occupied a formidable position in the architectural establishment, simultaneously serving as President of the Royal Institute of British Architects and Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. He was a commentator whose anxieties, according to J.M. Crook, 'represented the central concerns of the generality of thinking architects.'³⁶

³² Ibid., p220.

³³ Archibald Matthias Dunn (1832-1917) was a founder of the Northern Architectural Association. Educated at Stonyhurst, he designed Catholic churches and colleges throughout the country. Edward Joseph Hansom (1842-1900) was a member of an architectural dynasty analogous to that of the Pugins: he was the son of the Catholic architect Charles Francis Hansom of Bristol, and nephew of Joseph Aloysius Hansom, architect, inventor of the Hansom Cab and founder of *The Builder*. See Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom* and Johnson, M.A. (2008) 'Architects to a Diocese: Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle' in *Northern Catholic History*, no.49, pp3-17.

³⁴ Robert James Johnson was born in Stokesley in North Yorkshire. A prominent antiquarian, he was a proficient ecclesiastical architect. He became Diocesan Architect for Durham in 1871 and performed the same role for Newcastle Diocese when it was created in 1882. See Faulkner, T.E. (1995) 'Robert James Johnson', pp3-10. Johnson's ecclesiastical work is explored in Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of R.J. Johnson*. Unpublished B.Arch. Dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne School of Architecture. Hicks and Charlewood were among the most prolific ecclesiastical architects on Tyneside. William Searle Hicks (1849-1902) was a native of Dorset. His mother was a niece of Sir Charles Barry. He was articled to R.J. Johnson in 1866 and soon took over the firm's Middlesbrough branch. He commenced independent practice in 1882 and was joined by his brother-in-law, H.C. Charlewood, in 1888. Charlewood was born in Nottinghamshire and was one of the first architects to pass the RIBA qualifying examination. He travelled extensively in Italy during his early life. He became an Associate of the RIBA and served as President on the Northern Architectural Association for 1910-11.

³⁵ The Hegelian view of history held that the human mind progresses over time, perpetually building on past knowledge and achievements. Aligned with the concept of the *zeitgeist*, it was felt that civilisations must produce an architecture that expresses the 'spirit of the age.' These convictions were to form part of the philosophical basis of the Modern Movement in architecture in the early twentieth century. For a challenging critique of these concepts, see Watkin, D. (2001) *Morality and Architecture Revisited*. London: John Murray.

³⁶ Crook, J.M. (2003) *The Architect's Secret: Victorian critics and the image of gravity*. London: John Murray, p32.

Aitchison was constitutionally opposed to the imitation of past styles and despised the climate of eclecticism. He found it shameful that the Victorian age had conceived no style of its own. With one eye trained on Victorian achievements in science and technology, Aitchison felt it was ignominious for architects to be mere 'costumiers' who dressed buildings in borrowed robes. 'I cannot believe,' he wrote, 'that the nation that has given us the steam-engine, the railway, the telegraph . . . and all the triumphs of iron . . . can have sunk so much below the standard of our semi-barbarous forefathers of the thirteenth century as to be incapable of developing [its own] architecture.'³⁷ Aitchison's anxieties revolved around a sense that the panoply of revived styles failed to convey the dynamism of Victorian modernity. The building press eventually came to echo these sentiments, with the *Building News* remarking that the Gothic Revival 'is a failure when it tries to satisfy present wants . . . the Gothic house of [the 1870s] was a horror, the Gothic shop-front was a terror to the neighbourhood.'³⁸

Another commentator on matters of taste was the practising architect John J. Stevenson, author of *House Architecture* (1880). Stevenson took a baleful view of commercial architecture and attributed its faults to a debilitating catholicity and a growing public awareness of the myriad of styles:

Everyone with any pretensions to taste knows something about [architecture], has read Ruskin and considers himself (or herself) a judge . . . It may be that we know too much about architectural styles – that the variety of our knowledge confuses us . . . or our wealth, instead of helping us, may be the cause of our failure.³⁹

Stevenson suggested that cursory knowledge of architecture – and the money to spend on it via patronage – were becoming available to a wider sector of society, and that few of these new patrons had the requisite standard of taste. He went on to say that, 'The evils of copying are multiplied and aggravated when, as at present, we attempt a number of styles at the same time . . . How can anyone master the principles and details of half a dozen styles?'⁴⁰ Stevenson echoed Aitchison's preoccupation with modernity, stating that, 'The feeling grew that there are elements of modern life which not middle-age chivalry nor asceticism, nor

³⁷ George Aitchison quoted in *The Builder*, vol.74, 1898, p610. However, Aitchison did advocate study of the architecture of the past, as he believed that history provided evidence of how architecture progresses. He cited the structural innovations of Romanesque buildings as a moment when technological progress in architecture triggered aesthetic advances.

³⁸ 'The Improvement in Architecture' in *Building News*, vol.70, 12 June 1896, p845.

³⁹ Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, London: Macmillan and Co. p21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p75.

Gothic architecture, was fitted to satisfy.⁴¹ In other words, Gothic had become an anachronism.

In Newcastle, the continued faith in Classicism assuaged these anxieties for a time, but the city was not impervious to this feverishly eclectic climate. Commercial patrons were keen to explore a range of styles and other Renaissance idioms were soon exploited. One of the more short-lived stylistic affectations to impinge upon Newcastle was that of the French Renaissance, which had a sporadic influence on British architecture in the 1870s and 80s. *The Builder* published a series of illustrated articles on the subject in 1884.⁴² The style figured prominently in the North East, with both the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle (begun 1869) and Sunderland Museum and Library (1877-9) invoking the image of the French château.⁴³ In Newcastle, the Union Club in Westgate Road and the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company Offices in Grainger Street West were executed in François I^{er} style.

Designed by M.P. Manning, the Union Club (1877) utilised the inherent domesticity of the French Renaissance style [Fig. 3]. Executed in local Prudham stone, it stands upon a plinth of grey Aberdeen granite. Oriel windows merge into domesticated dormers, and elongated chimneys impart an informal feeling that was eminently suitable for a club house. As such, the building was frequented by some of Newcastle's most successful and powerful citizens, including W.G. Armstrong, Joseph Cowen, Isaac Lowthian Bell, Richard Burdon Sanderson, and Joseph Heald.⁴⁴ As well as providing a venue for social interaction and discussion, the club allowed these figures to operate as a cultivated elite, and the interior design reflected this image back on themselves. The entrance hall was illuminated with stained glass windows and a domed ceiling; the windows featured a veritable pantheon of British cultural heroes – Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton – as well as characters from their works. Representations of Poetry and Music were depicted, along with the arms of the club [Fig. 4]. It has been argued that the culture of Victorian and Edwardian club-houses

⁴¹ Stevenson, J.J. (1874) 'On the Recent Re-Action of Taste in English Architecture' in *The Builder*, vol.41, 27 June 1874, p540.

⁴² See *The Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, pp409-410.

⁴³ The Bowes Museum was built by the art collectors, John and Josephine Bowes, and designed by the French architect, J.A.F. Pellechet. For a discussion of the building's significance see Kane, S. 'When Paris Meets Teesdale: the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama: Studies in the History and Culture of North East England*. London: Octavian Press, pp163-194. Less assured in its use of French details, Sunderland Museum and Library was designed by the local architects John and Thomas Tillman. Further details of this building are provided in Johnson, M.A. and Potts, G.R. 'Architects and the Building of Sunderland, 1700-1914' in Cookson, G. (2009) *Townscape of Sunderland*. Victoria County History (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ Union Club, *List of Members for 1862-3*, displayed in the lobby of the former Union Club.

was aggressively masculine and this is borne out in the Union Club.⁴⁵ The first floor accommodated the principal rooms of the club-house, including a drawing room and smoking room. Bedrooms for the club members were on the second floor and domestic accommodation for servants on the third [Fig. 5]. The lavish interior was fitted by notable craftsmen; marble chimney-pieces were supplied by Walker and Emley, a firm based nearby in Pudding Chare.⁴⁶ The total cost of the building and its fittings was £40,000.⁴⁷



Figure 26 Union Club, designed by M.P. Manning, 1877. (Author's photograph).

⁴⁵ Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p27.

⁴⁶ A report of the building was published in *The Builder*, vol.53, 29 October 1887, p615. The article was illustrated with an elevational drawing and a ground plan.

⁴⁷ Kelly, E.R. (ed.) (1879) *Post Office Directory*, p665.



Figure 27 Stained glass window, Union Club, 1877. (Author's photograph).

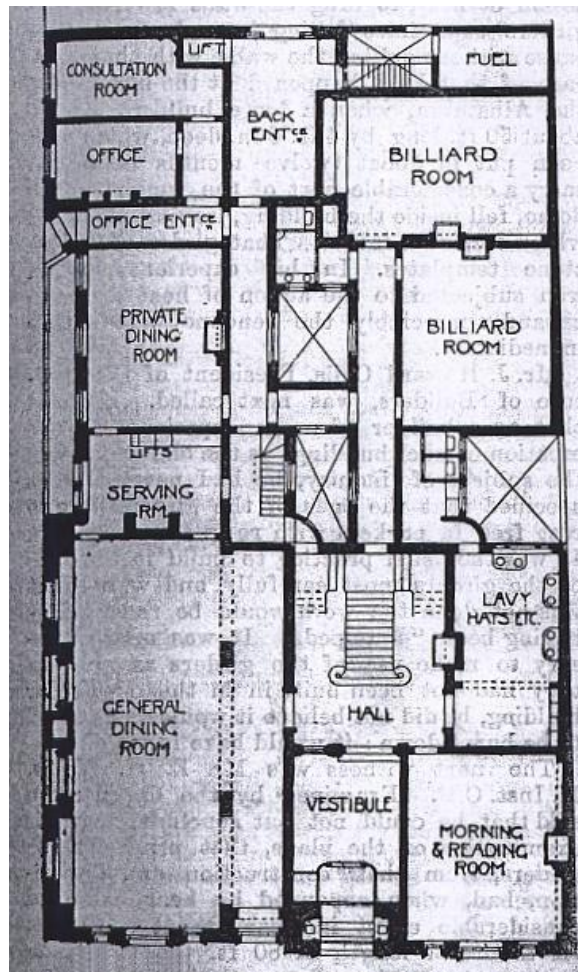


Figure 28 Plan of the Union Club. (*The Builder*, 29 October 1887, p615).

The *Post Office Directory* of 1879 praised the Union Club as 'a very handsome structure built of stone,' but observed that 'its massive stone gables stand out in conspicuous contrast to the venerable outline of St. John's Church.'⁴⁸ In fact, an alternative design in the Gothic style had been produced by Alexander and Henman of Stockton and Middlesbrough [Fig. 6]. As illustrated in the *British Architect* (vol.3, 1875, p68), the building is seen in conjunction with the medieval church of St. John the Baptist, suggesting that the neo-Gothic design was meant to accord with the historic building. The image also depicts the monument to the engineer George Stephenson, but this Grecian statue has been displaced to the margins – the statue stares away blankly, as if oblivious to the upsurge of Gothic ornament behind it. Designed by Gothic specialists, this alternative design attempted to stage a Gothic coup in Newcastle.

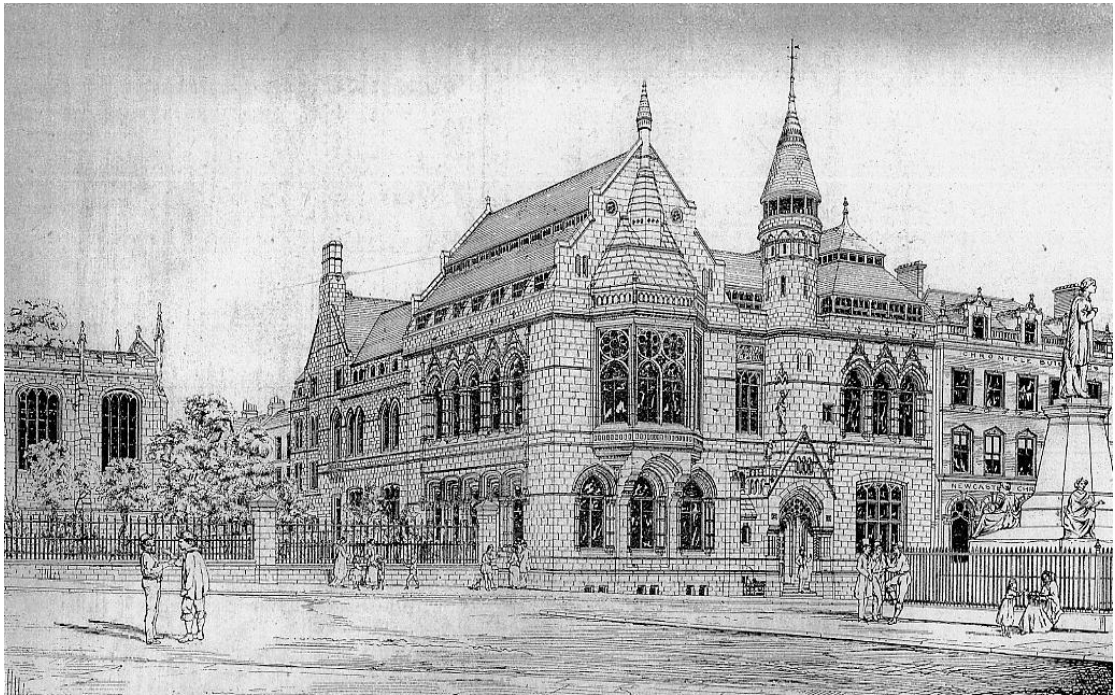


Figure 29 Alexander and Henman's unexecuted design for the Union Club. (*British Architect*, vol.3, 1875, p68).

⁴⁸ Kelly, E.R. (ed.) (1879) *Post Office Directory*, p664.



Figure 30 Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company Offices, designed by John Johnstone 1884-6. (Author's photograph).

The Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company offices (1884-6) dominate a large open site on Grainger Street West.⁴⁹ Designed by John Johnstone, the elevations abound with rounded oriel windows and the roof is clustered with finials, attenuated dormers and the distinctive mansard roofs that were the mainstay of the French Renaissance style [Fig. 7].⁵⁰ Andrew Greg has pointed out that the details, if not the overall form, are derived from the famous château at Chambord, a potent source of influence which James Fergusson had

⁴⁹ This company supplied gas within an 8-10 mile radius of Newcastle. According to the firm that constructed the building, 'The Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company is one of the largest public utility companies in the North of England.' [Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*. London: Edward J. Burrow & Co. for Stephen Easten Ltd., p]. The important building firm of Stephen Easten commissioned a book on the major building projects it had undertaken in Newcastle as a way of advertising the firm. Although the book was published in 1926, it discusses many of the buildings constructed by the firm during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Written by Herbert Jeans, *Modern Building* skilfully weaves Stephen Easten into the history of Newcastle's landmark buildings. The book opens with a celebration of Hadrian's Wall, which seeks to associate Newcastle's modern development with Roman achievements.

⁵⁰ John Johnstone (1814-1884) was born in Kilmarnock. He entered partnership with the Newcastle architect W.H. Knowles in 1855, but soon went into independent practice. He had no professional qualifications, but became president of the Northern Architectural Association in 1875. Obituaries were published in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, 29 September 1884, *Newcastle Journal*, 30 September 1884 and *Building News*, vol.47, 3 October 1884, p536-7. Johnstone is less well known than many of his Newcastle contemporaries, as some of his major buildings have been demolished.

praised as a particularly graceful example of the style.⁵¹ According to *The Builder*, 'The gas company's offices, to the north of the church, make a very picturesque block, with their high roofs and François I dormers and forest of elaborate finials.'⁵²



Figure 31 Postcard showing the junction of Collingwood Street and Neville Street. The Newcastle Chronicle offices are visible on the left. (Newcastle City Library).

In 1869-70 Grainger Street, which originally terminated at the Bigg Market, was extended to provide a direct link between the Central Station and the town centre. This redevelopment coincided with the vogue for the French Renaissance style and the commercial buildings that sprang up at the base of Grainger Street West made flamboyant use of French idioms in order to compete for the attention of visitors arriving at Newcastle. Writing at this time, the *British Architect* gave a revealing account of the visitor's introduction to Newcastle via this important junction:

Arriving at 'canny Newcastle,' and emerging from the Central Railway Station (one of the late John Dobson's largest and best works) . . . the first object that will attract the eyes of a stranger is an extensive new building on the east side of the new street (Grainger Street 'West'). This thoroughfare has been made recently, and leads straight into the heart of the town.⁵³

⁵¹ Greg, A. (1997) 'Newcastle's Victorian Architecture,' p26. For Fergusson's comment see *The Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, p409.

⁵² *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p308.

⁵³ *British Architect*, vol.3, 1 January 1875, p6.

The building referred to was the County Hotel.⁵⁴ Along with the premises of Emley and Son, heating engineers, these buildings formed an unusually strong concentration of French Renaissance buildings at the south entrance to Grainger Street. Reviewing Newcastle's development since the time of Grainger, F.W. Rich said:

The Union Club faces us as we proceed, forming a fine group with the offices of the Newcastle Chronicle, Messrs. Emley's and the offices of the Union Insurance Company. The mention of the offices of the Chronicle remind me of my younger office days about thirty years ago, when this building was designed by my old master – Mr. Parnell, a member of our association.⁵⁵

Exemplifying the eclecticism of the period, the Police Courts on Pilgrim Street (1874, demolished) attempted a fusion of Italian and French Renaissance styles [Fig. 9]. As *The Builder* remarked, 'The general style of the buildings is French-Italian, but the treatment of details is very free.'⁵⁶ An instance of municipal patronage, the Police Courts were designed by John Lamb, property surveyor and Borough Engineer to Newcastle Corporation, at a cost of £17,000. The main block, comprising offices for the chief constable and the Newcastle Water Company, had Italianate elevations that culminated in Renaissance-style dormers resembling those illustrated in the building press. Above this, the roofline was arrayed with French elements, including mansard roofs and an octagonal tower. The jail was connected to the Police Court by a subterranean tunnel, built at the behest of the magistrates 'for the convenient administration of justice, and for the preservation of public order' – the passage allowed prisoners to be moved without taking them onto the streets.⁵⁷ In the interests of decorum, the prisoners' 'airing yard' was politely screened by a sheer wall to which blind windows were added to beautify the outer face. The building was finished with a wrought-iron

⁵⁴ The County Hotel was designed by the Newcastle architect John E. Watson and built by the local contractor Walter Scott, who employed an elevated derrick crane, meaning that no scaffolding was used. This system was frequently used in Newcastle and had the advantage that it allowed the architect to survey the building during construction, and if necessary to revise the details. *The British Architect* was sufficiently impressed with this system to recommend that London architects take it up. The same journal reported that, 'The new building is designed in the Italianate style, and comprises shops on the ground floor, while the upper floors will, we understand, be used as an hotel.' See *British Architect*, vol.3, 1 January 1875, p6.

⁵⁵ Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Presidential Address to the Northern Architectural Association*.

⁵⁶ *Builder*, vol.42, 14 November 1874, p947. It should be noted that the French style was itself influenced by the Italian Renaissance. Fergusson observes that François I^{er} was 'fairly bitten by the Italian mania of the day,' and employed Leonardo Da Vinci, Cellini and Serlio as artistic consultants at Fontainebleau and elsewhere. [Fergusson quoted in *The Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, p409].

⁵⁷ The magistrates contributed £1000 towards the cost of the tunnel, the rest of the money being provided by the Corporation (*British Architect*, vol.3, 22 January 1875). See also Anon. (1887) *A Day in Newcastle and its Jubilee Exhibition*, 1887, p42.

cupola and weather vane, which were decidedly Gothic in outline. The aesthetic programme was supplemented by a didactic use of symbolism: the façade was arrayed with statues of Truth, Peace, Justice and Mercy, propounding the values embodied in the building; the heads of Elizabeth I, Oliver Cromwell and Queen Victoria were also included.

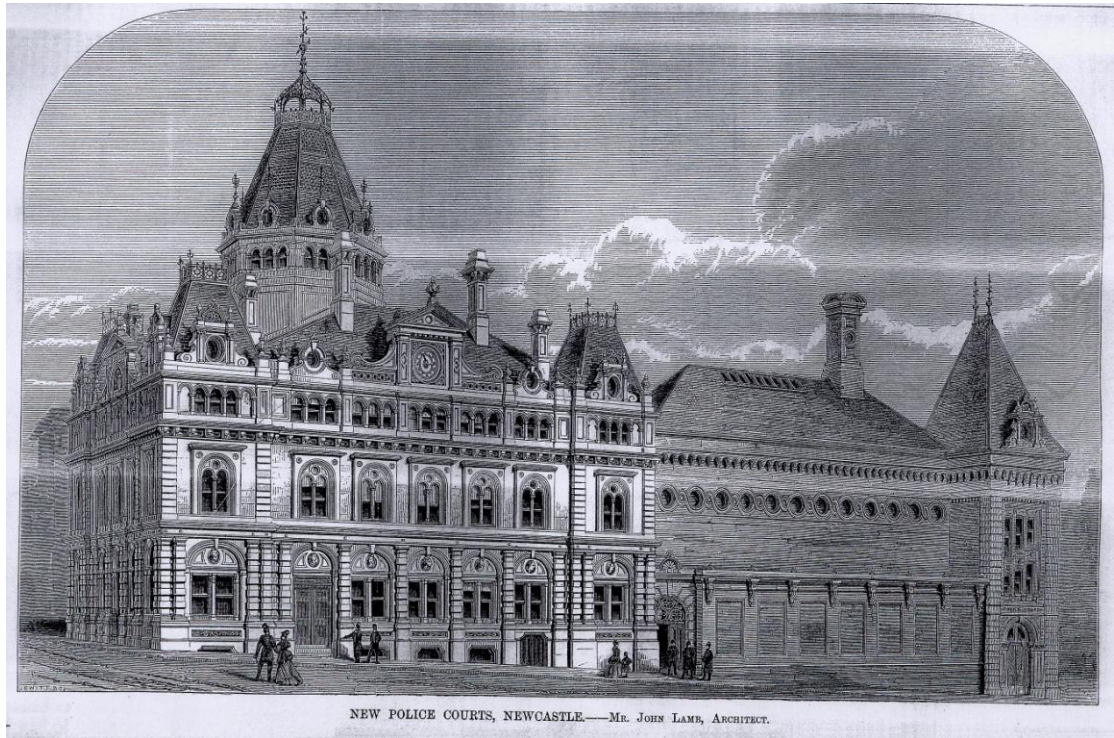


Figure 32 Police Courts by John Lamb. (*The Builder*, 14 November 1874, p949).

It is significant that the French Renaissance style was similar to Gothic in feeling, especially when compared to Italianate styles. Mansard roofs were recognised as a ‘legacy from the Gothic style of France,’ which had, ‘lately become very fashionable in England partly because they express the Gothic tendency to height.’⁵⁸ Fergusson makes this explicit when outlining the development of the French Renaissance style: ‘Soon there followed a group of palaces and châteaux that have all the play of plan and outline belonging to Gothic buildings, combined with refined Renaissance details.’⁵⁹ As it did not contrast dramatically with the Tyneside Classical tradition, it is likely that Newcastle architects used the French Renaissance style as a substitute for Gothic in their secular work.

Newcastle’s use of French Renaissance models seems to anticipate the city’s role as a stronghold of the newly-emerging Queen Anne – both styles combine the forms of

⁵⁸ Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p240.

⁵⁹ James Fergusson quoted in *The Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, p409.

Classicism with the informality and flamboyance of Gothic.⁶⁰ Fergusson's comments sound remarkably similar to the statements used to justify the Queen Anne style. J.J. Stevenson, for example, wrote that 'The peculiarity of the present movement is that the upholders of this form of Classic [i.e. Queen Anne] are the same men who have hitherto been the devotees of Gothic.'⁶¹ Queen Anne was a newly fashionable style that spread out from London. Queen Anne grew out of the Gothic Revival but expressed a yearning for a light and informal architecture free of the dogma that characterised much of the Gothic work executed prior to 1870. The term 'Queen Anne' was applied to styles that had been prevalent not only during the actual reign of Queen Anne (1702-14), but throughout the early eighteenth-century. The Queen Anne Revival, therefore, consisted of free combination of English Renaissance elements. The style became a mainstay of the Aesthetic Movement, flourishing in middle-class houses where its light-hearted nature matched the new taste for beauty uncomplicated by moral precepts or theology.

Stevenson helped to legitimise Queen Anne with a paper entitled 'On the Recent Reaction of Taste in English Architecture' (1874). With so many young architects growing dissatisfied with Gothic, Stevenson was unsurprised that a new composite style had emerged: 'The springing up of a taste for some form of free Classic architecture is therefore not unnatural, but was to be expected in those who had drunk deeply of Gothic; and the form of free Classic which thus arose was naturally determined by local additions.'⁶² Eager to move beyond the crippling 'Battle of the Styles' controversy, Stevenson offered Queen Anne as a compromise, one that grew out of English vernacular traditions: 'Both those who favour the reaction and those opposed to it admit that Queen Anne architecture violates classic rules; and that it is of native growth as much as Gothic is.'⁶³

A pioneer of the Queen Anne movement, Stevenson collaborated with the Newcastle architect R.J. Johnson on the Tyne Improvement Commissioners building on Bewick Street (1882-4). The Tyne Commissioners played a vital role in Newcastle's economy, ensuring that

⁶⁰ For an overview of the Queen Anne style, see Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*.

⁶¹ Stevenson observed that 'there has been recently in England a reaction of taste against Gothic architecture towards what is commonly called Queen Anne architecture, a name which, though inadequate and unsatisfactory, is sufficiently intelligible.' However, he later wrote, 'It is an abuse of words to call all these styles "Queen Anne." The term "Free Classic" or, if it is not barbarism, "Re-renaissance," would more correctly designate the movement.' [Stevenson, J.J. 'Recent Re-Action of Taste', *The Builder*, vol.41, 27 June 1874, pp539-540].

⁶² Ibid., p540.

⁶³ Ibid., p539.

the Tyne remained navigable, which in turn permitted shipbuilding and the transportation of coal.⁶⁴ In 1882 the Commissioners erected a building indicative of their status [Fig. 10]. The office was built in two stages. Johnson and Stevenson's original building, comprising the first two storeys, resembled an Italian palazzo.⁶⁵ In deference to neighbouring Clayton Street, the building was not executed in the usual Queen Anne materials of red brick and terracotta, but in the local Prudham stone of the Grainger development. It is typical of Johnson, an antiquarian by nature, that the style is very close to Georgian prototypes. *The Builder* commented:

It is a rectangular block of Renaissance character, with a rusticated ground story [sic] and a good cornice over the first floor, the three middle windows of which are deeply recessed and circular-headed, while those in the wings are square. It is all good work, but what gives the building character especially is probably the treatment of the attic to the wings, which is ornamented with large shields and coats of arms on the angles and between the windows.⁶⁶

The second stage in construction occurred in 1912-4: 'Owing to the increase of the work of the Commission, it became necessary to provide additional accommodation and it was decided to add two storeys above the main cornice, replacing the attic and mansard roof.'⁶⁷ Two further storeys and an attic were added by W.H. Wood, who employed the French Renaissance style he had practised during his partnership with Oliver and Leeson.⁶⁸ This process demanded internal modifications. Platforms of concrete and steel were inserted below the basement floor, and steel columns were taken up through the ground and first floors. In this way, the new floors were added without putting extra weight on the original foundations. The business of the offices was not interrupted during construction. The recessed central bays were emphasised with a delicate colonnade and mansard roof. Wood

⁶⁴ The activities of the Tyne Improvement Commission are discussed in Chapter 7 in connection with Sir W.H. Stephenson's involvement.

⁶⁵ For an account of the first stage in construction see *The Builder*, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353.

⁶⁶ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p308.

⁶⁷ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p14.

⁶⁸ W.H. Wood (1861-1941) was articled to the Durham architect C.H. Fowler from 1874, becoming Fowler's assistant in 1879. In 1885 Wood became Head Assistant in the firm of Oliver and Leeson and was made a partner in 1898. He took over the practice of C.H. Fowler in 1911. A large collection of Wood's business papers survives in the Tyne and Wear Archives. [TWAS 52/1/1-108]. Thomas Oliver Junior (1824-1911) was the son of Thomas Oliver (1791-1857), the prominent Newcastle architect and cartographer. He began practice initially in Sunderland in 1857. Upon moving to Newcastle, he joined with Richard John Leeson in 1874 and formed one of the largest and most successful architectural firms in the North East. During the 1860s, Oliver was a councillor for St. Andrew's and All Saints' wards, speaking on sanitary matters, and published books on sanitation. See *The Builder*, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452. Leeson's obituary was printed in *The Builder*, vol.108, 16 January 1915, p85.

repositioned the decorative cartouches that display the arms of the constituent authorities.⁶⁹ According to the firm that carried out the extension, 'The whole building is well-proportioned, the charming colonnade on the first floor adding greatly to the architectural effect.'⁷⁰



Figure 33 Tyne Improvement Commissioners Building, R.J. Johnson and J.J. Stevenson, 1884, with additional storeys by W.H. Wood, 1912-4. (Author's photograph).

The diversification of styles during the late Victorian period depended on improvements in communication and rail travel and the emergence of a sophisticated print culture. Newcastle possessed an unusually high number of newspapers, which reported on the latest London fashions. Newcastle's place at the centre of the coal trade provided links with London that helped undermine its geographical remoteness, while the wealth generated from coal was spent on public and private buildings. Railways allowed the swift transportation of building stones, which in turn enriched the colour palate of Newcastle's post-1870

⁶⁹ Wood's plans for the additions are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives. [TWAS – DT.WO/7/2-3].

⁷⁰ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p14.

buildings. The spread of a specialised architectural press had a seismic impact on the profession, and was a major factor in undermining any trace of parochialism.⁷¹ A proliferation of architectural journals such as the *Builder*, *Building News* and *British Architect* publicised the latest trends and facilitated debate between architects. Since they were copiously illustrated, journals were an accessible source of inspiration, particularly for architects located in the provinces. Their role in disseminating styles was critical. For example, an architect signing himself 'An Ex-Goth' informed the *British Architect* that for several years he had been compiling a portfolio of illustrations taken from architectural journals. He predicted that 'the publication of good examples of Free Classic will turn the tide of taste and seal its fate.'⁷² Journals also disseminated new technologies and materials. For example, important firms such as Burmantoft's used journals to advertise their products [Fig. 11].



Figure 34 Advertisement for Burmantoft's faience. (*Building News*, 22 November 1895, p766).

Journals actively participated in the business of architecture. They acted as a forum in which key issues could be discussed. A favourable write-up could boost architects' fortunes and lead to high-profile commissions. It is difficult to determine how widely journals were read by Newcastle architects, but the firm of Emley and Son, heating engineers, donated 'a number of bound volumes of the building papers' to the Northern Architectural

⁷¹ Rail, telegraphy and postal services altered perceptions of community. Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p21.

⁷² Letter from 'An Ex-Goth' published in the *British Architect*, vol.3, April 1875.

Association in 1895.⁷³ The importance of journals was confirmed by the remarks of J.H.

Morton, President of the Northern Architectural Association:

We need publicity so that our views and objects may reach the minds and touch the sympathies of those beyond our immediate circle, and publicity is of the highest value to us, as a means of making our vitality and activity known to kindred associations at home and abroad. In achieving this, our friends of the press are indispensable.⁷⁴

These remarks hint at the changes that were occurring within the profession, particularly the drive to bring Britain's architects into unified and concerted action. Newcastle architects, then, faced something of a dilemma, one that was characteristic of provincial architecture in this period. They were obliged to satisfy the tastes of local patrons enamoured of Dobsonian Classicism, but they also felt the need to engage with national architectural debates.⁷⁵ In utilising various Renaissance styles, it seems that Newcastle architects were searching for a style that would represent some sort of logical continuation of the Grainger scheme, but would at the same time satisfy more mainstream, national tastes for variety and novelty. The French Renaissance and Queen Anne styles both fulfilled this role, and that is why each achieved a strong presence in Newcastle.

Representing the city

Having provided an overview of architectural taste in Newcastle, it is important to consider how architecture was deployed by Newcastle's dominant social groups. How was architectural style used to represent the city? Newcastle experienced rapid growth during the Industrial Revolution, the population rising from 28,000 to 215,000 during the 19th century.⁷⁶ However, Newcastle occupied a privileged position. Presiding over an industrial region, but boasting an elegant urban centre, Newcastle was an important site of commerce and consumption and came to be perceived as a regional capital.⁷⁷ Addressing the question of

⁷³ Northern Architectural Association, *Annual Report*, 1895.

⁷⁴ Morton, J.H. (1893) *Presidential Address to the Northern Architectural Association*.

⁷⁵ Interest in Dobson was revived by the publication of a tribute by his daughter. See Dobson, M.J. (1886) *Memoir of John Dobson MRIBA of Newcastle-on-Tyne*. London: Hamilton Adams & Co. The book was favourably reviewed in *Building News*, vol.50, 19 March 1886, p452.

⁷⁶ See Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*. Chichester: Phillimore.

⁷⁷ Newcastle had been an important administrative centre since the Middle Ages. In 1530 a royal act decreed that coal mined in Northumberland could only be shipped from Newcastle, which severely disadvantaged neighbouring towns such as South Shields and Gateshead. The town grew in architectural sophistication from the eighteenth century onwards. By 1850 Newcastle had become the main point of export for all the coal mined on the Northumberland coal field. For an account of Newcastle's early development see Middlebrook, S.

North East regional identity, Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster re-work Benedict Anderson's assertion that regions are 'imagined communities', bound by shared histories, myths, traditions and popular culture.⁷⁸ They date the formation of the North East's modern identity to the 1860s and the massive escalation of industrial activity, which generated the familiar images of mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering. Colls writes, 'The later nineteenth century saw the birth of a distinctive regional identity, and this identity was accompanied by momentous developments in industry, communications, population growth and urban living.'⁷⁹ Formulations of cultural identity such as regionalism can be understood as a fluctuating complex of beliefs and practices in which, as this thesis demonstrates, architecture plays a significant part. Because of their physical presence, buildings can naturalise the authority of dominant social groups and actuate power relations by setting out spatial boundaries.



Figure 35 Neville Hall, designed by A.M. Dunn, 1869-72. The Literary and Philosophical Society is visible on the left. (Author's photograph).

(1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement*. Newcastle: Newcastle Chronicle and Journal Limited.

⁷⁸ This is a quotation from the title of Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

⁷⁹ Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (1992) *Geordies: Roots of Regionalism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p3.

In this context, a highly significant building is Neville Hall (1869-72). Responding to an explosion at Seaham Colliery, local coal barons and other prominent members of the mining industry convened at the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1852 with a view to forming a society 'for the prevention of accidents and for other problems connected with mining.'⁸⁰ The North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers was founded in 1866, with the colliery viewer Nicholas Wood serving as its first President. Robert Stephenson, the renowned engineer, bequeathed £2000 towards the building of a permanent home for the Institute. A site adjacent to the Literary and Philosophical Society was purchased in 1867 and building commenced in 1869. Designed by Archibald Matthias Dunn (1832-1917), Neville Hall is a rare example of High Victorian Gothic in Newcastle [Fig. 12]. The building presents two faces, each of three main bays, pivoted around a polygonal turret, with a Venetian balcony projecting from the north front and a wide gable thrusting out at the west. The three storeys are treated as separate compositional elements and the attic storey is arrayed with miniature Gothic dormers. Illustrated in the *Building News*, the 'muscular' design was received as an appropriate image for the masculine domain of mining.⁸¹ The Venetian Gothic style had great currency throughout the industrial north, due largely to the influence of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851-3), but in Newcastle there is a notable scarcity of secular Gothic buildings.⁸² Neville Hall was therefore something of an aberration and makes a violent, probably deliberate contrast with the sedate Classicism of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The architect has signalled his commitment to Gothic as a style appropriate for grand street architecture. However, the stylistic discrepancy belies the close connections that existed between the Literary and Philosophical Society and the Mining Institute. In fact, these institutions were inextricably linked and shared many of the same members.⁸³ As well as being an eminent engineer, Robert Stephenson was the President of the Literary and Philosophical Society from 1855 to 1860. He was succeeded in this office by

⁸⁰ Harding, J.T. 'A Short History of the Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers' in *The Mining Engineer*, February, 1989. The Literary and Philosophical Society stood at the centre of Newcastle's intellectual culture, but its membership included many of Tyneside's leading industrialists. This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁸¹ This epithet was frequently applied by the building press to High Victorian Gothic buildings, such as those of Butterfield and Street, which were marked by their bold massing and strident use of polychromy. High Victorian Gothic expressed the self-confidence of the world's first industrialised society. For a discussion of High Victorian Gothic, see Muthesius, S. (1972) *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture, 1850-1870*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁸² Edward Saloman's Reform Club in Manchester (1870-1) is an example of Venetian influence on Northern commercial architecture.

⁸³ The two libraries are connected by a subterranean tunnel, which facilitated interaction between them. See Harding, J.T. 'A Short History of the Institute' in *The Mining Engineer*, February, 1989.

the engineer Sir W.G. Armstrong, whose tenure lasted until 1900. Armstrong also served as President of the Mining Institute from 1872 to 1875. The continued cooperation between the two institutions demonstrates how closely the industrial, commercial and cultural spheres corresponded in Victorian Newcastle.

The building of Neville Hall defined Newcastle as the epicentre of the coal trade, the dominant industry of North East England. It is paradoxical that a building so integral to Newcastle's economy has such a discordant relationship with the city's architectural core. The reasons for this are complex but revealing. Firstly, the choice of architect can largely be explained by nepotism. Dunn's father, Matthias Dunn (c.1789-1869) was a prominent figure in the history of mining and one of the first government Inspectors of Mines. As a founding member of the Institute he was instrumental in securing the prestigious commission for his son.⁸⁴ Matthias Dunn was also a Catholic layman and his son was educated at the Catholic colleges of Ushaw and Stonyhurst. Aesthetically and theologically Dunn was a disciple of Pugin and was committed to Gothic as a moral principle. This accounts for the conviction with which he used the Gothic style, even to the point of upstaging Neville Hall's Classical counterpart, the Literary and Philosophical Society.⁸⁵ However, the Venetian inflections betray other influences. Dunn was among the legion of young architects whom Ruskin inspired to tour the continent, and he spent his time sketching examples of French and Italian architecture. In 1859 he read a paper to the Northern Architectural Association entitled 'Notes on Continental Architecture,' which he illustrated with sketches from his travels. Some of these sketches were subsequently published in Dunn's book, *Notes and Sketches of an Architect* (1886) [Fig. 13].⁸⁶ The Venetian Gothic style had the loquacious support of Ruskin, to whom the separate compositional layers were evocative of geological strata. Arguably, this made the style symbolically appropriate for a Mining Institute, a body concerned with delving into the earth. Similarly, the Venetian Gothic style had been fused with an encyclopaedic

⁸⁴ Dunn's connection with the mining industry also led to commissions for the Hartley Memorial at Earsdon, Northumberland (built to commemorate the miners who died in the colliery disaster of 1854), and the George Stephenson Memorial School at Willington Quay. When he received the Neville Hall commission, Dunn's reputation rested on executed designs for St. Nicholas' Cemetery in Newcastle, for which he won a competition, and a Roman Catholic church in Blackhill, County Durham. See Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*.

⁸⁵ Dunn's designs date from 1867. It was initially planned to build in brick, but the specification was changed to more expensive Prudham stone to ensure that the building did not appear to be the poor relation of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

⁸⁶ See Dunn, A.M. (1886) *Notes and Sketches of an Architect, A Collection of Sketches Made in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain etc. and also in Eastern Countries*. London: B.T. Batsford.

knowledge of geology at the Oxford Museum of Natural History (1855-60), a much publicised project that was supervised by Ruskin.

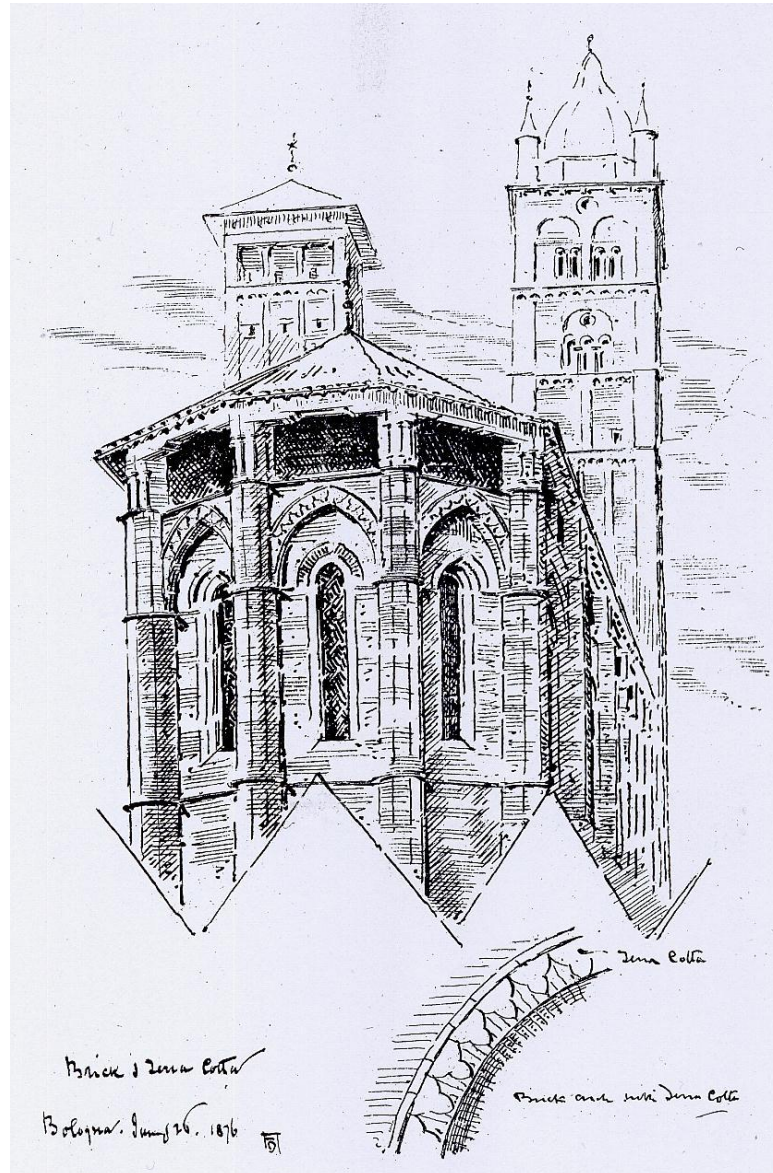


Figure 36 A page from A.M. Dunn's *Notes and Sketches of an Architect*, showing his sketch of a church in Bologna dated 26 January 1876.

As architectural patrons, it was the members of the Mining Institute who ultimately sanctioned this Gothic statement. Gothic could give individuals or institutions a spurious pedigree by evoking historical lineage. Neville Hall is infused with heraldic devices – the Neville crest is displayed above the door and monograms of the key members are appended

to the structural supports.⁸⁷ The library of the institute is known as the 'Wood Memorial Hall.' Nicholas Wood (1795-1865) was born near Ryton in Northumberland. He gained experience of mine engineering at Killingworth Colliery under George Stephenson, and assisted Stephenson in the development of his safety lamp and the construction of the Stockton to Darlington railway. In 1844 Wood became manager of Hetton Colliery in County Durham. Over the next two decades he became the pre-eminent colliery engineer on the northern coalfield and in 1862 he was elected first President of the Institute. Wood was a supporter of education for the working classes and built several schools in mining villages across County Durham. He was among a number of eminent men who encouraged Durham University to establish a College of Science in Newcastle, which eventually became Newcastle University. The Wood Memorial Hall is dominated by a shrine-like monument to Wood, with a pristine statue sculpted by Edward William Wyon (1811-85). Significantly, the figure is seated beneath a Gothic canopy.⁸⁸ The profusion of heraldic devices seems to conflict with the popular image of the proud, self-made men who dominated the region's coal trade, portraying them instead as the inheritors of wealth and status. Given that several founders of the Mining Institute were also members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, it is apparent that they were cultivating a group persona as gentlemen and intellectuals. Neville Hall promotes an image of historical continuity that was intended to challenge the common perception of the industrial nouveaux riches.

The North East was alternatively figured with reference to its military and monastic architecture. Both the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle visited ancient and medieval buildings such as Brinkburn Priory and Hexham Abbey in Northumberland, generating a body of research, sketches, measured drawings and photographs which were circulated among the societies and frequently disseminated via the national building press.⁸⁹ Together, these

⁸⁷ Heraldry was a consistent element of Dunn's work. For example, he used the Newcastle coat of arms and sea horse motifs at St. Nicholas's Cemetery, Wingrove Avenue, Newcastle (1855-8). See *The Builder*, vol.13, 12 May 1855, p225.

⁸⁸ To prove that the style was not merely a whim of the architect or sculptor, Wood's tomb at Hetton, County Durham, is another essay in Gothic, although it is considerably more modest than the Neville Hall effigy.

⁸⁹ For example, the architect and antiquarian Thomas Austin published, *The Priory Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Brenkburn in Northumberland: Twelve oblong plates measured and drawn by T. Austin*, 1857. Austin was among the founders of the Northern Architectural Association and was also a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. Austin's partner R.J. Johnson was also active in this field, publishing 'Some Account of the Priory Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Brenkburn in Northumberland' in *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland*, 1870, pp103-109.

initiatives helped to form an alternative image for Newcastle, which the *Building News* reinforced in 1890 when it published a series of articles based on *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*, a twenty volume study by W.H. Knowles and J.R. Boyle [Fig. 14].⁹⁰ A slightly more eccentric group styling themselves the 'New Northumbrians' consciously avoided urbanity, which suggests that Newcastle's rapid industrialisation was a source of anxiety for some.⁹¹

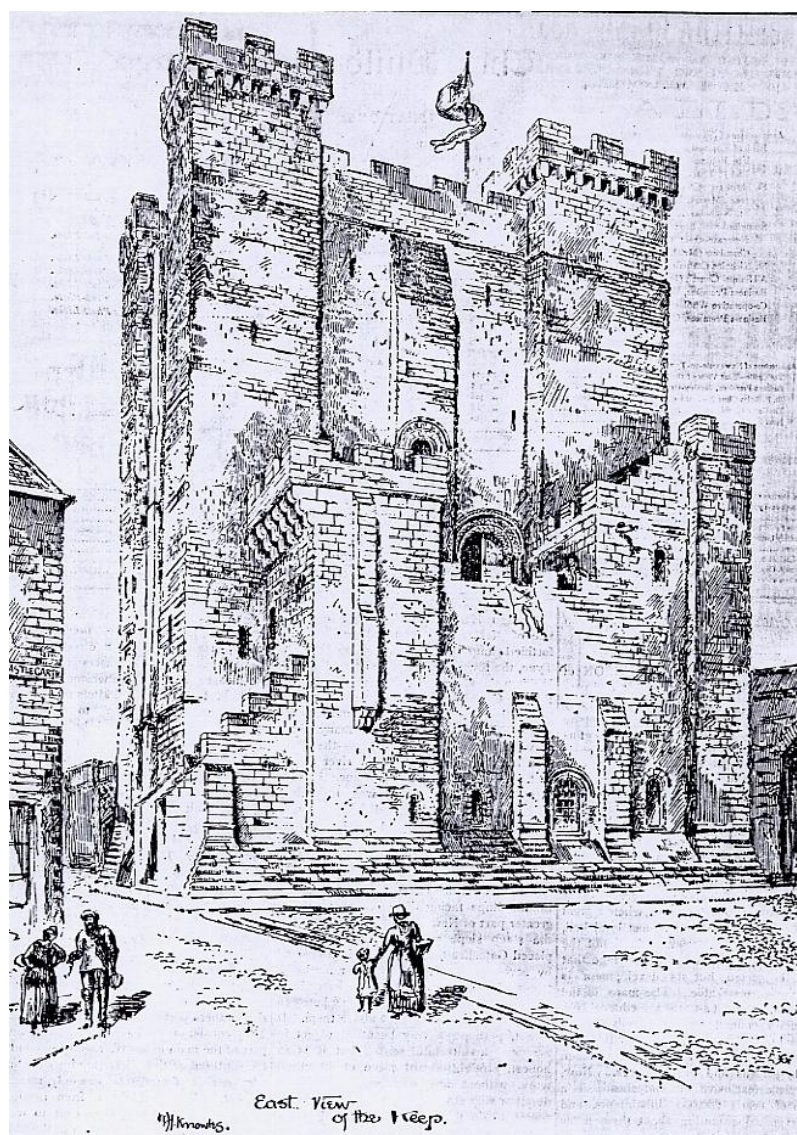


Figure 37 Sketch of the Castle Keep by W.H. Knowles. (*The Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307).

⁹⁰ See J.R. Boyle and W.H. Knowles (1890) *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead*. Newcastle: Andrew Reid. This well-illustrated series focussed on Newcastle's surviving medieval fabric, and featured sketches and historical notes. The series was reviewed in *The Builder*, vol.53, 17 December 1887, p863 and the *Building News*, vol.59, 3 October 1890, p458.

⁹¹ An antiquarian movement, the New Northumbrians sought to reconstruct an imagined vision of historic Northumberland by studying the ruins of its medieval architecture. See Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (1992) *Geordies: Roots of Regionalism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.



Figure 38 *In the Nineteenth Century the Northumbrians Show the World What Can Be Done With Iron and Coal*, by William Bell Scott, 1861. (www.usp.nus.edu.sg).

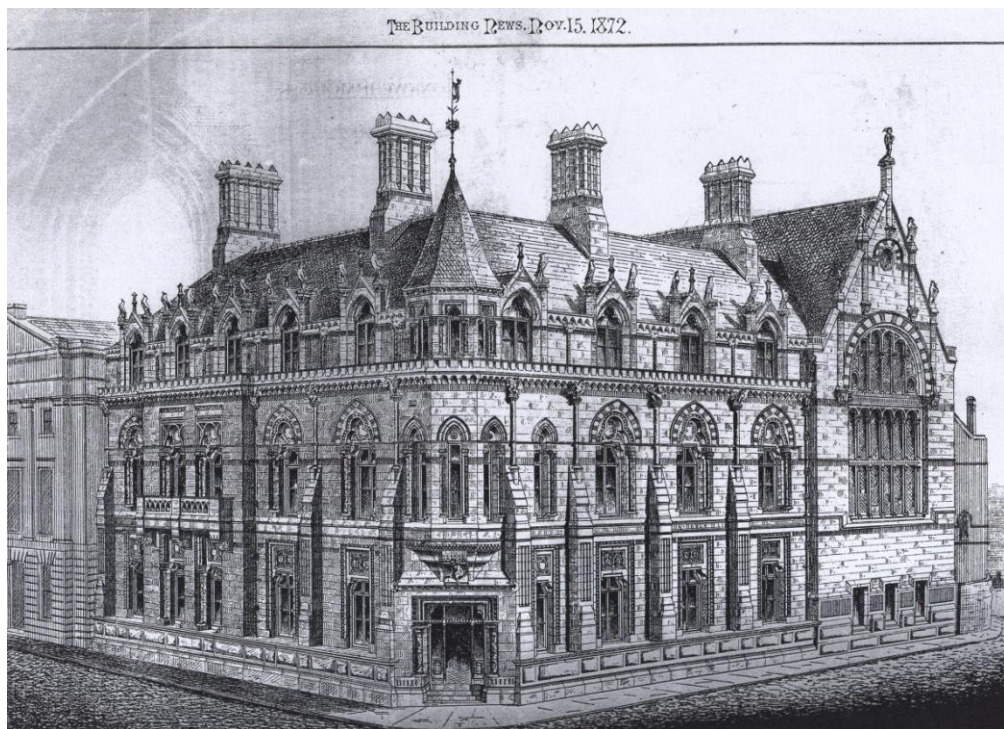


Figure 39 Dunn's drawing of Neville Hall. (*Building News*, vol.20, 15 November 1872).

If one accepts that North East regional identity was forged from industrial myths, it can be argued that the North East was personified by the image of the male worker labouring in industrial Tyneside. The exchange of such images reached a peak in the 1860s, corroborating Colls and Lancaster's periodisation. William Bell Scott's *Iron and Coal* (1861) presents a harsh, heroic and to some extent imaginary view of Newcastle quayside, in which the male worker figures prominently [Fig. 15].⁹² This is a scene of furious energy, rendered with a Pre-Raphaelite attention to detail. Vaulting over the river, Robert Stephenson's High Level Bridge stands as a monument to Tyneside industry. In the same decade, Newcastle honoured the industrial pioneer George Stephenson with a statue that recasts him as an intellectual and visionary. This shift was accomplished rather disingenuously by draping a voluminous scarf over the figure's Victorian attire in order to simulate a toga. Allegorical figures recline on the stone base alongside emblems of the industries to which Stephenson contributed.⁹³ The sculpture thus maintains the equation of Greek antiquity and intellectual achievement that was expressed by the Literary and Philosophical Society. This is the spatial context into which Neville Hall entered, and the building deliberately engaged with this imagery. A contemporary illustration in the *Building News* reveals that a great concentration of sculpture was originally massed along the roofline, including Dunn's leitmotif of mythical creatures [Fig. 16].⁹⁴ The gable of the Wood Memorial Hall formed an elevated pedestal for a statue of a miner. Once again, the image of the heroic working man was promoted as a symbol of the city, but significantly the lone miner stood in the benevolent gaze of Stephenson's statue, clutching a Stephenson Safety Lamp. The image suggested that the heroic worker was supported by the ingenuity and benevolence of Stephenson and his colleagues.⁹⁵

⁹² *Iron and Coal* was part of a series of paintings commissioned by the Trevelyan family, an aristocratic family residing at Wallington Hall, Northumberland. The Trevelyan family were guided in their tastes by Ruskin. William Bell Scott (1811-90) was headmaster of the Newcastle School of Art (1842-63), and introduced its President, the Newcastle collector James Leathart, to Pre-Raphaelite works. See Atkins, E.M. 'The Genesis of the Laing Art Gallery' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p203. Bell Scott is discussed in relation to Northumbrian identity in Usherwood, P. et al. (2000) *Public Sculpture of North East England*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

⁹³ These emblems include a steam engine, an anvil, a Stephenson Safety Lamp and mathematical implements.

⁹⁴ *Building News*, vol.20, 15 November 1872. The sculpture has since been removed for reasons of safety.

⁹⁵ Many Newcastle worthies propounded the edict of self-improvement through their patronage of cultural institutions. Paul Usherwood has observed that Stephenson was perceived as an inspiring example of the self-made man. [Usherwood, P. et al. (2000) *Public Sculpture*, pp149-152]. This is certainly the portrayal given in Samuel Smiles's *Life of George Stephenson, Railway Engineer* (1857).

A cultural oligarchy

Newcastle architecture was dominated by the legacy of Tyneside Classicism, which was frequently transmuted into Italian and French Renaissance styles as the period progressed. Architects and patrons continued to admire Grainger and invoked his remodelling of the city in order to justify their own building projects. This remarkably unified approach to architecture was underpinned by a cultural oligarchy in which architects and patrons participated. This section traces some of the patterns of architectural patronage that shaped the city. Newcastle underwent major industrial expansion from the 1860s until the end of the century. Factories, shipyards and engineering works sprang up, along with utilitarian terraced housing. The middle classes, made up of industrialists and professional men, were building extensively. Private houses and places of business were erected, and wealthy patrons began to fund public buildings. Newcastle was dominated by industrial capitalists such as the engineer and armaments manufacturer Lord Armstrong and the shipbuilders William Milburn and Charles Mitchell, each of whom had a vested interest in projecting a positive image for the city. Through their business endeavours, architectural patronage and skilful self-promotion this select group represented Newcastle to the world.⁹⁶ After his death in 1900, for example, *The Times* described Lord Armstrong as 'one of those eminent citizens who, from a private station, exercise an influence over national life deeper and more far-reaching than is wielded, save in rare and exceptional circumstances, by the politicians who engross public attention.'⁹⁷ The obituary went on to say that 'It is largely by such men that the Empire has been made and defended.'⁹⁸ Armstrong's influence on Newcastle was no less profound.

Newcastle depended on such figures during the period under study. Local government was notoriously sluggish with regard to civic improvement and the provision of amenities. The Council was reluctant to risk alienating the exclusively middle class electorate by raising rates.⁹⁹ The building of the first free library in 1878-80 was the culmination of tortuous debates that had gone on since the passing of the Public Libraries Act of 1850.

⁹⁶ For example, Armstrong's shipyard supplied the Italian navy with the cruiser Piemonte in 1888, and sold a 3000 ton cruiser to the Chilean government in 1892, which helped to spread Newcastle's high reputation as a shipbuilding town. In 1889 Lord Armstrong entertained the visiting Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar, Shah of Persia, at Crag-side, his romantic country mansion designed by Norman Shaw. He then conducted the Shah around the Elswick Works (see *The Times*, 3 July 1889, p11).

⁹⁷ *The Times*, 28 December 1900, p7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p7

⁹⁹ See Callcott, M. 'The Governance of the Victorian City' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History*. Chichester: Phillimore, pp71-92.

Many councillors objected to the idea on the grounds that the ratepayers were already overtaxed, and constant wrangles over the site caused further delays. Adequate library provision was only achieved thanks to a long campaign by the local doctor William Newton and W.E. Adams, editor of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. A site on New Bridge Street was finally selected and the library was designed by Alfred M. Fowler [Fig. 17].¹⁰⁰ According to *The Builder*, 'The Public Library in Bridge Street is a very ornate stone building with a long front in Modern Renaissance style, with a projecting portico and a raised centre consisting of a caryatid order supporting a pediment.'¹⁰¹

Newcastle was also deficient in venues for the visual arts. The city was almost unique in having no civic art gallery and Britain's major cities had established galleries much earlier: Liverpool (1877), Manchester (1882), Sheffield (1887), Leeds (1888). The reasons for Newcastle's hesitance are complex. E.M. Atkins argues that a municipal art gallery, with its elitist connotations, ran counter to the Radical Liberalist values espoused by the city's leaders and postponed the building of a gallery until the end of the century, when increasing working class insurrection obliged them to reassert their power.¹⁰² Atkin's also identifies a certain ambivalence towards high art among Newcastle's population.¹⁰³ Alderman William Haswell Stephenson, a great believer in self-improvement, convinced the Council to open a subscription fund. In this he was supported by William Newton's son, Alderman Henry Newton, a Newcastle doctor who continued his father's campaign for the establishment of a Free Library.¹⁰⁴ A committee comprising W.G. Armstrong, Sir Benjamin C. Browne, Joseph Cowen, Earl Grey and Sir James Joicey was formed in 1899 to support a public subscription

¹⁰⁰ Building on this site necessitated the destruction of Carliol Tower, a remnant of Newcastle's medieval fortifications. This provoked a storm of protest from the Northern Architectural Association and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. William Morris himself was drawn into the debate, denouncing the proposed demolition, though few Newcastle councillors welcomed his intervention. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 16 October 1878]. Carliol Tower had been substantially rebuilt during the nineteenth century and J.C. Bruce declared it unworthy of retention. The Lords of the Treasury dispatched their commissioner E.J. Smith to hold a public enquiry on 18 April 1879, but the Treasury decided that 'the retention or removal of the Carliol Tower was a purely local question.' [*The Builder*, vol.43, 30 August 1884, p306]. The tower was eventually demolished on 20 May 1880 'to make way for a building more in keeping with the progress of the times.' [*The Builder*, vol.43, 30 August 1884, p306].

¹⁰¹ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p310.

¹⁰² Atkins, E.M. 'The Genesis of the Laing Art Gallery' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p196.

¹⁰³ Atkins argues that the Corporation equivocated in its attitude to art, unable to decide upon the 'high art paradigm' or the popular local culture already established. Compounding this problem was the fact that the local press supported local artists over and above London-based or avant-garde figures. [*Ibid.*, pp196-7].

¹⁰⁴ Newton offered the site on Higham Place, but later changed his mind, feeling that the location lacked the necessary prominence. See *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 7 February 1900, 2 May 1900 and 10 October 1900.

for a new art gallery.¹⁰⁵ However, only £1,200 had been raised after four months.¹⁰⁶ This situation was finally resolved by the wine and spirit merchant Alexander Laing (1828-1905), who donated £20,000 for civic improvements as a gift to the city for the commercial prosperity it had given him.¹⁰⁷ Mayor George Harkus directed this sum into the art gallery subscription fund, arguing that 'Such an institution had for a long time been a felt want.'¹⁰⁸

A site next to the Free Library was selected and Cackett and Burns Dick were commissioned to draw up plans. The Laing Art Gallery (1901-4) is suffused with sculpture [Fig. 17]. The tower is an excellent composition, with an open octagonal lantern.¹⁰⁹ Edwardian architecture frequently sought to unify the arts of architecture, painting and sculpture into one overpowering, sensuous mass: the tower features a bas-relief depicting a procession of female figures reminiscent of the work of Burne-Jones and Sir Frederick Leighton.¹¹⁰

Built by private patronage, the Laing Art Gallery was analogous to the Whitworth and Walker Galleries in Manchester and Liverpool respectively, except that it was built much later. The use of the Baroque style popular around the turn of the century emphasises this anachronism. As Laing was not an art collector the gallery opened without a permanent collection. The first exhibition was made up of loans and newly-commissioned works, including portraits of Laing and Dr. Henry Newton, who had promoted the gallery as well as the adjacent library.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the conjunction of these two institutions and their proximity to the neo-Greek house of John Dobson at No. 15 New Bridge Street and the headquarters of the Northern Architectural Association at No. 6 Higham Place formed a minor cultural sector at this intersection.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Benjamin C. Browne was Mayor of Newcastle in 1886. He worked with Lord Armstrong to develop the South Benwell Estate. Joseph Cowen was an MP and newspaper proprietor. James Joicey was a Liberal MP. These figures are discussed at greater length in Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶ *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 13 October 1899.

¹⁰⁷ Born in Forfarshire, Laing moved to Newcastle in 1849 and achieved success as a wine and spirit merchant. This is another case of a private individual taking on a role that local government might be expected to fulfil. Newcastle had been almost unique in having no civic art gallery. The laying of the foundation stone is discussed in a letter from Alexander Laing to Lord Armstrong dated 8 August 1901 [TWAS - DF/A/18]. The opening of the building was reported in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 15 October 1904, p12

¹⁰⁸ *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 13 October 1899.

¹⁰⁹ According to Service, the towers of Wren's city churches inspired Edwardian architects to design towers for public buildings. Service suggests that 'this development may even be viewed as a desire to symbolize the substitution of local government for church authority as the most important influence in the life of a town.' [Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p146].

¹¹⁰ The interior utilises Frosterley marble, a carboniferous limestone from the village of Frosterley in County Durham. Used extensively in Durham Cathedral, Frosterley marble has a deep resonance in the North East.

¹¹¹ Millard, J. (1991) *Exhibitions in and Around Newcastle, 1863-1930s*. Newcastle: Newcastle City Library.



Figure 40 Free Library and Laing Art Gallery c.1939. (Anon. [1939] *A Souvenir of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Valentine & Sons). The library was demolished in 1968 to make way for John Dobson Street.

The amenities provided by wealthy philanthropists did much to ameliorate social hardship and quickly became emblems of civic pride. Yet they also served as mechanisms of power. Kate Hill argues that civic buildings were calculated to express a 'vision of the city and its citizens' that simultaneously divided power within the city, elevating the elite above the general populace.¹¹² Spaces and buildings were invested with rhetorical and symbolic meanings, and carefully-selected historical narratives were woven into the urban fabric. Hill argues that discourses of the city were constructed by those with the power to reshape its spaces, specifically members of the elite and the municipal corporation.

Through their building programmes, patrons cultivated a highly visible identity, making their dominance of the city seem both natural and benign. Neville Hall, the Free Library and the Laing Art Gallery demonstrate that the powerful men who dominated the region's trades were expert manipulators of image, and through their widespread patronage of architecture they exerted a powerful control over Newcastle's identity. The emerging civic discourse served their own interests as global magnates and was used to control the behaviour of citizens. Patrons frequently had the ulterior motive of securing a placid, healthy

¹¹² Hill, K. "Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece", p98.

and productive workforce for their industrial enterprises, and reforming the character of the working class was a constant subtext of their architectural patronage.¹¹³ Therefore, if the image of the hardworking man represented the public face of Newcastle, few could forget that it was supported by the wealthy middle class entrepreneur.

Members of Newcastle's elite class exerted a control over the city and its populace that was far out of proportion with their numbers.¹¹⁴ Patrons built themselves opulent churches and provided more utilitarian churches, washhouses and schools for the working classes. Much of the municipal infrastructure was supplied by philanthropists who were often members of the Corporation as well. For example, Ralph Park Philipson was a solicitor, coal owner and shareholder in the Grange Iron Company, based near Durham. He succeeded Grainger's collaborator John Clayton as Town Clerk, a vital position from which he oversaw virtually all municipal improvements undertaken during his tenure. In a similar vein, he served on the Tyne Improvement Commission and had been Lord Mayor of Newcastle in 1855. Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell (1816-1904) was an iron manufacturer and director of the North Eastern Railway. Extending his power into the public sphere, he was Chairman of the Finance Committee and twice served as Lord Mayor of Newcastle (in 1854-5 and 1862-3). During his first term he laid the foundation stone of the Town Hall in 1855.¹¹⁵

Local print culture was also dominated by such figures. For example, the MP Joseph Cowen (1829-1900) owned the *Newcastle Chronicle*, which served as his mouthpiece during numerous political campaigns. Cowen built offices for the *Newcastle Chronicle* to designs by William Parnell. Comprising offices and print rooms, the building was French Renaissance in style, contributing to the ebullient commercial architecture at the entrance to Grainger Street West.¹¹⁶ Cowen's other foray into architectural patronage was the Tyne Theatre and Opera

¹¹³ The use of cultural institutions for social reform is discussed in Taylor, B. (1999) *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public: 1747-2001*. Manchester: Manchester University.

¹¹⁴ In 1880 there were 25,358 municipal rate payers, accounting for around 16% of the population. To be eligible to vote individuals had to be adult occupiers of property in the borough who had been paying rates for at least one year. See Callcott, M. 'The Governance of the Victorian City', p71.

¹¹⁵ Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell was born in Newcastle and entered his father's firm of Losh, Wilson and Bell, chemical manufacturers, in 1835. Bell's business operations and patronage extended far beyond Newcastle. Bell was an expert on blast furnaces and he was elected first president of the Iron and Steel Institute. His interests eventually gravitated away from the city. In 1850 he established an independent chemical works at Washington in County Durham. He built Washington Hall in County Durham for his own occupation, and also established the model village of East Rounton on his North Yorkshire estate, which was built to the designs of Philip Webb. See Bell's obituary in *The Times*, 21 December 1904, p4.

¹¹⁶ The *Chronicle* Offices were built on site of the former John Knox Presbyterian Church, which relocated to the corner of Beech Grove and Elswick Lane. The Northern Architectural Association visited the offices in 1896, and Cowen conducted them around the building. See *Building News*, vol.70, 22 May 1896, p766.

House in Westgate Road (1867), which was also designed by Parnell.¹¹⁷ Cowen was in turn immortalised by a bronze statue sculpted by John Tweed (1906), which was sited at the intersection of Westgate Road and Fenkle Street, impressively framed by Cross House [Fig. 18].



Figure 41 Statue of Joseph Cowen MP. (Author's photograph).

Newcastle's ruling class was not a loose coalition of individuals, but a close-knit community bound by social, cultural and professional ties. Crucially, these extended into the cultural sphere. The Arts Association of Newcastle, for example, included such luminaries as Lord Armstrong, Joseph Cowen, the MP Sir Matthew White Ridley (1842-1904), Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell, Charles Mitchell and the Gateshead glass maker J.G. Sowerby among its members, all of whom acted as patrons of important buildings. Architects gained access to these circles in order to make contact with potential patrons. For example, Frank W. Rich was a member of the Newcastle Society of Arts and the Literary and Philosophical Society.

¹¹⁷ William Parnell trained Frank W. Rich, one of the most important Newcastle architects of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. See Appendix.

Through the latter body, he became consulting architect to Lord Armstrong, and thereafter was first in line for a number of philanthropic commissions sponsored by Armstrong, such as the reparation of the Literary and Philosophical Society's library after it was damaged by fire in 1893 and the building of Bolbec Hall (1907), a joint venture between the Society and two engineering employers' associations.¹¹⁸ Some architects immersed themselves in the commercial world. For example, Joseph Oswald was a shareholder in Newcastle Breweries, which provided him with substantial commissions, including the firm's head offices (1896-1900) and a number of public houses [Fig. 19].¹¹⁹ This overlap between the social, cultural and professional spheres had a homogenising effect, fostering a taste culture in which architects, antiquarians and patrons participated, sharing ideas and opinions. This provides the strongest evidence that Newcastle constituted a distinctive architectural culture.¹²⁰



Figure 42 Head office of Newcastle Breweries, Newgate Street, designed by Joseph Oswald, 1896-1900. (Author's photograph).

¹¹⁸ This commission is discussed in Chapter 3 in connection with the commercial architecture of Collingwood and Mosley Streets.

¹¹⁹ Joseph Oswald (1851-1830) was the son of the Newcastle architect Septimus Oswald. As a student member of the Northern Architectural Association he won a prize for architectural drawing in a competition assessed by William Burges. Oswald attended a shareholders' meeting of John Barras and Company, brewers, on 30 April 1889. [Minutes of John Barras and Co. (TWAS – 1463/1, p24)]. Soon afterwards the firm was purchased by Newcastle Breweries, but Oswald continued as a shareholder. He designed or renovated over 100 public houses in the North East. Newcastle's public houses have been partially explored in Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*. Warkworth: Sandhill Press.

¹²⁰ As discussed in the Introduction, the term 'architectural culture' is used to signify a self-contained community that was engaged in architectural debate.

An important forum for Newcastle's leading citizens was the Northern Conservative Club [Fig. 20]. This institution built new premises in 1909, to designs by Cackett and Burns Dick.¹²¹ Construction was carried out by Stephen Easten Ltd.¹²² The bold Classical façade is of three bays, with a two-tier rusticated base [Fig. 21]. A round-arched doorway is cut directly into the rusticated masonry and flanked by deeply-incised portals. Above the entrance is a balcony with powerful Michelangelesque figures. The upper storeys are more conventional, with alternating triangular and segmental pediments over the windows; this was a typically English interpretation of the Palladian style. The attic storey is punctured with lunettes wreathed in foliage and a deep cornice is supported on brackets. The unorthodox composition is reminiscent of James William's General Post Office on St. Nicholas' Street. Built near the end of the period, the design reiterates the monumental Classicism that is so integral to Newcastle's identity.



Figure 43 Northern Conservative Club, dining room, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick, 1909. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*. London: Edward J. Burrow & Co. for Stephen Easten Ltd, p16).

¹²¹ Records of the Northern Conservative Club are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives. [TWAS - DF.WEK/3/3]. This collection included annual reports, balance sheets and notices of meetings. Both Cackett and Burns Dick were Conservative in politics, and Cackett was a founding member of the Conservative Club. See Appendix.

¹²² The clubhouse was built on a site adjoining the old premises, which had become inadequate. The architects discovered that the subsoil would not support the proposed building, so a raft of reinforced concrete three feet thick was laid over the site. The site necessitated a narrow front and precluded side lighting. This difficulty was solved with efficient planning. See Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p46.



Figure 21 Northern Conservative Club, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick, 1909. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*, p15).

The architectural profession in Newcastle

A key attribute of Newcastle's architectural culture was the professional sensibility of its architects. The architectural profession in Newcastle represents a tradition reaching back to Dobson. Throughout the period 1870-1914 it was still the norm for aspiring architects to train in the offices of established local firms, a system of education based on master-pupil training, which favoured the handing down of accepted knowledge and traditions. Many firms were

carried on by family members, as was the case with Dunn, Hansom and Dunn, Hicks and Charlewood and Oswald and Sons. However, it was increasingly common for architects to train in large national offices. A.M. Dunn had studied in the office of Charles Hansom in Bristol. His partner Edward Joseph Hansom (1842-1900) spent a year in the office of Alfred Waterhouse. R.J. Johnson was one of a legion of architects to pass through the office of Sir George Gilbert Scott. Nevertheless, R.J. Johnson's career demonstrates a continuity with the Grainger era. Together with his partner Thomas Austin, Johnson purchased the practice of John Dobson after the latter's death in 1865. Johnson succeeded Dobson as the most respected architect on Tyneside, though he was at heart a Gothicismist with strong antiquarian leanings.

This community formed itself into the Northern Architectural Association, which emerged in 1858 when a group of architects – including John Dobson, A.M. Dunn and R.J. Johnson – met in order to protest against the conditions of a competition held in South Shields.¹²³ There was a close correspondence between the Northern Architectural Association and the Newcastle Society of Antiquarians; many of the city's architects belonged to both, including A.M. Dunn, C.S. Errington, W.S. Hicks, R.J. Johnson, W.H. Knowles, A.B. Plummer and F.W. Rich.¹²⁴ Thomas Oliver Junior was a founder of the Northern Architectural Association and served as its Secretary and President for many years.¹²⁵ Joseph Oswald joined the Association in 1876, becoming President for 1894-5. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries and contributed several essays to its journal *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Oswald was also member of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland.¹²⁶ W.S. Hicks published numerous essays as a member of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, including 'Notes on the Chapel of Our Lady at Seaton Deleval'.¹²⁷ Among the most active antiquarians was W.H. Knowles, a member of the Newcastle Society

¹²³ The architect Joseph Oswald wrote an invaluable article on the history of the Association. See Oswald, J. 'The Northern Architectural Association: a History' in the Northern Architectural Association's *Annual Report*, 1924-5.

¹²⁴ Full details of the membership of these societies are provided in the Appendix.

¹²⁵ Oliver was the son of the architect and cartographer, Thomas Oliver, who had himself made a crucial contribution to the early planning of Newcastle. See Oliver, T. (1831) *A New Picture of Newcastle upon Tyne: or an historical and descriptive view*. Newcastle upon Tyne.

¹²⁶ See Denby, F.W. 'A Memoir of the Late Joseph Oswald' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 4, vol.7, 1930, pp179-183.

¹²⁷ See *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.12, p229. The educationalist J.C. Bruce was President of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1886.

of Antiquaries who came to be regarded as ‘the father of the society’.¹²⁸ He was also involved with the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland and the Victoria County History. He published numerous books and essays on the architecture and archaeology of the North East, including *The Romano-British Site of Corstopitum* (1907-14).¹²⁹

These bodies incubated a decidedly antiquarian spirit that was exemplified by the sensitive ecclesiastical restoration work of Thomas Austin, R.J. Johnson and others. The members read papers on a range of topics and visited notable buildings in Northumberland and County Durham, all of which helped to foster a unified approach [Fig. 22]. The Association, and similar artistic and antiquarian societies, fostered a strong community of architects and to some extent a unified model of practice. Individual tastes and preoccupations inevitably differed, but most Newcastle architects shared a respect for Northumberland’s ancient and medieval monuments, an aptitude for scholarly restoration work and a continued admiration of Grainger and Dobson. As the architect R. Norman MacKellar observed, reflecting on the history of the Association, ‘Few architects could have been more closely identified with the urban growth of their capital city for their nepotism decided not only how Newcastle was to be built but who was to build it.’¹³⁰

¹²⁸ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 4, 1943, pp248-53. William Henry Knowles (1857-1943) was born in Newcastle. He was articled to W.L. Newcombe and began practise in Gateshead in 1884. In 1903 Knowles was appointed to complete Armstrong College after the death of R.J. Johnson, who had prepared the initial designs. As one of Newcastle’s leading antiquarians, he excavated Roman and medieval remains at Corbridge, Tynemouth Priory and Alnwick Castle. Knowles also undertook industrial work for Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. at the Elswick Works. See Appendix for further details.

¹²⁹ See Forster, R. H. and Knowles, W.H. (1909) *The Romano-British Site of Corstopitum. An Account of the Excavations 1907-8*. Newcastle: Andrew Reid & Co.

¹³⁰ MacKellar, R.N. ‘The Story of the NAA’ in *Northern Architect*, no.40, May 1968, p986.



Figure 22 The Northern Architectural Association c.1896. (MacKellar, R.N. 'The Story of the NAA' in *Northern Architect*, no.40, May 1968).

As indicated above, however, one of the overriding narratives of Victorian architecture was the erosion of localised practice and regional characteristics, and the dissemination of a more uniform approach throughout the country. During the 1890s the profession was divided between those who wanted architecture to be a profession analogous to medicine or law, and those who saw it as an art that transcended such mundane concerns. These conflicting parties were entrenched within the RIBA and the Art Workers' Guild respectively.¹³¹ The prevalence of informed architectural debate and improvements in travel had far-going implications for architecture, feeding eclecticism and allowing provincial architects to keep up to date with the rapid turnover of styles and tastes. The Northern Architectural Association played a part in this process. Guest speakers gave papers on current trends, new building technologies and the major issues affecting the profession. The Association helped to consolidate Newcastle architects into a community, but by opening up channels of

¹³¹ In 1892 members of the Art Workers' Guild published an inflammatory text on this divisive issue. See Shaw, N. and Jackson, T.G. (eds.) (1892) *Architecture, a Profession or an Art: thirteen short essays on the qualifications and training of architects*. London: John Murray.

communication, it increasingly located this community in relation to the London-based mainstream.

In the North East and elsewhere, indigenous forms were increasingly exchanged for fashionable styles from the south, as the chapter has demonstrated. Crucially this was recognised at the time. J.J. Stevenson remarked, 'Our age of steam and universal intercommunication is witnessing the destruction everywhere of arts which have their roots in the earliest traditions of the race.'¹³² This process was facilitated by the increased communication between the provincial architectural societies and the metropolitan centre. In 1893 the RIBA drew up a scheme to divide the country into a series of architectural provinces, each with a local centre represented by a society allied to the Institute. The Northern Architectural Association anticipated that this would bring 'into harmonious and united action the scattered and unorganised members of the profession.'¹³³ The scheme was circulated among the various societies and was printed in the *RIBA Kalendar*. Northumberland and County Durham were classed as the North Eastern province, with Newcastle and the Northern Architectural Association located at the centre. Besides confirming Newcastle's status as a regional capital, this reinforced the growing perception that Durham and Northumberland formed an entity and contributed to the emergence of the modern conception of the 'North East'.

Despite its local importance, the Northern Architectural Association was not parochial in outlook, but anticipated many of the professional policies that would later be implemented by the RIBA. The Association was a zealous participant in the formalisation of the profession, having been formed to 'promote union among its members, the elevation of the profession, uniformity of practice and the general advancement of the art and science of architecture.'¹³⁴ In 1889 it became the first regional architectural society to be fully affiliated with the RIBA and the President, Edward Hansom, was elected to the RIBA Council in the same year. Most of Newcastle's Victorian architects became associated with the RIBA on an individual basis, joining as Fellows or Associates, and some served on the Council, including William Glover,

¹³² Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p85.

¹³³ Northern Architectural Association, *Annual Report*, 1895, p9.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p9. The Northern Architectural Association had a decidedly national outlook. Although its members were mostly drawn from Durham and Northumberland, it nominated Sir George Gilbert Scott as an honorary member in 1864. See MacKellar, N. 'The Story of the N.A.A.' in *Northern Architect*, no.40, May 1968, pp968-986.

H.C. Charlewood, R.J. Johnson, Joseph Oswald and A.B. Plummer.¹³⁵ It was recognised that the RIBA was transforming architectural education. Pursuing greater uniformity, Frank Rich wrote to the RIBA, enquiring whether prize-winning student drawings were available for circulation among the Northern Architectural Association's student members.¹³⁶ This is clear evidence that the Northern Architectural Association wanted the next generation of Newcastle architects to be fully conversant with London models. Reviewing its dealings with the RIBA, J.H. Morton stated that the Northern Architectural Association had been 'maintained and nourished by communication with the Institute.'¹³⁷

With the increased specialisation of the profession, architects needed more skills than could be acquired by pupilage, making it desirable to regulate the profession. At the same time, architects were becoming increasingly preoccupied with social status. A provincial architect signing himself 'W.M.' wrote to the *Building News* in 1889, stating that: 'Those practicing in the legal and medical professions are looked upon as gentlemen; but an architect is gradually and naturally becoming, in the eyes of the public, somewhere on a level with those who steal our rights and name.'¹³⁸ The question of registration for architects divided the profession. Proponents hoped that a system of regulation, supported by compulsory examination, would exclude unqualified and unscrupulous practitioners and thereby revive public confidence in architects. This was part of a widespread preoccupation with professional status in Victorian society, which has been examined by Harold Perkin.¹³⁹ In fact, the Northern Architectural Association was more wholly committed to professional registration than the RIBA or any of the provincial societies. In 1888 the RIBA sent a circular to these societies requesting them to petition parliament to reject the current draft of the Architect and Engineer's Registration Bill, although it agreed with the principle. Frank W. Rich, the Honorary Secretary of the Northern Architectural Association, wrote in reply, deploring the Institute's action:

¹³⁵ Candidates for Fellow or Associate status had to be proposed by three practising architects. Most Newcastle architects were proposed by colleagues working within the city.

¹³⁶ Letter from F.W. Rich to the RIBA Council (RIBA - LC/31/4/12). The RIBA made an official visit to Newcastle in 1904 and were given a guided tour by A.B. Plummer of the Northern Architectural Association. The itinerary included a visit to Jesmond Dene, home of Sir Andrew Noble.

¹³⁷ Morton, J.H. (1893) *Presidential Address to the Northern Architectural Association*.

¹³⁸ *Building News*, vol.57, 19 April 1889, p567.

¹³⁹ Perkin, H. (1989) *Professional Society*.

This Association deeply sympathises with the movement, as it would any tending to raise the status of the profession by subjecting all future members to a compulsory examination before beginning to practice, and views with regret the opposition of the Institute to a measure tending in such a salutary direction.¹⁴⁰

It seems that the architectural climate of Newcastle gave the Northern Architectural Association an additional incentive to pursue the Bill. Newcastle Council was notorious for awarding commissions for important municipal buildings directly to the Borough Engineer's office, depriving professional architects of the chance to compete (the Police Courts and Fish Market are notable examples).¹⁴¹ A deputation from the Northern Architectural Association comprising Thomas Oliver (President), W.H. Dunn (Secretary), and Joseph Oswald (Treasurer) attended a meeting of Newcastle Council in September 1878 and presented a memorandum stating that:

The Northern Architectural Association view with great dissatisfaction and regret the employment of the officers in the Borough Engineers' Department . . . in the designing and carrying out of the projected public architectural buildings in Newcastle, not only to the evident disadvantage of the present practising architects and to the public, but also to the detriment of art and architecture for years to come.¹⁴²

The agitated address concluded with the hope, 'that the Council would put to public competition the principal architectural buildings required for municipal purposes, that being, in their opinion, most conducive to the advancement of architecture as well as public benefit'.¹⁴³ Clearly, the Northern Architectural Association was acutely aware of the problems facing the profession, and the circumstances of municipal patronage in Newcastle were a catalyst in its pursuit of professional regulation and status.

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed Newcastle's stylistic evolution during the period 1870-1914 and examined the ways in which architectural style was deployed by patrons. At the beginning of the period, Newcastle architecture was dominated by the legacy of Neo-Classicism, monumental in form and executed in durable local stone. In the mind of architects and

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Frank W. Rich to the RIBA Council, 19 March, 1890. [RIBA Search Rooms, LC/31/3/31].

¹⁴¹ John Lamb's French-Italian hybrid design was eventually selected and the building was completed in 1874. The Fish Market was designed by Borough Engineer Alfred M. Fowler in 1880 (see Chapter 5).

¹⁴² *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 4 September 1878, p255.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p255.

patrons Classicism held sway as the model of architectural propriety and dignity. This was a culturally-resonant mode that was recognised as being indicative of Newcastle's identity. The city expanded around the central core in a range of new styles, but architects usually paid close attention to the existing architectural fabric. Classically-derived styles such as Italian and French Renaissance allowed architects to maintain continuity with the Classicism of the Grainger era, but to simultaneously satisfy mainstream tastes. Accordingly, Newcastle became a centre of that hybrid of Gothic and Classicism, the Queen Anne style, but was nearly devoid of Gothic secular work. The city had a coherent architectural culture that was fostered by a socially and professionally integrated cultural oligarchy. Architects and patrons circulated within specialist and amateur societies, which ensured that architecture responded closely to industrial and capitalist interests. As the period wore on, however, external forces increasingly came into play. Architectural journals disseminated new technologies, materials and tastes, and changes within the architectural profession facilitated communication between London and the provinces.

2 Private Wealth and the Public Sphere

This chapter surveys the economic basis of Newcastle's architectural patronage. During the period 1870-1914, Newcastle was dominated by a relatively small number of industrial and mercantile families and it was this exclusive social group that powered the major economic, social and cultural changes. Not only did they control the expenditure of private capital, but in doing so they extended their influence into the public sphere. The chapter examines the activities of this group, arguing that by forming strong business, social and family networks Newcastle's leading citizens transformed themselves into a ruling elite.¹ It begins by giving an overview of Newcastle's economic development during the period 1870-1914, focussing on the key economic sectors – industry, finance and retail – in order to understand how capital was generated. Three major figures are examined in detail – Lord Armstrong, Sir Andrew Noble and Charles Mitchell. Each was an important architectural patron and together they exemplified the complex networks that shaped the city. The chapter will examine the uses to which private capital was put, focussing on three main areas: investment in public utility companies; the funding of social and cultural institutions; and the purchase of large estates for personal use. Within the thesis as a whole, this chapter contributes an economic dimension to the study of taste and patronage; it asks how Newcastle's ruling elite controlled the city's socio-economic development and the evolution of its physical form.

During the nineteenth century, Tyneside stood at the forefront of Britain's industrial development. Capital was generated from the mining of coal, shipbuilding and heavy engineering. The region was home to industrial pioneers and inventors, many of whom were commemorated in Newcastle's urban spaces. For example, the railway engineer George Stephenson was posthumously honoured with a monument located at a focal point near the Central Station, which highlights the crucial role played by industrial magnates in Newcastle's self-constructed discourses [Fig. 1].

¹ A number of commentators have observed that Newcastle's economy was reinforced by complex business and personal ties. This theme is explored in Benwell Community Project (1978) *The Making of a Ruling Class: Two Centuries of Capital Development on Tyneside*, Final Report No. 6. Newcastle upon Tyne: Benwell Community Project, and Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?' The Benwell Community Project was an important historical study incorporating detailed empirical research. The primary intention was to demonstrate that the power structures and dynasties that dominated Newcastle's economy in the nineteenth century remained largely intact after the nationalisation of the major industries in the 1940s.



Figure 44 Undated postcard depicting the Stephenson Monument. On the right is the French Renaissance style Union Club. St. John's Church is visible in the background. (Newcastle City Library).

After 1850, Newcastle expanded from a small nucleus to become the hub of the heavily industrialised region of Tyneside. Financial, legal and administrative facilities were concentrated here, and the city became the major centre for the distribution of goods.² The scale of Newcastle's growth between 1870 and 1914 is apparent from the two maps reproduced below [Fig. 2 and 3]. Migration was a primary catalyst for this development, as people were drawn to the city seeking work. The population increased from 87,784 in 1851 to 214,803 in 1901.³ The majority of the working classes lived in overcrowded tenements in the city centre, but expanding transport networks made it possible to live further from the workplace. Byker and Scotswood acquired large working class populations, while neighbouring Heaton was home to highly-paid skilled workers.⁴ The middle classes moved to suburbs such as Elswick, and many skilled artisans followed them. The population of Elswick grew from 14,345 in 1861 to 59,165 in 1901.⁵ As the 1871 Census remarked, 'In the northern part of the township several new streets and villas have been built for the accommodation of

² Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities: Newcastle upon Tyne*. Sheffield: Geographical Association, p14.

³ See Census for 1851 and 1901. Mike Barke has examined the population of sample districts in Newcastle, revealing the proportion of residents born outside of the city. See Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p29.

⁴ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store: A Social History*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p13.

⁵ Census for 1871 and 1901.

the higher and middle classes.⁶ The most affluent moved to the more exclusive suburbs of Jesmond or Gosforth.

Working class housing was for the most part built by speculative builders rather than the Corporation or industrialists. However, members of the ruling class were involved in laying out estates and to a large extent they determined what types of housing were built. In 1839 John Hodgson Hinde MP sold the Elswick Estate to Richard Grainger for £114,000. John Clayton, town clerk and legal advisor to Grainger, supervised the development of the estate until the 1890s.⁷ The South Benwell Estate was purchased from the coal owner John Buddle and developed by Lord Armstrong and Sir Benjamin C. Browne as trustees for Buddle's grand nephew.⁸ The Milburn family developed the Hodgkin Road Estate.⁹

The critical factor in Newcastle's economic history was the existence of a prosperous entrepreneurial class bound by professional, social and family ties. Lendrum puts forward the idea of an 'integrated elite', and this serves as a useful model for understanding the exercise of power in nineteenth century Newcastle.¹⁰ This group controlled the use of capital, and by interacting with each other through cooperation, amalgamation and the sharing of expertise they largely determined the course of Newcastle's economic development. Although they were primarily active in the industrial sphere, they were keen to diversify into other arenas. This meant that Newcastle's major economic sectors were inextricably linked.

⁶ 1871 Census quoted in Rowe, D.J. 'The Population of Nineteenth Century Tyneside' in McCord, N. (ed.) (1977) *Essays in Tyneside Labour History*. Newcastle: North East Group for the Study of Labour History, p14.

⁷ John Clayton (1792-1890) was the son of Nathaniel Clayton (1754-1832) of Chesters, Humshaugh. He practised as a solicitor in the firm of Clayton and Gibson, but profited from a lease on Stella Colliery, which was owned by the Bishop of Durham. He served as Town Clerk from 1822 to 1867, and acted as legal advisor and financial backer to Richard Grainger. Clayton was also a partner in the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company. For details of Clayton's life and career, see Wilkes, L. and Dodds, G. (1964) *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton*, pp50-55. In the private sphere, Clayton commissioned Norman Shaw to alter Chesters in an extravagant Baroque mode. See Shaw's drawings of the house and stables - RIBA Search Rooms, PB55/SHAW [7] (1-5).

⁸ This scheme is detailed in *The Builder*, vol.46, 12 January 1884, p81 and *Building News*, vol.50, 23 April 1886, p655. Described as a 'workmen's town', the estate was laid out by the architect William Glover and eleven new streets containing nearly 600 houses were built upon it. Two thirds of these were tenements or double-flats. Most of the streets were 36 feet wide, but Buddle Street, which formed the 'main artery' of the estate, was 50 feet wide.

⁹ William Milburn was essentially a shipping magnate, but he invested much of his coal and shipping capital in property and built the monumental office building Milburn House, which is discussed in Chapter 4. He resided at Guyzance in Acklington, Northumberland. See TWAS - DX908, Milburn Estate, Newcastle, 1901-1906.

¹⁰ See Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?' Lendrum builds on the pioneering work of the Benwell Community Project, which traced many of these relationships.



Figure 45 Newcastle upon Tyne in 1870-1. (Christie, J. [1871] Plan of Newcastle and Gateshead from Ordnance and Actual Surveys).

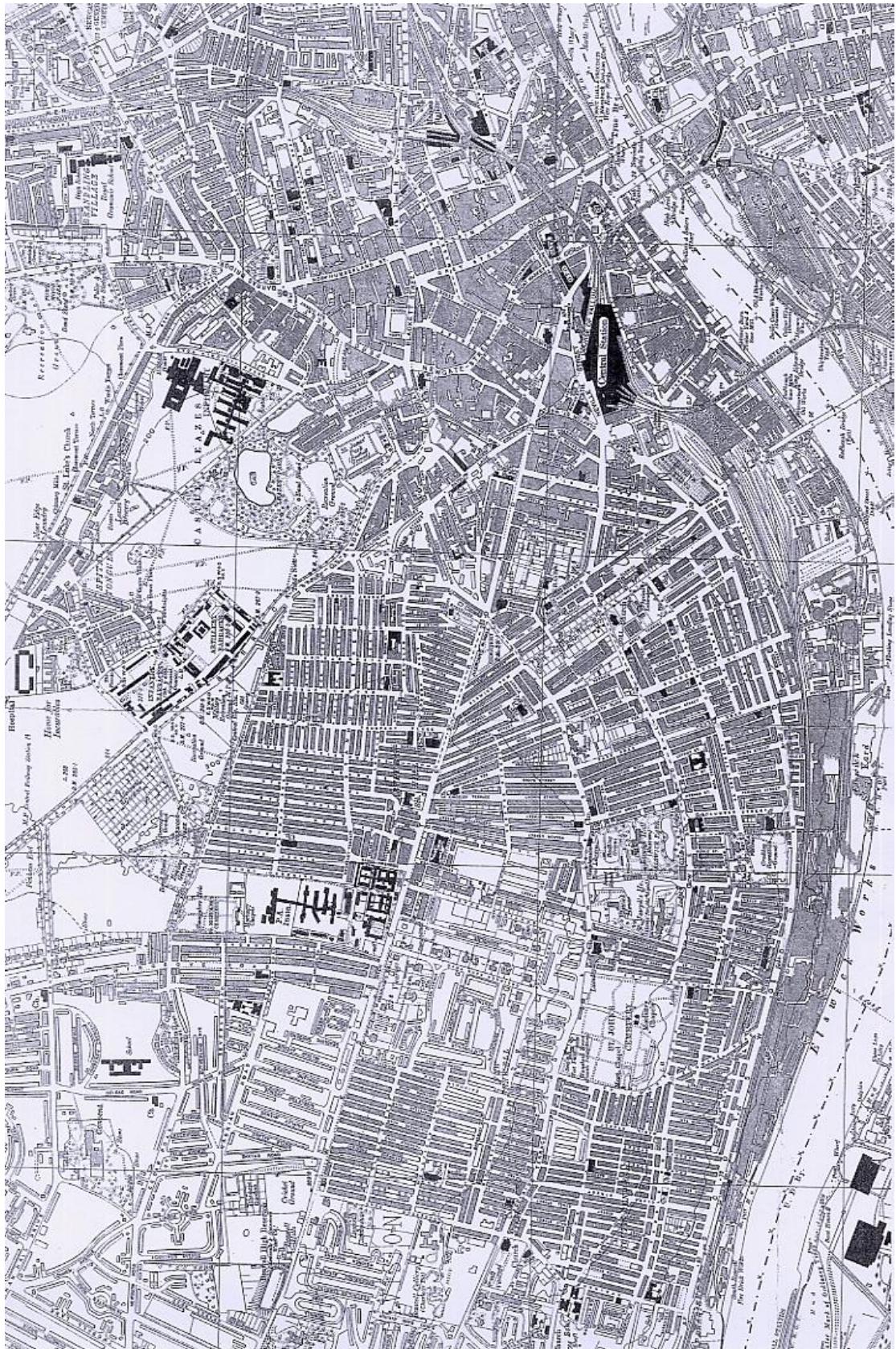


Figure 46 Newcastle upon Tyne in 1913-4. (Ordnance Survey 1913-4 with additions 1938). Byker, Elswick, Heaton, Jesmond and Westgate were incorporated into Newcastle in 1835. These townships were rapidly built up in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Economic growth: industry, finance and retail

There was an enormous increase in the demand for coal in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1900 coal extraction increased almost sixfold and pits came to dominate Newcastle's hinterland. Collieries operated at Benwell, Delaval, Elswick, Fenham, Gallowgate, Scotswood, Throckley and Walbottle.¹¹ The huge quantities of coal being mined on the northern coalfield necessitated a complex infrastructure and wide-ranging transport networks. As a result, transport became a substantial industry in its own right and a large employer. Colliery railways extended across the countryside; staiths grew up along the banks of the Tyne and new docks and coal ports were established.¹² For example, the Tyne Dock was opened at Jarrow in 1859 at the behest of North Eastern Railway.¹³ The need to transport coal resulted in the rapid development of locomotive engineering. Newcastle's first railway was the Newcastle to Carlisle line, which opened in 1838. The quantity of coal and coke transported by rail rose from 16 million tons per year in the 1870s to 41 million tons by 1907.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly, the rail network was dominated by freight, but passenger receipts increased from £1,400,000 to £3,134,736 between 1873 and 1913.¹⁵ The electric tram was introduced to the city in 1902 and the suburban and coastal lines were electrified in 1904, five years before those in London.¹⁶ So integral was the railway that it received investment from Newcastle's leading industrialists and financiers. The banker William Woods became a director of the North Eastern Railway in 1862, followed by Lord Armstrong in 1901. By allowing residents of the surrounding region to travel into the city, the railway and tram network expanded the market for consumer goods and stimulated commercial development. For this reason the Chamber of Commerce was a major promoter of railway expansion.¹⁷

Coal mining was of course paramount within Tyneside's economy, but the abundance of cheap coal and the close proximity of the river acted as a stimulus for a range of other

¹¹ Atkinson, F. (1968) *The Great Northern Coalfield, 1700-1900: illustrated notes on the Durham and Northumberland coalfield*. London: University Tutorial Press.

¹² Coal was also exported from rival ports at Sunderland, Seaham Harbour and Hartlepool. However, Newcastle was advantaged by lower coal duties. In 1889 the Coal Duties Abolition Bill was considered in the House of Commons. R.G. Webster, MP for St. Pancras East, argued, 'London was so far removed from the coal-pits and iron-fields of this country. It was impossible for London to compete with Newcastle when the carriage of coal to London was five times as heavy as to the Newcastle building yards.' [*The Times*, 23 May 1889, p3].

¹³ The railway was itself a substantial employer. See Tomlinson, W.W. (1914) *The North Eastern Railway: Its Rise and Development*. London: Longmans.

¹⁴ Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p31.

¹⁶ 42,800,000 tickets for the electric tram were sold in 1905. [*Ibid.*, p32].

¹⁷ The Chamber of Commerce helped to cover the surveying costs for the construction of new railway lines. [*Ibid.*, p31].

industries, including glass, iron and lead manufacturing. Brickworks, copperas works and glue works were concentrated along the banks of the Tyne.¹⁸ Engineering was closely linked to coal mining and iron works were needed to produce colliery apparatus and tools. The pre-eminent engineering firms were Robert Stephenson and Company and R. and W. Hawthorn and Company, both of which opened engineering and locomotive works at Forth Banks in West Newcastle.¹⁹ Each firm employed about 1000 men. Robert Stephenson was the son of the railway pioneer George Stephenson.²⁰ He was educated at Dr. Bruce's Academy and received additional tuition from the Reverend William Turner upon joining the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne.²¹ He became manager of the firm and supervised the building of the Stockton to Darlington Railway.²² After managing gold mines in Columbia, he worked on designs for the famous Rocket and in 1833 he became engineer for the London to Birmingham line, the first railway into London. Stephenson designed the High Level Bridge over the Tyne (1849), which located Newcastle on the major north-south axis between London and Edinburgh.²³

For much of the nineteenth century Tyneside was an important centre of the chemical industry, with the production of alkalis being particularly significant.²⁴ Alkali production on Tyneside began in the eighteenth century when Losh, Wilson and Bell established an alkali works at Walker in 1807.²⁵ Alkali works were highly pollutant, generating hydrochloric acid as a waste product. They were therefore located well beyond the boundaries of Newcastle, with

¹⁸ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p9. Many of these small manufacturers were eventually displaced by the rapid expansion of Armstrong's Elswick Works.

¹⁹ The firm of R. and W. Hawthorn was founded at Forth Banks in 1817, initially with very little capital, but the firm rapidly expanded to become one of Newcastle's most important engineering firms. For the records of the firm, see TWAS - DS.HL, R and W Hawthorn, Leslie and Co Ltd. c.1817-1970s.

²⁰ George Stephenson was the son of a colliery fireman. He founded a locomotive factory at Forth Street, Newcastle in 1823. As an autodidact of humble origins he was celebrated as a self-made man and his biography was written by the paragon of self-help Samuel Smiles. See Smiles, S. (1868) *The Life of George Stephenson and of his son Robert Stephenson*. J. Murray: London. A new edition of vol.3 of *Lives of the Engineers*. For an account of Robert Stephenson's life see Jeaffreson, J.C. (1864) *The Life of Robert Stephenson, with descriptive chapters on some of his most important professional works by W. Pole*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green.

²¹ After Manchester, Newcastle was the second English city to gain a society for intellectual enquiry. The Literary and Philosophical Society was founded on 7 February 1793 by the Unitarian minister William Turner. The Society's premises were built on the site of the ancestral home of the Nevilles, the Earls of Westmoreland. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p309.

²² The woollen merchant and banker Edward Pease (1767-1858) was the major shareholder. Pease was a member of the prominent Quaker family of Darlington. His grandnephew John William Pease (1834-1901) was a founder of the Hodgkin, Barnet, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, pp102-3].

²³ Ten years later Stephenson designed the Victoria Bridge at Montreal (1859), which at the time was the longest bridge in the world. See Legge, C. (1860) *A Glance at the Victoria Bridge, and the men who built it*. Montreal: J. Lovell.

²⁴ Alkalis were in turn used in the production of soap, glass, soda, alum and Epsom salts. See Warren, K. (1980) *Chemical Foundations: The Alkali Industry in Britain to 1926*. Oxford: Clarendon.

²⁵ Losh's activities are examined in Campbell, W.A. (1964) *The Old Tyneside Chemical Trade*. Newcastle: Newcastle University, p14.

further works opening at Tyne Dock (1822), Felling (1826) and Friar's Close, Gateshead (1833). The latter built the tallest chimney in England in order to dispel the noxious fumes.²⁶ Alkali was exported in great quantities – 174,000 tons in 1874. However, the Tyneside chemicals industry declined in the 1890s and Teeside eventually took over as the centre of Britain's chemical industry.²⁷

Shipping supported virtually all other industries and by 1901 there were 20,000 people employed in shipbuilding on Tyneside.²⁸ Many colliery owners used their own vessels for transporting coal down the coast, but shipping magnates such as William Milburn and Charles Mitchell produced vessels that were sold around the world. Industrialists were united by their vested interest in the River Tyne and its value as a waterway [Fig. 4]. The river's condition was initially maintained by the Corporation, but this body drew criticism for failing to invest adequate funds, and its powers were eventually assumed by the Tyne Improvement Commission, which was established in 1850.²⁹ The radical MP and newspaper proprietor Joseph Cowen was Chairman from 1853 to 1873, but local industrialists were also involved. W.G. Armstrong was elected to the Commission and played an active role, recognising that his industrial ventures at Elswick depended on a navigable waterway. Similarly, Newcastle's Chamber of Commerce had lobbied for the deepening of the river, thus demonstrating the Tyne's vital role as a transport link. The Commission dredged the river and built new piers.³⁰

²⁶ Austin, W.G.C. 'Industry in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p37.

²⁷ The Leblanc process, introduced to Britain in 1814, made it possible to produce alkali from salt. Rock salt deposits were discovered at Middlesbrough by Bolckow and Vaughan in 1859 and this made alkali production on Tyneside uneconomical. See Campbell, W.A. (1964) *The Old Tyneside Chemical Trade*.

²⁸ See Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p28.

²⁹ The history of the Tyne has been addressed in Marshall, M.W. (1997) *Turning Tides: a history of the Tyne and the Wear*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Keepdate, and Rowland, T. H. (1994) *Waters of Tyne*. Morpeth: Sandhill.

³⁰ This involved the removal of Kings Meadow, an island situated opposite Armstrong's Elswick Works. See Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Presentation of a Portrait of the Chairman of the Board, Alderman Sir William Haswell Stephenson*. [Newcastle City Library]. The activities of the Tyne Improvement Commissioners are discussed in Chapter 7.



Figure 47 Photograph entitled 'The Tyne at Work.' (Newcastle City Library). Bathed in Turneresque light, the river is depicted as a hive of industry and commerce. The river was crucial to Newcastle's economic success.

Industrialisation did not radically alter Newcastle's social hierarchy. The large capital outlay required for mining and heavy engineering precluded all but the wealthiest from speculating in these areas.³¹ With very few exceptions the landed aristocracy elected to leave this high-risk investment to others and instead collected royalties from coal mined on their lands.³² For this reason, industry was dominated by mercantile families who had been trading on the Tyne for decades.³³ For example, Armstrong came from a mercantile and professional background. He was the son of a Newcastle corn merchant and practised as a solicitor before taking up engineering. When forming the Newcastle Crane Company in 1847, Armstrong was given financial backing from his uncle A.L. Potter and Armorer Donkin, with whom he was in business as a solicitor.³⁴ George Cruddas (1788-1879) of Elswick Dene

³¹ During the eighteenth century these landowners had supervised the extraction of coal as a concomitant part of the management of their land. In most cases, they lacked both the ready capital and the engineering skill required for large scale coal extraction. However, a minority of landowners did retain their dominance, such as Lord Londonderry who owned Seaham Colliery in County Durham. Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p10.

³² Aristocratic landowners from the earlier period included the Montagus of Denton Main, William Ord of Benwell, owner of Fenham Colliery, and the Duke of Northumberland, who owned collieries at Walbottle and Flatworth.

³³ The background of this first generation of industrial entrepreneurs has been explored in Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p10.

³⁴ Addison Langhorne Potter (1783-1853) of Heaton Hall was the son of William Potter of Walbottle Hall. He was a brick manufacturer based on the north bank of the Tyne, in the area that soon came to be dominated by the Elswick Works. He was also a prominent coal owner with interests in the Walbottle Colliery and the Stella Coal Company. [Ibid, p11].

was a senior partner in the firm of W.G. Armstrong and Company.³⁵ He also had interests in the Newcastle and North Shields Railway and Oxclose Colliery in County Durham. When he died his estate was valued at £400,000, most of which was inherited by his son, Williamson Donaldson Cruddas (1831-1912), who succeeded him as a partner of W.G. Armstrong and Co. Dynastic control was thus prevalent within Tyneside's industries. However, companies also diversified in order to extend their power. As well as generating profits in their own right, many of these new ventures were calculated to benefit a firm's primary interest. For example, many coal owners invested in electricity supply companies, fully aware that an expanded market for electricity would increase the demand for coal.³⁶

For most of the period, Newcastle's economy was relatively autonomous in that control was concentrated within the city itself. As the period wore on, however, power was gradually dispersed over a wider geographical area. External companies began to buy out Tyneside firms in the 1900s, either as a form of expansion or in order to close down rivals.³⁷ This was true of finance corporations as well as industrial concerns. Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s bank was taken over by Lloyd's in 1903, and Woods and Co. by Barclays in 1897. This series of mergers and buyouts, together with an increase in state control, resulted in a diffusion of power.

With the vast capital outlay required by major industries, extensive capital organisation was needed to finance industrial speculation. After troubled beginnings, Newcastle's financial services industry developed greatly during the period.³⁸ Industrialists formed links with the finance sector to ensure a steady supply of capital for their businesses. For example, Jonathon Priestman was managing director of the Consett Iron Company and had interests in the Ashington Coal Company.³⁹ He was involved with the Northumberland and District Bank and founded Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s Bank in 1859. The gun-maker Sir Andrew Noble was among the senior managers of the North Eastern

³⁵ George Cruddas was a ship owner and linen draper based in North Shields.

³⁶ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p53.

³⁷ For example, Joseph Swan's Electric Light Company was forced to merge with Edison in 1883 to avoid legal action over Edison's patented light bulb. Production was transferred from Benwell to Middlesex in 1886. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp251-2.

³⁸ The early history of Newcastle banking was turbulent, with many banks failing within a few years. See Phillips, M. (1894) *A History of Banks, Bankers and Banking in Northumberland, Durham and North Yorkshire*. London: Effingham Wilson and Co.

³⁹ The Consett Iron Company was formed as the Derwent Iron Company in 1841. See Anon. (1892) *Description of the Consett Iron Works*. Mawson, Swan, & Morgan: Newcastle on Tyne. For a history of the firm see Wilson, A. (1972) 'The Origin of the Consett Iron Company, 1840-1864' in *Durham University Journal*, 65, pp90-102. The Ashington Coal Company was the largest in Northumberland. The shipbuilder William Milburn was the principal shareholder.

Banking Company, which was founded in 1872.⁴⁰ Banks provided short-term capital and permitted over-drafts. These facilities were crucial for the survival of Newcastle's industrial firms. Sir Benjamin C. Browne testified to this dependent relationship:

Not only were they ready to give us their advice and assistance, they behaved with the most extraordinary liberality in the matter of financial accommodation and over-drafts. We could not possibly go on if they had not allowed the most liberal accommodation for long periods – and that for many years after we had begun. I can only say for myself that, like two or three other large manufacturers on Tyneside, I was entirely made by the bank.⁴¹

Banks were integral to Newcastle's economy and their importance is reflected in the design of their offices. A number of palatial banks emerged on Collingwood and Mosley Streets, which are discussed in Chapter 3.

Despite Newcastle's image as an industrial city, its status as a port and its role as a supply centre for the surrounding region allowed it to support a substantial retail sector. Population increases and the expansion of transport networks created a large market.⁴² Department stores were founded by E.M. Bainbridge (1838) and J.J. Fenwick (1882), while smaller, specialised shops proliferated.⁴³ The spatial organisation and architecture of retail are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, but it is important to note that retail was fully integrated into the local economic structure. North East miners were among the most highly paid workers in the country, earning just under £1 per week, and this gave them disposable income to spend in Newcastle's growing number of luxury shops.⁴⁴

The local political context was conducive to this expansion of free market capitalism. Newcastle Council had been staunchly Liberal, in common with provincial cities such as Manchester and Birmingham. This created a climate in which the ethos of free trade could

⁴⁰ The North Eastern Banking Company merged with the Bank of Liverpool in 1914. See Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p35.

⁴¹ Browne, B. (1914) *History of the New Firm of R. & W. Hawthorn*. Privately published.

⁴² A mass transportation system was established during the nineteenth century, linking residential suburbs to the town centre. This made it possible for people to live further from places of work. It also allowed consumers to travel into the city to partake of its expanding range of goods and services. Horse drawn trams operated from 1879 and electric trams were introduced in 1901. The electric trams initially followed the existing routes, which extended to Byker, Elswick and Gosforth. By 1904 most of the city's main roads had electric tramlines. Extensions continued to be laid until 1928. See France, L. 'Transport in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p39.

⁴³ Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge was born in Stanhope, Weardale and grew up within the Methodist tradition of the Durham mining villages. At the age of 21, he opened a draper's store in Market Street, initially in partnership with William Alder Dunn. Once in business in Newcastle, he became active on the Methodist circuit, serving as a lay preacher at Brunswick Chapel, located off Northumberland Street. Bainbridge and W.H. Stephenson were among six laymen from the Newcastle district who met at the First Representative Mixed Conference in 1878. The life of Emerson Bainbridge is recounted in Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle: A Family History 1679-1976*. Newcastle upon Tyne: self-published.

⁴⁴ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p18.

flourish and the city became an important early centre of department store trade. Lancaster observes that many of Newcastle's retail pioneers were allied to Liberalism, including E.M. Bainbridge, whose store has had a long-lasting influence on Newcastle's economic profile.⁴⁵ Emerson Bainbridge joined the city's elite by developing industrial interests. He was a director of the Consett Iron Company, which was based in Derwentside, County Durham, but which had a head office in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.⁴⁶

Bainbridge's firm was continued by his eldest surviving son, Thomas Hudson Bainbridge, who was born on the 17 July 1842 and educated at Wesley College in Sheffield.⁴⁷ Thomas entered the retail business somewhat reluctantly, but quickly earned the admiration of colleagues, who regarded him as an exceptionally benevolent and modest man. Like his father, he forged links with the industrial sector and 'became closely identified with the direction of many important industrial concerns on Tyneside.'⁴⁸ He succeeded his father as director of the Consett Iron Company, and was later elected Vice Chairman. Thomas Bainbridge was also a director of Swan, Hunter and Wigham Richardson, the Wallsend Slipway Company and the Cairn Shipping Line.⁴⁹ As well as generating a large return on capital, these activities influenced his running of the store. As he wrote in his memoirs, 'My connexion with the Consett Iron Co., Swan & Hunter, Wallsend Slipway Co., and other business concerns, gave me that broader view of commercial life and its relationship which has proved both pleasant and profitable in many ways.'⁵⁰

Thomas Bainbridge inherited his father's Methodist faith and used his wealth to fund philanthropic projects.⁵¹ He was involved in the building of Westgate Wesleyan Mission Hall, as well as charitable causes such as the Soldiers' Home and the Y.M.C.A. on Blackett Street, which opened on 9 May 1900.⁵² Bainbridge used his faith to foster a unique ethos among the staff. In an undated letter, published with his memoirs, he wrote:

⁴⁵ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p54.

⁴⁶ Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*.

⁴⁷ Sir W.H. Stephenson also attended this school. Stephenson was a prominent Newcastle Methodist with whom Thomas collaborated on the building of Westgate Hall.

⁴⁸ Gerald France in Bainbridge, T.H. (1913) *Reminiscences*. London: C. H. Kelly, p9. Thomas Hudson Bainbridge's memoirs were published one year after his death in a volume entitled *Reminiscences*, which was edited by his son-in-law, Gerald France.

⁴⁹ Bainbridge, T.H. (1913) *Reminiscences*, p9.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p11.

⁵¹ As a devout Methodist he taught at Brunswick Methodist Chapel for 40 years and was Chairman of the Federation of Free Churches. See *ibid.*, p11

⁵² The building of Westgate Hall is detailed in Bainbridge's published memoirs. See *ibid.*, p211.

We have a good many Christian salesmen in the house, and I should like some of them to take a personal interest in some one apprentice by gaining his confidence, becoming his friend and counsellor, and sometimes inviting him to tea on Sunday afternoon or supper on Sunday night, and having a talk with him after the Sunday evening service.⁵³

Thomas Bainbridge also published several books on the uses of morality in business, including *Conscience and System in the Stewardship of Money*, which sold 100,000 copies. Gerald France claimed that if there were more men like him 'class jealousies would become impossible and there would be much less necessity for insistence on rights to be won or privileges to be maintained, which we call "labour disputes."⁵⁴ Indeed, Lancaster observes that department store owners were consistently able to avoid labour disputes, unlike many of their industrial counterparts.⁵⁵ This was certainly true of Thomas Bainbridge and was largely due to his programme of Christian paternalism.

Newcastle's working classes were readily recruited into the ranks of Methodism and Bainbridge's store undoubtedly benefited from its sober Methodist credentials.⁵⁶ The explosion of consumerism in the nineteenth century provoked anxiety in many circles. The fact that women became highly visible as consumers was problematic; unaccompanied young women in urban space were frequently equated with prostitutes. Fashion itself was often perceived as a threat to the social order because it rendered class distinctions illegible.⁵⁷ In view of the *risqué* reputation of many stores, the religious and philanthropic activity of Newcastle's proprietors ensured that their businesses remained respectable.⁵⁸ These factors helped Newcastle's early retailers to prosper, but overall Newcastle's burgeoning retail culture was due to increased levels of disposable income among the populace, a new conception of commodities and the creation of new retail environments.

⁵³ Letter written by T.H. Bainbridge, reprinted *ibid.*, p22. The name of the recipient has been omitted.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p19.

⁵⁵ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p125. Given that Emerson and Thomas Bainbridge both had industrial concerns, it would be interesting to investigate whether they attempted to bring the labour management techniques of the department store to the industrial sector.

⁵⁶ This was also true of Fenwick's store. John James Fenwick was born in Stockton. He came to Newcastle in 1868 and was initially employed by the silk mercer Charles Bragg. Fenwick established a shop at No. 4 Northumberland Street, which was at the time a fashionable street populated by professionals and the Newcastle gentry. Like the Bainbridges, J.J. Fenwick was a Methodist. He was a Sunday School Superintendent at Brunswick Chapel. Ostensibly rivals, T.H. Bainbridge nevertheless regarded J.J. Fenwick as a 'colleague and faithful church worker' [Bainbridge, T.H. (1913) *Reminiscences*, p69] and together they funded the building of a Methodist church in Jesmond.

⁵⁷ These concerns were propounded by the Reverend R.J. Campbell in *Draper's Record*, 2 January 1909.

⁵⁸ Lancaster argues that rumour and sexual innuendo dogged many metropolitan and provincial department stores. See Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p132.

Newcastle's elite

Members of the elite class were active in government at local and national level. Sir Matthew White Ridley (1842-1904) was the fourth member of his family to enter the House of Commons. He served as Conservative MP for Northumberland North from 1868 to 1885, and was the Home Secretary from 1895 to 1900. James Joicey (1846-1936) became a Baronet and served as a Liberal MP (1885-1906).⁵⁹ John Clayton's son, Nathaniel George Clayton was MP for Hexham, as well as the proprietor of the *Newcastle Daily Journal* (1867-95) and Sheriff of Newcastle in 1895. W.D. Cruddas broadened his influence into the political sphere by becoming a Tory MP and serving as High Sheriff of Northumberland. He succeeded Clayton as owner of the *Journal* (1895-1912).⁶⁰ Newcastle Corporation itself was predominantly Liberal. The Town Council and a number of key committees were dominated by established Liberals like the newspaper owner and railway director James Hodgson, who was Chairman of the Finance Committee until 1867; he opposed costly innovations. His fellow Liberal, Ralph Dodds was a former plasterer who had frequently been employed by the architect John Dobson. He was a magistrate and Chairman of the Town Improvement Committee.⁶¹ Grainger's nine new streets had compounded overcrowding in the working class districts of the city. A Medical Officer of Health was only appointed in 1872 when the Sanitary Act made it obligatory. Civic improvement gained impetus when the industrialist Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell succeeded Hodgson as Chairman of the Finance Committee in 1867.⁶² Bell campaigned for sanitary reform and better housing.

Whatever their political affiliation, members of the elite had a sense of common class interests that tended to override political and religious differences. Many of Newcastle's leading citizens had been educated at Dr. Bruce's Academy, including Robert Stephenson, Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell and Dr. William Henry Newton, councillor and proponent of free libraries.⁶³ This undoubtedly helped to generate a sense of community. In the field of business, companies which were ostensibly in competition with each other were in fact often

⁵⁹ He was also President of the Mining Association of Great Britain in 1904.

⁶⁰ See Cruddas's obituary in *The Times*, 9 February 1912, p11.

⁶¹ Rowe, D.J. 'The Population of Nineteenth Century Tyneside' in McCord, N. (ed.) (1977) *Essays in Tyneside Labour History*. Newcastle: North East Group for the Study of Labour History, p26.

⁶² Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell was a co-founder of Bell Brothers of Teeside. This firm was partly responsible for shifting the chemical industry from Tyneside to Teeside. See Bell's obituary in *The Times*, 21 December 1904, p4.

⁶³ Archibald Reed, the grocer T. Carrick Watson and the architect William Lister Newcombe were also educated at Bruce's Academy. Once successful, however, many of these figures sent their sons to Eton. See Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*.

bound by family or business ties. The prime example is Armstrong's amalgamation with Charles Mitchell (see below). Likewise, R. and W. Hawthorn developed mutually beneficial links with Palmer's shipyard at Jarrow. These business ties, facilitated by family connections, reduced the intensity of local competition. By spanning different economic sectors, companies made themselves more competitive in national and international markets. It has been argued that these ties helped to form a group mentality among the industrial elite and a conviction that their interests had to be defended against the labour force.⁶⁴

Leading citizens also moved in closely overlapping social circles. Many were members of the Northern Counties Club or the Union Club. The Northern Counties Club was founded in 1829 by the 'principle gentry of Newcastle and Northumberland on the plan of the club-houses in London.'⁶⁵ It was located in the central building of John Dobson's Eldon Square. Members included such luminaries as the Duke of Northumberland, Sir Matthew White Ridley MP, John Clayton and the coal owners Thomas Cookson and Robert Surtees. This suggests that the new industrialists were merging with the landed gentry to form a consolidated ruling class.⁶⁶ It has been argued that Newcastle's elite turned themselves into an hegemony, a dominant class that controls not simply through force but by establishing 'total social authority'. This is achieved by imposing a worldview so pervasive that it is accepted as the given social order: 'By the turn of the century this new ruling class not only exercised immense economic power, but also controlled many of the wider social and political institutions.'⁶⁷ In order to understand how this was achieved it is necessary to analyse key examples in detail. This question will be considered with reference to the activities of three of Newcastle's most powerful citizens, whose architectural patronage shaped the built form of the city and the power structures existing within it.

Lord Armstrong

Foremost among Newcastle industrialists was William George Armstrong, who was a brilliant inventor, a dominant figure in Newcastle's cultural sphere and a major architectural patron

⁶⁴ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p29.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p19.

⁶⁶ The Northern Counties Club was founded in 1829 and was originally based in the Assembly Rooms. In 1832 the committee agreed to open a club house in the central building of Eldon Square and £4,000 was raised from members for this purpose. Since 1972 the Club has been located in Hood Street. See www.northerncountiesclub.co.uk. Accessed 2 March 2008.

⁶⁷ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p7.

[Fig. 5]. He was born on 26 November 1810 at 9 Pleasant Row, Shieldfield, the second child of William Armstrong (1778-1857), a successful clerk in a firm of corn merchants.⁶⁸

Armstrong was educated at a grammar school in Bishop Auckland, County Durham. Despite his interest in engineering, he initially entered the legal profession, joining Armorer Donkin's firm of solicitors, and became a partner in the firm in 1833.⁶⁹ Armstrong's background was therefore both mercantile and professional: he was neither the *nouveau riche* industrialist of legend, nor the self-made man celebrated in popular myths of Newcastle.



Figure 48 Sir William George Armstrong. (www.bamburghcastle.com)

Pursuing his technological interests, Armstrong experimented with hydraulics and patented a design for a hydraulic crane which he demonstrated on Newcastle Quayside in 1846. With the help of Donkin he purchased five and a half acres of land at Elswick the following year, and together with Donkin, George Cruddas, Addison Potter and Richard

⁶⁸ William Armstrong Senior was born in the village of Wreay, near Carlisle, but moved to Newcastle, where he held a number of public positions in Newcastle. He became an Alderman in 1849 and Mayor in 1850. Armstrong's mother was the daughter of William Potter of Walbottle Hall, coal owner and brewer. See McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong: The Life and Times of Sir William George Armstrong, Baron Armstrong of Cragside*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Longhirst, p11.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p17. Donkin was a Newcastle Councillor and a friend of Armstrong's father.

Lambert he set up the firm of W.G. Armstrong and Company.⁷⁰ The building of Elswick Works was commenced in May 1847 and the new workshops were built with stone obtained from Richard Grainger. Small businesses such as the Benwell Fishery and the Elswick Copperas Works were purchased and closed down to make way for the new installation. Eventually the Elswick Works extended from Elswick to Scotswood, a distance of three miles [Fig. 6]. The works employed 3,800 men, making it Newcastle's largest single employer in the field of engineering.⁷¹

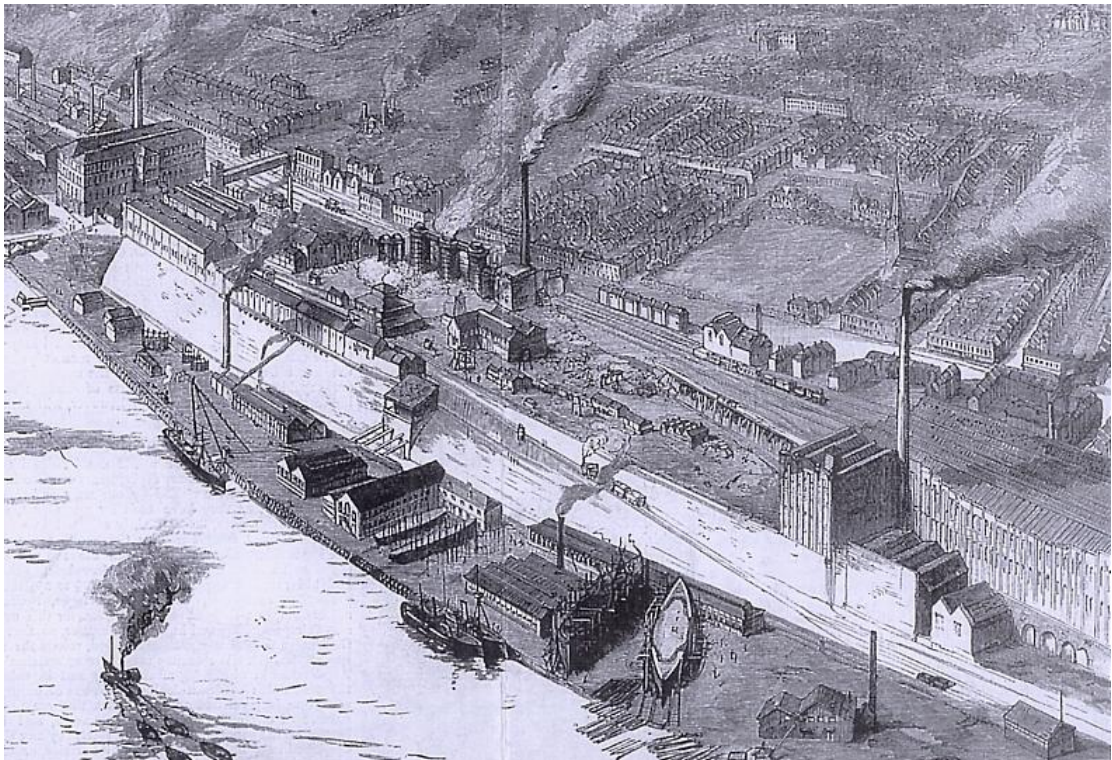


Figure 49 Image entitled Bird's Eye View of Elswick Works, 1887, showing the shipyard and steelworks. (Newcastle City Library).

Armstrong began manufacturing artillery in 1855, primarily in response to the Crimean War (1853-6). The ordnance used by the British Army had changed little since Waterloo, but Armstrong realised that a rifled barrel and elongated projectile would improve accuracy. He developed a breech-loaded gun in which the barrel was wrapped in welded helical coils, which reduced the weight without compromising strength. Recognised as the finest of its kind in the world, the gun revolutionised ordnance production. The design was adopted by the War Office in 1858 and Armstrong received orders from the government

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp37-38. Richard Lambert was a solicitor and wine merchant.

⁷¹ The organisation of the Elswick Works is discussed in Warren, K. (1989) *Armstrong's of Elswick: Growth in Engineering and Armaments to the Merger with Vickers*. London: Macmillan.

totalling £1,067,000. Armstrong granted the rights of this gun to the nation, for which he received a knighthood in 1859. He was appointed Engineer of Rifled Ordnance to the War Department and in order to avoid a conflict of interests he founded a separate company, the Elswick Ordnance Works, in which he was not financially involved [Fig. 7]. He did, however, appoint the ballistics expert Captain Andrew Noble as joint manager with George Rendel.⁷² When the government cancelled its contract with the Elswick Ordnance Works in 1862, the company was able to operate without restrictions. The Armstrong gun was sold around the world and was used by both sides in the American Civil War.⁷³ At the outbreak of war in 1914 Armstrong Whitworth (as the firm was known after merging with Joseph Whitworth of Manchester in 1897) was one of a small number of armaments manufacturers chosen by David Lloyd George to supply weapons to the armed forces, and Armstrong's 60-pound gun was used on the Western Front.

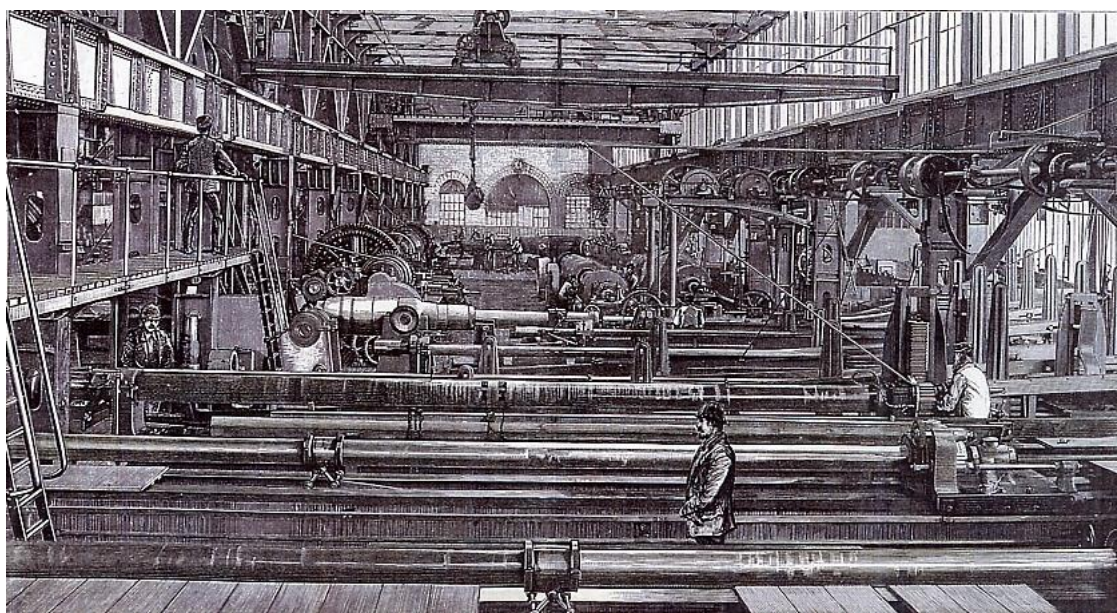


Figure 50 Elswick Ordnance Works, boring and turning shop. (Newcastle City Library).

W.G. Armstrong and Co. built bridges using innovative hydraulic mechanisms and one of these had a transformative impact on Newcastle. By the 1870s a new low level bridge was needed to communicate between Gateshead and the quayside. It was imperative that the bridge did not restrict traffic on the Tyne and this was particularly vital to Armstrong,

⁷² Noble became a full partner in the business in 1861. For the history of the company see Elswick Ordnance Company (1913) *The Elswick Ordnance Company – its origin and expansion into the present firm of Sir W.G. Armstrong Whitworth and Company Limited with affiliated companies*. [TWAS - D.VA/81].

⁷³ McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p79.

whose Elswick Works were located up river. Armstrong's radical solution was to design a bridge that rotated on a mechanism powered by hydraulic engines.⁷⁴ The Swing Bridge was opened on the 15th July 1876 and the swinging mechanism was first used two days later. The event was depicted in the *Illustrated London News* [Fig. 8].⁷⁵ In 1894 Armstrong's firm supplied the hydraulic engines and accumulators for London's Tower Bridge.



Figure 51 Opening of the Swing Bridge. (*Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1876).

Armstrong's success depended not only on technological innovations, but on business acumen. The firm diversified into other areas and expanded via strategic mergers. In 1867 Armstrong reached an informal agreement with the shipbuilder Charles Mitchell that Armstrong would arm the ships built at Mitchell's Low Walker yard. For example, in 1883 Mitchell's yard launched the *Esmeralda*, an armoured cruiser intended for the Chilean navy, which was then armed at Elswick.⁷⁶ Armstrong amalgamated with Mitchell in 1882 and the firm of W.G. Armstrong, Mitchell and Co. was launched with a capital of £1,575,000.⁷⁷ Armstrong, Mitchell and Co. was regarded as the only firm in the world able to build and fully

⁷⁴ The Swing Bridge was funded by the Corporation at a cost of £240,432, 1s, 7d. It replaced the stone-built Georgian Tyne Bridge. Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p248.

⁷⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 29 July 1876.

⁷⁶ The ship was in fact bought by the Japanese navy and renamed the *Idzumi*, whereupon it took part in the Russo-Japanese war. See McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p95.

⁷⁷ In 1886 the firm launched the *Gluckauf*, which was recognised as the world's first oil tanker. It also built the *Yermak*, a pioneering Russian icebreaker, in 1898. See TWAS - DS.VA/2/5588, profile plan of the 'Gluckauf', n.d. See also Keys, D. and Smith, K. (1997) *From Walker to the World: Charles Mitchell's Low Walker Shipyard*. Newcastle: Newcastle Library and Information Service, pp26-28 and 33.

arm a battleship. Many such vessels were built and sold to the navies of Argentina, Brazil, Russia and the USA. The firm established particularly strong connections with Japan, building a total of sixteen warships for the Japanese navy.⁷⁸ Japanese ambassadors visited Newcastle on 21 October 1872 and stayed at the Royal Station Hotel. Here they were met by Armstrong, who took them on a tour of Tyneside.⁷⁹ During a dinner at the County Hotel, Armstrong entertained Prince Yamashino and stated that 'the ship that had been launched was for the service of a country which was never likely to come into collision with our own peace-loving country'.⁸⁰

Armstrong wielded almost unparalleled influence and his activities helped to shape Newcastle's cultural sphere. His father had joined the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne at the age of twenty and was a founder of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne.⁸¹ This paved the way for Armstrong's entrance into Newcastle's intellectual culture. He joined the Natural History Society in 1846, becoming Vice President in 1861 and President in 1893. He donated £11,500 towards the cost of building the Hancock Natural History Museum.⁸² Armstrong had demonstrated many of his early inventions at the Literary and Philosophical Society and in 1860 he succeeded Robert Stephenson as President. In 1889 he funded the building of a new west wing and installed electric lighting. When fire broke out on 7 February 1893 – the night of the Society's centenary celebrations – Armstrong funded the repairs. Frank W. Rich carried out the alterations, fireproofing the building by adding concrete floors reinforced with steel beams. He installed new glazed roofs in the library and committee room.⁸³

During his long career, Armstrong acquired numerous accolades, which reflected the immense status he held both locally and nationally. He was elected President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1863 and was awarded the Freedom of the City of Newcastle in 1886. He was granted a peerage in 1887, becoming Baron Armstrong of

⁷⁸ Some of these connections have been explored in Conte-Helm, M. (1989) *Japan and the North East of England: From 1862 to the Present Day*. London: Athlone Press. Newcastle was crucial to the modernisation of Japan and conversely Japan had a significant influence on North East culture.

⁷⁹ A party led by Iwakura Tomomi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in London in 1872. Dividing into several groups, the party visited Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as Newcastle. The event was reported in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 23 October 1872.

⁸⁰ Lord Armstrong quoted in Keys, D. and Smith, K. (1997) *From Walker to the World*, p39.

⁸¹ For a general history of this society see Goddard, T.R. (1929) *History of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne, 1829-1929*. Newcastle: A. Reid.

⁸² Lady Armstrong gave £1000 to the same fund. [*Builder*, vol.46, 30 August 1884, p305].

⁸³ Victorian Society, *Northumbrian Weekend*, p5.

Cragside. This public adulation culminated in the building of a monument on Barras Bridge [Fig. 9].⁸⁴ A committee including the Earl of Carlisle, C.W. Mitchell (the artist son of Armstrong's former business partner), Armstrong's nephew W.A. Armstrong, C.J. Spence and P.G.B. Westmacott convened to organise a subscription fund and competition.⁸⁵ According to the conditions of the competition:

It has been decided to erect a memorial of the late Lord Armstrong in a prominent position in his native city of Newcastle upon Tyne, such a memorial to include a portrait statue of Lord Armstrong . . . The committee suggest that the statue itself, which may be in a standing or sitting posture, should be of bronze and should form the most prominent feature of the memorial.⁸⁶

The sum of £5000 was set aside for this purpose. Alfred Gilbert was appointed to advise the committee in their selection, but the committee reserved the right to reject any of the selected designs. The local architect W.H. Knowles drew out the site plan and this was made available to competitors on request. Armstrong was immortalised in a statue sculpted by Sir W. Hamo Thornycroft, which stands upon a plinth designed by Knowles. The life-size bronze statue is comparable to the Stephenson Monument in that it portrays Armstrong as a scientist and intellectual: in one hand he holds a roll of drawings and in the other a book. Whereas the earlier monument was heavily allegorical, however, Armstrong's statue is devoid of pomposity, instead reflecting his introverted personality.⁸⁷ Bronze reliefs celebrate Armstrong's major achievements, including his first hydraulic crane and the Swing Bridge. The monument stands in front of the Hancock Museum, which Armstrong had helped to fund, and the conjunction portrays him as one of Newcastle's city fathers. A large crowd attended the unveiling on 24 July 1906 and the Duke of Northumberland described the monument as a 'noble tribute to the genius of Newcastle's greatest benefactor and one of England's most brilliant and honoured masters of industry.'

⁸⁴ The building of the monument was instigated by Armstrong's great-nephew William H. Armstrong Watson (1863-1941), who inherited Cragside after Armstrong's death. The cost of the bronze casting was £300. See 'Memorial to the Late Lord Armstrong, 1902' in RIBA Competitions Conditions Collection, Box 4, B&I/4/23.

⁸⁵ Percy Westmacott was an engineer who had worked for Armstrong at the Elswick Works. He became a full partner in 1861. He built Benwell Hill House on the West Road. See Donald, J. (1994) *Not Just Bricks and Mortar: a look at some of Newcastle's most interesting dwellings*. Newcastle: Newcastle Libraries and Arts, p8.

⁸⁶ 'Memorial to the Late Lord Armstrong, 1902' in RIBA Competitions Conditions Collection, Box 4, B&I/4/23.

⁸⁷ A Scottish terrier is lying at his feet. This detail was repeated from H.H. Emerson's famous portrait of Armstrong, which hangs in the dining room at Cragside. It remains hard to reconcile this image with Armstrong's persona as a Victorian arms manufacturer and shipping baron.



Figure 52 Unveiling of the Armstrong Monument, 24 July 1906. (Newcastle City Library).

Sir Andrew Noble

Sir Andrew Noble was one of Armstrong's closest affiliates and inherited much of his status as Armstrong gradually retreated from public life. Born at Greenock in Scotland on the 13 September 1831, Noble served in the Royal Artillery and became an expert in ballistics. He was appointed Secretary to the select committee on rifled cannon in 1855.⁸⁸ After leaving the army, he entered partnership with W.G. Armstrong and Co. in 1860. Armstrong retired in 1883 and Noble became Vice Chairman, graduating to Chairman when Armstrong died in 1900. He resided in a house owned by Armstrong in Jesmond Dene, a former fisherman's lodge which had been built in 1822 by T.E. Headlam to designs by John Dobson.⁸⁹ Here he undertook experiments in a private laboratory.

⁸⁸ McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p70.

⁸⁹ Jesmond Dene House was purchased by Armstrong in 1857 and sold to Noble in 1871. See Donald, J. (1994) *Not Just Bricks and Mortar*, p25.

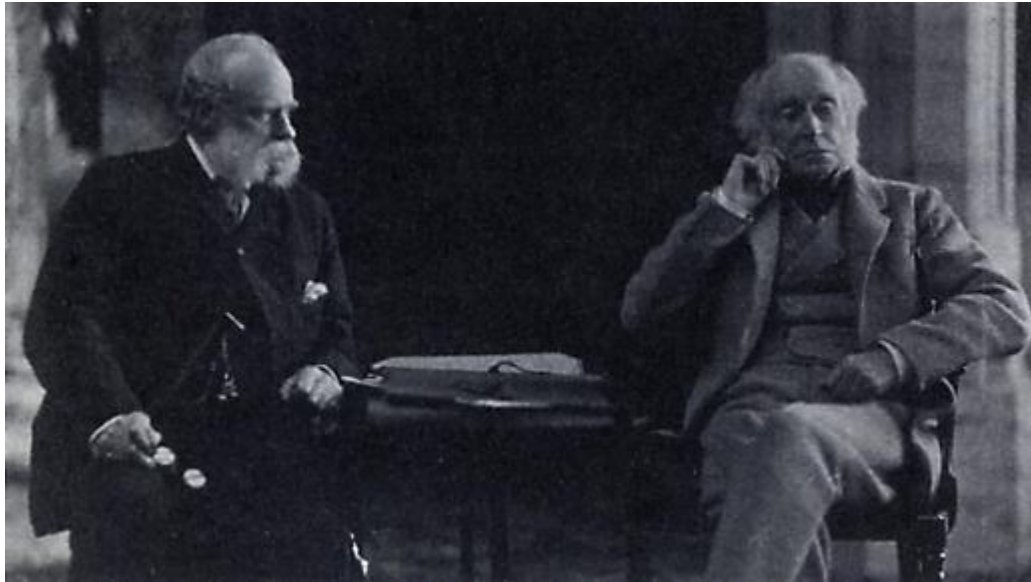


Figure 53 Sir Andrew Noble and Sir W.G. Armstrong. (Newcastle City Library).

Noble was much influenced by Armstrong in his habits and values [Fig. 10]. He employed Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) to remodel Jesmond Dene House in the manner of Cragside. Shaw's alterations transformed the house into a Tudor-style mansion. Armstrong's consulting architect Frank W. Rich designed further alterations in 1897, adding a Gothic porch, great hall and new west wing [Figs. 11 and 12]. He also designed a series of real tennis courts, together with an adjoining lodge (c.1900).⁹⁰ This was a red brick building of one tall storey, with dressings of ashlar and terracotta. The octagonal corner turrets are reminiscent of Rich's Ouseburn Board School (see Chapter 6). The Northern Architectural Association visited the house on 17 September 1898.⁹¹ Ultimately, Jesmond Dene house was transformed into an appropriate venue for receiving foreign dignitaries and brokering lucrative business deals.⁹²

⁹⁰ For a discussion of Rich's work at Jesmond Dene house, see Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*, p29.

⁹¹ Northern Architectural Association, *Annual Report*, 1896-7.

⁹² Nevertheless, the home life of Sir Andrew and Lady Noble was given a rather unflattering literary transposition in *The Islanders* by the Russian author Yevgeny Zamyatin (1884-1937). Zamyatin had trained as a naval architect in St. Petersburg. He worked in the Armstrong Whitworth shipyard at Low Walker between in 1916 and 1917, supervising the construction of icebreakers. See Myers, A. (1993) 'Zamyatin in Newcastle: The Green Wall and The Pink Ticket' in *Slavonic and East European review*, vol.71, no.3, pp417-427. Noble is also thought to have been the model for Sir Andrew Undershaft in George Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara*.



Figure 54 Jesmond Dene House, west front. (Author's photograph).



Figure 55 Jesmond Dene House, south elevation. (Author's photograph).

Noble succeeded Armstrong as the main ambassador of the firm and entertained foreign visitors at Jesmond Dene House.⁹³ Representatives from the Japanese navy bought 12-inch Armstrong guns for use in the war with Russia and Noble later claimed that, 'all the ships engaged in the Battle of the Japan Sea were armed with guns from Elswick.'⁹⁴ In recognition of Noble's services the Japanese naval hero Admiral Count Togo – known as the Japanese Nelson – visited Newcastle in July 1911 and stayed at Jesmond Dene House [Fig. 13]. At a luncheon hosted by the Lord Mayor, Togo stated: 'It is a well-known fact that the name Newcastle is inseparable from the pages of the history of the Japanese navy, so many men-of-war have been either built or armed by the famous works of Elswick, which the city of Newcastle is proud to possess.'⁹⁵ Noble was knighted in 1893. He died in 1915, leaving an estate valued at £734,000.



Figure 56 Sir Andrew Noble (centre) with delegates from the Japanese navy: Admiral Togo (seated), Commander Saito (third from right) and Commander Taniguchi (far right). (Newcastle City Library).

⁹³ Armstrong and Noble were both awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure of the Rising Sun. See Conte-Helm, M. (1989) *Japan and the North East*, p28.

⁹⁴ Sir Andrew Noble quoted in *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 28 April 1906.

⁹⁵ Admiral Count Togo quoted in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 20 July 1911.

Charles Mitchell

Charles Mitchell was a shipping magnate who used his immense wealth to become a major patron of the arts [Fig. 14]. He was born in Aberdeen on 20 May 1820, the son of a merchant. After studying chemistry and physics at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he arrived at Newcastle on 24 September 1842 and worked at John Coult's shipyard at Walker. Mitchell was introduced to the banker Matthew R. Bigge, whose family members were coal owners and industrialists. Bigge provided the capital for the establishment of Mitchell's Low Walker yard in 1852.⁹⁶ The buildings were erected by Richard Cail, a builder and future mayor of Newcastle. In 1854 Mitchell married Anne Swan, the sister of the Jarrow shipbuilder Henry F. Swan, and this connection brought Mitchell valuable business contacts.⁹⁷ In 1860 Swan joined the company and later became a partner in the business. Expanding his interests, Mitchell established a repair yard at Wallsend in 1871. He was a director of the Wallsend Slipway Company, together with Henry and Charles Swan, and the retailer Thomas Hudson Bainbridge. As part of Newcastle's integrated elite, Mitchell formed links with many prominent men and had a lucrative sideline in building luxury yachts for his associates. In 1866, for example, he built the yacht *Northumbria* for George Robert Stephenson (1819-1905), head of Robert Stephenson and Company.⁹⁸ The majority of Mitchell's ships were built for the coal trade, which made him a lynchpin of industrial relations in the North East.

⁹⁶ McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell 1820-1895, Victorian Shipbuilder*. Newcastle: Newcastle upon Tyne City Libraries & Arts, p9.

⁹⁷ Anne Swan was the daughter of William Swan (1799-1849) of West Farm, Walker. [Ibid, p5].

⁹⁸ George Robert Stephenson was the nephew of George Stephenson. In turn, Mitchell depended upon business and professional connections; the engine for the first ship built at his yard, as well as many later vessels, was supplied by Robert Stephenson and Company. See Keys, D. and Smith, K. (1997) *From Walker to the World*, pp13-16.

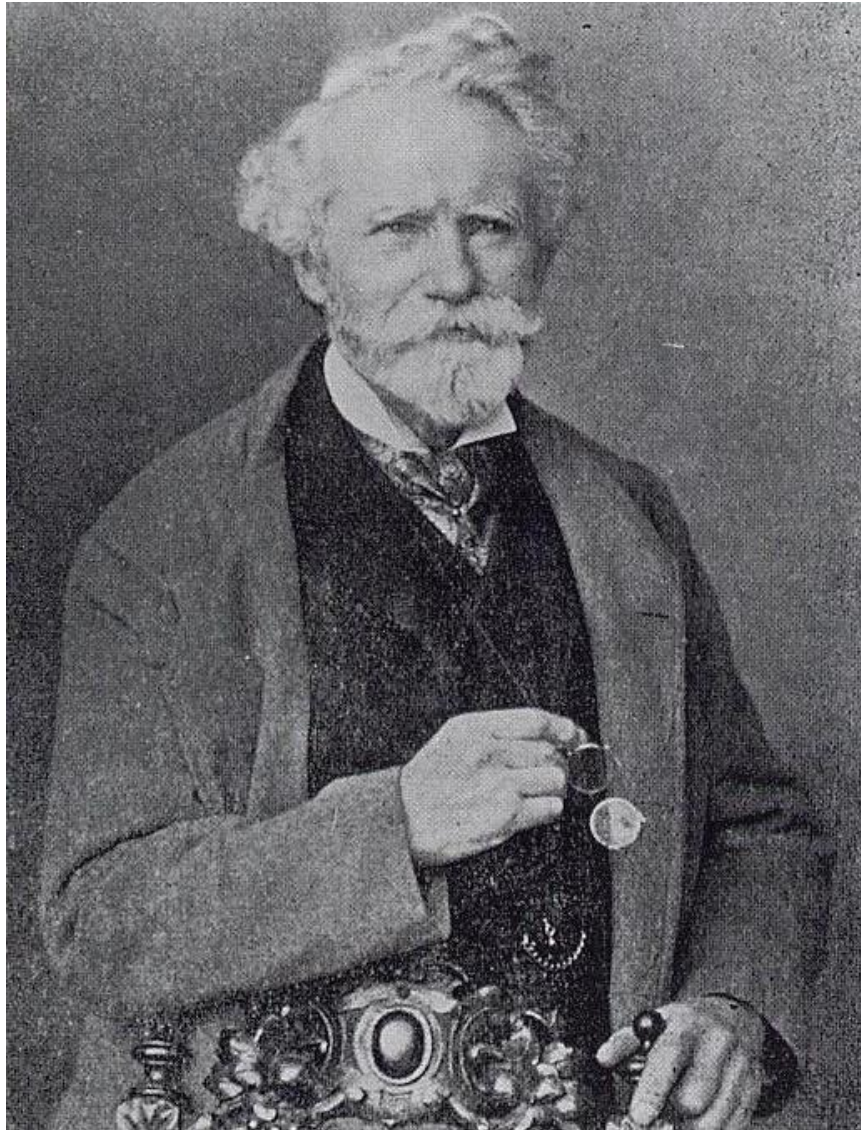


Figure 57 Charles Mitchell. (Keys, D and Smith, K. [1997] *From Walker to the World: Charles Mitchell's Low Walker Shipyard*. Newcastle: Newcastle Libraries and Information Services, p4).

Mitchell lived initially at Low Walker, in close proximity to his ship yard. Following the example of the Newcastle gentry, however, he moved to Jesmond in 1869, purchasing a mansion from Richard Burdon-Sanderson II and renamed the house Jesmond Towers.⁹⁹ He amassed great wealth but was enigmatic in his politics and his role as a philanthropist. A frustrated charity worker is said to have exclaimed, 'It is not worth spending a penny stamp on him.'¹⁰⁰ Yet Mitchell did provide amenities for his workers and spent large sums on himself, his family and his immediate social circle. It seems that his philanthropy was thoroughly

⁹⁹ Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p156.

¹⁰⁰ McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p30. Discussing Armstrong and Mitchell, E.M. Atkins argues 'Their cultural activities . . . generally sprang from autonomous, personal decisions rather than civic-minded philanthropy.' See Atkins, E.M. 'The Genesis of the Laing Art Gallery' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p200.

strategic. Mitchell built several institutions for his workers, in whose welfare he had a vested interest, including a Mechanic's Institute and Hall in Bath Street, Walker (1861).¹⁰¹ He built Walker Infirmary to provide medical attention for workers injured in his shipyard. This was a modest two-storey brick building that was domestic in character [Fig. 15]. The building cost £2000, but each worker was required to pay one halfpenny per week towards its upkeep. It was opened in May 1870 by the mayor of Newcastle, James Morrison.



Figure 58 Walker Hospital. (Keys, D and Smith, K. [1997] *From Walker to the World*, p8).

Mitchell did much business with Russia, having longstanding connections with the country and a grasp of the language.¹⁰² The warships *Ijora* and *Stavianka* were built for the Russian Navy and launched in 1861. The *Saratovski Ledokol* was the first purpose-built icebreaker, launched in 1895 for use on the Volga. Most famously, Mitchell built the *Baikal*, a 3000-ton railway ferry steamer that was dismantled into 7000 parts and reassembled at Lake Baikal as part of the Trans-Siberian railway (1896) [Fig. 16]. In building these ships Mitchell served a global market and his vessels were crucial to the industrial and military development

¹⁰¹ See Keys, D. and Smith, K. (1997) *From Walker to the World*.

¹⁰² However, Mitchell was not partisan in choosing his clients. In 1880 the *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei* were built for China. The *Naniwa* was built for the Japanese Navy and launched on 18 March 1885. See TWAS - DS.VA/3/1994.99, photograph showing a model of a cruiser, either Naniwa Kan or Takachiho Kan for the Imperial Japanese Navy, n.d.

of other countries. This demonstrates that Newcastle's economy functioned on a truly global scale.

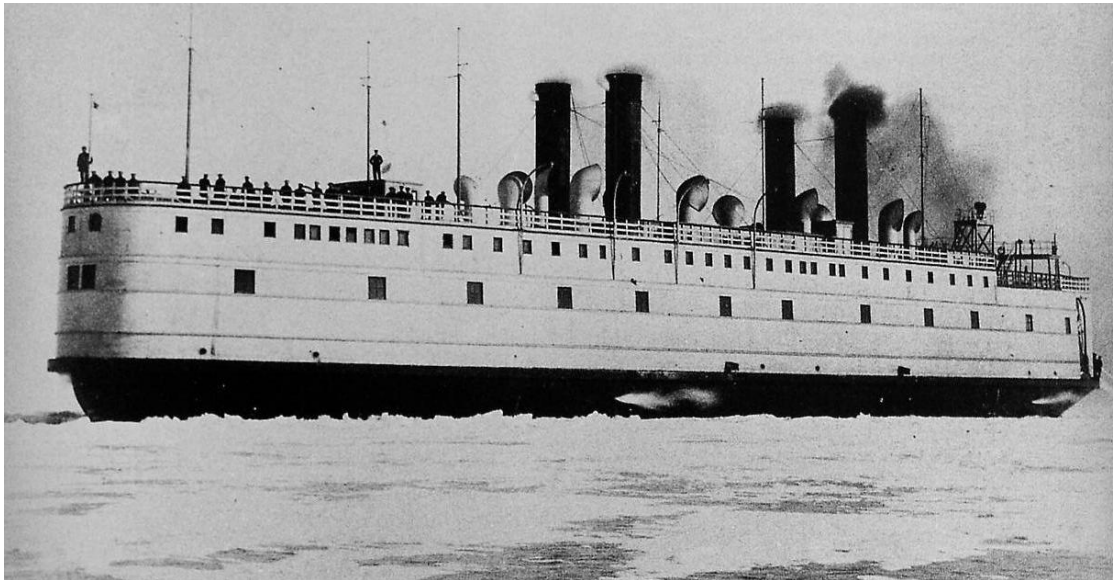


Figure 59 The Baikal. (Keys, D and Smith, K. [1997] *From Walker to the World*, p22).

Diversification of capital: public utility companies

An essential attribute of a hegemonic class is that it successfully propagates a worldview of its own making. Newcastle industrialists extended their influence into the public sphere by investing in public utility companies. For example, Armstrong's partners A.L. Potter and Armorer Donkin were principal members of the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company (founded in 1830). The engineer Robert Hawthorn and the town clerk John Clayton were also members.¹⁰³ Potter, Hawthorn and Donkin were committee members of the Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company, as were George Cruddas and Richard Lambert, both partners of Armstrong. The coal owner W.H. Stephenson was also involved.¹⁰⁴ As mentioned above, industrialists were keen to invest in electricity companies because an expanding electricity network meant a larger market for coal. By 1914 the Newcastle upon Tyne Electricity Supply Company had established a network covering 1400 square miles. This was achieved thanks to the ingenuity of the electrical engineer Charles Merz, who also acted as a consultant for the

¹⁰³ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p18.

¹⁰⁴ This organisation had begun life as the Whittle Dean Water Company, founded by Armstrong, Richard Grainger and David Blair White. See Bevan, J.R. 'Public Utilities in the 19th Century: Gas and Electricity' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p43.

electrification of the North Eastern Railway.¹⁰⁵ Merz was the nephew of John Wigham Richardson (1837-1908), who convinced many of his fellow shipbuilders to use electricity in their yards.¹⁰⁶ The Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Company included Richardson among its first subscribers. Not surprisingly, it was linked to the Electricity Supply Company [Fig. 17]. The company operated from a combined office and power station on Melbourne Street, designed by Benjamin Simpson in a style reminiscent of Norman Shaw's public and commercial architecture, particularly his design for New Scotland Yard (1887-90), which has been interpreted as a 'tour de force of the early Free Style.'¹⁰⁷



Figure 60 Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Company, designed by B.F. Simpson, 1901. (Author's photograph).

¹⁰⁵ Merz's father John Theodore Merz was a founder of the North Eastern Railway, and this connection no doubt helped Merz to secure the job. See Bevan, J.R. 'Public Utilities in the 19th Century: Gas and Electricity' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p43.

¹⁰⁶ The issue of Newcastle's electricity supply is discussed in more detail in Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p33.

¹⁰⁷ Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p44.

Philanthropy

Another way in which Newcastle's elite brought the public arena under their control was by funding public institutions. In this era, state provision of services and amenities was minimal and this allowed powerful private individuals to come to the fore as donors and patrons. As Kate Hill observes:

Central government legislation tended to provide for the upkeep of amenities only through the rates, and so councils were generally dependent for their larger projects on bequests and donations from wealthy citizens, who thus became important leaders and initiators of civic improvement.¹⁰⁸

Industrialists provided schools and hospitals and in doing so made themselves integral to Newcastle's social and economic functioning. It has been argued that these institutions functioned as organs of social control and were intended to placate the militant workforce.¹⁰⁹ They also built museums, art galleries and churches, and in many cases, their donations were presented as sites for spiritual and intellectual improvement.¹¹⁰ Matthew Arnold's provocatively titled *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) argued that culture was able to civilise and pacify the working classes, and this edict was widely taken up by Victorian philanthropists. Henry Cole (1800-82) was among the leading proponents of the didactic role of museums and galleries. Philanthropy thus helped to legitimise the accumulation of wealth and make their dominance of the city seem morally justified.

It can be argued that philanthropic activity indicates that Tyneside industrialists were conceding to working class needs, and indeed the schools, hospitals and libraries they provided have had far-reaching social benefits.¹¹¹ However, the provision of amenities also made sound economic sense, as it helped to secure a healthy and relatively well-educated workforce. Such motives are evident in the remarks of John Wigham Richardson in a lecture to the Economic History Society: 'By wise poor-laws, we can make each man intelligent and

¹⁰⁸ See Hill, K. 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece', p101.

¹⁰⁹ The leading exponent of the 'social control' thesis is Tony Bennet, who has examined the regulation of social practices within the space of the museum. Bennet argues that museums were used to reform working class manners, as well as forming sites of instruction. See Bennet, T. (1995) *The Birth of the Museum History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge.

¹¹⁰ For example, Sir W.H. Stephenson was a major contributor to churches, giving £2500 towards the building of Elswick Road chapel and £3000 for the Bond Memorial Chapel at Benwell. Stephenson also built three libraries in working class areas of the city. Stephenson's philanthropy is discussed in Chapter 7.

¹¹¹ As Mike Barke writes: 'For the first time the large industrial employers on Tyneside had to make concessions. There was widespread concern in this group over the growing power of organised labour [. . .].' See Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities*, p49.

skilful. By sanitary reforms, we can make his body stronger and his valid life longer. By just laws, and just administration, we can secure to him the due enjoyment of the fruit of his toil.¹¹² Members of the ruling elite donated parks to the city, often on land vacated when the family moved away. For example, Thomas Hodgkin provided Hodgkin Park when he sold Benwell Dene House. Parks were intended to improve the physical health of workers, thereby making them more productive. The Council supported this programme by building baths and washhouses. Proposing to open such a facility at Elswick, the Council reported that due to:

The nature of the occupation of the artisans in this ward, labouring chiefly in the engine works, it was desirable that they should have some better opportunities of securing their personal cleanliness. [They] were really the backbone and the mainstay of their trade and manufacturers. [Public baths would contribute] towards maintaining and strengthening their bodily vigour.¹¹³

One of the underlying motives for much of this activity was to quell working class insurrection. The ruling elite closely monitored the temperament of their workforce. In the 1830s and 40s Tyneside had experienced some of the social unrest that 'blew across Britain in successive gusts: Luddite and Radical, trade-unionist and utopian-Socialist, Democratic and Chartist.'¹¹⁴ Over the following decades a militant working class posed an increasing threat to the authority of the industrialists. This unrest erupted in the 1844 Miners' Strike and the 1871 Engineers' Strike. In the latter, known as the 'Nine Hour Strike', 7,500 engineering workers petitioned employers to reduce the working week from 57 to 54 hours. 4,300 of these workers were from the major engineering firms of W.G. Armstrong, R. and W. Hawthorn, J. and G. Joicey and T. Clarke.¹¹⁵ The employers eventually conceded by introducing the nine hour day in 1872, but this defeat spurred them into action in order to safeguard their authority.¹¹⁶ Armstrong set up the Engineering Employers' Association in

¹¹² John Wigham Richardson quoted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p43. Besides being a successful shipbuilder, Richardson was involved with the Tyne Pontoons and Dry Docks Company, the Wallsend Slipway and Engineering Company and the Walker and Wallsend Gas Company. When he died Richardson left an estate worth £92,000. See his obituary in *The Times*, 16 April 1908, p8.

¹¹³ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1871-2, p282.

¹¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawm quoted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p19.

¹¹⁵ This was a highly contentious issue and was discussed in the national press. See *The Times*, 15 September 1871, p10 and 18 September 1871, p6.

¹¹⁶ Armstrong's political beliefs are hard to determine and his public role ambiguous. He was asked to stand by both Conservative and Liberal parties, but rejected both offers. In 1886 he stood as a Unionist Liberal for Newcastle. After serving on the Town Council he resigned his position in 1874 because of a contract pending between his firm and the Corporation. Armstrong's letter of resignation was read at a meeting of the Council. See *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 November 1874, p21.

1895 to defuse militant trade unionism. This organisation had representation in the key manufacturing districts of Belfast and Glasgow as well as Tyneside. Armstrong's colleague Sir Andrew Noble was a member. The Newcastle branch was based in Bolbec Hall, designed by Armstrong's consulting architect, Frank W. Rich.¹¹⁷

Armstrong was among the leading philanthropists and supported numerous charitable causes during his career. He made donations to the Newcastle Blind Asylum, the Deaf and Dumb Asylum and the Ragged School. He also acted as an architectural patron by giving £600 towards the building of the Northern Counties School for the Deaf in 1859. This was a Gothic building with a central tower terminating in a broach spire. Armstrong gave £2000 towards the building of the Prudhoe Convalescent Home and £5,500 to the Royal Victoria Infirmary.¹¹⁸ He built an outpatients' department at City Road for the Fleming Hospital for Sick Children (1896). Again, this was designed by Frank W. Rich and was built as a memorial to Lady Armstrong, who had died in 1893.¹¹⁹

While industrialists recognised the benefits they could accrue by providing education for their workers, it was seen as a potentially dangerous commodity in the wrong hands. For example, Armstrong established the Elswick Works Literary and Mechanics Institute in 1848 [Fig. 18], but was adamant that education should be of benefit to the employer and should not unduly advantage the worker, nor should it encourage him to have ideas above his station.¹²⁰ The *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* paraphrased his speech: 'Long experience has taught him what may be got out of the average mechanic and he is not disposed to indulge in any Utopian dreams as to the magical influences of certain forms of knowledge.'¹²¹

¹¹⁷ This building is discussed in Chapter 3.

¹¹⁸ This money was spent on new wards and an operating theatre. See Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Architectural Competitions in the Builder 1843-1900*. London: Mansell.

¹¹⁹ *Builder*, vol.70, 30 May 1896, p474.

¹²⁰ The records of the Elswick Literary and Mechanics Institute are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives. [TWAS - D.VA/94-109].

¹²¹ *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 28 November 1887.

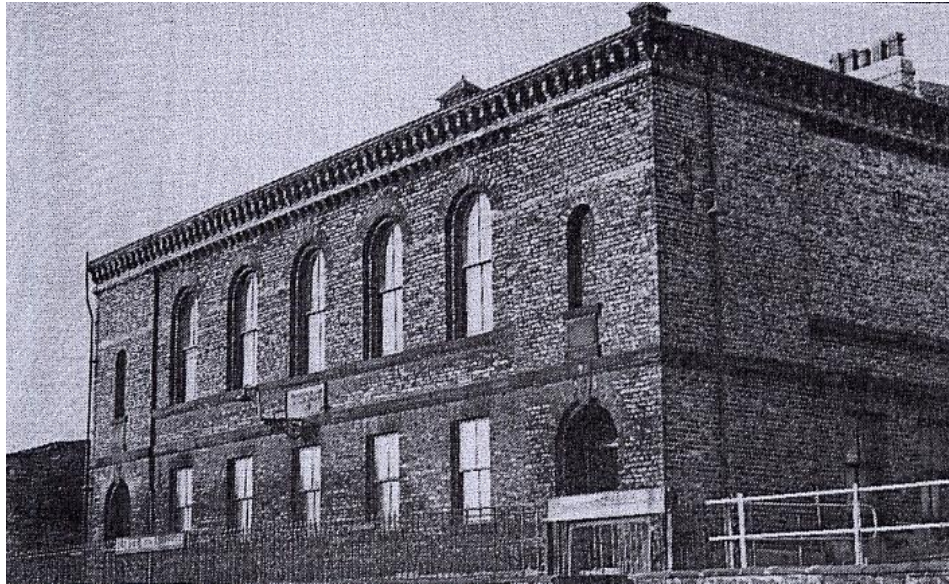


Figure 61 Elswick Mechanics' Institute. (Benwell Community Project [1978] *The Making of a Ruling Class: Two Centuries of Capital Development on Tyneside, Final Report No. 6. Newcastle upon Tyne: Benwell Community Project*).



Figure 62 Elswick Works Elementary School in 1972. (Newcastle City Library).

For the children of his employees, Armstrong provided the Elswick Works Elementary School (1866), which lasted until 1902 when the Elementary Education Act brought schools under the power of the local authority [Fig. 19].¹²² Discussing his reasons for opening the school, Armstrong stated: 'Children left to themselves will not only grow up in ignorance, but

¹²² For records of the Elswick School see TWAS - D.VA/110-119. See also Hall, J.R. (1912) *The Elswick Works School - some recollections and impressions, 1869-1887*. [TWAS - D.VA/116].

will almost infallibly fall into vice . . . In school education, the impressionable minds of children are acted upon by precept and example. Habits of industry are acquired.'¹²³ Evidently industrialists saw two sides to education for the working classes: it could benefit the employer and propagate social cohesion, but it could also stimulate social mobility and political awareness among the workforce.

The same figures promoted higher education as a means of imposing a worldview of their own making. A group of Newcastle's most prominent citizens, including Armstrong, Sir Benjamin C. Browne, Thomas Hodgkin and Robert Spence Watson, persuaded Durham University to establish a College of Physical Science in the city in 1871.¹²⁴ Armstrong provided part of the funds for the new institution, which subsequently became known as Armstrong College.¹²⁵ His firm also awarded scholarships to allow students to attend.¹²⁶ Significantly, the cause of education was promoted by Newcastle's men-of-letters, as well as industrialists with a vested interest in the intellectual capabilities of their workers. Indeed, it was crucial that the elite should include men of cultural and intellectual standing. For example, the solicitor and Liberal MP Robert Spence Watson (1837-1911) was a leading figure among the elite and had a profound influence on Newcastle's intellectual culture. Born in 1837 at 10 Claremont Place, Gateshead, he was educated at Dr. Bruce's Academy, the Friends School in York and London University. As a solicitor he acted as arbitrator in over 100 industrial disputes. He had trade union support, but it has been argued that he personified the ambiguous nature of the Liberal Party at this time, which above all sought to resolve the conflict between the industrial capitalists and the workers. The party tried to prevent labour disputes from arising, but did not directly challenge the ruling class.¹²⁷ Watson was therefore an invaluable ally for Newcastle's industrialists.

He became the honorary secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society in 1862, and delivered 75 lectures to the society during his lifetime. He also published *The History of*

¹²³ Armstrong quoted in Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p43.

¹²⁴ The college was calculated to advance the interests of industry. Newcastle Corporation felt that it was 'a matter of very great desirability to such a community as that of Newcastle that they should have in the North of England a school for teaching those sciences which experience has shown to be absolutely necessary . . . and it was of still greater importance that Newcastle being the centre of those great industries should have been selected for the purpose of affording the necessary facilities for the establishment of such a school.' [Report from the Finance Committee of Newcastle Corporation, *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 5 July 1871, p403].

¹²⁵ The opening of a new wing in 1888 was reported in *The Times*, 6 November 1888, p10. The extension was opened by Princess Louise, who visited Craggside after the ceremony.

¹²⁶ Engineering scholarships to Armstrong College are listed in TWAS - D.VA/119 (1919).

¹²⁷ Indeed, the major industrialists were often affiliated with Liberalism. James Joicey, for example, was a Liberal MP and proprietor of the Liberal *Newcastle Daily Leader*. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p41].

the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne in 1897.¹²⁸ A proponent of education, he helped to establish Newcastle's first free public library and was President of the Tyneside Sunday Lecture Society, a body set up to provide educational lectures for the working classes.¹²⁹ As a prominent Liberal, he founded the Newcastle Liberal Association and was President of the National Liberal Association between 1890 and 1902. Watson had international connections and was a supporter of the Indian Congress movement and a member of the Society of Friends of Russian Freedom. He lived at Bensham Grove, Gateshead, where he was visited by William Morris and Dante Rossetti. Watson too was personally integrated into Newcastle's elite. He was the brother-in-law of the shipbuilder John Wigham Richardson and formed links with the industrial sector, co-founding the Newcastle Electric Supply Company and the Swan Electric Light Company.¹³⁰ When he died his estate was valued at £36,000.

A landed class

The directors of major industrial corporations were able to obtain large sums of capital for their own use.¹³¹ The purchase of estates was one of the most visible forms of expenditure, one that brought social prestige befitting members of a ruling class. Domestic architecture falls outside the remit of the thesis, but it is important to note the houses built by Newcastle's powerful individuals – they make it possible to analyse the personal tastes of patrons and to determine how the buildings designed for their own occupation differed from those they provided for public use. By purchasing large estates these figures were able to express their wealth and status, and their houses were often used for business negotiations. Many lived in West Newcastle near to their industrial concerns. For example, William Isaac Cookson

¹²⁸ See Watson, R.S. (1897) *The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne*. London: Walter Scott.

¹²⁹ According to Spence Watson's daughter, Mary Pollard, 'The Society was started largely by Gackie [her nickname for Watson] to give working people somewhere to go to on Sunday evenings if they would not or did not go to church, & the large theatre was always packed.' [Pollard, M.S.W. (n.d., 1950s) *A Few Reminiscences*, unpublished memoirs, available at web.ukonline.co.uk/benjaminbeck, a family history website maintained by a descendant of Spence Watson. Accessed 14 January 2008].

¹³⁰ Watson was a friend of the electrical engineer Charles Merz and much of the equipment for these companies was provided by Merz's uncle John Wigham Richardson. See Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p34.

¹³¹ This was possible because most of the major companies were private. The Benwell Community Project argues that the directors operated like 'autocratic Czars.' [Ibid., p32].

(1812-1888) lived at Benwell Hall, a large brick-built house that was extended, possibly by Dobson, in the nineteenth century.¹³²

Jonathan Priestman lived at neighbouring Benwell House, which he purchased from Cookson's brother John in 1848. This was a modest two-storey Classical house with severe portico *in antis*.¹³³ West Acres in Benwell was purchased by Sir Benjamin C. Browne in 1888 and boasted a splendid Tudor-Gothic frontage [Fig. 20]. John Wigham Richardson had grown up in Beech Grove, Elswick, a Jacobean-style house formerly owned by the leather manufacturer George Angus.¹³⁴ He later purchased Wingrove House, Fenham in 1866 [Fig. 21]. The Potter family owned Heaton Hall [Fig. 22]. Initially a Classical house, this had been re-faced in Georgian Gothick style by William Newton in the 1770s.¹³⁵



Figure 63 West Acres, Benwell, the home of Sir Benjamin C. Browne from 1888. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*. York: Jill Raines).

¹³² W.I. Cookson founded the firm of William Cookson and Company, lead manufacturers, at Forth Banks in 1845. Benwell Hall eventually passed into the hands of the Liddell family, coal owners of Prudhoe. See Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p98.

¹³³ The house was subsequently sold to J. Lamb Ltd., brewers, in 1901 and became the Benwell House Hotel. See Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*. York: Jill Raines, p14.

¹³⁴ Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*, p9.

¹³⁵ The owner at this time was Sir Matthew White Ridley. See Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*, p21. In March 1878 Addison Potter sold the 22 ½ acre estate to the Corporation for £12,562. See *The Builder*, vol.43, 30 August 1884, p305. The land was used for the creation of Armstrong Park and the hall was eventually demolished in 1933.



Figure 64 Wingrove House, Fenham, owned by John Wigham Richardson from 1866. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

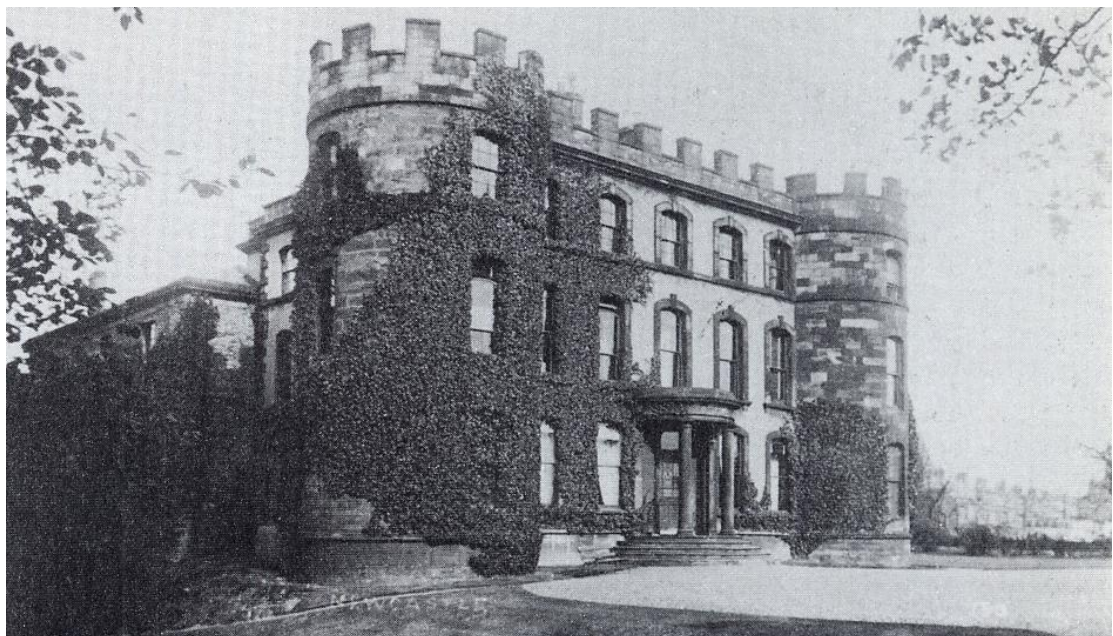


Figure 65 Heaton Hall, owned by the Potter family. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

Increasingly, however, members of the elite began to move to rural Northumberland. John Wigham Richardson sold Wingrove House c.1903 and moved to Hindley Hall at Stocksfield

near Corbridge. His Fenham estate was sold off for building purposes and the house was soon demolished.¹³⁶ The Joiceys were the wealthiest family on the Northern Coalfield, owning a colliery at Tanfield, County Durham, and engineering works in West Newcastle.¹³⁷ John Joicey (1817-1881) also moved to Stocksfield, purchasing Newton Hall. Other members of the Joicey family lived at Blenkinsop Hall, Haltwhistle [Fig. 23].¹³⁸ The coal owner Joseph Straker (1784-1867) had lived at Benwell Old House in West Newcastle. His son John Straker (1815-1885) moved to Stagshaw House, Corbridge.¹³⁹ The shipping magnate and property dealer William Milburn commissioned Armstrong and Knowles to design Guyzance, a Tudor-style mansion at Acklington, Northumberland. Their design was published in the *Building News* [Fig. 24].



Figure 66 Blenkinsop Hall, Haltwhistle. (Newcastle City Library).

¹³⁶ Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*, p30.

¹³⁷ James Joicey (1807-1863) was a colliery viewer and partner of J. and G. Joicey, engineers, with his brother George (1813-1856). His nephew James Joicey (1846-1936) had interests in the Lambton, Hetton and Joicey Collieries, the North Eastern Railway Company and the Newcastle Chamber of Commerce. He was also the owner of the *Newcastle Daily Leader* (1885-1903). See Joicey's obituary in *The Times*, 23 November 1936, p17.

¹³⁸ See Bateman, J. (1971) *Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*. Leicester: Leicester University Press. Originally published in 1883.

¹³⁹ John Straker owned over 12,000 acres in Northumberland and Durham. He was involved in the Cowpen and North Seaton Coal Company and the North Eastern Railway Company. See Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p111. See also Straker's obituary in *The Times*, 18 September 1885, p7.

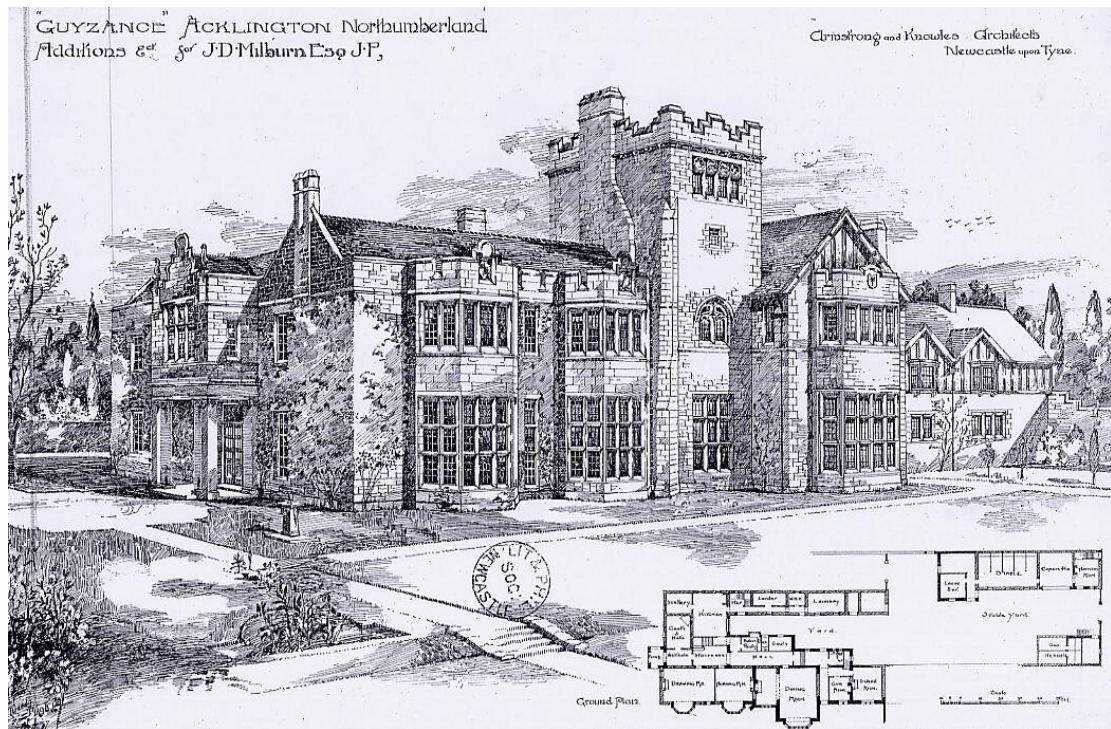


Figure 67 Guyzance in Acklington, Northumberland. (*Building News*, vol.71, 25 September 1896, p447).

This tendency was not restricted to industrialists. Following this migratory pattern, the retailer Emerson Bainbridge bought Eshott Hall and estate in 1877 and moved there in 1882 [Fig. 25]. Located at Thirston near Morpeth, the estate comprised 1775 acres. Pevsner tentatively attributes the original design to Robert Trollope, but identifies later additions.¹⁴⁰ The house is predominantly of two storeys with an elegant symmetrical frontage and rusticated quoins at the corners. A parapet runs along the roofline and swan-necked open pediments augment the windows. The drawing room has Rococo-style plasterwork executed by the Italian *stuccatori* who worked at Alnwick Castle.¹⁴¹ Emerson Bainbridge carried out alterations in 1881, remodelling the hall and adding 32 new apartments, as well as a lecture hall.¹⁴² Most important was the addition of a square Italianate tower in the manner of Osborne House, which suggests at least a rudimentary knowledge of architectural fashions. The estate had a population of 140, and Bainbridge built new cottages and a Methodist chapel. Following these renovations, Bainbridge reportedly 'took on the role of gentleman farmer and

¹⁴⁰ The existence of a hall at Eshott is recorded in 1310. In 1588 it was purchased by William Carr, who employed the builder-architect Robert Trollope to remodel the house between 1588 and 1600. A porch was added c.1850. See Pevsner, N. et al. (2002) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p272.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p272.

¹⁴² Bainbridge, T.H. (1913) *Reminiscences*, p11.

country squire.¹⁴³ Bainbridge's son, Thomas Hudson Bainbridge, lived initially at a house called Holmwood in Jesmond. After the death of his mother, he moved to Eshott and remodelled the house, although this was apparently carried out in a different spirit. According to Gerald France:

When, at his mother's death, he enlarged the house at Eshott, it was done in no boastful spirit to establish a country seat. He explained his motive simply to a friend: 'I intend to make it impossible for any of my children ever to feel that there is not room for them, their friends, or their children.'¹⁴⁴



Figure 68 Eshott Hall, Northumberland. (Newcastle City Library).

In this way the ruling class transformed itself into a landed class and built visible emblems of their authority. The principal figures died leaving vast estates. Sir Andrew Noble's was valued at £734,000 and John Clayton's at £713,000.¹⁴⁵ Discussing the houses built or purchased by the elite, the authors of the Benwell Community study remark, 'None could surpass the excesses of the directors of W.G. Armstrong though. For those who first

¹⁴³ Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p73.

¹⁴⁴ Bainbridge, T.H. (1913) *Reminiscences*, p27.

¹⁴⁵ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p113.

manufactured mass-produced modern weapons of war, only an ancient castle made an appropriate seat of residence.¹⁴⁶ Armstrong's partner George Cruddas purchased Haughton Castle in the Tyne Valley and substantially rebuilt it.¹⁴⁷ Armstrong himself undertook two major domestic projects. After marrying in 1843 he moved into Jesmond Dean, a large suburban house sited on the edge of the wooded valley known as Jesmond Dene [Fig. 26].¹⁴⁸



Figure 69 A rare image of Jesmond Dean. (*Monthly Chronicle*, January 1887).

The township of Jesmond was incorporated into Newcastle after the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. The area was predominantly agricultural, but the dene itself had supported a number of minor industrial concerns during the eighteenth century, including a mine and an ironworks. As Tyneside became industrialised and Newcastle underwent rapid urban expansion, the city's parks and open spaces became the centre of concerns over the health of the populace.¹⁴⁹ The status of Jesmond Dene was repeatedly discussed by Newcastle Council.¹⁵⁰ John Dobson constructed Jesmond Dene Road in 1840 and the dene was encompassed by suburban expansion. It thus came to be seen as an oasis of greenery in Newcastle's urban sprawl.

¹⁴⁶ Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p36.

¹⁴⁷ Haughton Castle is located at Humshaugh and was near the home of John Clayton. Originally a tower house, it was first called a castle in 1373 when turrets and a parapet were added. It was acquired by the Cruddas family in 1888. See www.imagesofengland.org.uk.

¹⁴⁸ The house was demolished in the 1930s. [McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p17].

¹⁴⁹ Dr. Reid called for more open spaces in his Health Report of 1845. See France, L. 'Open Space and Public Recreation in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p49.

¹⁵⁰ Jesmond Dene is one of many river valleys or 'denes' which have shaped Newcastle's built form to a large extent. Most have been filled in, but Jesmond Dene survives, despite having been much altered by Armstrong. See Kirkby, S.J. 'Newcastle's Hidden Rivers' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p7.

Lord Armstrong acquired Jesmond Dene during the 1850s and turned it into a pleasure ground. With his wife Margaret he remodelled the landscape in a naturalistic 'woodland garden' style, which accentuated the picturesque topography.¹⁵¹ He planted rhododendrons, cherry trees, elms and poplars, and introduced a waterfall. In 1876-8 he built a bridge over the dene that had been executed in the Elswick Works. Armstrong commissioned John Dobson to design a Banqueting Hall (1860-2) [Fig. 27]. This was a large Italianate hall in rock-faced stone, with subdued use of polychrome brick, and resembled an industrial building such as a turbine hall. Built on a wooded slope, however, it was not visible from Jesmond Dene Road and Armstrong later added an entrance lodge facing onto the road (1869-70). Designed by Norman Shaw, this was a consummate essay in the Tudor-Gothic style [Fig. 28]. Emblazoned with Armstrong's initials, it signified that Jesmond Dene was part of his domain.¹⁵² Armstrong donated 26 acres of Jesmond Dene to the city in 1878, giving the remainder in 1884, along with Armstrong Park. Thereafter, it was maintained as a pleasure ground and was deemed to be 'the pride of all Novocastrians'.¹⁵³ Armstrong's work at Jesmond Dene proved to be merely the prototype for the more extensive building and landscaping he would undertake at Cragside.

¹⁵¹ Reflecting on the development of Jesmond Dene, Archibald Reed stated, 'It is not sufficiently known how much the public owe to Lady Armstrong for this beautiful park. It was she who superintended nearly the whole of the work while the Banqueting Hall was being built.' [Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p155].

¹⁵² At this time Norman Shaw was already essaying designs for Armstrong's new house, Cragside.

¹⁵³ Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p158.



Figure 70 Jesmond Dene Banqueting Hall, designed by John Dobson, 1860-2. (Author's photograph).



Figure 71 Entrance Lodge to Armstrong's Banqueting Hall, designed by Norman Shaw, 1869-70. (Author's photograph).

Like many leading industrialists Armstrong moved to rural Northumberland. As a child he had often visited the picturesque village of Rothbury, staying in a house owned by Armorer Donkin, where he spent many hours fishing in the River Coquet. He returned to Rothbury in 1863 and determined to build a house there. As Armstrong later told a meeting of Northumberland County Council:

After that interval I again visited my old haunts and decided to build for myself a small house in the neighbourhood for occasional visits in the summer time. I well knew the site upon which Cragside now stands, and by good fortune I was able to purchase it, together with a few acres of adjoining land.¹⁵⁴

Armstrong bought land from the Duke of Northumberland, and in 1864 he began construction of a country house, which he initially envisaged as a fishing lodge [Fig. 29]. Continuing his work at Jesmond Dene, however, he gradually transformed the house into a permanent residence and extensive country seat. Cragside underwent a continuous evolution between 1869 and 1885 at the hands of Richard Norman Shaw.¹⁵⁵

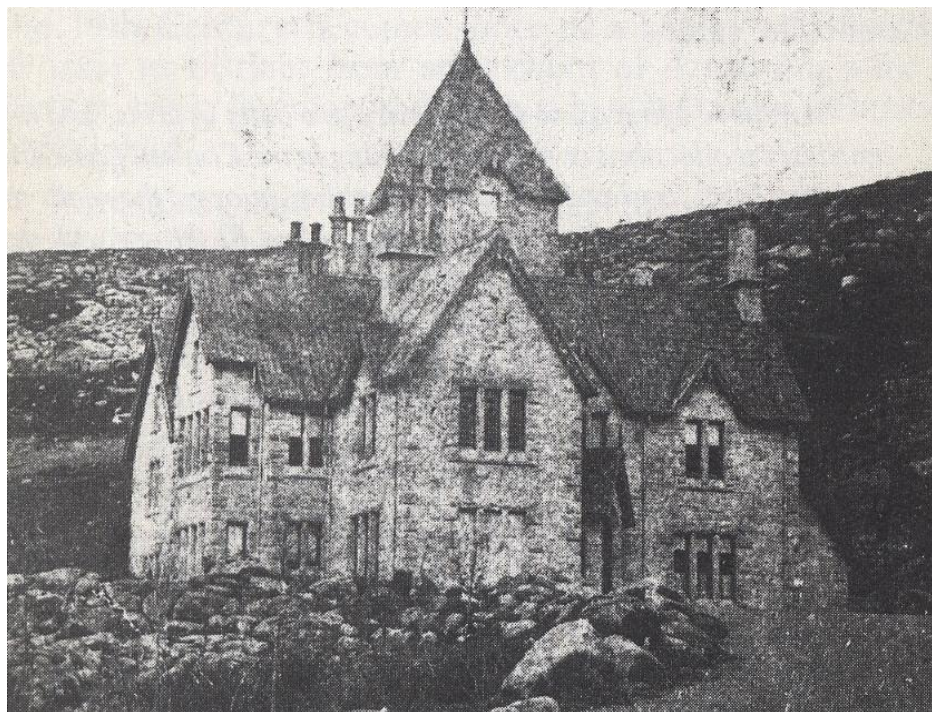


Figure 72 Cragside c.1864. A rare photograph showing Cragside before Shaw's alterations were commenced. (McKenzie, P. [1983] *W.G. Armstrong: The Life and Times of Sir William George Armstrong, Baron Armstrong of Cragside*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Longhirst, p106).

¹⁵⁴ Armstrong quoted in McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p105.

¹⁵⁵ Shaw's appointment dates from late September 1869. His original plans are preserved in the RIBA archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum - PB55/SHAW [8] (1-10).

A rambling composition anchored around a remarkable tower, Cragside is protean in its massing and bewildering in its variety of detail [Fig. 30]. The main bulk is executed in sandstone, but it abounds with half-timbered gables. The tower terminates with a diminutive but fully formed gable recessed behind mock battlements. The house unfolds as a series of carefully constructed vistas which proclaim the wealth and status of the owner. The long picture gallery leads to a drawing room dominated by a Baroque chimneypiece in white marble. This was designed by Lethaby in 1885 [Fig. 31].¹⁵⁶ The baronial dining room is a large chamber which features the famous inglenook fireplace. The interior featured wallpapers by Morris and Co., including *Bird and Trellis* and *Pomegranate*.¹⁵⁷



Figure 73 Design for Cragside, Rothbury, Northumberland - south west prospect, Richard Norman Shaw. (Royal Academy of Arts, London).

¹⁵⁶ Shaw struggled to incorporate the fireplace. In a letter to Lord Armstrong dated 13 October 1884, he wrote, 'Have you any idea of what the Drawing Room has cost – including that chimney piece – for of course I have no idea. And would you think me needy if I proposed to charge more than the regulation 5 per cent in this chimney piece? It was rather a special work – the time and trouble it took was considerable – but I shall leave myself in your hands.' [TWAS - DF/A/1/31/1].

¹⁵⁷ These were revealed during renovations undertaken by the National Trust in 1979. See Aslet, C. (1980) 'Cragside, Northumberland: A Property of the National Trust' in *Country Life*, vol.168, no.4, p761.

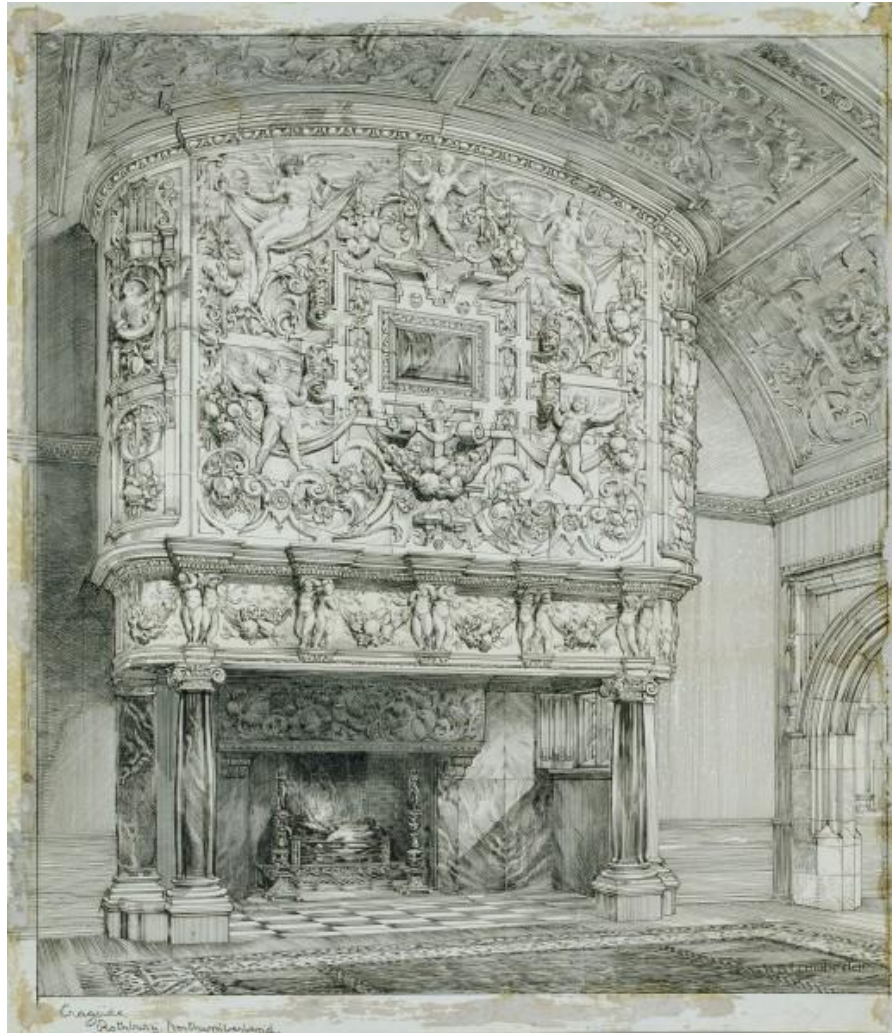


Figure 74 Design for Craggside, Rothbury, Northumberland - perspective of drawing-room chimneypiece, William Richard Lethaby. (Royal Academy of Arts, London).

The stylistic programme enacted at Craggside was part of a much wider domestic revival. Andrew Saint argues that architects in search of a means of designing picturesque houses that were fully integrated with the landscape turned from dogmatic Gothic to the vernacular since 'Gothic was far more compartmentalized and formal than its adherents admitted.'¹⁵⁸ Figures such as Webb and Shaw began to explore the legacy of English domestic architecture by reviving Tudor and Queen Anne styles. The fact that Armstrong commissioned Shaw testifies to his sophisticated tastes. However, Armstrong seems to have been a difficult client, demanding constant revisions to the plans and exercising a strong

¹⁵⁸ Saint, A. (1976) *Richard Norman Shaw*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p73. Evidence of this is provided by *The Builder*. "Correct" Gothic has lately been found either too expensive or else inappropriate for ordinary domestic buildings, and we are now gradually developing something quieter and more in harmony with our tastes and habits, and in which there shall be no sense of frantic effort – either to copy a style of the past or to invent a new one.' [*Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, p410].

control over the building process.¹⁵⁹ Clive Aslet contends that Shaw left the project because he was infuriated by endless requests to revise his plans.¹⁶⁰

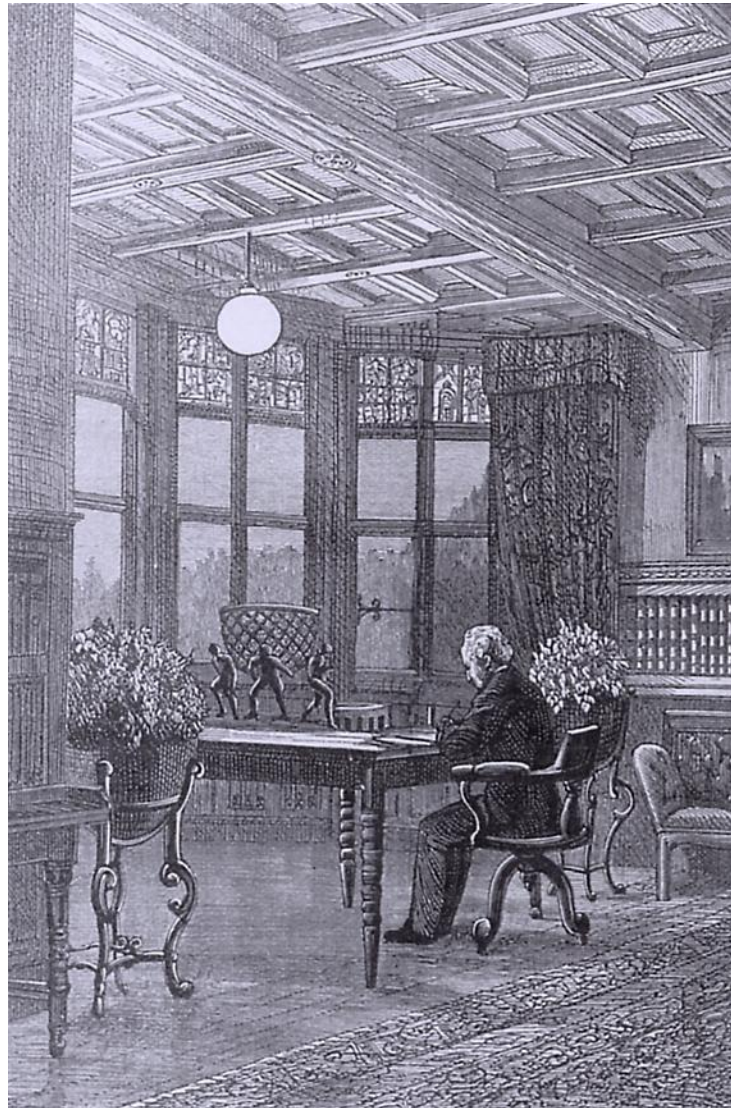


Figure 75 Armstrong working by electric lighting in his study at Cragside, 1881. (Document on display at Cragside).

The house was built on an expanse of land comprising 1729 acres. As at Jesmond Dene, Armstrong reshaped the topography, planting over 7 million trees and shrubs, including conifers, rhododendrons and azaleas. He built an iron footbridge which echoed that at Jesmond Dene. The dominant impression given by the estate is of man's control over nature,

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Saint has analysed some of the correspondence between Armstrong and Shaw. See Saint, A. (1975) 'Norman Shaw's Letters: A Selection' in *Architectural History*, vol.18, pp60-85. Six further letters from Shaw concerning alterations to Cragside are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives. These give an insight into the negotiations and are written in Shaw's characteristically amiable style: 'Thank you for your chatty letter. I am glad we do see one way and that really there are no difficulties. I am sorry to say that for once I am unable to agree with you about the upper part of the tower, chimney etc. I think it is hardly correct to say that the back part is only seen by servants – of course it is mainly seen by servants from the coach yard, but it is tremendously seen by everyone from the hillside.' Letter from R. Norman Shaw to Lord Armstrong, dated 30 October 1884. [TWAS - DF/A/1/32/5].

¹⁶⁰ Aslet, C. (1980) 'Cragside, Northumberland.'

and indeed Armstrong was able to harness the power of nature within the house. He created five artificial lakes on the hillside and used the water power to generate electricity for electric lighting, as well as passenger and service lifts. Incandescent electric lamps were installed in 1880 [Fig. 32].¹⁶¹ Cragside was in fact the first house in the world to be lit in this way. As Armstrong wrote in the *Engineer*:

The case possesses novelty, not only in the application of this mode of lighting to domestic use, but also in the derivation of the producing power from a natural source – a neighbouring brook being turned to account for that purpose. The brook, in fact, lights the house, and there is no consumption of any material in the process.¹⁶²

Cragside provided a base for Armstrong's international business relations, where potential clients could be accommodated in luxury and presented with a tangible vision of Armstrong's success. Guests included the Shah of Persia and Prince Yamashino of Japan.¹⁶³ The house also served as a staging point for ceremonial visits to Newcastle. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Cragside in 1884. Whilst in the North East they formally opened the Hancock Museum, Free Library and the Jesmond Dene portion of Armstrong Park. They also visited the Elswick Works.¹⁶⁴ The Prince of Wales returned with Princes Albert Victor and George in 1887, attending the Newcastle Exhibition and the Elswick Ordnance Works.¹⁶⁵ Armstrong had effectively become Newcastle's international ambassador. The creation of rural estates is often viewed as an attempt to retreat from the realities of industrialisation and urbanisation. In Armstrong's case, however, both mansion and estate were products of his technological ingenuity and key sites within his business relations.¹⁶⁶ Lord Armstrong died at Cragside on 27 December 1900. At the time of his death, his estate was valued at £1.4 million.

In Newcastle itself, a major domestic project was carried out by Charles Mitchell. In 1869 Mitchell purchased 'West Jesmond', a house and 60 acre estate owned by Richard

¹⁶¹ The incandescent electric lamp was invented by Armstrong's friend, Joseph Swan. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p251.

¹⁶² Armstrong quoted in McKenzie, P. (1983) *W.G. Armstrong*, p107.

¹⁶³ The Armstrong Collection in the Tyne and Wear Archives includes a letter from the Japanese Legation in London, thanking Lord Armstrong for his hospitality at Cragside. See TWAS - DF/A/3/12.

¹⁶⁴ A report of this visit was given in *The Builder*, vol.43, 23 August 1884, p279. See also *The Builder*, vol.43, 30 August 1884, p305.

¹⁶⁵ An account of this visit was printed in *The Times*, 13 July 1887, p12.

¹⁶⁶ After Cragside, Armstrong embarked on another ambitious project. In 1894 he purchased Bamburgh Castle on the Northumberland coast for £60,000 from the trustees of Lord Crewe. He intended to convert it into a convalescent home for retired gentlemen and spent one million pounds on restoration, but died before the project was completed.

Burdon-Sanderson II, a former mayor of Newcastle. Sited on Jesmond Dene Road, the house commanded a view of the dene and Jesmond Dene House, which was then occupied by Sir Andrew Noble. Linked by a visual axis, the proximity of these ostentatious mansions hints at a rivalry between the two magnates, but this was resolved when their respective firms amalgamated. The house had been built in the early nineteenth century, but was successively remodelled by John Dobson and Thomas Oliver Junior. The Yorkshire architect Thomas Ralph Spence was commissioned to carry out extensive alterations and Walter Scott was employed as the contractor.¹⁶⁷ Mitchell moved into the renamed Jesmond Towers in 1870. He rented a small house on the estate to his partner Henry F. Swan.



Figure 76 Jesmond Towers picture gallery c.1898, lantern slide by W. Parry of South Shields. (Newcastle City Library). The room is reminiscent of the long gallery at Cragside, which Armstrong used to display his collection of paintings and natural history specimens.

The Imperial Order of St. Stanislaus appears above the door and hints at Mitchell's international relations. In 1862 he was invited to St. Petersburg to train the workers of a local shipyard in the construction of iron vessels, for which he received the Imperial Order of St. Stanislaus, second class. In recognition of Mitchell's services, the High Admiral of the

¹⁶⁷ Spence had previously designed extensions to Mitchell's Low Walker yard. See McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p28.

Russian fleet, Grand Duke Constantine, visited Newcastle in 1871. Mitchell was among the welcoming party that gathered at the Central Station. The Grand Duke was 'driven without delay to Mr. Mitchell's magnificent residence at Jesmond Towers and later toured Mitchell's Low Walker yard.'¹⁶⁸ Mitchell's son Charles William Mitchell (1855-1903) was an artist and collector.¹⁶⁹ He commissioned Spence to design a picture gallery for Jesmond Towers (1895) and built a tower for use as a studio [Fig. 33].



Figure 77 Jesmond Towers. (Author's photograph).

Mitchell commissioned Spence to design St. George's Church in 1887 even though he had no prior experience of ecclesiastical architecture. Located on the northern edge of the city in the affluent suburb of Jesmond, St. George's was a very expensive church for a middle class congregation [Fig. 35].¹⁷⁰ The church is in the Early English style of the thirteenth century, but has an Italian-style campanile based on that of St. Mark's, Venice. Mitchell had

¹⁶⁸ A local reporter quoted in McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p14.

¹⁶⁹ Charles William Mitchell studied in Paris under P.C. Comte. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1876. *Hypatia* is among his best known works. [Ibid., p27].

¹⁷⁰ As the *Building News* remarked on the occasion of the opening ceremony: 'The new church of St. George, Jesmond, already remarkable for the costliness of its marble altar and reredos, has become of greatly increased interest by the introduction of elaborate decoration of the chancel.' (*Building News*, vol.57, 27 December 1889, p893).

visited Italy, France and Germany during his youth, and according to D.F. McGuire, 'It would seem that the churches of Italy impressed him greatly with their frescoes and campaniles.'¹⁷¹

St. George's Church clearly shows their influence. The stone was sourced from North Brunton quarry near Gosforth, rather than Jesmond Dene, where the stone was unsuitable for decorative carving. The high clerestory is pierced with Early English lancet windows.



Figure 78 St. George's Church, Jesmond, designed by T.R. Spence, 1887-9. (Author's photograph).

Mitchell was an art collector and this may be why he awarded the commission to Spence, who trained as an artist before entering the architectural profession. Spence was Secretary of the Newcastle Arts Association, which was used by industrialists as a venue for buying art-works.¹⁷² Mitchell had underwritten seven exhibitions at the Association, partly because his son was an exhibitor.¹⁷³ Five painted panels which Spence executed for St. George's reveal the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The church also incorporated the work of local artists and craftsmen, including a pulpit by Ralph Hedley and

¹⁷¹ McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p3.

¹⁷² The Newcastle Arts Association was set up in 1878, with Armstrong as its first President. The first exhibition was held in the Assembly Rooms the same year. See Atkins, E.M. 'The Genesis of the Laing Art Gallery' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p201.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p201.

altar and reredos in white pavanozza marble by Emley and Sons. The original organ utilised two hydraulic engines provided by Armstrong. A revealing detail appears in the entrance gates. Executed by Alfred Shirley to designs by Spence, these bear the exhortation, 'Do all to the Glory of God', suggesting that Mitchell saw the church as an act of religious devotion. He took a personal interest in its execution and demanded the highest standards of workmanship, proclaiming, 'I have learned that the House of Prayer and God's House should be exceedingly magnificent.'¹⁷⁴ The rich interior features Art Nouveau metal work and glazed tiles with curvilinear patterns. Mosaic figures were designed by Mitchell's son and executed by Rust and Co. of Battersea. Christian symbols are embedded in the floor mosaics, which were reputedly laid by the servants of Jesmond Towers. Spence produced a bronze relief of St. George. The font was executed in Mexican onyx with columns of red jasper. The altar, reredos and marble steps of the sacarium were displayed at the Newcastle Exhibition in 1887.¹⁷⁵

As with most of the buildings undertaken by Newcastle's elite, the church was a medium through which Mitchell could represent himself. The memorial tablets feature representations of Art, Energy, Truth, Charity and Science, defining Mitchell as an industrialist, inventor, aesthete and philanthropist. His status as a shipbuilder is signified by two angels standing aboard ships. One holds a model of St. George's Church; the other a model of the Graduation Hall at Aberdeen University, which was largely funded by Mitchell.¹⁷⁶ The implication is that Mitchell, as a benevolent patron, has used the profits of his labour to the glory of God. However, the audience for this display was select. All seats were subject to pew rents except those in the south aisle; this expense would have largely precluded the working classes. Clearly, the building was intended for the affluent parishioners of Jesmond – Mitchell's family, his colleagues and neighbours. Mitchell retained a private space within the church: the Morning Chapel was set aside for the exclusive use of his family and was accessed through a private door. In all, Mitchell spent over £30,000 on the church and vicarage, but he made it clear that he had no intention of providing a church hall for

¹⁷⁴ Mitchell quoted in McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p35.

¹⁷⁵ *Building News*, vol.53, 26 August 1887, p320. According to *The Builder*, 'The material is a grand one, and nothing could be better in its way than the work, especially the execution of the deeply-cut floral diaper on the panels on each side of the altar. The work is from the designs of Mr. T.R. Spence, of London, and does credit both to designer and executants.' [A review of the Newcastle Exhibition published in *The Builder*, vol.52, 25 June 1887, p933].

¹⁷⁶ He gave £13,000 towards the cost of a Graduation Hall and Student's Union at Aberdeen University, for which he received an honorary degree in 1893. He also built the tower at a cost of £6,000.

parishioners. This was funded by public subscription, though Mitchell still had control over its final form, and this too was built to designs by Spence. Henry F. Swan and Armstrong were among the subscribers. Mitchell died on 22 August 1895, aged 75. He was buried in Benton Churchyard under an obelisk of Aberdeen granite.¹⁷⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the broad historical context in which Newcastle's architectural patrons operated. It has examined the city's economic development in order to understand how capital was generated and how this influenced patrons' capacity to build. In the period 1870-1914, Newcastle had a highly diverse economy. Coal mining was the main catalyst for urban development, but this stimulated growth in other industries. Finance and retail were of vital importance to Newcastle's economy, and the city became the administrative and supply centre for Tyneside as a whole. Newcastle accommodated a capitalist entrepreneurial class that was able to maintain its power throughout the period under review, and indeed well into the twentieth century. A feature of local industrial structures was the prevalence of dynastic control – the major industries were dominated by wealthy mercantile families whose prosperity predated the era of industrialisation. As a ruling elite bound by business, social and family ties, this group was able to establish hegemonic control over the city. Capital was made available via a well-developed banking system, with which many of the leading families were associated. Membership of public utility companies was dominated by local magnates. National and international transport links were vital to the success of Newcastle's industries, and for this reason railway companies were financed by the same groups. Members of the ruling elite also invested in estates, buying or building large mansions in their pursuit of social status. By dominating architectural patronage, these figures were able to transform the built environment according to their own interests. The urban space of Newcastle thus functioned as an instrument of power.

¹⁷⁷ His obituary was published in *The Times*, 26 August 1895, p7.

3 Newcastle's Financial Axis: Collingwood and Mosley Streets

Newcastle's ascendance in the industrial sphere was accompanied by great commercial prosperity. A sophisticated financial services sector emerged as a necessary adjunct to industry. The wealth generated by mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering was processed by a network of new banks and insurance companies, whose growth was concentrated on Collingwood and Mosley Streets. These streets formed the major centre of commercial development in Newcastle during the period 1870-1914 and their transformation into a thriving financial district represented the closest parallel that late Victorian and Edwardian Newcastle offered to the Grainger development of a generation earlier. Due to the vast funds involved in their production and their centrality within Newcastle's economy, these buildings represent one of the major forces in contemporary architectural patronage. The array of financial institutions is distinguished by a great variety of styles and materials, and together the streets serve as a catalogue of late Victorian and Edwardian tastes.

This chapter examines the evolution of Collingwood and Mosley Streets, arguing that while the architecture of these streets largely followed national stylistic trends – due partly to the influence of national branch networks – the intermediate space formed a complex field of meaning that was intricately related to the local economic and social context. Within the urban matrix, buildings engage in complex relationships with each other, and the issues of placement and proximity are crucial to understanding their significance. Using techniques of spatial analysis, the chapter asks how social relations were manifested in urban space. As the axis of Newcastle's financial power, Collingwood and Mosley Streets constituted a major node in the town's spatial economy. By providing a link between the Town Hall, St. Nicholas's Cathedral and the Queen Victoria Monument, the streetscape also formed a symbolic axis. The resultant spatial nexus was used both consciously and unconsciously to construct a coherent identity for Newcastle, one that defined it as a city and located it within the nation and the Empire.

Early development

Running roughly east-west along the edge of the upper town, both Collingwood and Mosley Streets predated Richard Grainger's celebrated re-planning of Newcastle and both were largely overlooked in this extensive building programme. The Corporation constructed Mosley Street in 1784-86 as an east-west link between the already important Pilgrim Street and the Cloth Market. The development was planned by the architect David Stephenson and remnants of his original layout survive. Nos. 3 and 5 accommodate a house and shop dating from c.1785 [Fig. 1].¹ Nos. 32 and 34 are occupied by a house and shop built c.1790, which is brick-fronted with minimal dressings of ashlar. These early buildings reveal the small scale of the initial development. Mosley Street connected with Dean Street, which formed a vital link with the Quayside. Continuing the line of Mosley Street, Collingwood Street was constructed by the Corporation in 1809-10 to provide a link with Westgate Road.²



Figure 79 Nos. 3-5 Mosley Street, built as a house and shop, c.1785. (Author's photograph).

¹ The frontage was altered in the mid-nineteenth century, although the shop-front dates from the early twentieth. [www.imagesofengland.org.uk. Accessed 3 June 2006].

² By opening up an east-west axis, Collingwood and Mosley Streets dramatically improved traffic flow between Pilgrim Street and Westgate Road. See Sill, M. 'Growth of Newcastle in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p19.



Figure 80 Mosley Street in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

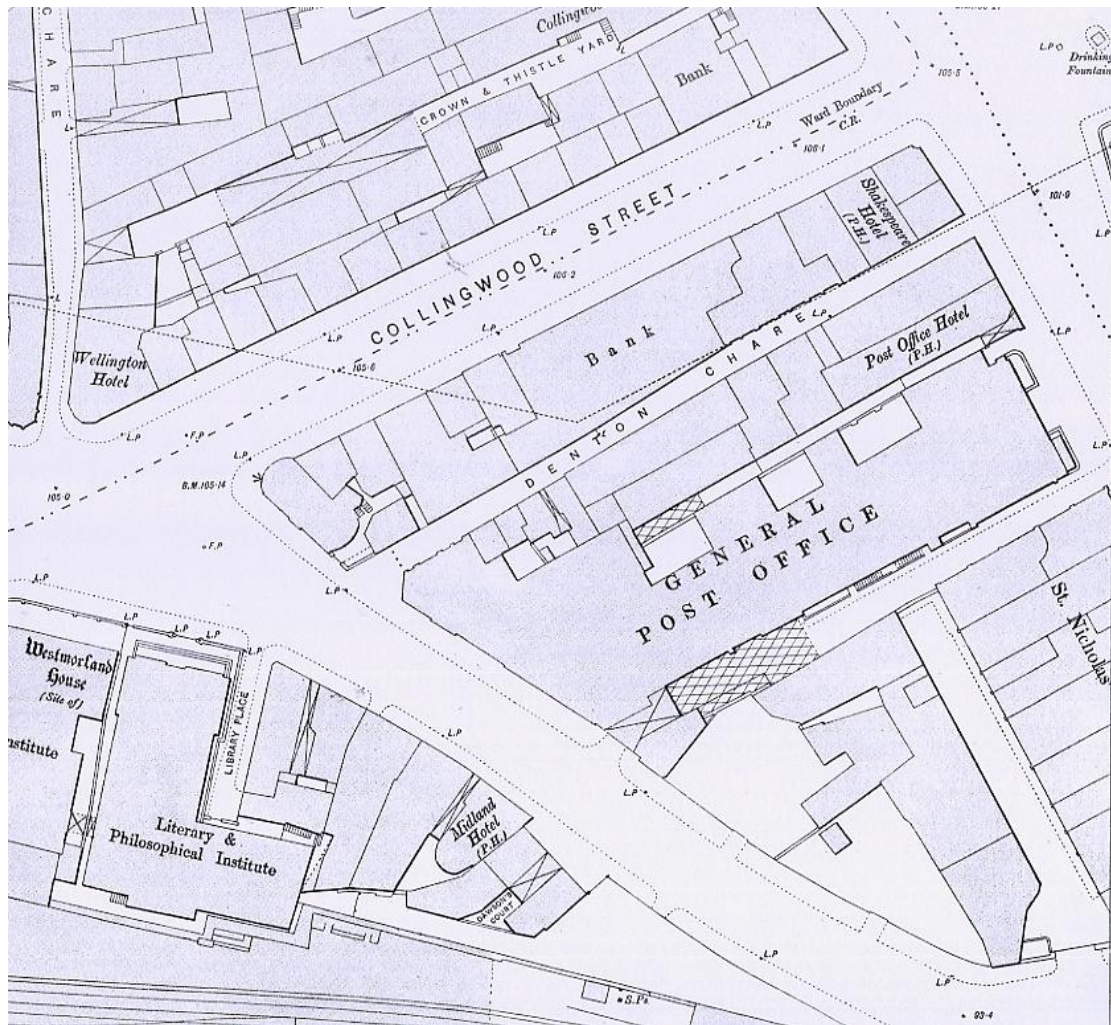


Figure 81 Collingwood Street in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

From its initial conception, Collingwood Street represented an effort to inscribe an historical narrative on the urban landscape. The name commemorates Lord Collingwood, Nelson's second-in-command at the Battle of Trafalgar, who was born in the vicinity of St. Nicholas's Church. It thus expresses a conflation of local and national pride.³ This system of street naming represents a point of continuity in Newcastle's urban culture. Names were usually selected for reasons of political efficacy. For example, Grainger named Clayton Street after his legal advisor John Clayton, and Hood Street was named after John Lionel Hood, Mayor of Newcastle in 1834-5.⁴ Most famously, Grey Street and Grey's Monument were named in honour of Earl Grey, a supporter of the Great Reform Bill.

³ Lord Collingwood was buried near Nelson in St. Paul's Cathedral.

⁴ In 1871 the Council produced a list of proposed street name changes to eradicate duplications. However, many of the new names were deemed to be outlandish or pretentious. Alderman Harle asked, 'What earthly meaning "Belgrave" could have in Newcastle? There was, however, a good old Northumbrian name – that of Dodds,

Both streets were initially residential, consisting largely of low dwelling houses in plain brick.⁵ This began to change with the construction of the High Level Bridge by Robert Stephenson and Co. in 1849. The bridge bypassed the hive of activity sprawling along the quayside and gave the upper town a direct link to Gateshead and the south.⁶ Collingwood and Mosley Streets were thus transformed into major arteries and the increased flow of traffic stimulated property dealing and development. Mosley Street is said to have been the first public thoroughfare in Britain to be lit with gas lamps.⁷ Artificial lighting facilitated the growth of a financial district, as it provided additional security for wealthy depositors and financiers at the close of office hours. Dobson designed a joint stock bank in Mosley Street in 1834 and his Royal Arcade was built in 1831-2.⁸ On Neville Street, Dobson's Central Station was built in 1849-50, and thus reinforced the importance of Collingwood Street as a conduit. With these factors coming into play, Collingwood and Mosley Streets became fertile ground. Over the coming decades they experienced the most concentrated commercial development since Grainger's time.

Collingwood and Mosley Streets meet at St. Nicholas's Square, an open space encompassing the church of St. Nicholas, which became a cathedral in 1882. The importance of this space was sealed when the Town Hall was transferred from the quayside in 1863, a move that symbolised the shift of Newcastle's commercial centre to this more urbane locale. Designed by John Johnstone, the Town Hall (1858-63, demolished) was a rather pedestrian Classical composition that presented a broad frontage to St. Nicholas's Square [Fig. 4].⁹ The rear elevation, which faced onto the Bigg Market, terminated with a cupola. *The Builder* was mixed in its assessment:

chairman of the Town Improvement Committee.' Harle concluded that, 'They must always venerate themselves.' [Newcastle Council Proceedings, 1871, p214].

⁵ The transformation was documented by F.W. Rich in a presidential address to the Northern Architectural Association. Taking the form of an urban perambulation, this was a retrospective survey of Newcastle's development: 'We now enter Collingwood Street, which when I knew it first, was entirely residential. It is now something like the city of London, bereft of residents.' [Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address*]. These comments hint at the fact that, by the end of the century, Collingwood and Mosley Streets were dominated by office blocks.

⁶ The High Level Bridge made it possible to enter the town without having to negotiate the tortuous ascent of Dean Street. As Mike Barke writes, 'These developments immediately attracted commercial activity away from the riverside and created a new focus of activity.' [Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities*, p15].

⁷ According to Archibald Reed, 'Gas lighting was first introduced into Newcastle in the year 1818, Mosley Street being the first to be so honoured.' [Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p149]. In 1880 Mosley Street became the first in Britain to be lit with electric light. See Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities*, p38.

⁸ Frank W. Rich later stated, 'At the head of Mosley Street stands the Arcade, one of Grainger's ambitious projects, and a stately termination to the street.' [Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address*].

⁹ A design by Johnstone and W.H. Knowles was selected after a limited competition [see Pevsner, N. et al. (2002) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p465]. In fact, Johnstone was unusually proficient at winning

The narrow upper end is surmounted by an ill-shaped turret, and looks altogether uninteresting; but on the broader front on Mosley Street the same rather commonplace features (without the turret) have a far from bad effect, a result that seems almost entirely due to the greater breadth.¹⁰

Despite *The Builder's* misgivings, an engraving published in 1863 shows the Town Hall in conjunction with St. Nicholas's Church [Fig. 5]. In this image, the cupola of the Town Hall echoes the famous Gothic spire, bringing the two buildings into alignment. Reproduced in the actual urban space, this conjunction symbolised the unity of Church and State, and this was one of the key narratives that would be played out in this important public space.



Figure 82 South elevation of Newcastle Town Hall, designed by John Johnstone, 1863. (Newcastle City Library).

competitions and he obtained many civic commissions in this way, including town halls for Gateshead, Bishop Auckland and Hexham. The Town Hall was built with modifications by R. Wallace. See Appendix.

¹⁰ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307.

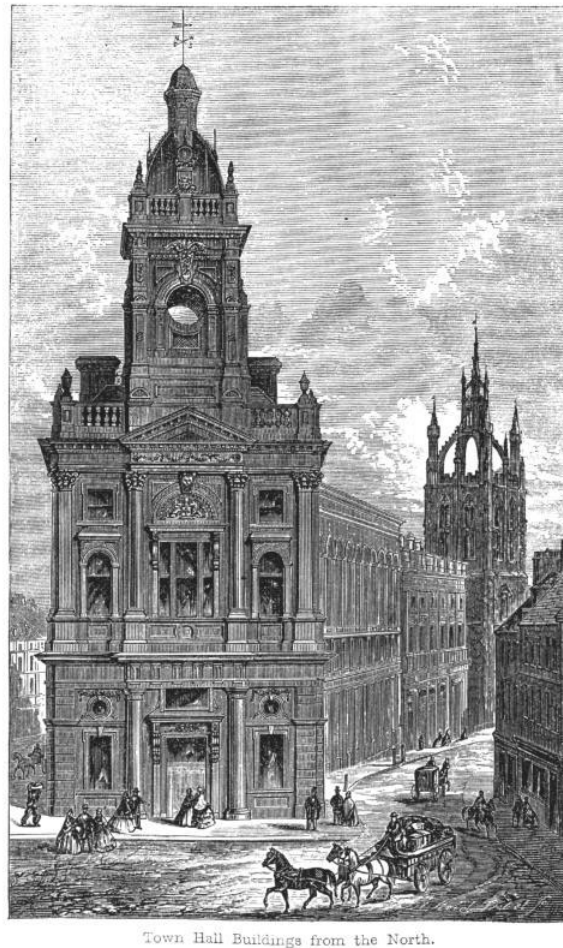


Figure 83 Town Hall, north elevation facing onto the Bigg Market. (Bruce, J.C. [1863] *A Hand-book to Newcastle-on-Tyne*. Newcastle: A. Reid).

Emergence of a financial district

The banking culture that was to define this area was established by the Newcastle Joint Stock Bank at Nos. 40-44 Mosley Street, a sophisticated Palladian design by Benjamin Green c.1845 [Fig. 6].¹¹ Round-headed arches in the rusticated base are echoed in the first floor. Balustraded balconies project at second floor level and giant Ionic columns ascend from this point to support an ornamental cornice. The building accorded with contemporary trends, as Italianate styles were widely used for banks c. 1840-1860.¹² In its immediate context, the building helped to define St. Nicholas's Square as a dignified public space.

¹¹ A number of early branches were located on Grey Street, including Lambton's Bank. The local branch of the Bank of England was at Nos. 33-41 Grey Street, and was designed by John Wardle c.1835. The London and Midland Bank was based on Grainger Street. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

¹² For example, Edward Walters's Manchester and Salford Bank, Manchester (1860) was designed in the Italian Renaissance style.



Figure 84 Newcastle Joint Stock Bank, Nos. 40-44 Mosley Street, designed by Benjamin Green, c.1845. (Author's photograph).

One of the earliest additions to Mosley Street was a block of shops and offices for Mawson and Swan, an important firm that began as a chemist but diversified into photography, publishing and fine art dealing (Nos. 17-19).¹³ Designed by Alfred Swan in 1870, the building has a nine-bay frontage divided into three sections by giant Corinthian pilasters.¹⁴ Rusticated pilasters divide the subsidiary bays. The crowning entablature supports a bracketed cornice and a series of urns. Above the entablature, a mansard roof accommodates an attic storey. A large expanse of fenestration illuminates the showrooms. Purposefully ostentatious, the building presents the consumer with a vision of luxury, which was matched by the products on sale within.¹⁵ The building is an early example of

¹³ The firm is better known as Mawson, Swan and Morgan, under which name it established a multiple branch network in Newcastle. The activities of the firm are discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁴ Alfred Swan was the nephew of Joseph Swan, who had experimented with electric incandescent lighting in a building on this site. See Pevsner, N. et al. (2002) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p485.

¹⁵ See, for example, Mawson, Swan and Morgan (1909) *Gifts for Every Taste and Gifts for Every Occasion*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan.

Newcastle's enthusiasm for Baroque, a style that was widely used around the turn of the century, but which was unusual at this date.

Newcastle's industrial and financial spheres were intricately related. Many of the city's most prominent industrialists developed close, often familial, ties with banks and insurance companies. For example, Sir Andrew Noble, Chairman of Armstrong, Mitchell and Co., was a director of the North Eastern Banking Company, which had four branches in industrial areas of the city.¹⁶ Industrialists needed a secure reserve of funds to pay workers and to buy materials. Financial corporations permitted loans and overdrafts, and both facilities were vital for financing industrial ventures.¹⁷ Similarly, building societies grew in response to the dramatic population increases associated with industrialisation. The demand for housing far exceeded supply and many workers were living in slums. This encouraged the formation of building clubs that built housing and shared the profits among their investors. Building societies needed banks to support their activities and for this reason these two businesses were closely affiliated. The Grainger Permanent Building Society used Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. as their bankers, the New Bridge Permanent Building Society used the National Provincial Bank – these were located on Collingwood and Mosley Streets respectively.¹⁸ In their role as financial mediators, banks, building societies and insurance companies partially directed the expenditure of private capital. Therefore, the palatial offices that line Collingwood and Mosley Streets – the 'wonders and depredations of Victorian capitalism'¹⁹ – fundamentally influenced many of the financial endeavours taking place across the entire city and beyond, including architectural patronage. The proliferation of financial bodies depended on the wealth being generated by Newcastle's industrial enterprises, but it also testified to the rise of a professional middle class with money to

¹⁶ Branches were located at Byker, Elswick, the Quayside and Westgate. There were also branches in Alnwick, Hetton, Cloughton, Sunderland and Middlesbrough. See TWAS - DF.WEK/3/10 (4), report and balance sheet of the North Eastern Banking Company, 31 December 1897. This collection, comprising the personal and business papers of J.G. Weeks, includes annual reports and balance sheets of various organisations from 1876-1897.

¹⁷ A.G.B. Bethell, historian of the National Provincial Bank, describes this dependant relationship: 'When one calls to mind what had recently taken place in England in the way of industrial progress, due to the inventive genius of men such as Hay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton and others, it becomes obvious that banks with larger resources at their disposal were needed to deal with the increasing demand for credit to finance production.' [Bethell, A.G.B. *Tradition and Progress: The Road to Prosperity, National Provincial Bank*. London: Pallas Publishing Company, p16].

¹⁸ The Grainger Permanent Building Society was established in 1863 and incorporated under the Building Societies Act of 1874. The leather manufacturer George Angus of Bensham Terrace, Gateshead, was an auditor. For records of this firm see TWAS - DF.WEK/3/10 (1), 13th annual report, 16 October 1876. These networks extended into other professional spheres: the architect Thomas Oliver Junior was an arbitrator of the New Bridge Permanent Building Society, located at No. 29 Blakett Street. See TWAS - DF.WEK/3/10 (2), 11th annual report, 16 February 1879.

¹⁹ Lovie, D. (1997) 'Anatomy of a Townscape' in *Northern Architect*, winter 1994/5, pp30-34.

deposit. The number of doctors, solicitors and indeed architects increased dramatically during the period, as local directories confirm.²⁰ Crucially, this process of 'professionalisation' was a national phenomenon.²¹ For example, the Sun Insurance Company, which built a spectacular branch on Collingwood Street, was able to capitalise on the emergence of a prosperous professional class:

The growth of the national wealth in the second half of the eighteenth century, the increase in general standards of comfort and security and the development of a fairly large professional middle class of clergymen, lawyers, physicians, doctors and officers in the Army and Navy . . . did much to create a market of this kind.²²

Before the establishment of national branch networks, bank architecture showed a degree of geographical variation. Grand private banks were built in Manchester c.1810-1820. These were executed in Italianate styles and were often flanked by side wings, which were let to shop-keepers. Elsewhere, the Quaker ethos of Birmingham curtailed ostentation in the city's bank architecture.²³ Gothic was often used for philanthropic savings banks due to the association with medieval almshouses. According to Booker, however, 'Only in the North of England did Gothic have any real impact on head office building, and even here Newcastle and the biggest urban centres of Manchester and Liverpool remained largely faithful to Classical styles until the 1880s.'²⁴ Somewhat surprisingly, London banks initially lagged behind those of Scotland. This was mainly due to the prevalence of lease-hold sites in the capital – owners were reluctant to invest large sums of money on what were potentially only temporary premises. Commenting on this, the *Illustrated London News* stated:

Architectural Embellishment has received little encouragement at the hands of the banking interest south of the Tweed. Edinburgh and Glasgow can boast several magnificent structures devoted to banking; but London has yet to acquire the reputation of having contributed from the profits of business to the elevation of street architecture.²⁵

²⁰ Many professional individuals had business premises on Collingwood and Mosley Streets, including architects. See *Ward's Directory*, various years.

²¹ The issue of 'professionalisation' is discussed in Perkin, H. (1989) *Professional Society*.

²² Dickson, P.G.M. (1960) *The Sun Insurance Office, 1710-1960*. London: Oxford University Press, p101.

²³ Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking: A study of the design of British banks from the eighteenth century to modern times*. York University: PhD thesis, pp36-37.

²⁴ According to Booker, 'The style acceptable for a national school, parsonage or almshouse was not unacceptable for the premises of a philanthropic, non-profit making institution managed largely by local clergymen.' [Ibid., p123].

²⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 1855.

By the 1860s, however, the British banking industry was being reorganised to situate London at the centre. This necessitated the building of national branch networks and expansion via merger or takeover.²⁶ In building Newcastle branches, most of these firms drew on the city's own architectural culture, employing local architects and contractors.²⁷ They were well served by the rapidly increasing number of architectural practices in the city. However, the space is also punctuated by the works of nationally renowned architects, who had an invigorating influence on local architecture. The trend was set by the National Provincial Bank, which forged a mutually beneficial relationship with the specialist bank architect John Gibson (1817-1892).²⁸ The National Provincial established the first truly nationwide branch network in Britain and Gibson deployed a fluctuating but essentially uniform style in over forty offices. These gave a coherent statement of the bank's identity.²⁹ As a former assistant of Sir Charles Barry, Gibson favoured a sober Renaissance style. According to his obituary:

It may be said that, without an exception, he followed in the footsteps of his great master in keeping strictly to the purest style of the architecture of the Middle Ages and of Italian. Nothing could induce him to put his hand to the style of the Dutch, or to that which is now popularly called the style of Queen Anne.³⁰

The National Provincial was keen to acquire a site 'in the immediate proximity of Mr. Grainger's handsome Grey Street,' which still exuded prestige and, as Newcastle's main street, guaranteed a steady flow of custom.³¹ In fact, Grey Street possessed two of Newcastle's earliest banks – the first purpose-built branch of the Bank of England (Nos.33-41, by John Wardle, c.1835) and the Northumberland and Durham Bank (by John and Benjamin Green, 1840). Gibson's Newcastle branch (1870-2) at the corner of Mosley and Dean Streets

²⁶ Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, p.ii.

²⁷ This was true of most national firms: 'In most cases bankers probably selected their architect by direct commission, choosing a local man who was already respected for his public buildings.' [Ibid., p74]

²⁸ Gibson was born in Castle Bromwich and was articled to Joseph Hansom, the appointed architect for Birmingham Town Hall. He entered Charles Barry's office in 1835 and 'completed his articles so satisfactorily that he remained as assistant for a further six years, securing the high appreciation and friendship of his great master.' Gibson won a competition to design a Glasgow branch of the National Bank of Scotland in 1844. His connection with the National Provincial Bank began in 1864 when he was chosen to design the firm's new head offices at Threadneedle Street. This was a three storey palazzo with triangular pediments over the first floor windows. See Brakspear, W.H. 'The Late John Gibson' in *RIBA Journal*, new series, vol.9, 5 January 1893, pp118-119.

²⁹ The firm was founded by Thomas Joplin of Newcastle, the son of a sculptor. He endeavoured to reform the English banking system and it was said that he admired the 'superior stability' of Scottish joint stock banks. See Bethell, A.G.B. *Tradition and Progress*, p8. Booker observes that the National Provincial 'multiplied branches faster than any competitor.' [Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, p57].

³⁰ Brakspear, W.H. (1893) 'John Gibson', p119.

³¹ National Provincial Bank quoted in Black, I.S. (2003) 'National Provincial Bank Buildings', pp63-82.

established the tone for subsequent commercial buildings in this vicinity [Fig. 7]. The solid rusticated base gives an impression of impregnability and resolves the problem of the sloping site. The Italianate style placed emphasis on fenestration, which was used to distinguish the floors. Here the regular rhythm of the arcaded ground floor is transmitted to the upper storeys in windows of decreasing grandeur. The five bay frontage is symmetrical about the modest door, with bays defined by pilasters. The name of the firm and the date of its establishment (in Roman numerals) are engraved on the cornice; this was the most consistent element in Gibson's work for the firm. Venetian windows with volutes and red granite shafts add a note of opulence to the basement. *The Builder* commented:

The refined and dignified National Provincial Bank . . . is the only building which we remember to have seen in which the introduction of polished red granite shafts seemed to be an improvement, by giving a touch of life without destroying the repose of the composition. The grilles in the heads of the ground floor windows are a graceful detail, in keeping with the architecture and purpose of the building.³²



Figure 85 National Provincial Bank, designed by John Gibson, 1870-2. (Author's photograph).

³² *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p306.

The uniform façade masks a complex internal division of public and private space. This was in fact the main asset of the palazzo model, which had historically been used to encompass both business and residential space. A public banking hall occupied the ground floor. The upper storeys were utilised for 'commercial and legal purposes' and housed residential quarters for a clerk and messenger.³³ The public offices were adorned with Honduran and Spanish mahogany and Minton's floor tiles, reflecting the last vestiges of High Victorian decorative elaboration. In accordance with modern building technologies, the three lower floors were fireproofed.³⁴ At a cost of £14,000, the bank was the most expensive of Gibson's North East branches and thereby defined Newcastle as the chief branch in the region.³⁵

Clearly one of the initial duties of these emerging financial bodies was to convince the local populace of their value. This was particularly important in Newcastle, where the early history of Newcastle banking had been turbulent, with many banks failing within a few years.³⁶ For example, the Newcastle and District Bank ran into financial difficulties, which severely affected many of Tyneside's industrial concerns. The presence of the National Provincial Bank was in fact a testimony to this catalogue of failures, since the policy of the firm was to open branches in places where private banks had failed.³⁷ As a result, company directors demanded buildings that would attract depositors and inspire confidence in their stability. Most of the new banks were designed in Classical or Renaissance styles, with solid, rusticated bases and a framework of columns or pilasters suggesting strength and durability.³⁸ The discourse surrounding these styles often relied on gendered metaphors. John Gibson's obituary in the *RIBA Journal* was written by the President of the Institute, J. Macvicar Anderson, who referred to Gibson's 'taste for pure Classical art . . . so much a feature of his works, most of which exhibited in an exceptional degree a combination of masculine power

³³ Accommodation for an office keeper included three bedrooms and a living room. This was located in the attic storey and each bedroom was illuminated by a dormer window. See TWAS - T186/3768, plans of the National Provincial Bank by John Gibson of 13 Great Queen Street, Westminster, dated 4 July 1871.

³⁴ These details are recorded in a memorandum written by Gibson, giving specifications of materials and construction. [TWAS - T186/3768].

³⁵ Gibson designed six branches in the North East, and these represent the single greatest geographical concentration of his work for the firm. The cost of the Newcastle branch was eventually exceeded by that at Sunderland.

³⁶ Numerous examples are recorded in Philips, M. (1894) *A History of Banks*.

³⁷ Bethell, A.G.B. *Tradition and Progress*, p26.

³⁸ Banks and insurance companies were relatively new building types, with specific requirements. Most had basements in order to maximise space and house well-protected strong rooms for the company's funds; these were lit with pavement lights. See for example, TWAS - T186/12969, plans of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s bank, drawn by R.J. Johnson, 1888.

and classic purity.³⁹ This restated a common equation between Classical form and the male body, which was often invoked as a metaphor for strength.⁴⁰ This was crucial to the appeal of Classical and Renaissance styles within the architecture of banking. In the words of George Rae, 'A large and costly building is an assurance to some minds of corresponding wealth and stability within. A massive structure, bristling at all points with javelin tops, for the impalement as it seems of would-be burglars, will appear to many persons a more secure place to deposit money.'⁴¹

In Newcastle, the popularity of styles derived from Classicism was partly due to the continued influence of the Grainger development, as discussed in Chapter 1. Another factor was Newcastle's relative proximity to Scotland, where city banks had developed a form of monumental Classicism that overshadowed even the architectural achievements of London banks. For example, the British Linen Bank on St. Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, was an imposing hexastyle edifice designed by David Bryce (1851-2). The Commercial Bank of Scotland by David Rhind (1844-6), also on St. Andrew's Square, was an essay in severe Classicism. Consequently, Newcastle and its environs were not as remote from the major developments in bank architecture as might be supposed.

The Northern Assurance Company's offices, sited on the corner of Collingwood Street and the Groat Market, skilfully applies the Palladian style to a large office block [Fig. 8].⁴² This building was designed by Austin, Johnson and Hicks in 1878.⁴³ Round-headed windows are incised into the rusticated ground floor and linked by an impost string and vermiculate plinth. Giant Ionic pilasters scale the first and second floors. The first floor is expressed as a *piano nobile*, the windows framed with delicate aedicules and serpentine balconies that move across the façade like a wave. The entablature is inscribed with the

³⁹ Anderson, J. M., 'The late Mr Gibson,' in *RIBA Journal*, new series, vol.9, 1893, p147.

⁴⁰ The gendering of the Classical Orders has been examined by Adrian Forty, who demonstrates that the Doric Order was perceived as masculine, while the Ionic and Corinthian were associated with different conceptions of femininity. See Forty, A. 'Masculine, Feminine or Neuter?' in McCorquodale, D., Rüedi, K. and Wigglesworth, S. (eds.) (1996) *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*. London: Black Dog Publishing, pp141-155.

⁴¹ Rae, G. (1885) *The Country Banker: his clients, cares, and work from an experience of forty years*. London: John Murray, p172.

⁴² The building is only two bays deep, producing a wide, shallow floor plan. The central staircase is folded back on itself and flanked by either two or three offices on each floor. See TWAS - T186/8398, plan of new premises by Austin, Johnson and Hicks.

⁴³ The initial plans are signed Austin, Johnson and Hicks and dated 25 April 1878. [TWAS - T186/8398]. However, it is likely that R.J. Johnson was in effect the sole partner on this project, as Thomas Austin was frequently ill and W.S. Hicks was in charge of the firm's Middlesbrough branch. The design closely follows the configuration of a branch of Woods and Co.'s bank in Sunderland, which the firm designed in 1875. For this building, see *Sunderland Times*, 17 December 1875.

name of the firm and the date of its foundation (1836). A mansard roof houses an additional storey, which is expressed in a series of dormers. The final bay on the Groat Market elevation was added later in a different but complementary style.⁴⁴ With a rusticated ground floor and windows recessed behind pilasters, the building shows the probable influence of Gibson's National Provincial Bank. *The Builder* gave a favourable assessment overall, but found fault with some of the details:

The Northern Assurance Company's building . . . is also pleasing; it has a Roman Ionic pilaster order in the upper part and a good crowning cornice, the pilaster caps are heavy and not very well carved, and the rather poor dormers and one or two weak details a little spoil it.⁴⁵



Figure 86 Northern Assurance Company, designed by Austin, Johnson and Hicks, 1878. (Author's photograph).

Italianate styles were considered particularly suitable for banks and insurance companies, institutions which had their origin in the mercantile businesses of the Italian Renaissance. This association is particularly telling in the case of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence,

⁴⁴ This was added by Henry S. Legg, who worked in the Architects' Office of Christ's Hospital, London. See TWAS - T186/3239, pan of proposed new addition. This plan was passed on 7 August 1889.

⁴⁵ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.72, 8 October 1898, p307.

Pease and Co.'s bank on Collingwood Street. The firm was founded in 1859 by Jonathan Priestman (1826-1888), who was a partner in the Derwent and Consett Iron Company and a managing partner in the Ashington Coal Company from 1869.⁴⁶ The new bank was run by a coalition of Quaker families from Newcastle, Darlington and London, who quickly integrated themselves into Newcastle's ruling elite. Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913) was a native of London. He joined the firm in 1859 and took up residence at Benwell Dene House, Newcastle. He employed his childhood friend and brother-in-law Alfred Waterhouse to alter the house.⁴⁷ William Edward Barnett (1821-1869) was from London. He married Alice Fenwick, the daughter of the banker George Fenwick of Benwell, and moved to Bywell Hall, Stocksfield, a favourite retreat of Newcastle's leading citizens.⁴⁸ Robert Spence (d.1890) had previously managed the Union Bank in Newcastle. He was therefore the only founding member who had local knowledge. John William Pease of Darlington (1834-1901) was the grandnephew of Edward Pease, principal backer for Robert Stephenson and Co.⁴⁹ He had additional interests in the North Eastern Railway Company and he resided at Pendower, Benwell.⁵⁰ Bound by family ties, the structure of the firm did superficially resemble Florentine dynasties such as the Medici, although their Quaker sympathies gave them a very different ethos.

For many years the bank occupied premises in Newcastle Town Hall, but with their lease due to run out in 1892, and the Council reluctant to renew it due to the cramped condition of the building, Hodgkin and Co. commissioned a design for purpose-built premises

⁴⁶ The Derwent and Consett Iron Company became the Consett Iron Company in 1864 and Priestman became manager in the same year. Hodgkin's Bank was founded after the Northumberland and Durham District Bank collapsed in 1857, an event which 'left a void in the banking world that seemed to invite the formation of a private bank, joint stock banks being for the time somewhat unpopular in the district.' [Phillips, M. (1894) *A History of Banks*, p284].

⁴⁷ Benwell Dene House was a stone-built residence. Its main feature was an octagonal hall. Waterhouse undertook alterations and extensions in 1872-4 at a cost of £2865. For further details of this commission see Alfred Waterhouse Papers, WaA/7 - Folio ledger (Certificate Register No 2) with certificates of commissions from the office of Alfred Waterhouse, 1877-1899 in RIBA Search Rooms, Victoria and Albert Museum, p228 and p300. See also Cunningham, C. and Waterhouse, P. (1992) *Alfred Waterhouse 1830-1905: Biography of a Practice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p223. When he died, Hodgkin left an estate worth £150,000. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p113].

⁴⁸ This estate is listed along with many others in a 'List of the Principal Seats in Northumberland' in Kelly, E.R. (ed.) (1879) *Post Office Directory*, pxiii.

⁴⁹ The Pease family had long been involved in banking on Teeside. Waterhouse designed alterations to Joseph Whitwell Pease's house at 44 Grosvenor Gardens, London (1895-1900). See Alfred Waterhouse Papers, WaA/7 - Certificate Register No.2, with certificates of commissions, 1877-1899, p51. [RIBA Search Rooms, Victoria and Albert Museum].

⁵⁰ Pease left an estate worth £278,000. Pease was succeeded as a partner in the firm by his son Howard Pease FSA of Otterburn Tower, who was educated at Clifton College, Bristol, and at Baliol College, Oxford. He became a Local Director of Lloyds Bank after amalgamation in 1903. Therefore, dynastic control was not completely broken. As editor of the *Northern Counties Magazine*, he was instrumental in shaping Northumberland's identity, publishing texts such as 'Borderland Studies' and 'Tales of Northumbria.' See Jameison, J. (1905) *Northumberland at the Opening of the Twentieth Century*. Pike's new century series, no.14. Brighton: W.T. Pike and Co., p120.

from Austin, Johnson and Hicks.⁵¹ The key figure in this commission was Thomas Hodgkin, who was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, an important body whose membership was made up of cultivated and professional men. It provided a forum for architectural discussion and a venue where architects could meet potential patrons. Hodgkin was undoubtedly acquainted with Johnson, a fellow member of the Society and a regular contributor to its journal, *Archaeologia Aeliana*.⁵² As an historian, Hodgkin had written on the Italian Renaissance and was fully aware of its cultural achievements; it is likely that he specified an Italianate style for the firm's new office. In doing so, he pointedly avoided the Gothic style usually favoured by Quaker patrons. The Gothic style of architecture derived its name from the Visigoth and Ostrogoth tribes that were spuriously credited with hastening the decline of the Roman Empire.⁵³ Hodgkin was certainly aware of the tribes who rampaged through Northern Europe, having published *Italy and her Invaders* (1879-99), which included a volume on the Ostrogothic invasion.⁵⁴ Hodgkin accepted and indeed perpetuated this narrative in his writing and this may have engendered a certain hostility towards the Gothic style. Johnson's designs date from December 1888 and building commenced in 1890.⁵⁵ The bank is based on the Florentine palazzo model, making a deliberate allusion to powerful mercantile dynasties such as the Medici, whose wealth fuelled the cultural and intellectual achievements of the Renaissance. Newcastle's middle class was dominated by mercantile families who had been trading on the Tyne for decades, and this allusion would have appealed to board members and depositors alike.

⁵¹ The lease had been renewed for 21 years in 1871. Under this arrangement, the bank paid £400 per year for the first eleven years and £450 per year for the remainder. See *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 8 July 1871, p401. The Town Hall was widely deemed to be inadequate almost as soon as it was completed, as Council proceedings attest. Similarly, the influential architect John Dobson criticised its placement. See Faulkner, T.E. 'Conservation and Renewal in Newcastle upon Tyne' in Faulkner, T.E. (ed.) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p130.

⁵² Johnson's publications include 'The Black Gate', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.9, 1883, pp53-56.

⁵³ The term 'Gothic' was pejoratively applied by Vasari to the architecture of northern Europe, which he regarded as crude and barbaric.

⁵⁴ Hodgkin, T. (1885) *Italy and her Invaders*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. The second volume of this work was entitled *Huns, Vandals, and the Fall of the Roman Empire*.

⁵⁵ See TWAS - T186/12969, plans of new bank for Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. by Austin, Johnson and Hicks, 13 December 1888.

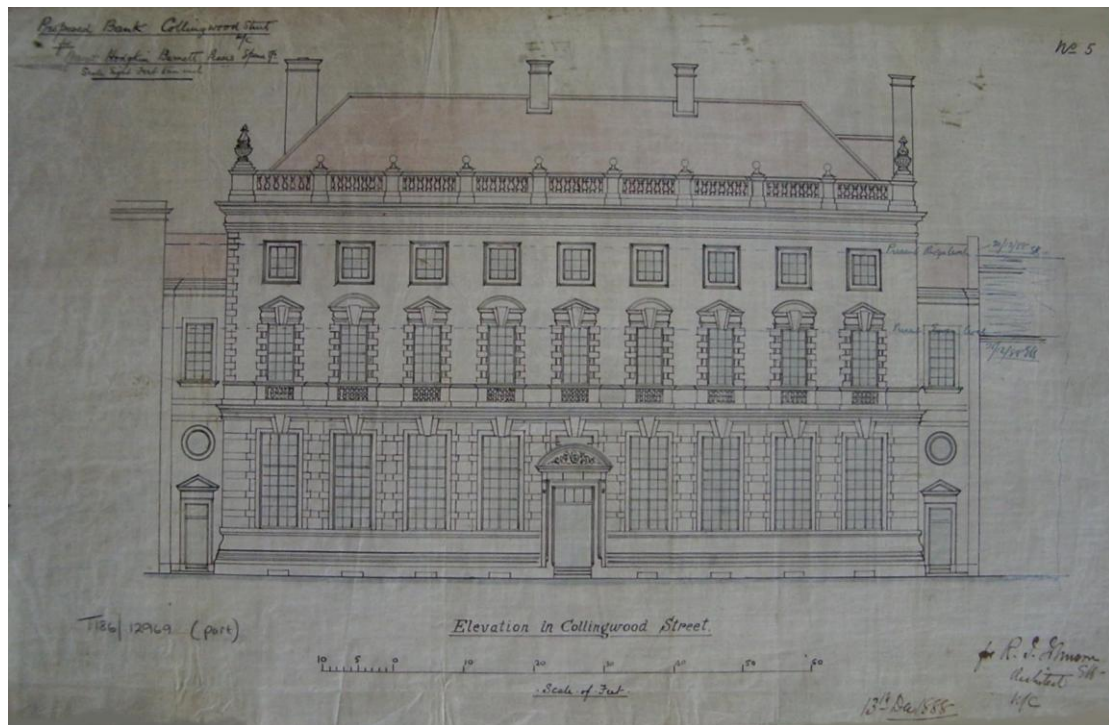


Figure 87 Elevation of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank, drawn by R.J. Johnson. (TWAS - T186/12969).

The design of banks presented specific problems: they had to combine a public banking hall with space for private offices; private banks such as Hodgkin and Co. also required residential space for board members and a caretaker; these varied uses had to be consolidated in a dignified building that gave the impression of prosperity and status without betraying any hint of ostentation or careless spending, as this may have deterred potential depositors.⁵⁶ Combining business and residential space, the Renaissance palazzo model was ideally suited for this complex brief.⁵⁷

Hodgkin's Bank presents a relatively plain astylar façade, articulated with shallow mouldings and rustication [Figs. 9 and 10]. The symmetrical composition of three storeys is strengthened with exposed quoins and the first floor windows have Gibbs surrounds and alternating triangular and segmental pediments. The plain attic storey is terminated by a prominent balustrade with urns. *The Builder* described the bank as:

⁵⁶ An article in the *Banker's Magazine* (1849) makes this explicit: 'A certain air of sobriety is what should pervade a banking establishment . . . Flash and glitter and ostentation are the natural properties of your Colonial Emporiums, Cigar Divans, and Tailoring Marts.' [*Banker's Magazine*, quoted in Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, p76].

⁵⁷ The palazzo style was used for commercial buildings in Liverpool and Manchester. See, for example, the Manchester Free Trade Hall. The Manchester and Salford Bank on the corner of Marble Street and Mosley Street (1866) is very similar to Hodgkin and Co.'s bank.

A composition of the highest excellence; extremely simple in its elements, depending solely on the treatment of its doorway and windows and a crowning entablature, it owes its success mainly to good proportion and detail and a judicious distribution of solids, voids, and enrichment.⁵⁸

The Builder recognised the significance of the Renaissance style, stating that, 'It is not too much to say that without being too close an imitation of any of them, it is equal in beauty to the best of the Florentine palaces on which it is founded.'⁵⁹ A vestibule was installed behind the modest central door and functioned as a waiting room, giving the banking hall greater exclusivity. The large banking hall occupies only half of the ground floor; the rest of the principal bays are given over to the "partners' room", a large private office, which is thus accorded equal status in the façade. Contemporary photographs indicate that the interior harboured a sombre, masculine, club-like atmosphere [Fig 12].⁶⁰



Figure 88 Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s Bank, Collingwood Street, designed by R.J. Johnson, 1888-92. (Author's photograph).

⁵⁸ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p307.

⁶⁰ See Kinchin, J. 'Interiors: Nineteenth-Century Essays on the "Masculine" and "Feminine" Room' in Kirkham, P. (1996) *The Gendered Object*. New York: St. Martin's Press, pp12-29.



Figure 89 Detail of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. Bank, Collingwood Street, designed by R.J. Johnson, 1888-92. (Author's photograph).



Figure 90 Board members of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. in 1894, including John William Pease (seated centre) and Thomas Hodgkin (far right). (Phillips, M. [1894] *A History of Banks, Bankers and Banking in Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire*).

As in Renaissance prototypes, the first floor accommodated sitting rooms, dining rooms and kitchens, and the second floor a series of bedrooms.⁶¹ The provision of accommodation for clerks was also characteristic of private banks, which frequently included residential space for partners. Johnson's chaste Renaissance palazzo reflects Quaker frugality and plainness of dress, but the style is remarkable when compared to the other branches of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co. As a coalition of Quaker bankers, the firm had strong ties with Darlington, where a substantial Quaker community had been established by the Pease family in the eighteenth century. The Darlington architect G.G. Hoskins produced a Gothic design for their Bishop Auckland branch, and indeed this was the style usually favoured by the Darlington Quakers.⁶² Unfortunately no records of the partners' aesthetic preferences have come to light. This is a common problem when researching the history of bank architecture, and as Booker has observed, 'The consistent failure of nineteenth century board minutes to treat of the appearance of branches leads almost to the conclusion that bankers were indifferent to their design.'⁶³ In the absence of testimonial evidence, it is probable that Classicism was substituted for Gothic in the Newcastle branch as a concession to the prevailing character of Newcastle street architecture.

The image of the Renaissance palazzo was polysemic, having subtly different meanings for different viewers. It was stated that the palazzo style 'owns no master but true taste',⁶⁴ a remark which implies that the style was valued because it was free of the dogmatic rules that characterised the Gothic Revival. This helps to explain its continued appeal during the 1870s, when Gothic was falling from favour. However, the style was imbued with definite meanings. As stated above, the allusion to the mercantile bankers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appealed to middle class investors. Significantly, the Florentine palazzo was also the model for Sir Charles Barry's London clubs.⁶⁵ The architect and critic Goodhart-Rendel wrote, 'Banking houses were Italian because bankers had seen and admired the palaces Barry had built either as residences or as club-houses for their more important

⁶¹ The first floor had two dining rooms and three sitting rooms. The second floor featured five bedrooms arranged along the frontage, plus a caretaker's kitchen. See TWAS - T186/12969.

⁶² For an account of Hoskins' work, see Chapman, V. 'George Gordon Hoskins JP, FRIBA: A Darlington Architect and his Work, 1864-1907' in *Durham Archaeological Journal*, vol.4, 1988, pp61-8 and vol.5, 1989, pp65-9.

⁶³ Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, pxxv.

⁶⁴ Jenkins, F. (1961) *Architect and Patron*, p182.

⁶⁵ The style was widely used for club-houses in provincial cities, for example, the Conservative Club in Liverpool, designed by F. and G. Holme. Reviewing this building, *The Builder* stated: 'The style adopted is Italian, of a French type, which as affording a combination of domestic work with palatial architecture, was deemed to be more suitable for the purpose of a city club-house.' [*Builder*, vol.46, 26 April 1884, p572].

depositors.⁶⁶ The association with gentleman's clubs and their aura of sober masculinity would have appealed to Newcastle's expanding professional class. In his Presidential address to the Northern Architectural Association, Frank W. Rich described the bank as 'stately and thoroughly gentlemanly', revealing that notions of social exclusivity were central to the image it projected.⁶⁷

Stylistic profusion

By the 1880s and 90s the palazzo model was giving way to a range of styles. This transition is signified by No. 27 Mosley Street. Initially built as a bank, this was acquired by the North British and Mercantile Assurance Company in 1890 and W.L. Newcombe was commissioned to remodel the frontage.⁶⁸ His additions responded to the vogue for inflated Baroque details. Newcombe placed emphasis on the entrance by adding heavy door surrounds in pink granite and a balcony supported on leaf brackets; he also provided a pink granite plinth. The first floor windows have segmental pediments with shell motifs. A parapet with balustrades runs along the roofline.

Interspersed between the financial institutions of Collingwood and Mosley Streets, commercial buildings utilised more effusive Baroque and Jacobean styles. The firm of Armstrong and Knowles designed two buildings on Mosley Street that exemplify late Victorian tastes. Mosley Chambers at Nos. 28 and 30 were designed as a block of shops and offices for Alderman Stout (1894) [Fig. 13]. The result is an extravagant confection with lavish ornament and a frantic interplay between solid and void. In the rusticated ground floor, the entrance was originally flanked by large round-headed windows with prominent keystones; the window in the right hand bay has been removed to make way for a second door and glazed shop-front. The ground floor terminates with an entablature embellished with cartouches. Above, the outermost bays are canted, but recessed behind a framework of giant Ionic columns and pilasters. The cornices above the windows overlap with the second floor entablature and elliptical-headed windows in the attic storey are framed by truncated Ionic columns with block rustication. *The Builder* remarked, 'Mosley Chambers . . . is a clever

⁶⁶ Goodhart-Rendel, H.S. (1953) *English Architecture Since the Regency*. London: Constable, p155.

⁶⁷ Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address*. Rich goes on to say that the building 'reflects the greatest credit on a lamented colleague, and the liberal minded directors who allowed him "rope."'

⁶⁸ Founded in 1809, the North British and Mercantile Assurance Company had many prominent members, including John Clayton. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *The Making of a Ruling Class*, p97].

piece of more recent design, very carefully detailed; but there is rather too much striving for effect in it, and it wants a heavier cornice and deeper architrave to the order.'⁶⁹



Figure 91 Mosley Chambers, Nos. 28 and 30 Mosley Street, designed by Armstrong and Knowles, 1894. (Author's photograph).

Another Armstrong and Knowles building at No. 8 Mosley Street utilised the Arts and Crafts manner that often alternated with Edwardian Baroque [Fig. 14].⁷⁰ Consisting of a two-bay frontage with four storeys plus attic, the building is asymmetrical and executed in red brick with sandstone dressings. The narrow bay on the right has a door and simple sash windows. The left bay has tripartite windows, each of which is treated differently: rustication

⁶⁹ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p306.

⁷⁰ Service argues that the Art and Crafts movement and the Baroque Revival were the two main trends in Edwardian architecture. Although they seemed to be in opposition, there were many connections between these two modes. See Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p8. Many Edwardian architects used both Arts and Crafts and Baroque styles in their work. The former was valued for its 'quaintness', the latter was redolent of power, grandeur and civic status.

on the first floor; a serpentine balcony and segmental pediment on the second; a Gibbs surround on the third. A dormer completes the composition. The finished building was somewhat different from the initial design. As illustrated in *The Builder*, this originally had an additional bay on the left, making the façade symmetrical. In order to reduce the composition to two bays, the segmental window had to be altered and some rustication omitted. Despite these revisions, the vernacular style and materials make the building unique on Mosley Street. W.H. Knowles briefly occupied an office in this building.⁷¹



Figure 92 No. 8 Mosley Street designed by Armstrong and Knowles. (*The Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p305).

⁷¹ Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p485.

Intersecting with Neville Street, the vista of Collingwood Street is terminated by a stylistic triumvirate comprising the Literary and Philosophical Society, Neville Hall, and Bolbec Hall. The latter merits discussion as its design bears comparison with the architecture of Collingwood and Mosley Streets. Bolbec Hall was a result of the interaction between industry and the cultural sphere in Newcastle. With considerable foresight, the Literary and Philosophical Society had purchased a site adjacent to its own premises for £10,000 in 1821 to permit expansion should additional space be required. This was never found to be necessary, but in 1906 the Society was approached by the North East Coast Engineering Employers' Association and the North East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders, who proposed building an office block.⁷² The two employers' associations would occupy the upper storeys, while most of the ground floor would be let out in order to generate a joint income. The Society accepted this proposal and commissioned the local architect Frank W. Rich to provide designs, an appointment that reveals further connections at work. As consulting architect for Lord Armstrong, Rich had orchestrated repairs of the Society's library in 1893 when it was damaged by fire.⁷³ Armstrong had funded these repairs during his long tenure as President of the Society. The building of Bolbec Hall was financed with a loan of £20,000 from the Spence trustees. As well as being a founding member of Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co., Robert Spence cultivated an interest in natural history, which he shared with Rich – both were members of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. As a result of these connections Rich was awarded the commission directly.

Like many of the buildings on Collingwood Street, Bolbec Hall was designed in a Palladian style, but the treatment was very free. This was partly due to the site. The building is crammed awkwardly into a difficult triangular site next to the Literary and Philosophical Society. The windows of the ground floor are recessed behind rusticated pilasters. The first

⁷² Parrish, C. (1990) *The History of the Literary and Philosophical Society, volume II, 1896-1989*. Newcastle: Literary and Philosophical Society. Details of the foundation of Bolbec Hall may be found in Heslop, R.O. (1909) 'The North-East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders, Bolbec Hall' in Newcastle City Library, *Local Tracts* 49, 042/4.

⁷³ Rich designed new offices and workshops at the Elswick Works. Rutherford argues that Armstrong's patronage 'not only provided Rich with financial benefits but also access to a powerful circle of leading figures in the area – aristocracy, industrialists and businessmen.' [Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich*, p8]. In particular, Rich obtained commissions from the Duke of Northumberland and designed Otterburn Tower for the banker Howard Pease (1904). See Appendix.

floor windows have Gibbs surrounds and pediments of alternating design. In the upper storeys, the windows have architraves with sills and cornices borne on brackets. The crowning frieze has swag decoration and Venetian windows pierce the attic storey. Due to the irregular site, the entrance had to be formed in the corner bay that recedes at an oblique angle. Rich attempted to resolve this problem by composing a dramatic corner piece. The door is framed by columns of shap granite with Jacobean bronze reliefs at their bases. An open pediment over the door contains a fascia with the Arms of the Bolbec family and an elaborate Venetian window completes the composition. The building is capped with an open triangular pediment with Tuscan columns and oculus. The style of Bolbec Hall is sympathetic to the Palladian façades that line Collingwood Street; the rusticated windows, alternating pediments and balustraded parapet recall Hodgkin and Co.'s bank in particular. Given that Spence was involved with both institutions, it is possible that he cited his own firm's premises as a model for the new building. However, Bolbec Hall also reflects the currently fashionable Edwardian Baroque mode, with exuberant composition and encrustations of sculpture. Once completed, Bolbec Hall became a crux of Tyneside's industrial relations, housing the Tyne Shipbuilders' Association, the North East Coast Ship Repairers' Association, the North East Coast Engineering Trades Employers' Association and the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation.⁷⁴ The Yorkshire Insurance Company rented space in the ground floor and the Literary and Philosophical Society was able to expand its library.

The space in front of Bolbec Hall is dominated by the Stephenson Monument, designed by J.G. Lough.⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter 1, this consists of an idealised statue of the industrial pioneer with allegorical figures representing the industries that benefited from his input – mining, railways, bridge design and general engineering.⁷⁶ George Stephenson was celebrated as a self-made man, and the narrative of his life – achieving success through ingenuity and innate skill – was a favourite cultural myth in Victorian Newcastle.⁷⁷ With its self-conscious evocation of Ancient Greece, the monument strains for a cultural recognition of

⁷⁴ *Ward's Directory*, 1914.

⁷⁵ Lough had previously created a sculpture of James Losh, a prominent member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, which was displayed in the Society's premises.

⁷⁶ The four figures are a curious blend of Greek ignudi and Northumbrian pitmen and they recline upon emblems of the major industries of Tyneside. The design of the monument had been much discussed. In 1858 Thomas Oliver Senior published a pamphlet entitled *The Stephenson Monument: What Should It Be? A Question and Answer Addressed to the Subscribers*. Newcastle upon Tyne: M. & M.W. Lambert.

⁷⁷ This narrative was in part constructed after Stephenson's death, with the publication of Smiles's biography. See Colls, R. 'Remembering George Stephenson: Genius and Modern Memory' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp267-292.

Stephenson's significance; he is presented as the personification of Newcastle's entrepreneurial spirit. The area surrounding the monument became one of Newcastle's most significant public spaces and was used for numerous parades, pageants and expressions of urban democracy.⁷⁸ Despite their stylistic discordance, the buildings in this vicinity represented the fusion of industrial, capitalist and cultural spheres in Newcastle. The space and the buildings that form its perimeter propounded the narrative of the industrial pioneers who transformed the city into a centre of learning and culture.



Figure 93 Collingwood Street c. 1899. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

The western entrance to Collingwood Street is framed by two early twentieth century buildings, both designed by the important Newcastle firm of Oliver, Leeson and Wood, who were successful enough to occupy an office in Mosley Street, a fact that surely helped them win the commissions.⁷⁹ A contemporary photograph shows the west end of Collingwood

⁷⁸ For example, the site was used to celebrate Stephenson's achievements on 2 October 1862, when a procession of manufacturing workers marched past the statue carrying the banners of their trades. The procession was led by two boys with banners reading 'He was one of us.' The event is analysed in Colls, R. 'Remembering George Stephenson', pp267-292. For a firsthand account of the procession, see *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 3 October 1862.

⁷⁹ As participants in the spatial evolution of Newcastle, architects would have been aware of the city's economic geography and the importance of location. Many were able establish offices in key locales. W.H. Knowles was

Street in a state of transition [Fig. 15]. A commercial giant known as the Collingwood Buildings is under construction on the left; the steel frame is being erected and a sign reveals that Alexander Pringle was the contractor. Across the street are the premises of W. Pape, gun manufacturer, which were soon demolished to make way for the Sun Insurance Company's building.



Figure 94 Collingwood Buildings, designed by Oliver and Leeson, 1897-9. (Author's photograph).

The Collingwood Buildings (1897-9) stand at the acute angle between Collingwood Street and Pudding Chare [Fig. 16]. Responding to the unusual site, the building rises like the prow of a ship. Commissioned as a hotel, the building is suffused with Free Baroque

based at No. 25 Collingwood Street. The firm of Knowles, Oliver and Leeson was based in the Sun Insurance building in 1914. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

ornamentation, boasting a grandeur unmatched by the neighbouring banks and insurance companies. As the ground floor was to accommodate an arcade of shops, gaping arches were cut into the powerful grey granite base, thus illuminating the interior without breaking up the monumentality of the whole.⁸⁰ Bay windows ascend from the arches at regular intervals and pilasters fortify the composition, before segmental dormers rear up above the roofline. The most striking feature is the corner drum that surges through all five storeys and terminates with a grand dormer. However, the design of the building evolved in the execution and this feature has been scaled down considerably. The corner was originally intended to terminate with a rounded turret with wrought iron balcony [Fig. 17]. A simpler termination based on the adjoining dormers has been substituted. The two storeys above the entrance have also been simplified, emphasising the basic curve of the site.⁸¹ The main entrance was housed in the curved corner bay; a second entrance leading to an octagonal hall with domed ceiling was situated in the Collingwood Street elevation. A director's retiring room was located on the first floor and the second floor was devoted to office space.⁸²

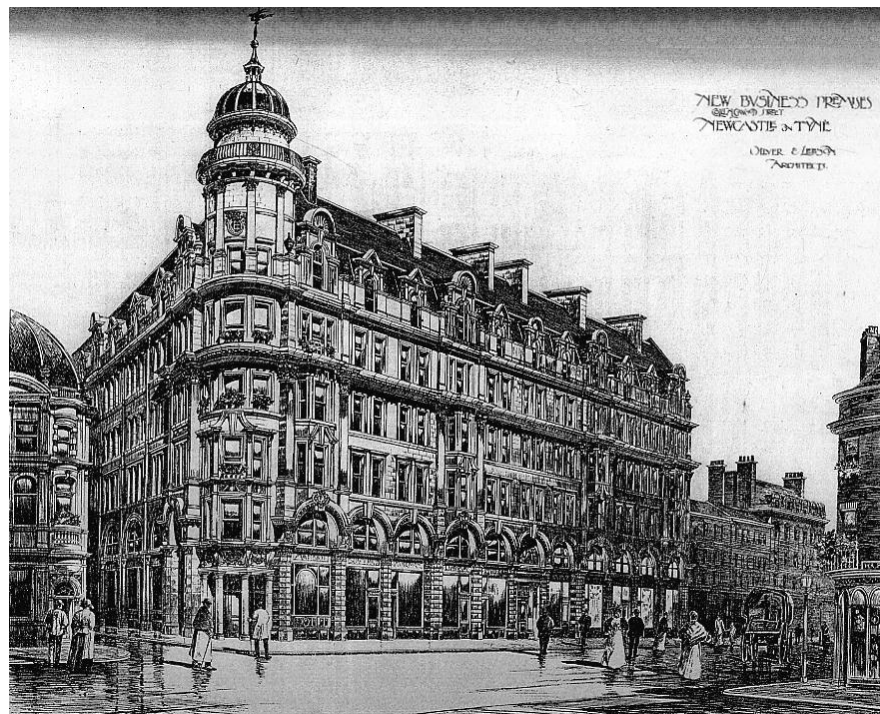


Figure 95 Preliminary design for Collingwood Buildings by Oliver and Leeson. (*The Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898).

⁸⁰ According to the construction company, the ground floor was executed in 'finely axed grey granite.' See Pringle, A. and Co. (n.d.) *Examples of Northern Buildings*. London: Albion, n.p.

⁸¹ The final plans were passed by the Town Improvement Committee on 18 October 1899. These show the iron railings around the summit.

⁸² See TWAS - T186/17309, plans and papers relating to Collingwood Buildings, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1880-1902.

As a hotel, much of the building's custom would have come from businessmen travelling to Newcastle to negotiate with the financial corporations lining Collingwood and Mosley Streets. In this respect, however, it had to compete with the Royal Station Hotel, which stood in a privileged position next to the Central Station. It seems that the building was not successful as a hotel as it was soon taken over by Barclay's Bank. Rather than erecting a purpose-built branch, Barclay's was satisfied to adapt the property. In 1903 the building was converted by Cackett and Burns Dick, who turned the ground floor interior into a vast banking hall. In this context, the elaborate stucco decoration, marble walls and mahogany ceiling were indubitably lavish. According to the construction company:

This magnificent building, situated in Collingwood Street, is one of the largest and finest blocks of offices yet erected in the city. Half of the ground floor is taken up by banking premises, the other half consisting of shops. Above these are five floors which are divided up into suites of offices.⁸³



Figure 96 Sun Insurance Company, designed by Oliver and Leeson, 1902-4. (Author's photograph).

⁸³ Pringle, A. and Co. (n.d.) *Examples of Northern Buildings*, n.p.

Across the street, the Sun Insurance Company's offices (1902-4) form a fitting counterpart to the Collingwood Buildings [Fig. 18].⁸⁴ As the world's oldest insurance company, this firm had developed a distinctive corporate identity based on the antique sun-embossed chest initially used to store its funds.⁸⁵ The firm's head office on Threadneedle Street, London, was designed by C.R. Cockerell, whose brother John was among the Sun's managers.⁸⁶ In 1881 the Manager's Special Committee ordained that 'the principle (long practised by other offices) be adopted of establishing and maintaining branch offices at certain large towns.'⁸⁷ The firm proceeded to open branches in Glasgow and Edinburgh (both 1881), Birmingham (1882), Dublin and Leeds (both 1883), Manchester (1887) and Newcastle (1888). The first Newcastle office was a temporary branch designed to give the firm a foothold in the city until a better site could be found. Once this was achieved the company determined to erect a purpose-built office. The commission was a notable instance of a national firm employing a local architectural practice to design a new branch.⁸⁸ Oliver and Leeson's building is a bold statement of Victorian capitalism, offering an almost aggressive assertion of corporate identity. The building supplanted the gun-manufacturing firm of W. Pape, which had occupied a brick building with a bowed corner section. This feature gave shape to the site-plan and re-emerged in Oliver and Leeson's grand Renaissance style design. The opposing faces are held in unity by a prominent cornice and the windows are regulated by giant Corinthian pilasters and horizontal divisions. The whole is elevated on a plinth of contrasting grey granite. The courses of the base are pulvinated or 'cushioned', a treatment usually reserved for the crowning frieze. The doorway is reminiscent of the work of A. Beresford Pite. A fluted architrave is supported by striving Atlantes, which serve as

⁸⁴ The Sun Insurance Company was founded in 1710, and is the oldest in the world still practising under its original name. It was the first to expand beyond London and by 1914 had established an international branch network. For the origins of the firm, see Baumer, E. (1910) *The Sun Fire Office: The Early Years of the Sun Fire Office*. London: Sir Joseph Causton and Sons. For a broader history see Dickson, P.G.M. (1960) *The Sun Insurance Office, 1710-1960*. London: Oxford University Press.

⁸⁵ The firm was founded by Charles Povey, who had an interest in astronomy, and this may have inspired the name. By the early twentieth century, the directors were awaking to the possibility of a corporate image expressed through a range of media. They ventured into advertising in the form of business cards, and significantly these depicted the buildings themselves. See Dickson, P.G.M. (1960) *The Sun Insurance Office*, p18.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p114.

⁸⁷ Manager's Special Committee report, April 1881, discussed in Dickson, P.G.M. (1960) *The Sun Insurance Office*, p136.

⁸⁸ Dickson argues that, 'the Sun was relying by the end of the Victorian period on the extensive business connections of local legal firms and estate offices.' [*Ibid.*, p134]. In this context, it is not surprising that the firm should employ architects with local knowledge and connections.

emblems of strength and vigour.⁸⁹ Solar symbolism pervades the exterior – from sun emblems on the wrought iron balconies and mosaic doorsteps to the radiant golden sunburst that fills the open pediment of the Neville Street elevation. A fireman's helmet serves as a reminder of the Sun's origins as a fire office. The dates 1710 and 1904 commemorate the foundation of the firm and the completion of the Newcastle branch respectively.

A photograph published by Mawson, Swan and Morgan reveals that the building was originally arrayed with urns and statuettes [Fig. 19]. These have long since been removed. The offices of the Fire Union Company and *Newcastle Chronicle* (designed by William Parnell, demolished) stand on the left, with their distinctive mansard roof. The Collingwood Buildings have already been acquired by Barclay's and converted for use as a bank.



Figure 97 The western entrance to Collingwood Street, c.1912. The Collingwood Buildings and the Sun Insurance Company's offices frame the vista. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views of Newcastle, Gateshead, Whitley Bay and District*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan Ltd). This photograph was reused as a postcard.

Both the Sun Insurance and the Collingwood Buildings represent a striking exploitation of the street corner. Newcastle architects were particularly adept at creating

⁸⁹ Pite was much influenced by Michelangelo and used similar figures at No. 83 Mortimer Street, London. He published 'The Architecture of Michelangelo' in *Architectural Review*, vol.4, p219 and vol.5, pp21 and 86. The Newcastle figures recall those of the Stephenson Monument, but they are less allegorical, exhibiting a more realistic rendering of the human body and its imperfections. This suggests the influence of the 'New Sculpture', which was represented in Newcastle by the Queen Victoria Monument (see below).

spectacular effects on corner sites, the potential of which was widely recognised by patrons.⁹⁰

Firms competed for advantageous but expensive corner sites and in most cases it was the more durable national firms – such as the National Provincial Bank and Sun Insurance Company – that obtained them. Such firms had a greater reserve of funds available for speculation and, as expanding branch networks, had more experience of property dealing.

Commercial giants often displaced the small businesses congregated along Collingwood and Mosley Streets. The Collingwood Buildings raised objections from the firm of Emley and Sons, heating engineers, who occupied premises in Pudding Chare, a winding lane only 15-18 feet wide. Alfred Emley wrote to the Town Improvement Committee in 1897, stating that the proposed new building would, 'deprive Pudding Chare – already too narrow and too dark – of light and air.'⁹¹ However, the plans were passed with only minor revisions.⁹² Small businesses were gradually excluded from Collingwood and Mosley Streets or subsumed into the new buildings. The lack of support from the Corporation is not surprising; the eradication of Newcastle's dubious legacy of medieval 'chares' was a priority of the Town Improvement Committee, which controlled building in the city.⁹³ These dark and sunless alleys were a source of embarrassment to the Council and Newcastle had an unenviable reputation for unsanitary conditions. Certainly the Town Improvement Committee was eager to sanction impressive buildings like banks, especially if they were the result of private rather than municipal patronage, as this freed the Corporation from the obligation to spend its funds. The Corporation recognised that they served as ornaments to the town and they were greeted as such in the local press.⁹⁴ Above all, impressive offices built by powerful national firms testified to Newcastle's importance within an increasingly national economy.

The prestige of Collingwood and Mosley Streets attracted a number of retailers. James Crossley Eno (1827-1915), for example, was an entrepreneur and chemist who sold

⁹⁰ Newcastle abounds with a range of spectacular corner treatments. However, such features were not uncommon in British architecture during the period 1870-1914.

⁹¹ TWAS - T186/17309, letter from Alfred Emley to the Town Improvement Committee, 10 February 1897. Emley pointed out that the proposed new building was 78 feet high, while Pudding Chare was only 15 to 18 feet wide. In a letter dated 10 February 1897, John Ismay and Sons, wholesale druggists, wrote to Oliver and Leeson on the advice of their architect, arguing that the buildings would 'cause serious obstruction.' The firm's architect is unnamed, but it is possible that he was a competitor of Oliver and Leeson.

⁹² The amended plans, signed by W.H. Wood for Oliver and Leeson, were dated 27 January 1898. See TWAS - T186/17309.

⁹³ Chares are remnants of Newcastle's medieval street pattern. The term 'chare' is a Northumbrian word and is thought to be derived from the Saxon term 'cerre', meaning turning.

⁹⁴ In a more general sense, the branches of national firms 'bolstered civic importance.' [Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, p26].

fruit salts, a typical Victorian panacea.⁹⁵ Eno had previously been located in the Groat Market, but by the 1890s he was able to move to the more prestigious location of Collingwood Street itself and opened a shop at No. 5. Designed by J.W. Taylor, the building occupies a mere three bays, but forms an eye-catching spectacle through the use of vivid Baroque ornament and pronounced verticality [Fig. 20]. Indeed, the height of the neighbouring buildings was marked on Taylor's original plan and his façade just exceeds them in height, suggesting that Eno deliberately sought to outdo his neighbours.⁹⁶ Rounded-headed windows illuminate the first floor, but the keystones rise up to support a serpentine cornice. The central window in the second floor is framed by Ionic pilasters and a pediment. On the roofline, the dentilled cornice is interrupted by a broken pediment and Egyptian-style obelisk. A mansard roof rises behind. The façade is arrayed with cartouches, thereby extracting the maximum effect from the narrow frontage. The ground floor is entirely faced in glass, with curved windows sweeping into the recessed doorway.⁹⁷ This was a fairly standard model for shop fronts on Collingwood Street and in Newcastle generally.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ J.C. Eno had worked as a dispenser at the Newcastle Infirmary on Forth Banks. He began selling his fruit salt preparation from a pharmacy in the Groat Market c. 1854. *Eno's Fruit Salt* became one of the most popular proprietary medicines of the nineteenth century. It was marketed to sailors as a defence against 'sea-sickness, fever, and change of climate,' and to 'anyone whose duties require them to undergo mental or unnatural excitement or strain.' [Advert for J.C. Eno's Fruit Salt in *Ward's Directory of Newcastle*, 1885-6, p84]. In order to meet demand, Eno opened a factory at New Cross, London in 1876. Eno relied heavily on advertising and reportedly wrote most of the adverts himself. See *Pharmacy: The Mother of Invention*, an online exhibition produced by the Museum of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain in March 2003, available at www.rpsgb.org.uk/informationresources/museum/exhibitions/themotherofinvention/eno. Accessed 29 June 2005.

⁹⁶ See TWAS - T186/17309, plans of proposed new building for J.C. Eno, No. 5 Collingwood Street, by J.W. Taylor FRIBA of 31 Westgate Road.

⁹⁷ In 1900 Eno constructed a goods entrance at the rear of the building, facing onto Denton Chare. The plans were prepared by J.W. Taylor and dated 21 February 1900. See TWAS - T186/17309.

⁹⁸ Numerous plans of shop-fronts are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives. See for example, TWAS - T186/7825, plans for a new shop-front to Mr. Gibson's premises in Collingwood Street, dated 1 March 1877. Shop-fronts changed frequently, as this allowed shopkeepers to renew the appearance of the shop without having to rebuild it.



Figure 98 J.C. Eno's premises, No. 5 Collingwood Street, designed by J.W. Taylor, 1900. (Author's photograph).

The redevelopment of Collingwood and Mosley Streets was directed by commercial impulses and was largely uncoordinated, but the Corporation did envisage two significant planning schemes for the area. In 1871 the Town Improvement Committee proposed to move the Earl Grey Monument from the head of Grey Street, where it was forming an obstruction to traffic, to the intersection of Mosley and Dean Streets.⁹⁹ Although the chief motive was to vacate the present site, the relocation would have transformed Mosley Street into a major public space, dominated by this emblem of urban democracy. Certain councillors argued that a better site would be the more sedate environs of Eldon Square, a Classical quadrangle designed by Dobson. However, Councillor Hodge pointed out that Grey Street derived its name from the

⁹⁹ At a meeting of Newcastle Council, Joseph Cowen moved 'that the Town Improvement Committee be requested to report on the desirability and cost of removing the Monument to Earl Grey from its present to a more convenient site.' *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 3 May 1871, p347.

presence of the monument and that any other site would be inappropriate.¹⁰⁰ A decisive factor in the plan eventually being abandoned was the fact that the monument would have blocked traffic on Mosley Street and thus slowed the pace of commerce.¹⁰¹ The failure of the scheme suggests that Mosley Street was already defined as a place of business, which had a vital function in Newcastle's economy; it was not the place for the display of civic values. Instead, this function was fulfilled by St. Nicholas's Square.

Symbolic spaces

St. Nicholas's Square is an open public space formed at the meeting point of Collingwood and Mosley Streets. During the period it was bisected by the axis of the Town Hall and St. Nicholas's Cathedral. The medieval church of St. Nicholas had undergone prolonged alteration during the nineteenth century at the hands of Sir George Gilbert Scott and others.¹⁰² These improvements gradually transformed it into a building with the necessary authority to serve as a cathedral. Diocesan reform culminated when Newcastle was made into a city by Royal Charter on 30th June 1882. The newly ordained cathedral thus became a symbol of Newcastle's civic status. However, this change emphasised the fact that Newcastle lacked a civic core comparable to those of other provincial cities – a public arena defined by key institutions such as a town hall, library, museum and art gallery. Sited in close proximity to each other and usually designed in a uniform style, these institutions define the city and proclaim its values. In Liverpool, for example, St. George's Hall was situated in conjunction with the Walker Art Gallery, both examples of triumphant Neo-Classicism. Birmingham has a complex of Neo-Classical buildings, including the Town Hall by J. A. Hansom and E. Welch (1830). The symbolic heart of Newcastle was usually deemed to be the intersection of Grey and Grainger Streets, the open public space punctuated by Grey's Monument.¹⁰³ However,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p347.

¹⁰¹ In fact, the Council's powers were limited in this matter. As the monument was private property an Act of Parliament would be required to move it. The motion to relocate the monument was withdrawn during this meeting. [Ibid., p348].

¹⁰² John Dobson partially rebuilt the north transept in 1824. R.J. Johnson was appointed Surveyor to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland in 1871. His work was concentrated in the interior. He provided a carved choir screen, stalls and Bishop's Throne. Sir George Gilbert Scott restored the famous lantern spire in 1867-70 at a cost £18,200. See Victorian Society (1980) 'Northumbrian Weekend', p12. Archibald Dunn rebuilt the east window as a memorial to the organist Thomas Ions. See *The Builder*, vol.18, 13 October 1860, p662.

¹⁰³ E.M. Atkins argues that this space mitigated the need for a civic complex [Atkins. E.M. 'The Genesis of the Laing Art Gallery' in Faulkner, T.E. (1996) (ed.) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p209]. However, the proposal to move the Earl Grey Monument and the protracted campaign to build a new, appropriately dignified town hall would seem to challenge this idea. There was clearly a perception among the ruling elite that Newcastle's civic status was not adequately manifested.

this space had no civic buildings and even the monument's position was briefly in doubt. St. Nicholas's Square was therefore Newcastle's closest equivalent to the grand civic spaces of other major cities and for this reason it was the site Newcastle used to represent itself as a city.

In 1900, W.H. Stephenson of Elswick House proposed to erect a monument to Queen Victoria in the centre of St. Nicholas's Square. Stephenson was a major industrialist and served as both Sheriff and Mayor of Newcastle.¹⁰⁴ The site was already occupied by a memorial to the local philanthropist Dr. J.H. Rutherford.¹⁰⁵ This elaborate drinking fountain was erected by the Temperance Society in 1894 and was designed by Charles S. Errington in Quattrocento style. However, it was not felt to make best use of the auspicious site and in 1900 it was removed to an arguably more appropriate setting in the Bigg Market, where its quiet reminder that 'Water Is Best,' took on added meaning among the public houses that bounded this notoriously boisterous space. The relocation left St. Nicholas's square vacant for a more fitting display of Newcastle's civic values. The Queen Victoria Monument came to occupy and dominate the square. The monument stands on a foundation of Peterhead granite and an octagonal base executed by Robert Beall.¹⁰⁶ Sculpted by Alfred Gilbert, the overall form recalls the Jubilee Monument he had designed at Winchester (unveiled in 1887). The figure is seated beneath a canopy that synthesises Renaissance and Mannerist forms. Gilbert was a leading exponent of the 'New Sculpture' and the monument exemplifies the characteristics of this movement.¹⁰⁷ The body and drapery are rendered with a poetic realism that captures the transience and frailty of the aging monarch as well as the solemnity and grandeur represented by the orb and sceptre.

During the Edwardian era, strategic interpretations of municipal history were being written onto the fabric of Britain's towns and cities through the use of monumental statuary and civic rituals. At this time of heightened nationality, Newcastle was eager to show its

¹⁰⁴ Stephenson was the owner of the Throckley Coal Company and served as Mayor of Newcastle on seven occasions. He was something of a royalist, having given £100 to the 'deserving poor' in honour of Prince Edward's coming of age. See Stephenson's obituary in *The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. J.H. Rutherford was an Evangelist who created several elementary, technical and Sunday schools in Newcastle. He founded a technical school in Bath Lane, which was extended in 1887-8 by Oliver and Leeson. See *Building News*, vol.54, 23 March 1888, p424 and plate. This was the basis of Newcastle Polytechnic and subsequently Northumbria University.

¹⁰⁶ *The Builder*, vol.84, 2 May, 1903, p466.

¹⁰⁷ The New Sculpture departed from Neo-Classicism. Exponents sought a naturalistic representation of the body and introduced a form of poetic realism. Their work explored a wider range of subject matter. Lord Leverhulme was among the most important patrons of the movement. The term was devised by the critic Edmund Gosse. See Gosse, E. (1894) 'The New Sculpture: 1879-1894' in *Art Journal*, vol.56, pp138-142.

loyalties.¹⁰⁸ Stephenson conceived the monument as a tribute to Queen Victoria and though she died before it was completed Stephenson was rewarded with a knighthood. Crucially, this was interpreted as an honour to Newcastle itself and a large number of Newcastle's citizens attended the opening ceremony on 24 April 1903 [Fig. 21]. Yet the Queen Victoria Monument was also an example of civic opportunism: ostensibly dedicated to Victoria, it simultaneously commemorated the 500th anniversary of the Shrievalty of Newcastle, an office then occupied by W.H. Stephenson.¹⁰⁹ It thereby allied the history of Newcastle to the wider narrative of British history, and adroitly wrote Stephenson into both.



Figure 99 The unveiling of the Queen Victoria Monument, 24 April 1903. (Newcastle City Library).

¹⁰⁸ Hill, K. 'Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece', pp99-111.

¹⁰⁹ The Shrievalty of Newcastle was granted by Henry IV on 23 May 1400.



Figure 100 St. Nicholas's Square c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

A photograph published by Mawson, Swan and Morgan shows the original position of the Victoria Monument, which has since been moved closer to the cathedral and set upon a raised dais [Fig. 22]. It originally stood level with the street and was unbounded, participating in the life of the city. This reveals how the concept of public monuments and their relationship with the public had shifted:

In designing a memorial, an heroic figure is no longer placed on the summit of a tall column, as in the case of the Earl Grey Monument in the centre of the town. The memorial is made to serve a useful purpose. At its base, a seat for rest and meditation is provided, and the sculptor's work is placed at a level which allows of its being seen and appreciated.¹¹⁰

As the focal point of St. Nicholas's Square, the monument was subject to a complex overlay of meanings. It made advantageous use of the setting, drawing in the palatial façades of the surrounding buildings to form its backdrop. In doing so, it negotiated with the imperial narratives that permeated Edwardian society. At this juncture, Britain was at the zenith of its imperial and commercial power. The South African War had amplified nationalist sentiments

¹¹⁰ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p11.

and generated unbridled patriotism among the general public.¹¹¹ Virtually every large government building erected during this period was executed in the Baroque style.¹¹² As it was based on eighteenth century English interpretations of Classicism, the Baroque style was seen as a national idiom.¹¹³ The Scottish architect J.M. Brydon declared that the architecture of Jones and Wren was 'English as distinct from, and in some respects superior to, even the Italian Renaissance . . . leaving it to us as a precious heritage to keep and to guard and, above all things, to study [. . .].'¹¹⁴ By invoking the opulence of Roman Classicism it created an image of the splendour of the British Empire. Indeed, Edwardian Baroque was itself an instrument of imperial power, as it was used for governmental buildings throughout Britain and its colonies.¹¹⁵ A. Brumwell Thomas's design for Belfast City Hall (1897-1906) was a conscious echo of Wren's High Baroque manner, complete with cupolas derived from the towers of St. Paul's Cathedral. As such, the building made Northern Ireland's subordination to central British rule visually clear.¹¹⁶ Britain's imperial might depended upon industrial and commercial wealth and this is given spatial expression by the Queen Victoria Monument and its proximity to the commercial palaces of Collingwood and Mosley Streets.

Public monuments and their attendant rituals were involved in the construction of the ideal urban subject. The nominal audience for these displays was the urban populace, a mass community brought together by the very same designed spaces. According to Miles, the 'myth of national identity' suppressed social conflict by perpetuating a sense of the individual's responsibilities within a transcendent national community.¹¹⁷ Standing on the axis between the Town Hall and St. Nicholas's Cathedral, the monument embodied the

¹¹¹ The fact of Empire gave credence to notions of Britain's superiority. Harris argues that the imperialist fantasy fostered jingoism, militarism and a veneration of masculine power, and argues that these ran counter to the forces that were actually transforming domestic politics in this era – egalitarianism, consumerism and the rise of feminism. Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p6.

¹¹² Discussing the grandiose town-planning schemes undertaken in Whitehall, Bingham argues that the Edwardian era was 'an opportune moment for patriotic town-planning' as such schemes relied on 'the renewed enthusiasm for heroic glory which had been somewhat damped by the outcome of the South African War.' See Bingham, N.R. (1985) *Victorian and Edwardian Whitehall: Architecture and Planning, 1869-1918*. University of London: unpublished PhD thesis, p276.

¹¹³ Reviewing Fergusson's *History of Modern Architecture*, *The Builder* set out its own assessment of the pedigree of this style: 'After Wren there were several architects who have formed a fine school of Anglo-Italian work, among them Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh, Kent, Gibbs, Sir William Chambers, the brothers Adam, Taylor, and Dance.' [*Builder*, vol.43, 20 September 1884, p409].

¹¹⁴ J.M. Brydon speaking to the Architectural Association, quoted in Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p90.

¹¹⁵ Sir Edwin Lutyens used a monumental Classicism for the Viceroy's House, New Delhi (1912-31). Service argues that this brand of 'stripped Classicism' grew out of High Edwardian Baroque. See Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p187. In this example, the style had inflections of India's indigenous architecture.

¹¹⁶ This phase of Baroque influence has been termed a 'Wrenaissance.' See Gavin Stamp's introduction to Crellin, D. and Dungavell, I. (2003) *Architecture and Englishness, 1880-1914*. Oxford: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain.

¹¹⁷ Miles, M. (1997) *Art, Space and the City: public art and urban futures*. London: Routledge.

relationship between Church and State. This is made explicit in the inscriptions: the pedestal is inscribed 'Victoria RI 1837-1901: The Throne is Established by Righteousness'; 'Thine is the Greatness and the Power and the Glory and the Victory and the Majesty'; and 'Thine is the Kingdom O Lord and Thou Art Exalted as Head Above All.' As the seat of local government and ecclesiastical authority, St. Nicholas's Square was a fulcrum of power in Newcastle; it was primarily from this site that the city was governed, reshaped, and its identity negotiated. On 31 January 1880 the space was used for a rapturous celebration of the Empire. The Radical MP Joseph Cowen gave a speech in the Town Hall in which he set out his conception of the ideal British society. Cowen claimed he 'would like to see a state . . . where the arts and graces of Athens, where the maritime independence of Sparta would co-mingle with the mercantile enterprise and naval power of Britain.'¹¹⁸ British citizens were 'the inheritors of a colonial empire, the most widespread, scattered and extensive the world had ever seen. It reached to every region, and had feelers and feeders in every quarter of the globe.'¹¹⁹ At this point Cowen was greeted with cheers from the crowd. He continued, 'Every tribe we touched recognised our superiority, and looked either in conscious fear of weakness or in brightening hope to participate in our improvement.'¹²⁰

Within urban culture, public space served as a stage on which civic values could be performed, and thus transmitted to all levels of society. The prestige of Collingwood and Mosley Streets was confirmed when they formed part of the route taken on the Royal visit to Newcastle in 1906. Both streets were decorated with banners and flags for the occasion. With the Victoria Monument punctuating the space and the material manifestations of Victorian capitalism lining the route, Collingwood and Mosley Streets formed an ideal location for this ceremony of monarchy and empire.¹²¹ The Royal visit thus confirmed and completed the project of creating a symbolic public space.

¹¹⁸ Cowen, J. (1880) *The Memorable Speech of Joseph Cowen, MP*. London: Samuel Hayes, p4. [Newcastle City Library, *Political Tracts, 1858-87*].

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p5.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p5.

¹²¹ According to a contemporary commentator, Edward VII was himself a 'social stage manager.' [Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p17].

Late development

The buildings of Collingwood and Mosley Streets exhibit a variety of historical styles, but they are simultaneously marked by their modernity. Most were constructed with steel frames and reinforced concrete, which permitted multi-storey buildings and thereby maximised the productivity of the sites. This also accorded with an emerging concern for safety in public buildings. New constructional techniques were often popularised on the grounds that they could render a building fireproof. The Scottish Provident building, which stands at the junction of Mosley Street and the Cloth Market is exemplary [Fig. 23].¹²² An edifice of gleaming white Portland stone, the building towers to five storeys and bears a temple-like colonnade of fluted Corinthian columns. Standing on a plinth of grey granite, the two lower floors are encased in bold rusticated stonework and terminate with a subsidiary cornice. Giant columns scale the upper storeys and the crowning entablature is inscribed with the name of the firm. The second floor windows have balconies and Ionic frames with pulvinated friezes. The entrance is formed in the corner bay between Tuscan columns *in antis*. A marble entrance hall lies within. The ground floor was occupied by the Midland Bank and the upper storeys were let as offices. A lift gives access to all floors. The epic scale was achieved with the latest building technologies. The Scottish Provident was one of the first steel-framed buildings in Newcastle. The building was constructed by Stephen Easton Ltd. In a book produced to publicise the works of this firm, Herbert Jeans wrote, 'This building, which is designed in the Renaissance style, forms one of the most imposing blocks in the city. The building has a fine granite plinth, the material being supplied by Mr. R. Beall. The exterior walls above this are finished in Portland Stone.'¹²³ The execution in Portland stone is distinctly metropolitan, inviting comparison with the governmental buildings of Whitehall.¹²⁴

The prosperity of Collingwood and Mosley Streets provided Newcastle architects with a wealth of important commissions, but it was increasingly common for major corporations to form links with architectural practices operating on a national level. An exemplary case was

¹²² The Scottish Provident Institution was founded in 1837. The first English branch was opened in Manchester. For a history of the firm see Steuart, M.D. (1937) *Scottish Provident Institution, 1837-1937*. Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark, and Lindsay, M. (1987) *Count All Men Mortal: A History of the Scottish Provident, 1837-1987*. Edinburgh: Canongate. The London office at Nos. 1-6 Lombard Street was designed by Dunn and Watson. This featured a two-tiered rusticated base and giant columns. It had a curved façade of Portland Stone, and was 'of classic type to harmonise with the Mansion House, the bank, and the Royal Exchange.' [Lindsay, M. (1987) *Count All Men Mortal*, p135]. This seems to have influenced S.D. Robins.

¹²³ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p22. Robert Beall was a stonemason based at High Bridge.

¹²⁴ For example, the Government Buildings, Parliament Square (1898-1912, by J.M. Brydon) were designed in a bold Baroque style. Similarly, the War Office (1898-1906, by William Young) has a two-stage rusticated base.

the Newcastle branch of the Prudential Assurance Company at No. 12 Mosley Street (1891-7), which together with the National Provincial Bank frames the descent into Dean Street. This eruption of bristling red terracotta was designed by the company architect, Alfred Waterhouse.¹²⁵ Each exhibits the distinctive visual identity he devised for the Prudential, a veritable house style based on red brick and red sandstone construction with a spiky profusion of terracotta ornament. In his monograph on Waterhouse, Colin Cunningham argues that the Prudential board members had little aesthetic sensibility; they were more concerned with the professional conduct of their architect.¹²⁶ Waterhouse was adept at dealing with clients and had developed a reputation for being a consummate professional. For this reason he regularly served as assessor in high-profile architectural competitions.¹²⁷



Figure 101 Scottish Provident building, designed by S.D. Robins. (Author's photograph).

¹²⁵ This did not prevent Waterhouse from undertaking private work. Waterhouse was the architect of Manchester's Gothic Town Hall (1868-75) and the Natural History Museum in London. For details of Waterhouse's work, see Waterhouse Papers, RIBA Search Room, Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹²⁶ Cunningham, C. and Waterhouse, P. (1992) *Alfred Waterhouse 1830-1905: Biography of a Practice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p111.

¹²⁷ North East competitions assessed by Waterhouse included Middlesbrough Town Hall (1882), Sunderland Municipal Buildings (1886) and the Royal Victoria Infirmary, Newcastle (1897). See Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*.

Founded in 1848, the Prudential initially catered to 'persons of the highest respectability, the types of client sought being clergymen desiring to erect parsonages but unable to comply with the terms of Queen Anne's Bounty.'¹²⁸ To this end, the firm sent out prospectuses to clergymen, and it is likely that the Gothic buildings of Waterhouse were instrumental in securing their business. The name of the firm was apt, since it aimed 'to infix habits of prudence among individuals.'¹²⁹ The Prudential became a pioneer of industrial insurance at a time when this was still widely seen as a liability due to the high frequency of industrial accidents.¹³⁰ In 1859 the company took over the British Industry Assurance Company, whose business was concentrated in northern industrial regions. This allowed it to create a northern branch network in a relatively short time. Expanding beyond this base, the firm specifically targeted industrial areas and by opening a Newcastle branch it was able to sell policies to the industrial workers of Tyneside. The office was run by Riley Lord, who was Superintendent of a territory comprising Northumberland and County Durham. Lord integrated himself into Newcastle's elite class, serving as Mayor of Newcastle (1895 and 1899) and as Justice of the Peace for Newcastle and Northumberland.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Barnard, R.W. (1948) *A Century of Service: The Story of the Prudential, 1848-1948*. Prudential Assurance Company, p3.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p8.

¹³⁰ 'The high risk in industrial assurance was in the frightful mortality among working people. In 1851, the death rate was 21.8 per thousand, although in some industrial towns it was as high as 30 per thousand.' [Barnard, R.W. (1948) *A Century of Service*, p36].

¹³¹ Barnard, R.W. (1948) *A Century of Service*, p57. Riley Lord presented a Lady Mayoress's Chain to the Corporation in 1900. This was an 18-carat gold chain decorated with Tudor Roses and emblems including a gun, a ship's wheel, the tower of St. Nicholas's Cathedral, a mace with crossed Swords of State and the arms of Riley Lord. The chain was inscribed: 'Presented to the Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne by Riley Lord, Esq., Mayor 1895-6 and 1899-1900, for the Mayoress, Mrs Albert Lord, and every future Mayoress. 1st May 1900.' It is now displayed in Newcastle Civic Centre.



Figure 102 Prudential Assurance Company offices, designed by Alfred Waterhouse, 1891. (Author's photograph).

Standing on a red granite plinth with wrought iron grills, the building is executed in a combination of red brick and red sandstone [Fig. 24]. The style is Free Renaissance, of which Waterhouse was a proficient exponent, although his greatest triumphs lie within the Gothic mode. In fact, the building has many Gothic inflections. The corner bay is canted and treated as the principal event in the façade. The entrance is framed by a round arch with elaborate brackets supporting Ionic capitals and an entablature. Exotic carved beasts are coiled in the soffits of the arch, emphasising the building's distinctly Gothic flavour.¹³² Along the roofline, a series of gables build up to a crescendo in the dominant corner feature. Again, the whole is built on a steel framework. Waterhouse employed the local builder Walter Scott to carry out construction, but specialist work was provided by leading firms in their respective fields, with whom Waterhouse maintained productive relationships.¹³³ The interior was lined

¹³² The Victorian Society described it as 'free "Queen Anne" but Gothic in feeling.' [Victorian Society (1980) *Northumbrian Weekend*, p10].

¹³³ Structural steelwork was by A. Handyside and Co., stone carving by Farmer and Brindley. Mosaic flooring was laid by J.F. Ebner and decorative ironwork was executed by Hart, Son, Peard and Co. See Alfred Waterhouse

with Burmantofts' faience tiles [Fig. 25].¹³⁴ Accessed via a vestibule, the banking hall was divided by a long counter. Stairs and a lift to the upper floors were situated behind the counter. The total cost was £37,155, reflecting the Prudential's startling rise to prominence.



Figure 103 Interior of the Prudential Assurance Company offices, designed by Alfred Waterhouse, 1891. (Author's photograph).

The vibrant red sandstone is rare in Newcastle, but is fully consistent with the Prudential house style that Waterhouse established in twenty-seven branch offices, while the profusion of terracotta ornament also unifies it with this geographically-dispersed but coherent body of work. However, Waterhouse's Prudential buildings were not uniformly Gothic: he was sensitive to local contexts and was known to adapt his style accordingly. *The Builder* was perceptive when it identified 'a strange mixture of Gothic feeling and . . . refined Classic

Papers, WaA/7 - Certificate Register No.2, with certificates of commissions, 1877-1899, p300. [RIBA Search Rooms, Victoria and Albert Museum].

¹³⁴ The Burmantoft's Works, a division of the Leeds Fireclay Company, was the leading manufacturer of faience. Its products were used to furnish many important buildings across the industrial north. In Newcastle, the patent glazed tiles were used in the North Eastern Station Hotel, the renovated Central Exchange and in the interior of Newcastle and Gateshead Water Company Offices by Freeman and Robbins. Although standardised products were available, the company also manufactured fittings on demand according to architects' designs. See Burmantoft's (1902) *Photographs of Buildings Decorated with Burmantoft's Terracotta and Faience*. Leeds: Burmantoft's.

details,' in the Newcastle branch.¹³⁵ In other words, the building maintains the distinctive house style in terms of colour and outline, but the details are drawn from Classicism. The building represents a compromise between Waterhouse's Gothic-accented work and the Classical vocabulary of Newcastle. *The Builder* continued: 'There is much skill shown in proportioning the stories and drawing together the upper windows, and especially in the way in which the first and second floors are brought together; but we think a much heavier cornice over the ground floor windows is wanted.'¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the Prudential offices attracted the interest of Newcastle architects, so much so that the Northern Architectural Association organised a guided tour around the building in April 1894.¹³⁷ Together with the National Provincial Bank, the Prudential offices formed a focal point at the entrance to Dean Street, and this was praised by Frank W. Rich:

Coming into Mosley Street, and proceeding half way, we come to a famous corner, one that would be difficult to equal in any provincial city. At this particular spot, the meeting of Mosley Street, Dean Street and Grey Street, there is food for contemplation, as each corner represents something worth seeing.¹³⁸

The Prudential was an early leader in the sphere of female employment. Women canvassers had been appointed as early as 1855 and female clerks were introduced in 1872.¹³⁹ It was indicative of the great social changes taking place in this period that women were increasingly able to enter the city and earn their own living, but this change also raised anxieties about gender and urban space.¹⁴⁰ According to the firm's historian, R.W. Barnard, 'The introduction of ladies naturally involved some reorganisation. A room had to be provided and it was thought more becoming for them to lunch on the premises than in one of the coffee houses.'¹⁴¹ In the Newcastle office, the hierarchy of personnel was structured according to gender. The offices descend in status from the lavish boardroom to the clerks' offices.¹⁴² Spaces for women were communal and were relegated to the rear of the building. Unlike the managers' offices they were not accessible by lift. Shifts were synchronised to prevent male

¹³⁵ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p306.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p306.

¹³⁷ *Building News*, vol.68, 13 April 1894, p625.

¹³⁸ Rich, F.W. (1897-9) *Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address*.

¹³⁹ Barnard, R.W. (1948) *A Century of Service*, p28.

¹⁴⁰ R.W. Barnard, in his centenary history of the Prudential, notes that the *Post Magazine* disapproved of the firm's policy of female employment. See *ibid.*, p28.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p28.

¹⁴² TWAS - T186/1476, plans of the Prudential Assurance Company's offices by Alfred Waterhouse, 5 October 1891.

and female employees coming into contact. The company thereby attempted to keep female employees out of sight.¹⁴³ In accordance with company policy, female clerks were encouraged to dine in the firm's restaurant, which was housed in the basement. The Prudential clearly saw women as a useful source of labour, but their visibility in urban space was still problematic. Although the Prudential made its name by selling insurance to industrial workers, it was felt to be imperative that all female clerks were middle class – according to their husband's profession. Suitable occupations included the clergy, medicine and the upper ranks of the armed forces. Within Victorian society, middle and upper class women were restricted in their choice of employment, but it was acceptable to engage in voluntary or charitable work. The policy of selection helped to protect the Prudential's reputation in an era when female employment was erroneously equated with prostitution and viewed as morally suspect.

Nos. 17-21 Mosley Street were designed by Fred T. Walker for the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company in 1906-8 [Fig. 26]. The façade was executed in local freestone, but like the Prudential building opposite, the ground floor was of polished red granite. Above this, the façade makes use of powerful Classical elements, including giant Corinthian columns and a deep cornice. The recessed fourth floor supports an attic in the form of an Egyptian temple.¹⁴⁴ It seems that Walker drew inspiration from the surrounding buildings, as his design echoes the red granite base of the Prudential Assurance Company's office and the two tier rustication of the Scottish Provident Building, which was completed in the same year. According to the contractor, Alexander Pringle and Co., 'The new building occupies one of the best central sites in Newcastle.'¹⁴⁵ However, this was largely achieved through brute force. In 1908 the building was extended backwards to give it a frontage on the more prestigious Grey Street – a single bay thrusts out at No. 10, disrupting the stylistic unity of the streetscape [Fig. 27].¹⁴⁶ Heavily ornamented, the new façade emphasises the taste for otiose decoration. The imposing doorways hold life-size statues emblematic of Plenty and Security.¹⁴⁷ Inside, the entrance hall was lined with Calcutta, Bleu Belge and Siberian marble, with woodwork of

¹⁴³ Barnard, R.W. (1948) *A Century of Service*, p28.

¹⁴⁴ R.J. Johnson had used Egyptian motifs in his design for the Masonic Temple at Nos. 54-56 Pilgrim Street (1894).

¹⁴⁵ Pringle, A. and Co. (n.d.) *Examples of Northern Buildings*, n.p.

¹⁴⁶ Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town: four townscape walks around Newcastle*. Newcastle upon Tyne: North East Environmental Forum, Civic Centre, p12.

¹⁴⁷ Pringle, A. and Co. (n.d.) *Examples of Northern Buildings*, n.p.

polished Austrian oak. A restaurant in Louis XIV style was housed in the basement.¹⁴⁸ As with most buildings of the period, the floors and roof were constructed of reinforced concrete in order to make them fireproof.



Figure 104 Edinburgh Life Assurance Company office, Nos. 17-21 Mosley Street, designed by Fred T. Walker, 1906-8. (Author's photograph).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., n.p.



Figure 105 Edinburgh Life Assurance Company offices, No. 10 Grey Street, designed by Fred T. Walker, 1906-8. (Author's photograph).

Mosley Street is brought to a close by the Allied Assurance Company and the offices of Wilkinson and Marshall, solicitors. The former (Nos. 2 and 4) was designed by Newcombe and Newcombe in a rich Palladian style [Fig. 28]. Round-headed windows are cut into the rusticated ground floor, which stands upon a plinth of red granite. A giant Ionic Order articulates the two main elevations, but the building rounds the corner with a three-bay curved section. An Ionic colonnade supports the entablature, and the fully-rounded columns create a

bolder composition than most of the buildings in this vicinity. Tuscan columns of pink granite frame the entrance and the roofline is surmounted by urns.¹⁴⁹



Figure 106 Alliance Assurance Company offices, Nos. 2 and 4 Mosley Street, designed by Newcombe and Newcombe. (Author's photograph).

Across the street, the offices of Wilkinson and Marshall were designed by Benjamin Simpson (1899) [Fig. 29]. What induced a sober law firm to employ Newcastle's most eccentric architect is difficult to determine, especially since his work up to this time had revolved around public house commissions. The building exhibits Simpson's wilful distortion of Classical forms, though it is not yet as unorthodox as his mature work. At ground floor level, the corner is cut away to create an arched entrance. This was achieved with cantilevered iron beams, although there is no acknowledgement of this fact in the treatment of the stonework. The building is constructed of load-bearing brick with an iron frame and curtain walls of ashlar. This system permitted large expanses of plate glass. A large central window punctures the two upper storeys and is framed by Ionic pilasters. Paired windows with elongated keystones illuminate the first floor, and the rhythm is taken up in the second

¹⁴⁹ This was a favourite motif of W.L. Newcombe's, which he used at Plummer House, Market Street East (1910).

floor and above the deep cornice. Simpson clearly encountered difficulties in resolving the two faces. A dormer rises above the central bay of the Mosley Street elevation, but this feature had to be offset when repeated on the adjoining face, where the four bays make a truly symmetrical composition impossible.



Figure 107 Wilkinson and Marshall offices, designed by Benjamin Simpson, 1899. (Author's photograph).

A contemporary photograph depicts the entrance to Mosley Street c. 1912, with the bold curve of the Alliance Insurance Company's building visible on the left [Fig. 30]. The image gives a sense of the character of the street at the end of the period. Tramlines and cables indicate that it was part of Newcastle's public transport network and formed a vital

east-west link. Trams, wagons and street traders pass by. A policeman is patrolling the street. As the centre of Newcastle's financial district, Collingwood and Mosley Streets would have been frequented by wealthy individuals carrying large sums of money, and they would have welcomed a visible police presence. In summary, Collingwood and Mosley Streets formed a major financial axis and supported a vigorous flow of commerce.



Figure 108 Mosley Street, c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined a key space within Newcastle's urban matrix. Methods of urban morphology and spatial analysis represent the ideal means by which to investigate such a highly-specialised area. Buildings are not isolated monuments, but exist in complex relationships with each other and give form to fluid social relations. Intersecting the broad curve of Grey Street, the continuous line formed by Collingwood and Mosley Streets exemplifies the difference between the architecture of the Grainger era and the period 1870-1914. Both developments were built largely by private enterprise, but while the Grainger scheme was masterminded by a single agency, Collingwood and Mosley Streets arose from a vibrant and fiercely competitive business culture. The architectural styles of Collingwood and Mosley Streets were not unique; commercial architecture in this vicinity followed national

trends in the gradual shift from the palazzo style of the 1870s to the Baroque of the 1890s and 1900s. However, the formation of these streetscapes was dependent on an interplay of forces, and the circumstances of their production reveal much about the agency of taste and patronage. In an era of limited advertising capabilities, buildings were the sites at which corporate identity was negotiated and propounded. The patrons of these buildings were not newly-rich entrepreneurs who used over-decorated façades to proclaim their wealth; they showed a subtle understanding of iconography and fully grasped the commercial potential of an effectively-coded building. Architectural tastes were invoked with pointed emphasis, serving to attract depositors and inspire confidence. Urban space is not a neutral frame; it is the medium through which social relations are manifested. Through decades of vigorous development, fuelled largely by commercial impulses, the meanings of these spaces were adapted and multiplied. Collingwood and Mosley Streets form a dynamic spatial nexus with a complex symbolism. The streets link two key public spaces – St. Nicholas's Square and the site of the Stephenson Monument. These spaces were used to play out the values expected of Newcastle's citizens, specifically devotion to God, the Queen and the Empire.

4 Mapping the Spaces of Retail

Newcastle upon Tyne is still widely perceived as an industrial city, despite the fact that much of its architecture was designed to dispel the industrial myths that dominated its popular image.¹ In fact, the economy of nineteenth-century Newcastle – as distinct from that of Tyneside – was dominated by commerce and consumption, and the city itself was predominantly commercial and residential in character. Emerging as a spatial and economic counterpart to the industrial sector, Newcastle supported one of the most vibrant and extensive retail cultures outside of London. This was contained within an impressive commercial architecture. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the architecture of retail, a complex category that encompasses a wide range of building types, including shops, department stores and arcades. Broadening this definition, associated spaces such as cafés, tearooms and restaurants are discussed as sites of consumption that underpinned the social networks of retail. Chapter 4 surveys the spatial organisation of retail and traces the emergence of a sophisticated, modern consumer culture. Chapter 5 will examine this culture in more depth, exploring the new types of urban space that formed its arena.

Retail architecture greatly illuminates the overriding themes of taste and patronage. Due to the competitive nature of retail, architects and patrons were obliged to respond to the latest fashions, and these shifting tastes are recorded in the built form of the city. Perhaps more than any other type of building, the new arenas of consumerism permit an intensive analysis of evolving architectural tastes. Newcastle architecture followed mainstream fashions, evolving from the Italian Renaissance and Jacobean styles of the 1870s and 80s, to the exuberant neo-Baroque idiom of the Edwardian era. The fluctuating design of shop fronts permitted experiments in more *avant-garde* styles, particularly Art Nouveau. On a fundamental level, the expansion of Newcastle's retail sector was a major stimulus for change, powering the shift of its commercial centre from the lower to the upper town and contributing to the evolving morphology of the city. Consumption was a fundamentally spatial phenomenon, depending on a range of key sites and patterns of circulation within urban

¹ In 1938, for example, Thomas Sharp wrote of 'those spacious streets of dignified formal buildings whose now soot-blackened façades still provide an oasis of sadly tarnished grace in the surrounding desert of dreariness.' Quoted in Powell, K. 'Oasis of Grace: Georgian Newcastle Restored' in *Country Life*, 10 February 1983, pp310-312.

space. The focus of the current chapter is therefore on the spatial organisation of retail. A popular thesis within discussions of Newcastle's consumer culture is that the locus of retail shifted from the quayside to Northumberland Street. A spatial analysis is the optimum means of testing this argument. In doing so, the aim is not to disprove this idea, but to map out the process by which it was accomplished and, where necessary, to highlight areas that germinated beyond this shifting locus.

The chapter begins by surveying the historiography of retail, arguing that a synthetic approach combining typological, spatial and economic strategies is needed. Putting this method into practise, the chapter maps out the spatial distribution of shops and associated spaces of consumption. It argues that Dean Street declined as a retail space as large office blocks gradually supplanted local shopkeepers. The Tyneside Classical buildings of Grainger Street supported a substantial array of luxury shops, but the extension of the street in the 1870s, manifested in the erection of spectacular buildings in a range of fashionable styles, stimulated further growth. Development occurred in the vicinities of Westgate Road and Gallowgate, but despite their initial promise, these areas soon failed as sites of retail. Ultimately, a concentration of building activity around Blackett Street and the north end of Grey Street resituated Newcastle's commercial centre, and paved the way for the germination of Northumberland Street, which is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 5. Overall, the chapter aims to clarify the complex interaction between architectural development and the emergence of a sophisticated consumer culture.

The historiography of retail

The phenomenon of retail has been widely examined across a number of disciplines. Firstly, there have been numerous historical and typological accounts of the development of shop design within the discipline of architectural history.² Within economic history, retail is conventionally accessed in terms of a limited range of criteria – typically the type of product sold, the source of supply, and the location of the store. This tends to give a reductive view of retail as a reciprocal process of supply and demand. Geographers have studied retail as a social activity and as a vital aspect of local and national economies. Most significantly, they

² Notably, Morrison, K. (2003) *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, and Lintonbon, J. (2002) *Consuming Architecture: The Typology of the Shop*. University of Sheffield: unpublished PhD thesis.

have explored the spatial organisation of retail, asking how it functions in an urban context.³ Due to its disciplinary focus, however, this work lacks acuity in terms of architectural analysis. Indeed, architecture had an underlying importance within retail systems. Shop fronts and interiors were specifically designed to attract custom and articulate the store's identity, and buildings physically structured the environments in which retail took place. As early as 1983 Hollander called for an interdisciplinary approach that would locate consumption within its social, economic and spatial contexts.⁴ The call for a more comprehensive study recognises that the polar forces of supply and demand operated in a complex space of social relations that shaped and was shaped by the built fabric of the city. Lefebvre, for example, insists on the primacy of space. Discussing the exchange of commodities, Lefebvre argues that standard means of measuring quantities cannot fully account for their economic function; equally significant are the 'determinate networks or chains of exchange within a space. The world of commodities would have no "reality" without such moorings or points of insertion, or without their existing as an ensemble.'⁵ The current chapter builds on this work, combining spatial analysis with architectural evaluation in order to determine how retail patterns were distributed within the built environment of Newcastle.

Until comparatively recently the historiography of North East England focussed on traditional productive industries such as mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering.⁶ This preoccupation with Newcastle's industrial sector is congruent with the wider privileging of production over consumption within economic history. Historians were preoccupied with tracing the decline of British industry during the twentieth century, and for many years consumption was viewed as merely the corollary or end result of production. Consumers were often viewed as passive dupes manipulated by the blandishments of advertising.⁷ Certainly, production and consumption in the nineteenth century were closely related, but the

³ See, for example, Wrigley, N. and Lowe, M. (1996) *Retailing, Consumption and Capital: towards the new retail geography*. Harlow: Longman.

⁴ Hollander, S.C. et al. (1983) *Modern Retailing Management: Basic Concepts and Practices*.

⁵ Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, p403.

⁶ Bill Lancaster's pioneering work has addressed the omission of department stores within historiography. See Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*. Elsewhere, Lancaster substantially revises the history of Newcastle, emphasising the cultural and social rewards of industrial activity. [Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne*]. In the same volume, Oliver Lendrum discusses retail as an important component of Newcastle's economy in the nineteenth-century. See Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?'

⁷ During the period, Veblen articulated the theory of conspicuous consumption, in which individuals consume goods in order to emulate those higher up the social scale. He did not consider that consumption can be a creative process that is used to construct a range of identities, nor did he anticipate its potential as a subversive act. See Veblen, T. (1899) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an economic study in the evolution of institutions*. New York: Macmillan.

relationship was not reciprocal or simply determinist. More recently, consumption has been conceptualised as a critical and creative practice that is integral to the construction and representation of identity.⁸ It is therefore important to draw on a wide range of sources, in an attempt to reconstruct the lived experience of consumption in all its complexity. Newcastle was the unchallenged centre of industrial Tyneside, but its economy had a substantially different character from that of the wider region. Industrialisation and rapid urban expansion had a transformative impact, altering class formations and permitting new modes of consumption. As Lancaster observes, the urge to purchase and own goods pre-dates the era of modernity, but it was greatly increased by new types of urban space, with their constituent systems of display, and new transport links.⁹

Newcastle had been an important centre of trade since the eighteenth century, and this continued to develop with the urban expansion and population growth of the period 1870-1914. Newcastle was the country's second most important port in terms of export tonnage, and though the import tonnage was considerably lower, a high proportion of these goods were consumer products destined for sale in the city's many retail outlets.¹⁰ Newcastle soon developed as a commercial and supply centre for the surrounding region. Census returns give an indication of the scale of the retail sector. In 1881, 5,000 people were employed in retail. This figure had reached 10,000 by 1911. The success of retail systems are closely tied to levels of consumer income, and many of Newcastle and Tyneside's industrial workers received high wages when viewed in a national context.¹¹ Of course, the coal trade produced not only miners, but a new class of clerks and managers. As a result, a wide sector of the urban populace had disposable income – money that could be spent on luxury or novelty goods once the bare essentials had been acquired. This was an essential prerequisite for a burgeoning consumer society. Retail, then, was of central importance to Newcastle's economy.

⁸ See, for example, McKendrick, N. *et al.* (1982) *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. London: Europa.

⁹ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p3.

¹⁰ Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p29.

¹¹ As mentioned earlier, the average Tyneside miner received just under £1 per week. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p18].



Figure 109 Paddy's Market, Newcastle Quayside c.1900. (Newcastle City Library).

Newcastle's consuming public spanned a great social divide that to some extent was defined spatially. The poorest classes shopped at Paddy's Market, so called because of the preponderance of impoverished Irish migrants [Fig. 1]. This was a weekly market that was held on the Quayside – literally, in that second-hand clothes were laid directly on the bare cobble stones.¹² These consumers were also served by the hawkers who circulated throughout the streets. Markets and itinerant street traders have left few tangible records, but these were crucial participants in Newcastle retail, particularly near the beginning of the period. At the other end of the social scale were the affluent consumers who shopped at Bainbridge's and Fenwick's department stores. However, the fluidity offered by Newcastle's consumer culture made it possible for many individuals to move up the social scale, giving those with disposable income the opportunity to cultivate new identities and gravitate towards higher social circles. Consumption was inextricably linked to social life, which was used to display one's acquisition of goods and, by extension, taste. For this reason, the map of retail

¹² Another market was held nearby on the Sandhill: 'As other parts of Newcastle developed, most of the wealthy merchants moved away from the Quayside, and the area became inhabited largely by the poorer element of the city.' [Bainbridge & Co. *Chronicle*, vol.37 no.38, October 1988]. Accordingly, the markets that sprang up tended to cater to the needs of the poor.

sites in Newcastle corresponds closely to those networks of coffee houses, restaurants and refreshment rooms that provided the venues for such displays.

The study of retail buildings presents specific problems. Few forms of architecture are as ephemeral as shop design. Consumer demand acted as a powerful stimulus for change: interiors, window displays and frontages were continually updated in order to keep up with public tastes and to articulate the identity of the store, which itself changed frequently because of the short leases and high rents that characterised Newcastle retailing. Consequently, shop fronts followed the whims of taste more closely than most building types. Newcastle's legacy of retail architecture from this period is impressive, although the survival of Victorian and Edwardian shop fronts is poor, despite some notable exceptions. As a result, the evolving forms of shop design have had to be reconstituted through plans, published material, photographs and surviving ephemera.¹³ Directories have been used to chart retail patterns, making it possible to determine exactly which retailers operated in each building.¹⁴ Comparison with photographs and maps has been used to reconstitute the spatial relationships between shops. Above all, it is important to consider how architectural taste affected shopping practices. Firstly, the shopkeeper's tastes were exercised when choosing architects and designs, or selecting an existing building to occupy. Secondly, success depended on the ability to attract potential customers, and many shopkeepers made spectacular architectural statements in order to draw attention to the shop, which often necessitated large expenditures of money. This raises the question of what role architecture played in individual shopping habits. Consumers were no doubt attracted by impressive displays of goods, preferably amid safe and comfortable surroundings. Location and internal planning were therefore crucial, but it seems likely that the design of façades had little influence on shoppers except unconsciously or as an eye-catching spectacle.

¹³ Plans of shop fronts survive in great numbers in the Tyne and Wear Archives, which allows the continual evolution of Newcastle shop design to be charted in detail. Building plans have survived more sporadically and there are several glaring omissions, including the Northern Goldsmiths' Building.

¹⁴ Directories present problems, however. The terminology used to distinguish types of retail changes erratically. For example, Martin Phillips points out that the term 'shop-keeper' denoted a small-scale, non-specialist seller who was lacking in social status. The term does not indicate whether the trader in question also produced the goods on offer. The term 'warehouseman' is similarly ambiguous, not necessarily referring to the proprietor of a warehouse, but to a retailer who sold goods on a wholesale basis in order to keep prices down. For example, the owners of Bainbridge's department store often described themselves as warehousemen. See Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *The Evolution of Retail Systems c. 1800-1914*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p63. Benson and Shaw's study presents a series of essays giving an overview of retail methods in Britain, North America and Europe.

The spatial organisation of retail

Writing on retail in Newcastle has identified a broad shift of the city's commercial centre from the Quayside to Northumberland Street.¹⁵ This is broadly correct, but the shift did not follow a single trajectory. Redevelopment was concentrated at specific locations across the city and these gradually encouraged the relocation of the main shopping district, although many of them remained important in themselves. Cross-comparison between architectural development and the proliferation of retail outlets (deduced from trade directories) has been used to chart this relocation more thoroughly.

Newcastle Quayside was a major retail space in the early nineteenth century, with a number of markets concentrated on the promenade itself and on adjoining streets such as the Side and Sandhill.¹⁶ In the 1830s, however, Richard Grainger purposefully developed the upper town as Newcastle's modern centre, with nine new streets of unprecedented elegance and sophistication. This Classical core attracted a higher class of consumer. As part of these schemes, Grainger was obliged to provide a grand market hall to accommodate the traders who had been displaced. This was eventually named the Grainger Market and opened in 1835. Grainger thus created Newcastle's central core as a retail space for the most discerning consumers. This enabled him to enlist support for his redevelopment of Newcastle, without which – as Thomas Faulkner writes – it is doubtful he could have brought his plans to fruition.¹⁷ Grainger thereby established the upper town as the locus of Newcastle's shopping district and determined the shape of Newcastle retailing for decades to come.¹⁸ From this point on, the Quayside steadily declined as a retail space until it was eventually characterised by manufacturers and forms of retail directly related to shipping.¹⁹ This decline was hastened by the fire that broke out in Gateshead in 1854 and spread to Newcastle, destroying much of the Quayside's commercial infrastructure, including most of

¹⁵ See, for example, Taylor, C.C. 'Development of Central Newcastle' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p25.

¹⁶ As *The Builder* remarked, reviewing the city in 1898: 'The interesting but insignificant little brick houses on the quay, and the picturesque but trumpery-looking timber and stucco ones in the "Sandgate" and the "Side" were the principle business premises of those days, and bear a similar proportion to the lofty, spacious, and solid stone structures of the modern city.' [*Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p303].

¹⁷ Faulkner, T.E. 'Architecture in Newcastle' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p228. Grainger's plans disrupted Newcastle's existing markets.

¹⁸ However, Newcastle possessed only a small number of main streets, which served to restrict its shopping district to a relatively confined area and ensured that ground rents in the city were high. Competition was therefore intense. This was true of Market Street, the site of both Coxon's drapery store and Bainbridge's department store, which became major rivals.

¹⁹ This is apparent from a study of the street directories of the period. The method has been to consult *Ward's Directory* – the most comprehensive of the period – at five year intervals in order to build up a picture of change, then to examine volumes from specific years whenever more acuity was required.

the remaining merchants' houses. As retail moved away from the Quayside, the space came to be dominated by the offices of merchants, ship-owners and dealers in ships' provisions. A photograph from c.1912 reveals that the promenade was cluttered with the paraphernalia of trade and commerce, and the boats thronging the Quayside were continually belching smoke and steam [Fig. 2].²⁰ The space was therefore unsuitable for polite retail. At the outset of the period 1870-1914, luxury consumption was already concentrated in Grainger's core of Neo-Classical streets.



Figure 110 Newcastle Quayside, c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

Grey Street has boasted an array of opulent shops since its inception. By the 1880s, Grey Street accommodated the hatters D. Mackie & Co. (No. 71), the drapers Dunn & Co. (No. 75), the milliners Madelon et Cie (No. 103) and the jewellers Reid and Sons (No. 41). Most significantly, the important firm of J. Coxon & Co., drapers, were at Nos. 81-83. Grey Street also accommodated the offices of several international consuls, reflecting the

²⁰ This image is part of a series published in Mawson, Swan and Morgan (c.1912) *Fine Art Photographic Views*. Unfortunately, this volume is undated, but comparison between the images and Newcastle street directories, together with several duplicate photographs in Newcastle City Library's collection, allow the book to be dated c. 1912.

international trade links that fed Newcastle's consumer culture: J.A. Galliano of Spain was at No. 67 and the Portuguese Consulate offices were located in Reid's Chambers (No. 41).²¹

When Richard Grainger laid out Grey Street in 1834-9 he ensured that it connected at its lowest point with Dean Street, which was already well-established as a retail space. Dean Street itself had been laid out in 1784-9 by the architect David Stephenson, in order to provide Mosley Street with a link to the Quayside. Stephenson's elegant Theatre Royal (opened 1788) was located nearby in Mosley Street. Dean Street was quickly built up on either side with four storey brick houses. Transformed into a direct link between the Quayside and the upper town, Dean Street became a vital artery, with a steady flow of traffic and trade. This encouraged a proliferation of retail outlets. In his 1831 survey of Newcastle, the architect and topographer Thomas Oliver wrote, 'Dean Street, formed in 1787, consists chiefly of shops, which exhibit a degree of neatness and elegance seldom equalled.'²² An 1863 engraving depicts the vigorous commerce that characterised the street [Fig. 3]. The buildings have been adapted for trade by the addition of wooden shopfronts, awnings and lettering. Itinerant street traders and barrows mingle with shoppers and their carriages. Significantly, a family group is engaging in a relatively new practice: they are window shopping in front of a retailing warehouse. The street is lit by gaslight. By 1870 the street was typified by shops selling the bare essentials (chandlers, drapers, boot makers and fruiterers), but there were also a small number of shops selling luxury or novelty goods.²³ The toy dealer J. Patriarca & Co. was at No. 41, the silversmith T. Sewell occupied No. 37 and the booksellers T. and G. Allan were at No. 62.²⁴

²¹ *Ward's Directory*, 1885-6.

²² Oliver, T. (1831) *A New Picture of Newcastle upon Tyne: or an historical and descriptive view*. Newcastle upon Tyne.

²³ *Ward's Directory*, 1869-70.

²⁴ *Ward's Directory*, 1874-75.



Dean Street, with View of Railway Arch.

Figure 111 Dean Street, c.1863. (Reid, A. [1863] *Reid's Handbook*).

Many of the houses surviving from the initial development of Dean Street exhibit late nineteenth-century shop-fronts. For example, No. 20 and Nos. 30-48 have Classical frontages executed in wood, with pilasters and painted fascias. These shops were typical of the way in which shopkeepers adapted existing properties in order to attract custom. The Guardian Assurance Company was more enterprising. Acquiring Nos. 50-52 (built c.1784) in 1889, this firm commissioned the architect Benjamin Simpson to design an Art Nouveau frontage. Simpson added a mansard roof, which echoed the French Renaissance style buildings on Grainger Street West. The position of these enterprising businesses seems to have been untenable, however. Dean Street steadily declined as a retail space during the 1880s and 90s as the shops were gradually replaced by small manufacturers. For example, the engravers George Pearson & Co. occupied Nos. 11 and 13, the Redheugh Brick, Pipe and Cement Co. was based at No. 9, and the presence of the Peruvian Government Guano Agency (No. 1), further reveals the changing character of the street.²⁵ The fact that Dean

²⁵ *Ward's Directory*, 1885.

Street was built on a steep incline ultimately made it unsuitable as a site for leisured consumption when compared to Grey Street.

The architecture of Dean Street underwent substantial revision c.1888-1905 as powerful local firms erected large office buildings for their own occupation. This necessitated the purchase and demolition of existing properties, and many shops were forced to relocate. For example, the Italian jeweller A. Bernasconi (No. 41) had moved to No. 2 Cross Street by 1890.²⁶ Signalling this shift, No. 10 Dean Street was built at the foot of the railway bridge by John Burnip to designs by the obscure firm of Stockwell and Spicer (1888).²⁷ The plain monochromatic façade contrasts with the bold use of polychromy that would characterise the commercial giants soon to be built on Dean Street. It is articulated with a rusticated ground floor and square architraves over the windows.



Figure 112 Cathedral Buildings, designed by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1900-1. (Author's photograph).

²⁶ *Ward's Directory*, 1890.

²⁷ The railway bridge was built in 1847-9 and widened in 1894. John Burnip was listed as a draper at No. 248 Scotswood Road. From 1887 the Dean Street building was occupied by Bessler, Waechter and Co., chemical merchants. [*Ward's Directory*, 1887-8].

The character of Dean Street was irrevocably altered by three major buildings designed by Oliver, Leeson and Wood.²⁸ At Nos. 12-14 they designed a five-storey office and warehouse for the leather and rubber manufacturers John Taylor and Co. (1901). Built on a steel frame, the upper storeys are faced with red brick and Jacobean-style woodwork.²⁹ Mosaic panels run between the floors and the entrance is located beneath a rusticated arch at the base of a short side tower. In the same year, the firm completed another commercial giant, the Cathedral Buildings (1900-1, Nos. 25-35), so called because the rear elevation communicates with St. Nicholas's Cathedral [Fig. 4]. This dominated the western side of Dean Street, supplanting a number of old dwelling houses which had been converted into shops and offices.³⁰ The massive frontage is composed of seven bays, each terminating in pointed eaves, creating a distinctive serrated skyline. The influence of Shaw's Queen Anne work, specifically New Zealand Chambers (1871-3), is apparent. Oriel windows run up the façade, clustered with Jacobean woodwork, and the attic storey is cantilevered out and fronted with a wrought iron balcony. The frontage is further enlivened with cartouches.

The ground floor bays are divided by heavily-ornamented cast iron columns, which allowed large glazed shop-fronts to be inserted between them. According to the contractor, 'This makes a distinctive feature, and is convenient for those looking into the windows.'³¹ Indeed, the building exemplified modern building methods and facilities, featuring steel-frame construction and a passenger lift. An octagonal entrance hall with staircase runs through all floors. To cope with the sloping site, a mezzanine was inserted along one half of the façade. The new building provided shops on the ground floor, with commercial offices above. These were occupied by powerful industrial corporations, including J. Joicey and Co., coal owners, Lambton Collieries Ltd., and Blackett and South Tyne Collieries Ltd.³² The Cathedral Buildings contrast sharply with John Gibson's adjacent National Provincial Bank (1870-2). However, the firm responsible for the construction later claimed that, 'This is a particularly

²⁸ The redevelopment of Dean Street did not entirely eradicate retail on Dean Street because many of the new office buildings provided retail space on the ground floor. Evidently, their owners hoped that the revenue from rents would help to pay for the building. By 1895 there was an 'Italian warehouse' at No. 33. The wine and spirit merchants Hill, Thompson & Co. occupied space in the Prudential Assurance building (No. 41), as did the Savoy Restaurant and Grill. The silversmiths R.M. Craig & Co. were based at No. 37. The Norwich Union Insurance Company at Nos. 40-42 had retail space in the ground floor. [*Ward's Directory*, 1899-1900].

²⁹ At this date Oliver, Leeson and Wood were exploring Jacobean and Tudor styles in their contemporary Board School designs. See Chapter 6.

³⁰ The building was examined in *The Builder*, vol.78, 3 February 1900, p115.

³¹ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p20. As discussed in the previous chapter, this volume was not published until 1926, but it examines buildings erected during the period 1870-1914 by Stephen Eastern, and remains a valuable source.

³² *Ward's Directory*, 1908.

happy treatment in which the architectural character of this quarter of the town has been preserved, the interesting gabled roofs harmonizing well with the more important buildings in the vicinity.³³ This refers to the new building's relationship with the Gothic cathedral of St. Nicholas, rather than its immediate neighbours on Dean Street. Nevertheless, the Cathedral Buildings were soon joined by Milburn House, a building of similar design and proportions [Fig. 5].



Figure 113 Milburn House, designed by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1902-5. (Author's photograph).

The last of the three Oliver, Leeson and Wood buildings in this vicinity, Milburn House (1902-5) was an epic-scaled office block built by the Tyneside shipping magnate William Milburn. Occupying a triangular site at the junction between Dean Street and the Side, Milburn House resembles the same architects' Collingwood Buildings (discussed in the previous chapter). In both cases, the architects used a soaring corner drum to resolve the difficulties of the triangular site, which is here complicated by a sharp downward slope. Milburn House eschews the Jacobean ornament of their earlier buildings on Dean Street in favour of a severe Baroque style. Above the ground floor of polished red granite, the sheer

³³ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p10.

walls are executed in red brick with sandstone dressings. The corner drum is braced with tall chimneys, treated as pilasters, and the ground floor is pierced with Ionic door-cases and Diocletian windows. A heavy cornice runs around the ground floor and oriel windows rise above. The skyline is broken into pointed eaves, echoing those of the Cathedral Buildings.

Despite the gargantuan proportions, the building exhibits a wealth of detail. The entrance hall has Art Nouveau tiles, opulent woodwork and bevelled glass featuring heraldic emblems. The central wells used to illuminate the interior were lined with white crystopal tiles. Much of the décor engaged with notions of Newcastle's history and identity, including a bust of Admiral Lord Collingwood, who was born in the vicinity. A shrewd businessman, Milburn the shipbuilder evidently found it expedient to associate himself with the naval hero Lord Collingwood. Similarly, a bust of the Tyneside engraver and naturalist Thomas Bewick is displayed on the rear elevation and the entrance hall features mosaics depicting events from Northumbria's history.³⁴ Milburn House was a vigorous display of the power of William Milburn and it has been suggested that the form echoes the leviathan ships with which he made his fortune.³⁵ However, the building represented a focal point for industrial operations in the North East: the interior comprised 500 rooms used as offices by over 100 tenants, including the Ashington Coal Company, J. Bowes and Partners, coal owners, and the British and Foreign Metal Company.³⁶

The building of Milburn House was a massive operation and one that indicates how modern Newcastle negotiated its legacy of historic architecture. The contractor later acknowledged that, 'On this site there existed some of the oldest buildings in Newcastle, in addition to many old walls and the original outside walls of the Castle and the Black Gate.'³⁷ In fact, Milburn was the owner of Blackgate House, a medieval building which stood on the Side, and he commissioned Oliver and Leeson to produce a survey of this property in 1901.³⁸ Due to the topography of the site and its proximity to St. Nicholas's Cathedral and the Black Gate (both highly valued as emblems of Newcastle's identity), the removal of the existing buildings was a complex enterprise. According to the contractor, 'Great care was necessary

³⁴ Bewick's workshop was located near the south east corner of St. Nicholas's Churchyard. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p264.

³⁵ Interview with Bill Lancaster, 2005.

³⁶ *Ward's Directory*, 1905-6. See also TWAS - DX908/4/1-8, Milburn House, plans of the building as completed showing tenancies, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood.

³⁷ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p30.

³⁸ This is preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives (TWAS - DX908/1). See also TWAS - DX908/3, elevation of Blackgate House for Milburn and Co., by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, dated January 1902.

in the demolition of the buildings which formerly stood on the site in order to prevent Newcastle Cathedral and the Black Gate, which are two of the antiquities of Newcastle, from subsiding.³⁹ The foundations were excavated to a depth of 40 feet and a width of 12 feet, then filled with concrete. The building had a steel frame structure with concrete walls faced with brick. Drains were laid in the interior walls to divert water. A contemporary photograph, later published by the contractor, shows Milburn House under construction, revealing its complex steel framework [Fig. 6]. The huge scale of Milburn House may have been necessitated by the awkward site, but it was no doubt inspired by the Piranesian arch of the railway bridge that vaults over Dean Street, and together these colossal structures create one of the most sublime views in Newcastle.



Figure 114 Milburn House under construction. (Jeans, H. [1926] *Modern Building*. London: Edward J. Burrow & Co. for Stephen Easten Ltd).

The first major redevelopment in the post-Grainger era was the extension of Grainger Street. Originally laid out as part of the Grainger development in the 1830s and extended forty years later, the street illustrates many of the shifts in taste that occurred during the early and late Victorian periods. Grainger Street originally terminated at the Bigg Market and was lined with stately Neo-Classical façades. Commercial imperatives forced an extension in 1869-70 and the street was continued from the Bigg Market to Neville Street, following the

³⁹ Jeans, H. (1926) *Modern Building*, p30.

path of St. John's Lane.⁴⁰ This gave the Central Station a direct link to the town centre. At the other end of this axis, Bainbridge's department store was opened on Market Street in 1834. Grainger Street was thus transformed into a major thoroughfare [Figs. 7 and 8]. Most of the commercial buildings that sprang up on either side offered both office and retail space. The redevelopment was largely conducted in the Italian Renaissance style, which became popular in the vigorous climate of commercial enterprise during the 1840s, a major exponent being Sir Charles Barry (1795-1860). It was widely used for commercial architecture in northern industrial cities like Manchester, where it served as a means 'of giving beauty appropriately to the great emporiums of the mercantile princes.'⁴¹ As discussed previously, the style had additional currency in Newcastle as it represented an appropriate means of expanding the city around the margins of the Grainger development without contravening its largely Italianate style.⁴²



Figure 115 Grainger Street West. (Author's photograph).

⁴⁰ According to Archibald Reed, reflecting on Newcastle in the 1850s, 'Grainger Street was only completed from Earl Grey's Monument to the top of the Bigg Market. West Grainger Street was in those days a back street called St. John's Lane, and was entered at the east end under an archway (sufficient only to admit a cart).' [Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p146].

⁴¹ Derbyshire, A. (1897) *An Architect's Experiences: Professional, Artistic and Theatrical*. Manchester: J.E. Cornish, p22. Alfred Derbyshire was a Manchester architect who was an important exponent of the Italian Renaissance style. His published memoirs give an anecdotal but revealing portrait of the Victorian architectural profession.

⁴² Chapter 1 has discussed the fact that Newcastle architects often used terms such as 'Renaissance', 'Italianate' and 'Classical' interchangeably, thereby blurring distinctions between these styles.

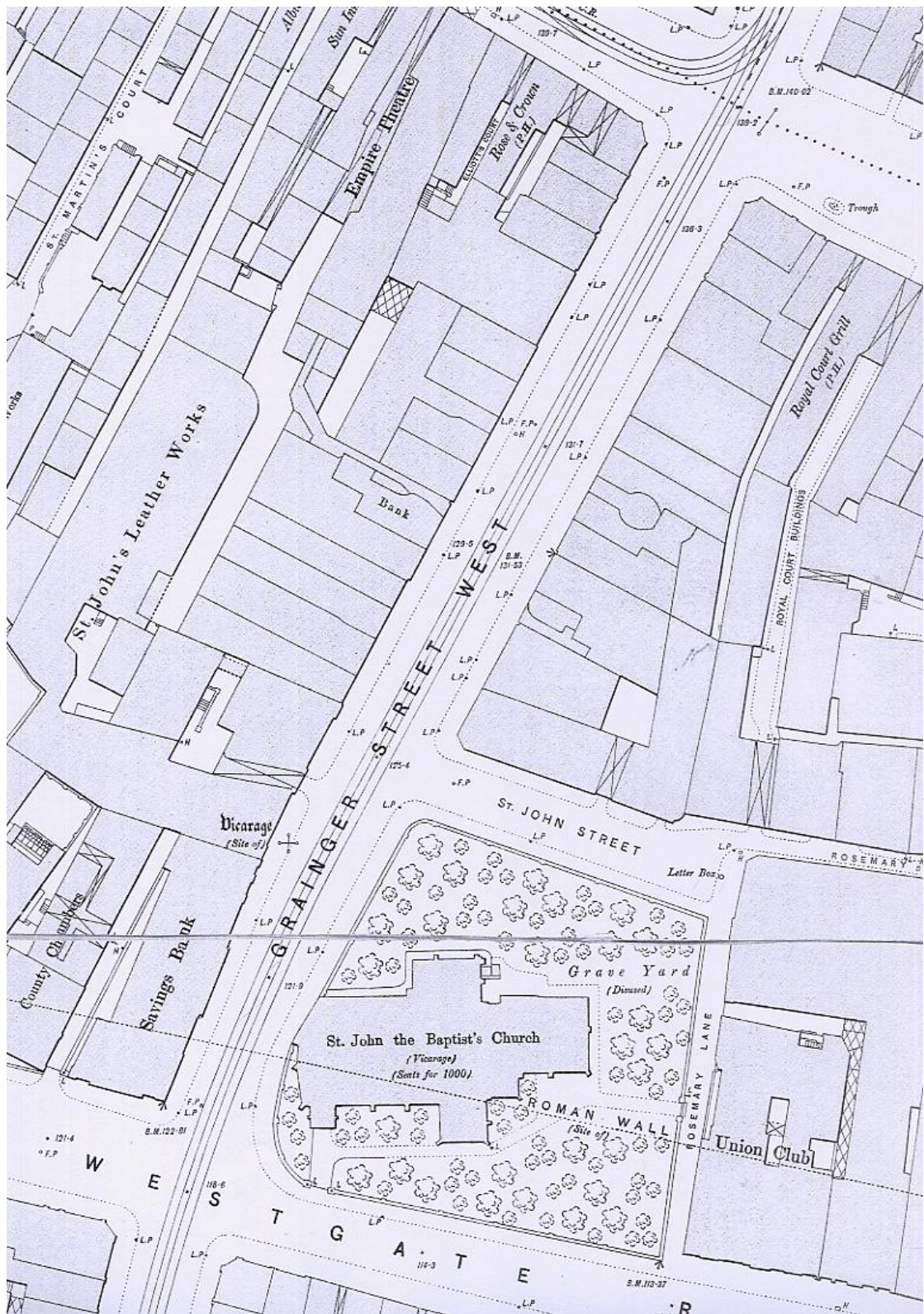


Figure 116 Grainger Street West in 1896. (Ordnance Survey 2nd Edition, 1896).

The Victoria Buildings (1872-4) in Grainger Street West form a typical shop and office complex [Fig. 9]. They were built by the Newcastle building contractor Sir Walter Scott (1826-1910) to designs by Matthew Thompson.⁴³ The executed designs date from December 1872 and consist of a rather florid façade with round-arched windows to the first floor and garlanded Tuscan pilasters.⁴⁴ Scallop-shaped tympana hug the windows and segmental dormers project at attic level. The ground floor ornamentation has been removed in subsequent development, but an entrance porch originally projected into the street, so that the central bay was expressed through all levels. This culminated in the large central dormer, ending with a scrolled gable in the manner of Renaissance precedents. The upper storeys were given over to offices, accessed through an elliptical stairwell at the centre of the building, but the ground floor comprised a number of shops (each with a separate entrance), which were encompassed within Thompson's palatial scheme.⁴⁵ The first tenants included the draper James Hobson, the tea merchant John MacVine and the warehousemen Thorp, Isaac and Sons.⁴⁶ Walter Scott used the building as his own premises, which suggests that he was proud of the design and the contribution it made to the streetscape. Thanks to its location, the building was able to attract visitors arriving at Newcastle via the Central Station.

⁴³ Scott is not to be confused with his more famous namesake, the author of the Waverly novels. He was, however, an important Newcastle publisher, known for his influential *Camelot* series. See Myers, A. 'Winged Words: Literature of Newcastle' in Colls, R. and Lancaster, B. (eds.) (2001) *Newcastle upon Tyne*. It is surprising that he would have employed Matthew Thompson, a lesser architect in terms of the number of commissions he undertook and the quality of his work. It is possible that Scott, used to negotiating with the most successful Newcastle architects, wanted someone he could control when building his own offices.

⁴⁴ David Lovie is critical of this design and of the continued popularity of the Italian Renaissance style, observing that these buildings 'were still locked into the elaborate Italianesque styles of the past.' [Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p59.]

⁴⁵ TWAS - T186/4720, designs for the Victoria Buildings, by Matthew Thompson, 1872.

⁴⁶ *Ward's Directory*, 1874-5.



Figure 117 Victoria Buildings, designed by Matthew Thompson, 1872-4. (Author's photograph).

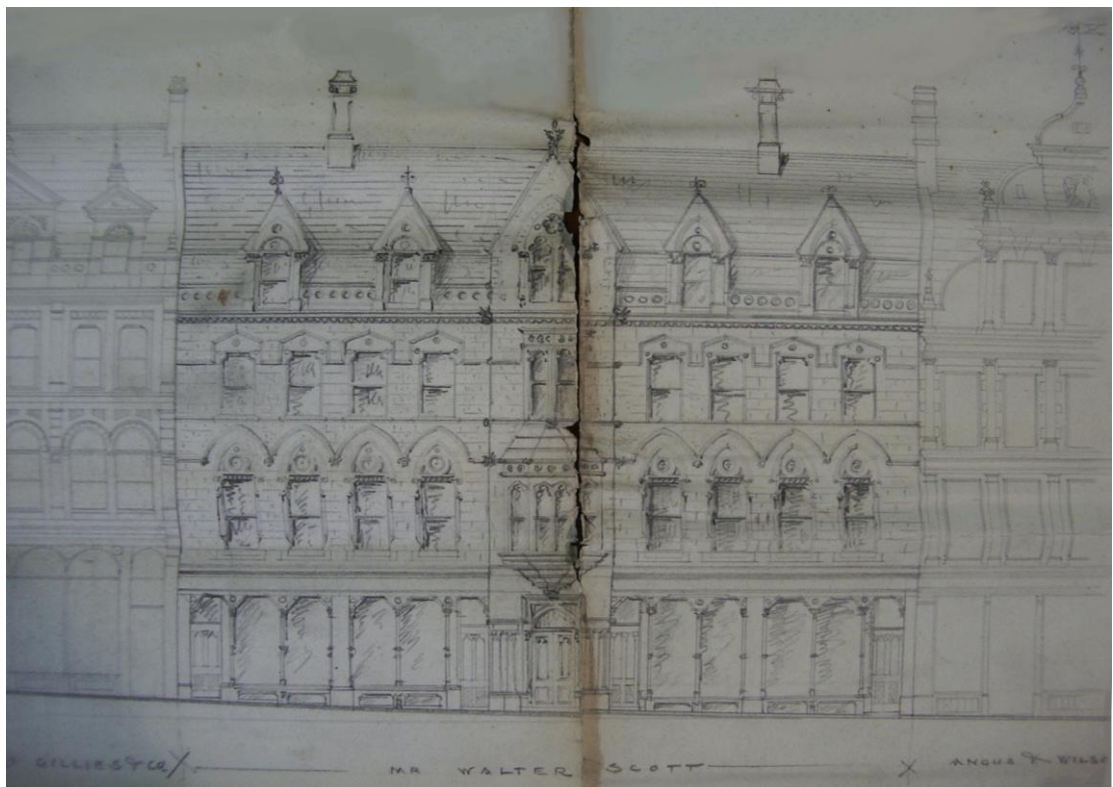


Figure 118 Victoria Buildings – Matthew Thompson's alternative design in the Gothic style. (TWAS - T186/4720).

Significantly, an undated pencil drawing showing an alternative design survives in the Tyne and Wear Archives [Fig. 10].⁴⁷ The drawing is simply a Gothic translation of the executed design, with bays and fenestration following precisely the same configuration. The first-floor windows are framed with pointed arches strung together into miniature Gothic arcades and a Gothic oriel window obtrudes at first floor level. The production of two designs does not evince a great commitment to either style, suggesting instead that Thompson was required to provide a selection of designs for Scott to choose from.⁴⁸ This highlights one of the realities of provincial architecture: local practitioners were frequently obliged to include a range of styles in their repertoire in order to sustain their practice. As the site was bounded by Renaissance and Jacobean-style buildings (which are shown on the drawing), Scott evidently decided to preserve rather than disrupt the stylistic uniformity of the streetscape. The Victoria Buildings represented a speculative venture, and Scott must have decided that an Italianate design would be preferable to a Gothic concoction, which could potentially have been controversial. In *House Architecture* (1880), an influential polemic on architectural taste, J.J. Stevenson identified an aversion to Gothic among speculative builders: 'The Gothic Revival . . . has had no appreciable influence on street architecture. The builders would not risk building Gothic houses for sale, and I think they were right.'⁴⁹ Although Stevenson specifically refers to domestic architecture, it seems that the same applied to commercial building, and this was certainly true in Newcastle, where secular Gothic architecture is conspicuous by its absence.

⁴⁷ TWAS - T186/4720, alternative design for the Victoria Buildings, by Matthew Thompson, 1872.

⁴⁸ As a successful building contractor, Scott would have had a working knowledge of architectural styles.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p348.



Figure 119 Chaucer Buildings, Nos. 53-61 Grainger Street West, by Gibson Kyle, c.1869. (Author's photograph).

However, there were two buildings that broke with the Italianate manner of Grainger Street West. The Chaucer Buildings (Nos. 53-61) were designed by Gibson Kyle c.1869 in the Gothic style [Fig. 11]. The principal occupant was the hosier and shirt-maker William Sutton.⁵⁰ A wide gable thrusting up through the roofline is echoed by three smaller gables that interrupt the line of a Gothic parapet. The rounded arches of the first floor windows are succeeded by thoroughly Gothic windows grouped in twos and threes. Even here the treatment is reminiscent of Venetian Gothic, as if to minimise the contrast with the Renaissance-style buildings that dominate this part of Grainger Street. The large gable housed a Freemasons' Hall – effectively expressing itself as separate from the commercial activity taking place within the building, the rest of which was given over to retail space and offices. Its presence is signalled by an ornamental shield featuring a hammer and the Masonic motto, *Audi, Vide, Tace* – Hear, See, Be Silent. The adjacent building (No. 63, demolished) was designed in a similar Italian Gothic style. This housed a jeweller's shop

⁵⁰ This was Sutton's second shop. For several decades he had operated a shop on the corner of Blackett Street and Pilgrim Street. [Ward's Directory, various years].

called 'The Emporium'.⁵¹ Several years later, with the expiration of the lease imminent, the shop covered its façade with signs to advertise a stock clearance [Fig. 12]. The sign reading, 'All goods marked in plain figures,' indicates that the practice of pricing goods clearly – crucial for an anxiety-free shopping experience – was still something of a novelty.



Figure 120 The Emporium, Grainger Street West. (Newcastle City Library).

Contemporary with the Victoria Buildings, the adjacent Oxford House (Nos. 34-40) was built in the Jacobean style.⁵² Developed as shops and offices in 1874, the building presents a symmetrical frontage [Fig. 13]. Slender pilasters divide the bays and a scrolled segmental pediment terminates the central bay, before an undulating gable arrayed with urns completes the composition. Above the rusticated ground floor, the three upper storeys are

⁵¹ The shop is listed as the London Emporium in *Ward's Directory*, 1905-6.

⁵² This building is currently known as Oxford House. See Lovie (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p60. However, the street numbers 34-40 were listed as St. John's Chambers in *Ward's Directory*, 1905-6.

articulated with pilasters graduating from the Tuscan to the Ionic and Corinthian Orders. Each floor ends with a separate entablature. The shaped gable is punctured with a decorative cartouche and adorned with urns. The surviving shop front is framed with stone surrounds.⁵³



Figure 121 Oxford House, Nos. 34-40 Grainger Street West, designed 1874. (Author's photograph).

Together these buildings augment the Italianate styles of the street, reminding us that an eclectic, experimental climate existed in the 1870s. When completed, Grainger Street West was regarded in Newcastle as a major success and equal in grandeur to the Grainger development: 'West Grainger Street, which has replaced the miserable alley called St. John's Lane, from an architectural point of view may rank as one of the finest streets.'⁵⁴ *The Builder* was sceptical, however, stating that 'most of the buildings in this part of the street seem

⁵³ From 1895 this building housed the Newcastle and District Electric Lighting Co. [*Ward's Directory*, 1895]. It was also occupied by the architects Armstrong and Wright, the tailor M. Kino, and the bicycle manufacturer Rudge-Whitworth. [*Ward's Directory*, 1905-6].

⁵⁴ Kelly, E.R. (ed.) (1879) *Post Office Directory*, p659.

satisfied to depend on their importance and great elaboration.'⁵⁵ A contemporary photograph illuminates the character of the street [Fig. 14]. The long-established firm of W.E. Harker, carpet warehouseman, is visible at No. 40 in an Italian Gothic building that predated the extension of the street. The presence of men in top hats and women in fashionable dresses testify to the diffusion of fashions in this period, while the flow of trade demonstrates the importance of Grainger Street as a link between the station and the city centre.



Figure 122 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

As part of Grainger's 'oasis of grace', Grainger Street became an early centre of leisured consumption.⁵⁶ By 1870 the street already accommodated a number of jewellers, including Reid and Sons (No. 41), Molteni and Rampoldi (No. 47) and J. Rizzi (No. 59), each of which remained on Grainger Street for several decades. There was also a diverse array of luxury and novelty goods sellers, many of whom were French and Italian émigrés (judging by their names), which suggests that Newcastle had a taste for things continental. The tea dealers P. Mouat and Co. were based at No. 38, and J. Frigerio and Co., dealers in fancy

⁵⁵ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p308.

⁵⁶ This term was retrospectively applied to the Grainger development in Powell, K. (1983) 'Oasis of Grace', pp310-312.

goods, were at No. 48.⁵⁷ A substantial boutique culture developed later in the period (discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), but in the 1870s fashion retailing for less affluent consumers seems to have revolved around home-made clothes. Firms such as Harrower and Percy, silk mercers (No. 53) sold materials, and sewing machine manufacturers proliferated. The Howe Machine Company was at No. 7 and, more significantly, the Singer Manufacturing Company opened a shop and office in the Central Buildings. These businesses allowed less affluent women to emulate the fashions worn by the wealthy. The oyster dealer W. Charlton (No. 99) emphasised the diverse character of the street, as did the perfumer C. Rougier at No. 29. These shops formed the basis of a substantial retail culture that grew in size and importance as Newcastle improved its trade links and communications. Indeed, Grainger Street became something of a communications centre, as it accommodated the offices of the *Newcastle Courant* (No. 22 ½), the Northern Counties Conservative Newspaper Co. (No. 108), and the London Printing and Publishing Co. (No. 118). In terms of international relations, the office of the Spanish consul, F.J. Gisbert, was located at No. 67. From the outset of the period, then, Grainger Street was one of the most sophisticated and cosmopolitan spaces within Newcastle's urban matrix.

Further retail outlets germinated throughout the period. Miss M. Johnson operated a fancy goods repository at No. 12, a building she shared with the tea merchants H.H. Riddle & Co.⁵⁸ The important North East firm of Binns was established at No. 60, initially as a hairdresser.⁵⁹ An art gallery and newsroom operated at No. 50. Many insurance companies opened offices in the Grainger Street extension.⁶⁰ By 1893 the wine merchant F.M. Laing had opened premises in Grainger Chambers, and this formed the basis of a substantial network of shops and public houses that Laing was able to establish in Newcastle. The Trimming Shop was at No. 13, A. Molteni, toy dealer, at No. 47, and B.H. Frampton, jeweller, at No. 64. The most successful firms were able to form branch networks. The important firm of Mawson, Swan and Morgan operated a diverse range of ventures at various locations on Grainger Street and beyond. They owned a chemist's at No. 20, a stationer's at No. 7 and a fine art

⁵⁷ By 1875 the fancy goods dealers Frigerio and Co. had become Frigerio and Power, toy dealers. [*Ward's Directory*, 1874-5].

⁵⁸ *Ward's Directory*, 1869-70.

⁵⁹ Binns developed into an important department store chain, with branches in Newcastle, Sunderland and Middlesbrough.

⁶⁰ For example, the Edinburgh Life Insurance Company gave its name to Edinburgh Chambers, in which it was based. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

dealership at No. 11.⁶¹ At the same time, the presence of the London and Newcastle Tea Co. (No. 17) indicates that Newcastle retailers were forming links with the metropolis.



Figure 123 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Few of these retailers could afford to erect purpose-built premises. Most were obliged to buy or rent space in existing buildings; in the case of Grainger Street, many retailers were operating in Tyneside Classical buildings dating from the Grainger era. Although these were grand and auspicious, the Classical uniformity prevented shopkeepers from making dramatic architectural statements. Consequently, they had to find other ways of making their shops stand out. In Newcastle, as elsewhere, shops began to assert their presence through the use of signage. Huge gilded wooden lettering was affixed to façades. A photograph from 1912 is indicative [Fig. 16]. A long expanse of the Grainger Market has been covered with gilded lettering marking out the premises of Isaac Walton & Co., tailors and outfitters, at Nos. 27, 29 and 31. The shop presents an eye-catching wood and glass

⁶¹ See *Ward's Directory*, various years. According to Harris, the proliferation of chemists' shops and mass produced patent medicines must be seen as part of the rise of consumerism as well as the expansion of medical services. See Harris, J. (1993) *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p58.

frontage. The windows are heavily stocked with goods, and a series of gas-lamps ensured that the windows were illuminated even at night, thereby facilitating the practice of window-shopping. What is particularly noticeable, however, is the augmentation of the façade. Immense lettering obscures the architectural lines. The archway leading into the Grainger Market is visible, beyond which the tea merchant S.J. Palmer has invested in a striking display of wooden figures, including oriental tea pickers and what seems to be a miniature Chinese pagoda. Tea was sold at the high price of ten shillings per pound, indicating that this expensive shop catered to the most affluent consumers. Indeed, the slogan in the window makes a virtue of the shop's exclusivity, stating, 'Pay the price; get the quality.' A reminder of the underlying economic basis of this retail culture is signalled by the coal wagon that passes by on the far side of the street.



Figure 124 Grainger Street. (Newcastle City Library).

Edwardian development

Around the turn of the century, Newcastle underwent its first major expansion since the days of Grainger. This occurred at various points around the margins of the Grainger scheme. Blackett Street and the north end of Grey Street were substantially redeveloped with stone-

built commercial buildings in a neo-Baroque style.⁶² This development consolidated the shift of Newcastle's locus of retail to the northern edge of the Grainger development. The growth of retail outlets spilled over into the adjoining Northumberland Street, which had until then been slow to develop, and Northumberland Street quickly became an important retail centre, as Chapter 5 will reveal. At the beginning of the period, Blackett Street was still composed of three-storey brick buildings of uniform design and given over to small retailers such as tobacconists, fruiterers and grocers, although this included the important grocery firm of Pumphrey and Watson at No.21.⁶³ The drapers J. and J. Meikle were at No. 39 and two book sellers were at Nos. 22-24 and 26-28. These shops hinted at the more exclusive character the street would later assume. Blackett Street was bisected by its junction with Grey and Grainger Streets. By 1875, the western half of the street supported a substantial array of shops. The ale and porter merchants Foster and Stamper occupied premises at No. 34, and the confectioner J. Stirling was at No. 37. Miss K.P. Charlton, dressmaker, and Miss M. Morris, milliner, were both at No. 63. The Newcastle Co-operative society opened a dressmaking shop at No. 71. There were also exotically-named institutions such as the Anglo-Parisian School of Dress-cutting (No. 45). Despite this concentration of retailers, Blackett Street failed to develop beyond its junction with Grey Street. Instead, architectural redevelopment occurred to the east of this point, on the expanse of Blackett Street that formed an axis between the Grey Street/Grainger Street intersection and Northumberland Street, where Fenwick's department store was opened in 1882.

Blackett Street rapidly developed into a major centre of consumption, with some of Newcastle's most architecturally impressive shops. This transformation was signalled by the Northern Goldsmiths' Building (Nos. 1-7), rising at the junction with Pilgrim Street.⁶⁴ The

⁶² Blackett Street had been laid out in 1824 and was named after the landowner John Erasmus Blackett, who served as Mayor of Newcastle on four occasions during the 18th century. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p209.

⁶³ This firm was founded by Leigh Smith in 1750 and was initially based in the Flesh Market. In 1800 the business was sold to the Quaker tea dealer and grocer George Richardson, who was succeeded by his son Henry Richardson in 1835. Richardson's nephew George Richardson Pumphrey eventually took over the firm and expanded its base of operations. Pumphrey purchased a grocery business at No. 21 Blackett Street in 1853. When Pumphrey died in 1862, his younger brother Thomas continued the firm, but entered partnership with his friend T. Carrick Watson. This partnership ended in 1869. T. Carrick Watson maintained a café at No.17 and a tea dealers' at No. 22 Blackett Street. He rebuilt the Blackett Street premises in 1887. Thomas Pumphrey went into business independently and established a substantial branch network in Newcastle, including an outlet at No. 48 Cloth Market. However, the firms of T. Pumphrey & Son and T. Carrick Watson & Son amalgamated to form Pumphrey & Carrick Watson Ltd. in 1911. See www.pumphreys-coffee.co.uk. Accessed 5 August 2008.

⁶⁴ The survival of archival material for this building is poor. Cackett had worked for the previous owner of the site, William Sutton, replacing the existing shop front with panes of glass separated by slender wooden columns in March 1889. In this design, the windows ran around the corner of the building in a smooth curve and the

hosier and shirt maker William Sutton had occupied this prominent corner site for several decades, but the jewellers Northern Goldsmiths acquired the site and erected a new building to designs by James Cackett c.1890-2 [Fig. 17].⁶⁵ The expansive glass frontage was typical of jeweller's shops at this time, but unusually the upper floors were also utilised as showrooms. To illuminate the luxurious goods within, the two faces are perforated with multiple windows.⁶⁶ The intervening space is elaborated with diverse forms of decoration suggesting luxury and plenty, including stylised fish and pulchritudinous fruit. Bands of rustication run through the first-floor, picked out in red granite to give a note of opulence.⁶⁷ Above the sweeping shop front, the corner of the building is chamfered off and eclipsed with a tower that runs through the stratified frontage and culminates in a red-glazed dome resembling a faceted gemstone. Equally lavish internal fittings were supplied by the firm of Sopwith and Co.



Figure 125 Northern Goldsmiths' Building, Nos. 1-7 Blackett Street, designed by James T. Cackett, c.1890-2. (Author's photograph).

Blackett Street elevation had two doors deeply set within bevelled glass. It seems that the Northern Goldsmiths sought Cackett out because of his previous connection with the site. See TWAS – T186/11983, plans of proposed alterations to Nos. 1-6 Blackett Street, by J.T. Cackett, dated March 1889.

⁶⁵ Cackett entered partnership with Robert Burns Dick in 1899. The firm became Newcastle's most successful and prolific architectural practice of the early twentieth-century. For more information on this firm, see Appendix.

⁶⁶ Morrison observes that two-tier shop fronts became popular in the late Victorian period, as they permitted travellers on omnibuses or trams to view the second floor showrooms. [Morrison, K. (2003) *English Shops and Shopping*, p51]. Blackett Street became Newcastle's main east-west axis and hundreds of trams passed every day.

⁶⁷ The clock was added in 1932 by Alfred Glover. The female statuette, with gilt body and ecstatic pose, is emblematic of luxury.



Figure 126 Blackett Street c.1895. (Newcastle City Library).

The evolution of Blackett Street can be reconstructed using photographs surviving in Newcastle City Library's collection. An image from c.1895 shows Blackett Street and its intersection with Grey Street and Grainger Street [Fig. 18]. Punctuated by Grey's Monument, this space was the symbolic heart of modern Newcastle, despite the fact that the Town Hall was located elsewhere. The monument was the centrepiece of the Grainger scheme and commemorated the Great Reform Bill, which instituted a new system of urban democracy. With no core of civic buildings to define it, however, this space developed primarily as an important retail centre. A participant in this nexus, the firm of Mawson, Swan and Morgan, described the area as 'the popular shopping centre of Newcastle.'⁶⁸ In the photograph, Blackett Street has been partially developed, but the north side is still dominated by plain brick buildings. Tramlines have been laid in the cobbled street, and trams run between the

⁶⁸ Mawson, Swan and Morgan (1909) *Gifts for Every Taste and Gifts for Every Occasion*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan, p206.

suburbs of Byker and Scotswood. These acted as a powerful catalyst for change; transport links between the suburbs and the city centre were crucial for the growth of consumer culture, as they allowed potential consumers to travel in and out of Newcastle from the suburbs.⁶⁹

When the Byker to Scotswood trams started operating, Blackett Street became the main axis between Newcastle's eastern and western suburbs. Nevertheless, horse-drawn trams are still being used. Gas lighting is in evidence, an innovation that extended the business hours of shops past nightfall. A strong social contrast is evident – gentlemen in top hats rub shoulders with working class women in shawls. Barrows ply their trade, indicating that the older tradition of commodity exchange was still active within these developing streets. The original YMCA building stands at the corner of Clayton Street and punctuates the development of Blackett Street.⁷⁰



Figure 127 Gem Chambers, designed by Newcombe and Newcombe, 1904. (Author's photograph).

⁶⁹ The average tram fare in the 1880s was 1, 1/2d. Electric cars began operating on 16 December 1901. See France, L. 'Transport in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p39.

⁷⁰ This building was originally St. James's Congregational Church. This was converted for the use of the YMCA by Septimus Oswald and Son [*Builder*, vol.43, 13 December 1884, p809]. A new building was erected on this site in 1900.

Exemplifying the transformation of Blackett Street, the two plain brick houses surviving near the end of the street were supplanted by impressive new premises in the Jacobean style [Fig. 19]. The free combination of English Renaissance elements was a key constituent of the Free Style, and the Elizabethan and Jacobean mansions of Robert Smythson and others were influential during this period.⁷¹ Following the example of the Northern Goldsmiths, the jewellers Reid and Sons erected an impressive store on this site (Nos. 21-27).⁷² Designed by Newcombe and Newcombe, Gem Chambers (1904) consists of two shallow bowed sections, barely more than swellings in the façade, which are arrayed with fine pilasters and miniature Jacobean finials giving a vertical emphasis. Symmetrical wooden dormers with swan-neck pediments complete the façade. The original shop front exemplifies the opulent displays made by jewellery shops in this era. The twin doors are deeply set within curving display windows that give passers-by ample opportunity to inspect the wares without having to enter the shop.⁷³ Anonymity was important within the modern shopping experience and this grasp of consumer psychology is indicative of an increasingly sophisticated retail culture. To protect the goods, however, Gem Chambers utilised a heavy wooden screen that could be raised from a recess in the ground, effectively fortifying the shop. This screen is emblazoned with the name of Reid and Sons in gold lettering. Curvilinear Art Nouveau woodwork is woven across the upper portions of the glass encasement. The jewelled clock that projects from between the two bows was the traditional signifier of the jeweller's shop, but in a modern innovation the clock was connected to Greenwich by radio.

The north side of Blackett Street developed at a more measured pace. As late as 1901 it was still characterised by plain three-storey brick buildings surviving from Grainger's initial layout. These buildings accommodated retailers such as the silk mercer Henry Lowe (Nos. 10-16). These properties are depicted in an 1896 photograph taken to document the laying of tramlines in Northumberland Street and New Bridge Street [Fig. 21]. This

⁷¹ T.G. Jackson (1835-1924), an exponent of the Free Style, experimented with Jacobean sources in his work for Oxford University. See, for example, his new quad building for Trinity College (1883-7).

⁷² Reid and Sons had been founded in 1778. The firm already had a shop at No.41 Grey Street. [*Ward's Directory*, 1869-70]. As mentioned above, No. 21 had been occupied by T. Carrick Watson until 1893-4.

⁷³ Window shopping was an important part of the nineteenth-century shopping experience, particularly for the less affluent. The ability to peruse goods – and prices – before entering the shop helped to dispel anxieties and the fear of social embarrassment.

consolidated Blackett Street's connection with the increasingly important Northumberland Street.



Figure 128 Interior of Victoria Wine, Blackett Street. (Newcastle City Library).



Figure 129 Northumberland Street and New Bridge Street in 1896. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).



Figure 130 Blackett Street c.1902. (Newcastle City Library).

A revealing photograph shows the north side of Blackett Street in a transitional state c.1902 [Fig. 22].⁷⁴ 'Alexander the Great', a tailor's shop at No. 34, announces its presence with an elaborate shop-front, although the building itself is fairly modest. Next door (No. 30), J.C. Ritson has yet to construct grand premises for his chemist's shop and homeopathic dispensary, but Tilley's Café and Restaurant has been established at No. 22.⁷⁵ Equally revealing is the evidence of vibrant street-life. The space is frequented by wealthy, well-dressed people and the presence of a woman on a bicycle testifies to the vogue for this modern mode of transport. In the 1890s there was a craze for cycling among middle class women and the sale of bicycles increased dramatically during this period, judging by the number of bicycle shops and manufacturers listed in directories.⁷⁶ Social contrast is evinced by the street hawkers carrying baskets on their heads, together with barrows, carriages and

⁷⁴ The image can be dated to 1902 because it shows J.C. Ritson's chemist's shop before reconstruction.

⁷⁵ *Ward's Directory*, 1895-6.

⁷⁶ Mica Nava sees this as part of the relaxation of notions of 'acceptable' behaviour for unaccompanied women. See Nava, M. 'Modernity's Disavowal: Women, the city and the department store' in Nava, M. and O'Shea, A. (1996) *Modern Times: reflections on a century of English modernity*. London: Routledge, p43.

trams. Behind the scaffolding, Nos. 24-26 are under construction. It was here that the wine and spirit merchant W. Glendinning erected a shop and office to designs by Marshall and Tweedy (1902). The completed building exhibited the neo-Baroque style that became popular in the Edwardian era [Fig. 23]. The narrow frontage has a canted principal bay that runs up four storeys and culminates in a curved pediment with lunette; the second bay is treated as a recessive element, but terminates with a square turret, creating an asymmetrical composition. There is a subtle use of colour, with pink stone contrasting with the blue-grey façade. A coat of arms is displayed on the lavishly decorated façade, along with the Bacchanalian image of a wine cellar being stocked by cherubim.



Figure 131 Nos. 24-26 Blackett Street, designed by Marshall and Tweedy, 1902. (Author's photograph).

The geography of retail in late Victorian and Edwardian Newcastle corresponded to an overlaid network of restaurants, tea and coffee houses, refreshment rooms and cocoa rooms. Sites of consumption, if not of retail in the strict sense, these venues formed important nodes in Newcastle's social network and allowed consumers to display the goods they had purchased. T. Carrick Watson owned a café at No. 17 and a tea dealer's at No. 21.⁷⁷ Across the road, No. 22 Blackett Street was rebuilt by Thomas Cook to designs by James Cackett.⁷⁸ Transformed into Tilley's Café and Restaurant in 1898, the new building featured a shop-front with a bulbous bow window that facilitated the display of goods [Fig. 24]. To the same end, the frontage was lit with gas-lamps. The full-width window advertises the sale of wedding cakes and chocolates, as well as *table d'hôte* lunches. The building itself [Fig. 25] follows the same principles as Cackett's earlier Northern Goldsmiths' store. Large expanses of glazing perforate the façade. The unusual frontage is dominated by a laterally-elongated arch that frames the wide expanse of the first floor windows. More orthodox fenestration occurs above, framed by Jacobean ornament. The building terminates with a pediment featuring a peacock finial together with a pair of seahorses, an element drawn from Newcastle's coat of arms. Tilley's Café and Restaurant became a fashionable meeting place for Newcastle's social elite. It was regularly frequented by Jack Bainbridge, a director of Bainbridge's department store.⁷⁹ The interior was decorated with tapestries illustrating the Border Ballads, and there was also a musicians' gallery housing an orchestra and private function rooms.

⁷⁷ Judging from Newcastle directories, however, Thomas Cook never occupied the premises. The initials T.C. are displayed on the façade, but these could refer to Tilley's Café.

⁷⁸ James Cackett also designed a shop for T. and G. Allan at No. 18 (1895).

⁷⁹ Jack Bainbridge was the nephew of George Bainbridge. He was also a member of the Northern Conservative Club. See Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p160.



Figure 132 No. 22 Blackett Street. (Newcastle City Library).



Figure 133 No. 22 Blackett Street, designed by James T. Cackett, 1902. (Author's photograph).

Perhaps the most impressive addition was the Eldon Building at Nos. 29-33 Blackett Street.⁸⁰ During the 1880s this site, at the corner of Blackett Street and Grey Street, accommodated the North of England Café Co. and a public house operated by G. Milburn.⁸¹ The property was acquired by the wine and spirit merchant Farquar M. Laing and adapted into a grill room and coffee house.⁸² The property was continuously remodelled and adapted by Laing and successive owners between 1892 and 1914. The transformation from public house to a more multi-purpose space attracted a wider clientele; in particular, the building became more accessible to women. The ground floor was occupied by two shops, the first floor housed a bar, smoke room and grill room illuminated by a lantern roof.⁸³ Although it was not primarily involved in retail, the Eldon Building participated in the high-class consumption that was enacted at this intersection; it formed an important venue offering both respite from shopping and a space in which to socialise and display one's purchases.

When Oliver and Leeson were commissioned to remodel the façade in August 1892 they initially produced a flamboyant Flemish composition with high, pointed dormers [Fig. 26].⁸⁴ This would undoubtedly have clashed with the Classically-derived architecture of Grey Street, but it is clear from the plan that the architects took care to integrate their work with the adjoining buildings – the relative heights of neighbouring features are marked on the drawing. Ultimately, Laing selected a more sober Classical design by the same firm and thereby preserved the stylistic uniformity of this intersection.

⁸⁰ This site has a complicated history. The Eldon Coffee Room was operating in 1831, and according to Thomas Oliver Senior it was, 'the only place in Newcastle that is kept exclusively for the purpose of accommodation of the public; those others so called, being properly news rooms, and devoted to the use of their relative subscribers. A licence for selling ale, porter, wine &c. has recently been granted by the magistrates to this house.' [Oliver, T. (1970) *A New Picture of Newcastle upon Tyne: or an historical and descriptive view*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham, p50. Originally published in 1831]. By 1890 the site accommodated G. Milburn and the North of England Café Company. By 1907-8 the property was operated by J.W. Ditchburn as the Eldon Arms Hotel, but J.E. Bone took over in 1909-10. Bone had previously been based in the YMCA buildings opposite. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

⁸¹ The first stage in remodelling came in 1887. The basement was originally divided into a series of cellars, and F.M. Laing commissioned the architects Lamb and Armstrong to knock these cellars into one, supporting the upper floors with columns 15" in diameter. [TWAS - T186/12273, plans showing the proposed reconstruction, dated September 1887].

⁸² F.M. Laing is not listed at this address until 1895-6, but architectural plans surviving in the Tyne and Wear Archives suggest that he owned property in the building from at least 1887. [TWAS T186/12273].

⁸³ The two shops were occupied by a tailor and a tobacconist named Murratti, who sold 'high class cigarettes'. These are both visible in Fig. 22.

⁸⁴ See TWAS - T186/12273, plans showing the alternative design, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, dated August 1892.

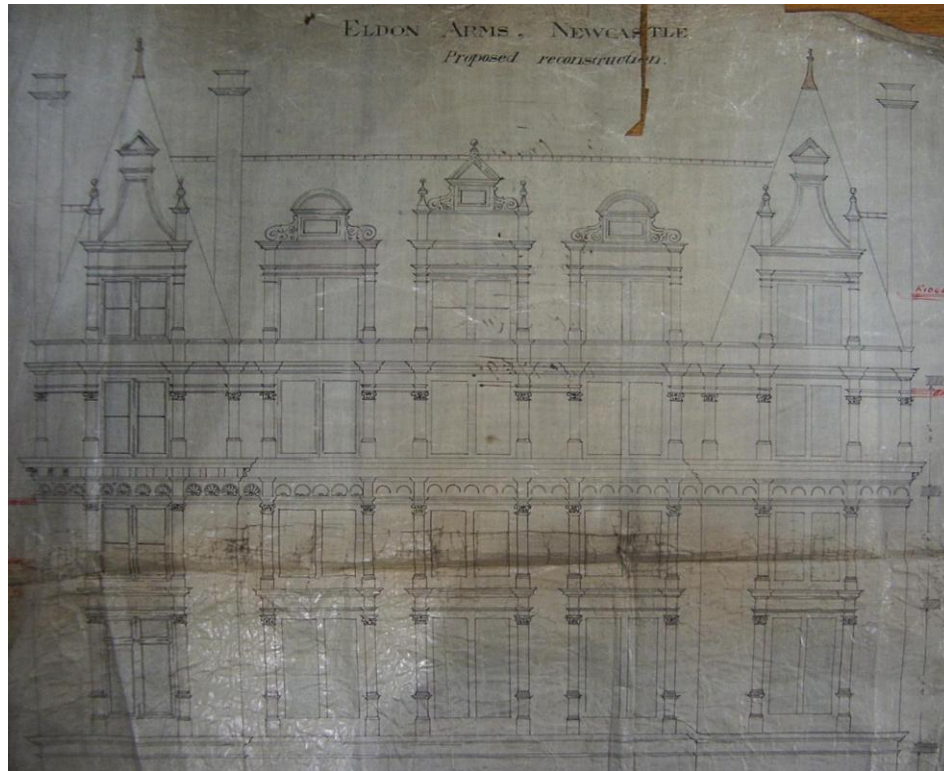


Figure 134 Alternative design for Eldon Buildings by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1892. (TWAS - T186/12273).



Figure 135 Eldon Buildings, designed by Oliver, Leeson and Wood. (Author's photograph).

Forming a bold curve on a corner site, the building defines the transition from Blackett Street to Grey Street [Fig. 27]. The first floor Venetian windows are finely executed, with wrought iron railings and shell-like tympana. Corinthian pilasters divide the façade, but maintain the sweeping curve. Three dormers rise above the roofline, decorated with heraldic motifs and panels proclaiming the name of the building in Art Nouveau lettering.⁸⁵ In an act of self-promotion, Laing had his initials displayed prominently. In 1913 Laing employed W.H. Wood, formerly of Oliver, Leeson and Wood, to restructure the interior.⁸⁶ Wood modified the first floor dining rooms by widening an existing opening in the partition wall and adding another in order to improve communication. A cash desk with marble counter was also incorporated.⁸⁷

The commercial pressures arising from so many firms in such a concentrated area incubated a fiercely competitive spirit and buildings were specifically designed to outdo each other. The major example of Edwardian extravagance is Emerson Chambers (1903-4), which faces Laing's Eldon Buildings across Blackett Street [Fig. 28].⁸⁸ This was primarily designed as a restaurant for the innkeeper Robert Emerson Junior, but it also contained a number of offices. Signalling the end of the Blackett Street redevelopment, Emerson Chambers is an overpowering fusion of Baroque and Art Nouveau devices. Designed by the firm of Simpson, Lawson and Rayne, it represents the pinnacle of Newcastle's commercial architecture and forms one of the most exuberant buildings in the city.⁸⁹ The eccentric Benjamin Simpson's

⁸⁵ The designs were amended to reduce costs. As a result, the completed building does not quite exude the grandeur promised by the plans. As built, the central dormer has been reduced in size and keystone decoration to the second floor has been omitted. The wrought iron railings in the first-floor windows have been substituted for the stone balusters that were originally proposed. However, the architectural lettering has more dynamism than the plans suggest. See TWAS - T186/12273.

⁸⁶ TWAS - T186/12273, plans showing the proposed extension of the dining room, dated November 1913. W.H. Wood became Head Assistant for Oliver and Leeson in 1885 and stayed with the firm until he was taken into partnership in 1898.

⁸⁷ An abortive scheme by Graham and Hill, architects, featured deeply-incised doorways, while the narrow Grey and Blackett Street elevations were to have elaborate semi-circular windows that completely encompassed the doorways. Laidler, Robson and Co., decorators, were to provide an internal decorative scheme. Each of the interior spaces was to be utilised as a shop and electric signs were to be displayed above the doors. Graham and Hill's plan was rejected by the Town Improvement Committee. [TWAS - T186/12273, plans showing the proposed alterations, dated 1912].

⁸⁸ The building replaced a Presbyterian church. Emerson had originally proposed to convert the existing building, but his local rival F.M. Laing objected to the plan. This seems to have been a grave miscalculation, however, because Simpson's building – specifically built to form an eye-catching spectacle – was a formidable rival for Laing's Eldon Buildings across the road. See Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*. University of Newcastle: B.Arch dissertation, p129.

⁸⁹ Simpson's nephew, Sydney Herbert Lawson, joined the firm in 1899. Thomas Vincent Rayne had been Simpson's managing assistant since 1898. He became a full partner in 1904. T.V. Rayne's obituary was published in *The Builder*, vol.151, 2 October 1936, p649. Simpson had long associations with Newcastle brewers and designed numerous public houses. These commissions are documented in Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*. Warkworth: Sandhill Press.

work is marked by bizarre contortions of Baroque elements.⁹⁰ At Emerson Chambers, the keystones of the arches merge into the bases of the windows above and the columns are stunted, as though deformed by the weight they support. The pyramidal roof bristles with miniature pinnacled dormers and turrets are corbelled-out from the corners, ending in Simpson's trademark copper 'beehive' motif, one featuring a clock and the other a vaguely Oriental finial reminiscent of Frank Rich's Ouseburn Board School (see Chapter 6).⁹¹ Sculptural cast iron columns support an oriel window. Art Nouveau woodwork is woven over the plate glass of the shop front and a heady concoction of swags, sinuous foliage and human and animal forms is sculpted onto the crowing entablature.

Simpson's wilful distortion of Baroque elements was oddly compatible with the unrestrained, flowing lines of Art Nouveau, and during this period he continually invested his commercial buildings with flourishes of this *avant-garde* style. In his study of Simpson's work, Leonard Gettings argues that Simpson was something of an outsider, pointing out that he never joined the Northern Architectural Association and that he was possibly excluded on the grounds of class.⁹² However, Emerson Chambers seems to have been admired among Newcastle's architectural practitioners – the firms of Boyd and Grove and Badenoch and Bruce had their offices here, together with Simpson, Lawson and Rayne itself.⁹³ More importantly, Simpson was never short of commissions, and was allowed to indulge his whims by clients who tended to be newly-rich entrepreneurs with little or no prior knowledge of architecture.⁹⁴ They were not troubled by Simpson's cavalier use of historical details, but recognised his exuberant panoply of forms as an eye-catching, suitably commercial idiom. Emerson's restaurant was located in the basement and featured niches of fibrous plaster and

⁹⁰ Leonard Gettings argues that Simpson made arbitrary use of historical styles, abandoning scholarly historicism in favour of an intuitive and intensely personal approach. Gettings interprets Simpson's rather mannered treatment as an attempt to mock the pure forms and compositional rules of architecture. See Gettings, L. 'Benjamin Simpson, FRIBA: Part 1' in *Northern Architect*, new series, no.12, 1977, pp28-31 and Part 2 in *Northern Architect*, new series, no.13, 1977, pp33-38.

⁹¹ Simpson also used this twin 'beehive' feature in his building for the Tyneside Tramways and Tramroads Company on Melbourne Street. See *Building News*, vol.78, 16 February 1900, p229.

⁹² Gettings, L. (1977) 'Benjamin Simpson', pp33-38. Gettings suggests that Simpson was preoccupied with external modelling to the detriment of internal planning, which accounts for the lack of coordination between interior and exterior that sometimes characterises his buildings. This has caused him to be viewed as a decorator of façades rather than an architect with a sound grasp of spatial form.

⁹³ Other businesses located in Emerson Chambers included the Vulcan Boiler and General Insurance Company, the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York and the Liverpool Victoria Friendly Society. [*Ward's Directory*, 1905-6].

⁹⁴ Most of Simpson's clients made their fortunes from rapidly expanding commercial enterprises. Besides Emerson Chambers, Simpson's major commission was the Half Moon Chambers public house in the Bigg Market (1904), built for the Scottish brewers Archibald Arrol and Sons Ltd. See Pearson, L. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub*, pp17-20.

a domed ceiling.⁹⁵ *The British Architect* remarked, 'In the basement of Emerson Buildings, the handsome erection at the corner of Blackett Street, Newcastle, there was opened on Wednesday one of the finest restaurants to be found out of London, says the *Newcastle Chronicle*.'⁹⁶ The wallpaper manufacturers J. Dunn and Son subsequently opened a showroom in the ground floor.⁹⁷



Figure 136 Emerson Chambers, designed by Simpson, Lawson and Rayne, 1903-4. (Author's photograph).

⁹⁵ Curiously, the restaurant is not listed in Newcastle directories until 1907. It is possible that the elaborate decorative scheme, featuring fibrous plaster work by A.R. Dean of Birmingham, delayed the opening.

⁹⁶ *British Architect*, 12 May 1905.

⁹⁷ *Ward's Directory*, 1907-8.



Figure 137 Blackett Street during the royal visit to Newcastle in 1906. (Newcastle City Library).

Blackett Street was redeveloped in a range of styles, principally Jacobean and Baroque. It is likely that the Baroque style was conceived as an appropriate idiom for the expansion of Newcastle's central core, one that maintained the Classical dignity established by Dobson *et al.*, but which also fulfilled Edwardian tastes for a more effusive architecture. However, these buildings also demonstrate an awareness of tastes that were current around the turn of the century, making spirited use of Art Nouveau for both shop fronts and architectural lettering. Clearly, *avant-garde* styles were permissible in shop design, where novelty and spectacle were highly prized. The symbiotic relationship between architectural redevelopment and the expansion of retail cemented Blackett Street's importance. This was confirmed when Blackett Street formed part of the route taken by Edward VII during the royal visit to Newcastle on 11 July 1906 [Fig. 29]. The street was decorated with garlands of flowers and Union Flags. Newcastle's enthusiastic response to this royal parade was an expression of the city's long-standing loyalty to the Crown, as well as its patriotism in an era of imperial expansion. Crucially, Blackett Street formed an arterial link between Grey and Grainger Streets and the increasingly important Northumberland Street, and this paved the way for further expansion.

Marginal development

The thesis that retail moved from the Quayside towards Northumberland Street is supported by the evidence presented in this chapter, but other areas germinated in tandem with redevelopment programmes. A small concentration of Edwardian commercial buildings developed beyond the line of Newgate Street. Many of these were warehouses and offices, but most offered retail space in the ground floor. The tone of these buildings was set by Frank W. Rich's Cooperative Print Works (c.1895), with an indomitable corner drum with copper dome and red brick elevations. At Nos. 1-15 Gallowgate a vigorous commercial building was built to the designs of Oliver and Leeson (1898-9) [Fig. 30].⁹⁸ From a rusticated base, the building rises to four storeys, each executed in red sandstone with buff sandstone dressings.⁹⁹ The building's pronounced verticality is accentuated by rusticated pilasters and full-height oriel windows. The attic storey is an amalgam of Flemish gables ending in ball finials. Above the corner turret is a copper dome that is almost spherical. Although it utilises the Baroque mode observed elsewhere, the building synthesises the style with Northern European motifs, reflecting Newcastle's trade links with Holland and Germany.¹⁰⁰ Several other buildings sprang up in this area, but further expansion was ultimately curtailed by the remaining sections of the medieval town wall.

⁹⁸ This building accommodated the undertakers T. Howe and Co., the china dealer Mrs. I. Cutting, the margarine importers W.H. Scott and Co., and the shopkeeper Mrs. M. Carrick. [*Ward's Directory*, 1900].

⁹⁹ Red sandstone is rare in Newcastle, but it was used to good effect by Waterhouse at the Prudential Assurance Company offices on Mosley Street, as discussed in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁰ English Heritage and Newcastle City Council (1992) *The Grainger Town Study: Newcastle upon Tyne, Stage 1 Report*.



Figure 138 Nos. 1-15 Gallowgate, designed by Oliver and Leeson, 1898-9. (Author's photograph).

Mirroring the transformation of Blackett Street and its environs, the area of Westgate Road between Cross Street and Clayton Street was comprehensively redeveloped in an Edwardian Baroque mode. The precondition for this development was the proximity of the wealthy middle class residents of Clayton Street, who constituted a potential market for new consumer goods. A number of exotic shops, such as the jeweller A. Bernasconi (No. 2 Cross Street), as well as china dealers and tea merchants, sprang up in this vicinity.¹⁰¹ Atlas Chambers (1894) was built at No. 88 Westgate Road [Fig. 31]. Designed by Armstrong and Knowles for Richard Charlton, this housed the Westgate Tavern and Restaurant.¹⁰² The two

¹⁰¹ *Ward's Directory*, 1875-6.

¹⁰² Atlas Chambers also accommodated the Scottish Legal Life Assurance Co.; Arthur Guinness, Son and Co., brewers; and Long's Wholesale Talking Machine Co. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

faces are articulated with a shallow framework of pilasters, tripartite windows and subtle rustication. The truncated attic storey is topped with balusters. Surmounting the corner is a fish-scaled dome set upon coupled columns. The treatment of the columns emphasises the weight they support and simultaneously illustrates the mythical role of Atlas, from whom the building takes its name.¹⁰³ *The Builder* called it 'a very good piece of work; a little spoiled, perhaps, by its staring, polished red granite ground story, and by some rather weak carving, but with good architectural detail and pleasant proportions; the little round turret that surmounts the rounded corner is an especially charming incident.'¹⁰⁴ These buildings continue the local trend of creating spectacular corner buildings, the potential of which was widely recognised by shopkeepers: they allowed more opportunity to catch the viewer's attention and permitted more than one entrance. Interiors were easier to light than in single-fronted buildings that stood on deep plots.



Figure 139 Atlas Chambers, designed by Armstrong and Knowles, 1894. (Author's photograph).

¹⁰³ This feature was repeated by Armstrong and Knowles in their 1902 building for Watson and Curry, which stands on Mosley Street (Nos. 28-30), where the stunted columns and square blocks are ranged along the frontage and used to support the crowning entablature.

¹⁰⁴ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p307.



Figure 140 Lockhart, Smith and Co., original premises on Westgate Road. The plain Classical building on the corner was acquired by Northern Goldsmiths and remodelled in exuberant Baroque style. Hoardings on the side of the adjacent building testify to the growing importance of advertising media. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

The Liverpool firm of Lockhart, Smith and Co. established an extensive citywide network, including cafés at No. 19 Bigg Market, No. 25 Grainger Street, No. 37 Clayton Street and another in the Town Hall, as well as cocoa rooms at No. 5 Grainger Street and in the Corn Exchange Buildings in the Cloth Market.¹⁰⁵ Crucially, this network echoed the spatial patterns of Newcastle retail, as the firm strategically placed its branches at key sites of commercial development. Lockhart, Smith and Co. erected their most significant Newcastle building at Nos. 91-3 Westgate Road (c.1900), a purpose-built cocoa room built during the redevelopment of this area [Fig. 33].¹⁰⁶ The subdued first-floor has shallow rustication, but the second floor responds to the latest Edwardian fashion for Art Nouveau-inspired sculptural stonework and Baroque composition.

¹⁰⁵ *Ward's Directory*, 1905.

¹⁰⁶ Lockhart had occupied the Westgate Road site since 1884. [*Ward's Directory*, 1884].



Figure 141 Lockhart, Smith and Company's premises, Westgate Road. (Author's photograph).

The building at the corner of Westgate Road and Clayton Street West (No. 85) represented an appropriation of a building dating from Grainger's time. The Northern Goldsmiths acquired this prominent corner building and developed it into a fitting counterpart to their flagship premises on Blackett Street [Fig. 34].¹⁰⁷ As before, the remodelling was carried out to the designs of Cackett and Burns Dick (c.1910). An Art Nouveau turret was grafted onto the existing building and the extremely severe façades were embellished. The polygonal tower is articulated with a great variety of detail – heraldic emblems, curved pediments and serpentine sills. An open turret with block rustication supports a green copper dome that echoes the form of the Blackett Street premises, but in a highly unusual gesture, four Ionic columns are posted around the dome, their capitals free-standing. The first floor is rusticated, with heavy keystones slotted into the windows and columns of a giant Ionic Order scaling the upper storeys. An attic storey rises above the entablature, with delicately-pedimented dormers. The Northern Goldsmiths' western premises were evidently influenced

¹⁰⁷ The original building (No. 4 Clayton Street) was built c.1837 to the designs of Walker and Wardle. The building was occupied by the confectioner G. Haydock. [*Ward's Directory*, 1891-2]. The Northern Goldsmiths are not listed at this address in directories of the period.

by Atlas Chambers, which had been built several years earlier. The fact that the firm built a branch in this vicinity suggests that the area was developing into an important centre of retail. The architecture that gave form to this space matched the Baroque redevelopment of Blackett Street, but ultimately the intersection of Westgate Road and Clayton Street never posed a serious challenge to the Northumberland Street-Grey Street axis. Despite its initial promise, the area failed to sustain a viable consumer culture, and its subsequent decline supports the thesis that the map of Newcastle retail was substantially redrawn during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, re-centring on the northern edge of the Grainger development, at Blackett Street, Grainger Street and Northumberland Street.



Figure 142 Northern Goldsmiths' premises, Westgate Road, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick, c.1910. (Author's photograph).

Conclusion

Newcastle has a long-standing retail culture, which developed in conjunction with its commercial architecture. This chapter has mapped out the spatial organisation of retail and analysed its role in the city's architectural development. By tracing the distribution of retail outlets, it has tested the thesis that Newcastle's commercial centre shifted from the quayside to Northumberland Street. The chapter has charted this relocation and identified a number of marginal sites which briefly flourished as sites of consumption. Retail was a fiercely competitive business and the architecture it generated serves as an invaluable meter of taste, as it continually responded to the latest architectural fashions. Between 1870 and 1914 Newcastle underwent major expansion and this stimulated growth in the retail sector. Adapting to changing fashions, the Neo-Classicism of the Grainger development evolved into the Italian Renaissance style, a transformation that is made visible in Grainger Street, but Jacobean styles also flourished. Later in the period, the expansion of the city took place at a number of points immediately outside of the Grainger development. Blackett Street and Westgate Road were simultaneously rebuilt in elaborate Edwardian Baroque styles. Baroque infused with an Art Nouveau sensibility gave Newcastle's commercial architecture of the early twentieth century a vivid character. Retail architecture represented the spatial context in which the complex social practices of consumption were played out. Ultimately, changes in retail patterns have had an incontestable impact on the physical and social structure of the city. Within this complex yet fluid nexus, Newcastle's urban public was transformed into a sophisticated consumer culture, which will be examined in the following chapter.

5 Purchasing Power: the architecture of retail

In the patterns of Newcastle's commercial development can be observed the emergence of a modern consumer culture. The previous chapter mapped out the complex spatial field of retail and analysed its architectural framework. This chapter examines Newcastle's consumer culture in detail, focussing on the key spaces that formed its arena. With the overall emphasis on taste and patronage, it is vital to examine those who consumed architecture, as well as those who produced it. The chapter asks how urban space was experienced and assesses its role in shaping identity. Built into the matrix of the city were sites of conspicuous consumption where a variety of identities were formulated and performed. The economic and social significance of Newcastle's pioneering department stores has been documented elsewhere, but the proprietors of these stores acted as important patrons, using architecture to attract custom and create new environments of consumption.¹ As shopping came to be recognised as a complex and meaningful social practice, rather than a simple act of necessity, Newcastle's sophisticated stores began to reshape themselves in order to facilitate these specialised rituals of consumption, performance and display. Continuing this analysis, the chapter assesses the impact these stores had on their immediate spatial contexts, arguing that they acted as magnets by drawing a diverse range of retail ventures into the city, as smaller retailers tried to capitalise on increased levels of trade. In particular, the success of Fenwick's was a major factor in Northumberland Street's transformation into Newcastle's premier shopping district. The emergence of a sophisticated and discerning consumer culture necessitated a radical rethinking of the city. Inspired in part by the retail sector, Newcastle Corporation initiated several programmes of urban reform, bringing the city's substantial market tradition into line with the exclusive, modern spaces being created by retailers.

Shopping was already established as a recreational activity among upper class women, but it was rapidly democratised as the urban population became increasingly mobile and the means of creating and disseminating aspirations became more pervasive. Mica Nava defines modernity as the new consciousness experienced in the modern urban environment,

¹ For example, Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*.

a space that was typified by continuous flux.² The city offered the thrill of modernity, a range of new experiences and new forms of social interaction. At the same time, the acceptable arena for unaccompanied women was expanded due to the proliferation of new types of urban space, including arcades, galleries, tearooms and department stores. The intricate visual codes of fashion were among the key components of modernity and functioned as indicators of social status. In this context, identity became fluid. The chapter argues that as Newcastle was reshaped to support varied retail functions, the city itself became an object to be consumed.

Bainbridge's: 'Emporium of the North'³

Newcastle was an early centre of department store trade. Department stores are usually defined as stores that were divided into numerous separate departments and thus had separate sets of takings. However, Lancaster observes that Jeffrey's classic definition omits the crucial attributes of 'atmosphere, display, fashion and novelty.'⁴ Architectural analysis of the department store can bring these components into focus. Many such stores existed outside London before 1870 and, according to Shaw, provincial department stores followed the development of those in London, albeit 'with a slight time delay.'⁵ Bainbridge's department store, founded by Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge in 1838, was one of the earliest examples in Europe.⁶ This pioneering store remained on its original site at Nos. 29-37 Market Street from its inception until 1976, when it moved into the new Eldon Square shopping centre. The store was located in close proximity to the Grainger Market, the beacon of Newcastle's ascendant culture of consumption. As a result, the new store benefited from the custom already circulating within this space. The hallmarks of Bainbridge's success were marked prices and cash payments, which dispelled the anxiety associated with the shopping

² Nava, M. (1996) 'Modernity's Disavowal', p43.

³ Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making.' Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co., p1. This article, originally published in *The Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review* in 1912, was reprinted by Bainbridge's in the form of a booklet designed to advertise the store.

⁴ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p3.

⁵ Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p143.

⁶ Kendal, Milne and Faulkner's store in Manchester rivals Bainbridge's for the title of the first department store in Britain. Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge had learned the business while working for Lewis and Allenby in Regent Street, London. See Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*.

experience. Lancaster identifies these as crucial factors in the rise of consumer culture and its transformative effects on class structure.⁷

At the beginning of the period, Bainbridge's was established as the epicentre of Newcastle retail, but it continued to develop over the following decades in terms of the organisation of the business and the internal division of space. It has been argued that large stores favoured island sites, enabling them to encompass an entire street block, and Bainbridge's certainly fits this model.⁸ From a relatively small outlet on Market Street, the firm gradually expanded by acquiring neighbouring premises. Lancaster states that the store was able to do little more than 'burrow' through to the Bigg Market.⁹ In fact, the store continued to subsume neighbouring properties until it occupied virtually the entire block between Market Street and the Bigg Market, with only the premises fronting Grainger Street remaining inviolate.

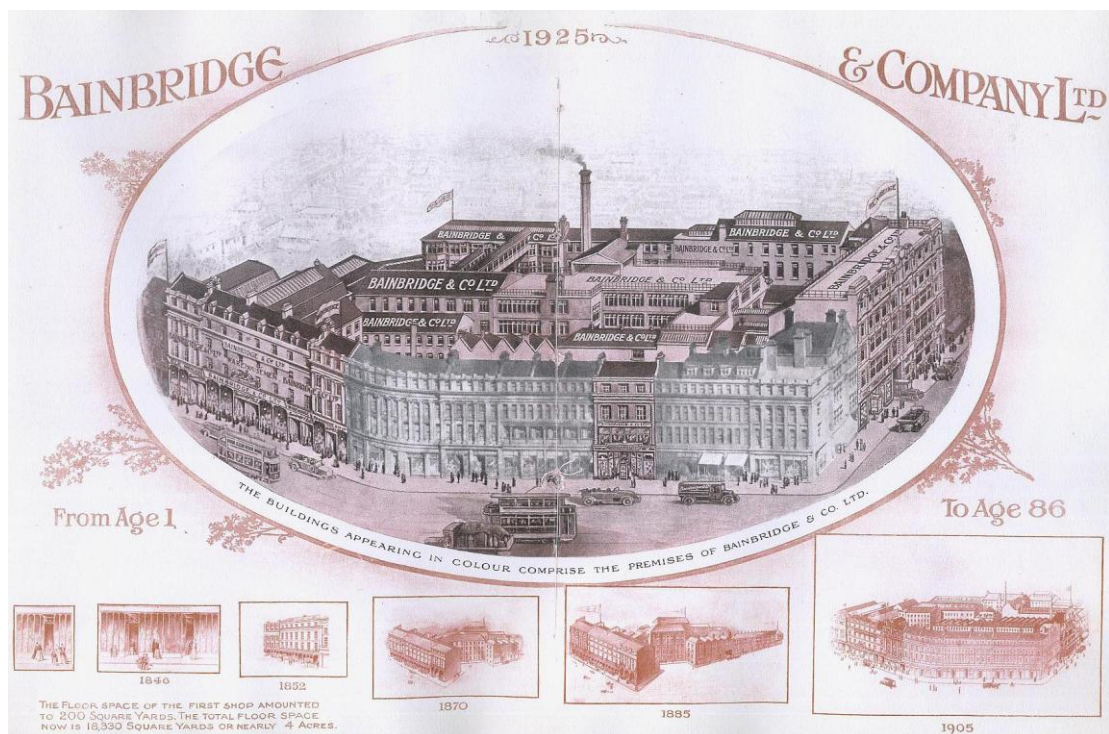


Figure 143 Publicity material from 1925 reprinted in Bainbridge & Co. *Bainbridge Chronicle*, vol.37 no.38, October 1988. These illustrations chart the evolution of the store.

Externally, the store was represented by the powerful colonnaded Market Street elevation designed c.1837 by Walker and Wardle for Richard Grainger. While the firm

⁷ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p3. These innovations were first adopted in drapery stores.

⁸ See Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p140.

⁹ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p25.

undeniably benefited from the prestige of this Tyneside Classical façade, it had the disadvantage of making remodelling difficult. As an imperfect solution, Bainbridge erected large signs on the exterior. This was part of a trend that had a severe, if temporary, impact on Newcastle. Signs and hoardings were affixed to façades throughout the city, and many of them were large enough to interfere with the architectural lines. This was a cause of contention for many architects at the time, including Frank W. Rich, who denounced the tendency as vulgar commercialism and expressed concern over its long term implications for architecture: 'The imperative demands of trade are often antagonistic to the precedents in Architecture . . . Architecture will presently be "behind the scenes" – in other words, it will be covered by huge letters of the alphabet.'¹⁰

Behind the façade, further difficulties impeded expansion. The store was serviced by an internal road that led to a goods yard at the centre of the block, but which was too narrow to allow two carts to pass at once. These restrictions forced the firm to expand in unusual ways. The basement was converted into showrooms, and Emerson Bainbridge himself designed a new warehouse and carpet and furnishing department in 1866, despite having had no architectural training.¹¹ Consequently, the firm built little new architecture at the beginning of the period and it was a long-standing frustration that the two façades facing onto public thoroughfares did not adequately convey the scale of Bainbridge's enterprise. For this reason, the firm was at pains to publicise the full extent of its properties:

The Market Street frontage gives no adequate idea of the extent of our Warehouse and Showrooms. It is only when one has entered and gone from Room to Room, from Basement to Gallery, and right on through continuous Showrooms to Bigg Market, and seen the vast and varied Stocks, that the word 'colossal' suggests itself as the appropriate description.¹²

This comment was accompanied by an illustration in which the alignment of Market Street and Grainger Street has been distorted in order to show the Market Street and Bigg Market frontages simultaneously [Fig. 2].

¹⁰ Rich, F.W. (1897-8) Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address.

¹¹ The venture took its toll, however, and Bainbridge resolved never to attempt such an ambitious project again. [Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p65].

¹² Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making', p1.

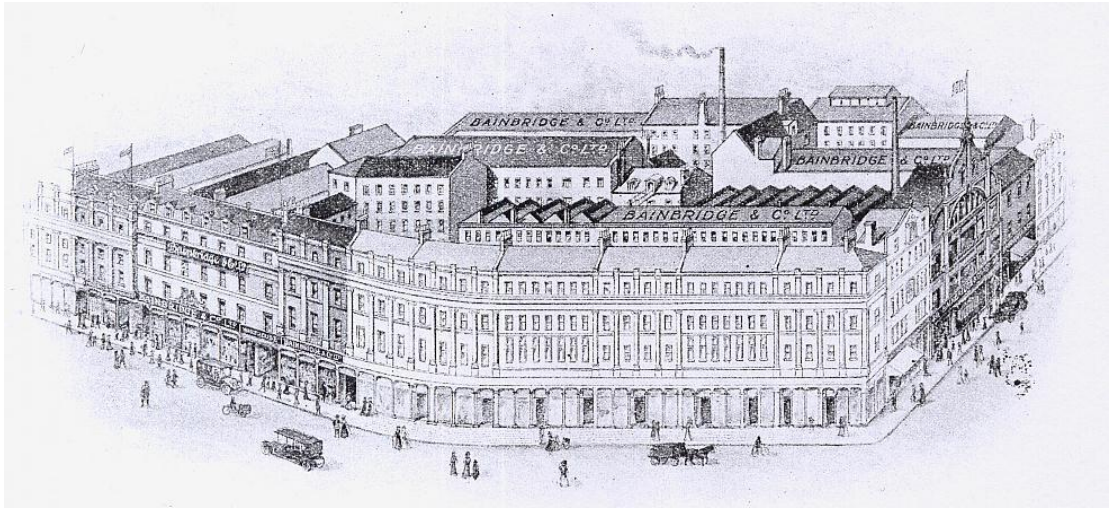


Figure 144 Bainbridge's premises in 1912. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making,' Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co., p1).

A major rebuilding programme was commenced in 1876. Bainbridge's had acquired a 500 foot expanse of property running from Market Street to the Bigg Market in 1865. As part of the store's expansion, the existing buildings were demolished and replaced with a three-storey building. This was utilised as cabinet furniture showrooms and additional manufacturing space.¹³ The firm's publicity material boasted that 'Bainbridge's customers from the Central Station, West End of Newcastle and Gateshead are now able to enter at the Bigg Market and walk through continuous Show Rooms to Market Street.'¹⁴ Thus, the interior of Bainbridge's became a link between these two important locales, which encouraged a greater flow of customers within the store. In turn, this represented a significant change in the spatial organisation of Newcastle and, combined with the presence of the Grainger Market, it transformed the intersection of Grainger Street and Market Street into a key site of retail activity. A purpose-built façade and shop front were created in the Bigg Market. As a modern building, the design was able to respond to the latest public tastes. Despite a self-aggrandising distortion of scale, an illustration published at the time shows that the building had an extremely high glazed shop-front with a tripartite division and a large Dutch gable, resembling the commercial buildings being erected on Grainger Street West at this time [Fig. 3]. The Bigg Market shop (Nos. 26 and 28) became a furniture showroom and was regarded as a 'handsome and striking "testimonial" to the expansion of this portion of Messrs.

¹³ Another storey was added to this extension in 1884. [Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*].

¹⁴ Bainbridge & Co. *Catalogue of our winter 1887 and 1888 bi-annual sale*, p4.

Bainbridge & Co.'s business.¹⁵ According to the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 'The first thing that strikes a visitor is the large and handsome appearance of the interior. It is excellently proportioned and is fitted with elaborate and costly accessories.'¹⁶



Figure 145 Bainbridge's advertisement. (Bainbridge & Co. [1913] *The Albert House Yearbook*. Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co.)

At the turn of the century, the Bigg Market was developing as a focal point for public houses, refreshment rooms and restaurants.¹⁷ Lockhart, Smith and Co. set up one of their many branches here and Half Moon Chambers was opened in 1904 to designs by Benjamin Simpson.¹⁸ In response to these changes, Bainbridge's opened the Oak Tea Room in the Bigg Market shop in 1912.¹⁹ This is an indication that the firm had begun to conceive of shopping as much more than a basic exchange of goods: the Oak Tea Room facilitated a re-

¹⁵ 'Bainbridge: Guide and Short History' in *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 1885, p2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p2.

¹⁷ The Bigg Market was bounded by medieval burgrave plots and these have largely dictated the width of the surrounding buildings. See Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities*, p39.

¹⁸ Robert Lockhart opened his first shop in Liverpool in 1876. A supporter of the temperance movement, he set up an expansive network of cocoa rooms and cafés as an alternative to public houses. [Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p73].

¹⁹ When Emerson Bainbridge died in 1892 the business came under the control of his sons George and Thomas. George Bainbridge became Chairman in 1912. He built the new entrance to the Bigg Market shop and established the Oak Tea Room. [Airey, A. and J. (1979) *The Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p148].

conceptualisation of shopping as a leisured social activity.²⁰ By presenting it as such, Bainbridge's encouraged shoppers to spend more time in the store. Indeed, the 1912 blotter states:

Shopping is a necessity – we endeavour to make it a pleasure. Our showrooms are fitted with every comfort, warmed in winter and well-ventilated in summer. Our stocks are attractive and comprehensive, including everything needed for personal wear or household adornment. Courtesy and attention are assured and there is no pressure to buy.²¹

By the early twentieth century the firm was able to offer increasingly specialised interior spaces in which goods and services were consumed, and which had the important attribute of staff who were attentive but unobtrusive.

The business strategy pursued by department stores was to closely monitor developments within elite fashionable circles and to make approximations of *haute couture* garments available to the middle classes and upper working class. Key to Bainbridge's success was its ability to keep up with public tastes. Bainbridge's established a 'French Room' in 1846 to fulfil the demand for Parisian fashions. Likewise, the stock in the Ladies' and Misses' department included 'some of the best models of Berlin and Paris manufacture.'²² The firm opened a manufacturing facility in Leeds, which employed over 1000 people. This was vital for coping with the notoriously transient fashions of the Victorian era. According to *The Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review*, 'The public taste is constantly altering, and Messrs. Bainbridge are able to do more than meet this demand – they anticipate it in the cutting room.'²³

²⁰ Another motive for the provision of a tea room may be that Emerson Bainbridge was a supporter of the temperance movement, which was active in Newcastle at this time. [Ibid.].

²¹ Bainbridge & Co. (1912) *Blotter*. Bainbridge's annual 'blotters' included a catalogue of goods for sale, as well as details of tram services into Newcastle and miscellaneous material.

²² Bainbridge & Co. (1887) *Catalogue*, p3.

²³ Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making', p2.



Figure 146 Illustration reproduced in Bainbridge & Co. *Bainbridge Chronicle*, vol.37, no.38, October 1888.

A contemporary image reprinted in the *Bainbridge Chronicle* depicts four Victorian women wearing bustles and voluminous petticoats, as well as diadem bonnets and chignons [Fig. 4].²⁴ The figures affect the 'Grecian bend', the s-shaped silhouette that was popular in the early 1870s. Lancaster identifies another innovation, the provision of ancillary goods such as gloves, hats, ribbons etc.²⁵ These were sold along with dresses, and all were subsumed under the emerging Bainbridge brand. The parasols depicted here were a key accessory at this date. The women are conversing in an idyllic park land, and the spire of St. Nicholas's Cathedral (visible in the distance) locates the scene in Newcastle, although the setting is partially imagined.

The major transformation of the store was the installation of arcade windows in 1911. The shop-front was set back to a depth of seven feet from the plane of the building and two island windows with glass showcases were installed. This measure vastly increased the space available for the display of goods.²⁶ The following remarks, attributed to 'The Press' were used to publicise the alterations:

²⁴ The *Bainbridge Chronicle* was the firm's in-house magazine.

²⁵ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p10.

²⁶ Bainbridge's announced this transformation in an advert printed in Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making', p8].

The latest enterprise of this firm has resulted in the erection of one of the finest arcade arrangements in the country, and the additional space given for the display of their high-class goods will, no doubt, be much appreciated by their large number of customers and the general public.²⁷

The island system allowed consumers to survey goods from four distinct points of view. This created an arcade-like space that exuded prestige: 'In addition to this advantage, the public have the opportunity of promenading the arcade between the island windows and the windows at the front of the shop proper.'²⁸ An illustration depicting the new windows was printed in the same document [Fig. 5].



Figure 147 Bainbridge's arcade windows in 1912. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making').

²⁷ Ibid., p8.

²⁸ Ibid., p8.

The internal division of the store was equally significant. By 1913 Bainbridge's offered a number of separate departments including 'French Fancy Goods and Laces'; 'Silks'; and 'Mantles, Shawls and Costumes'. The more specialised departments included a 'Family Mourning' department, which provided black silk garments, allowing customers to be properly attired at funerals and thereby perpetuating the Victorian cult of mourning.²⁹ Indeed, Bainbridge's were able to offer everything necessary for the fashioning of identity. In this period, the home was increasingly becoming an indicator of status and taste. As well as the *couture* garments sold in the clothing departments, the extensive home furnishing departments sold goods to transform the domestic interior.³⁰

Surprisingly, Bainbridge's also supplied the accoutrements of working class masculinity in the 'Pit Clothing' department located – appropriately enough – in the basement. This fact serves to resituate Newcastle's burgeoning consumer culture in its economic context. The dominance of the coal trade meant that workers' wages were relatively high, giving them disposable income with which to purchase consumer goods. The fact that the firm offered workers' clothing as well as *couture* fashion indicates that it never lost sight of the economic realities that structured the lives of many of its customers. Female departments were for the most part housed away from the public areas and accorded a degree of privacy. For example, the 'Corsets and Underclothing', 'Silks', and 'French Fancy Goods and Laces' departments were all on the second floor.³¹ Male departments were, with a few exceptions, ranged along the Market Street frontage, and thus participated to some extent in the public life of the street. Superficially, then, the internal planning maintained the gendered division of space that prevailed in Victorian society.

During the period under review, urban space was being examined by various thinkers. Georg Simmel's essay 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903) viewed the city as the arena of modernity, a disorientating realm that generated neuroses such as agoraphobia

²⁹ Bainbridge & Co. (1887) *Catalogue*.

³⁰ The cabinet furniture showrooms were located immediately behind the Grainger Street frontage. Bainbridge's exhibited at the Newcastle Exhibition in 1887. According to *The Builder*, 'Messrs. Bainbridge & Co. have also a good suite of rooms in what they rather freely call the Italian Renaissance style; the title may do for want of a better; the general effect of furnishing is rather out of the common way in colour, and mostly rich and good in effect; too much blue in the dining-room upholstery.' [A review of the Newcastle Exhibition published in *The Builder*, vol.62, 25 June 1887, p933].

³¹ Bainbridge & Co. (1913) *The Albert House Yearbook*. Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co.

and claustrophobia.³² Exploring the metropolis as a psychological construction, Simmel contended that the city harboured a nervous and feverish population plagued with alienation and a sense of dislocation. In order to cope with the constant bombardment of sensory stimuli encountered in urban space, the individual must adopt a blasé attitude or detached nonchalance, 'The essence of the blasé attitude consists in the blunting of discrimination . . . The meaning and differing values of things, and thereby the things themselves, are experienced as insubstantial.'³³ Without this psychological defence, Simmel argued that the individual would become catatonic with awe. This gave rise to a new urban figure, the *flâneur* or stroller, who moves through the labyrinthine streets and hidden spaces of the city, partaking of its attractions and fearful pleasures, but remaining somehow detached and apart from it.³⁴ In Simmel's work the anonymous figure of the *flâneur* is assumed to be male, and indeed it has been argued that nineteenth century discourses of the city were inherently masculine.³⁵

Developing this idea, one branch of feminist writing has argued that only men had unrestricted access to urban space. Griselda Pollock, for example, has examined the experience of Impressionist artists in Paris, arguing that by virtue of their gender and social class, these figures were uniquely able to access the bohemian, sequestered and sexually-ambiguous spaces that often formed the subject matter of their paintings.³⁶ Similarly, Elizabeth Wilson's *The Sphinx in the City* (1991) is concerned with bourgeois femininity as constructed in the nineteenth century European city. Wilson's main theme is that women's presence in the city was problematic, raising anxieties about sexual promiscuity. Retracing Walter Benjamin's exploratory perambulations through Berlin, Wilson concludes, 'This sophisticated urban consciousness, which, as we shall see, reached a high point in Europe in

³² Simmel, G. (1903) 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in Harrison, C. and Wood, P. (ed.) (1998) *Art in Theory, 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp130-135.

³³ Ibid., pp132. A result was that city dwellers often failed to recognise their neighbours by sight, making them appear cold and anti-social to those from rural environments. In Simmel's words, 'one nowhere feels as lonely and lost as in the metropolitan crowd.' Simmel says that this sense of alienation can be counteracted by cultivating one's uniqueness. This suggestion goes some way to accounting for the explosion of consumerism associated with modernity.

³⁴ This term was used by Baudelaire in his seminal essay 'The Painter of Modern Life.' See Baudelaire, C. (1995) *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. London: Phaidon. Originally published in French in 1863.

³⁵ See Wilson, E. (1991) *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder and Women*. London: Virago.

³⁶ Pollock, G. (1988) *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art*. London: Routledge. Pollock concludes that female artists were denied access to these spaces, and were therefore unable to participate in a critical area of Impressionist activity. This partly accounts for the marginal status of women artists within male-authored histories of art.

the early twentieth century, was an essentially male consciousness.³⁷ Citing Wilson's work, however, Susana Torre argues that in this branch of scholarship women are seen as 'extensions of the male gaze and as instruments of the emerging consumer society and its transformative powers at the dawn of modernity. In other words, they are described as passive agents rather than as engaged subjects.'³⁸

This is paralleled in Janet Wolff's assertion that only men were able to take 'visual possession of the city.'³⁹ In 'The Invisible Flâneuse and the Literature of Modernity,' Wolff accepts the idea that women were confined to the domestic sphere and thus excluded from the experience of modernity. By extension, Wolff argues that women were marginalised in the key texts on modernity because these focussed on the public space of the street and the world of work. Mica Nava challenges Janet Wolff's influential essay, arguing that the city was 'mythologized' in various ways during the period under review. Commentators emphasised the menacing aspects of modernity – the proximity of strangers, the chaos of sensory stimuli and the pollution, as well as the fear of social and sexual dissolution. Within the literature of modernity, this gave rise to a polarised depiction of women as the urban prostitute and the suburban housewife. Nava argues that this was part of a conscious effort to impose order on the city, but concludes that this insistence on the 'proper' place of women was indirect evidence that women were indeed active in the urban public sphere.⁴⁰

Nava sees the department store as an emphatically modern space, exemplifying the spectacle of modernity as well as the new practices of consumerism.⁴¹ For women, the department store was one of the key points of access into the arena of modernity, in which they were able to 'engage with the maelstrom of modern life.'⁴² Nava questions the assumption that the flâneur was the archetypal modern urban subject, arguing instead that the male flâneur was only the observer and chronicler of modernity, not its personification.⁴³ In their role as consumers, women became the interpreters of modernity, using their taste and

³⁷ Wilson, E. (1991) *The Sphinx in the City*. Wilson is dealing with texts such as Benjamin, W. 'A Berlin Chronicle.' Benjamin presents the prostitute as the archetypal female figure in the city. In his work, too, the city is presented as the playground of the male flâneur and women are present only as objects of the male gaze. Wilson seems to accept that this condition was true not only in Benjamin's writing, but in the actual spaces of modernity.

³⁸ Torre, S. 'Claiming the Public Space: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo' in Borden, I., Penner, B. and Rendell, J. (2000) *Gender, Space, Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: Routledge.

³⁹ Wolff, J. 'The Invisible Flâneuse and the Literature of Modernity' in *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol.2, no.3, 1985, pp37-46.

⁴⁰ Nava, M. (1996) 'Modernity's Disavowal', p42.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp38-76.

⁴² Ibid., p41.

⁴³ Ibid., p40.

judgement to evaluate the new consumer goods, novelties and display strategies encountered in the city.⁴⁴

Taking a similar approach, Lynne Walker's work has mapped out female social networks in Victorian London, arguing that in these spaces affluent and well-educated women were able to cultivate a new range of identities.⁴⁵ In Newcastle, tearooms, cafés and restaurants, together with department stores and new boutiques, provided a comparable arena, facilitating social interaction. Bainbridge's and Fenwick's were increasingly able to offer spaces – often interiors – that were explicitly defined as female and catered solely for female consumers. For example, Bainbridge's offered a Ladies' letter-writing room with special postage collection service, which allowed women to correspond away from the home.⁴⁶ Facilities such as toilets, powder-rooms and letter-writing rooms all helped to enhance the comfort of shopping. By way of enumerating the various departments, Bainbridge's announced that the Newcastle public was using the store as a rendezvous:

We are pleased to find that many Ladies make our Warehouse a place of meeting in 'Town'. It is very central, and in case a place of call, and it is big enough to be private! Of course, the *spot of meeting* should always be named – The 'Blouse' Room! The 'Millinery!' The 'Flower and Perfume' Gallery! The 'Ladies Outfitting' Room! The 'Tea Room' and other of the magnetic points in our Huge Emporium.⁴⁷

Likewise, Fenwick's restaurant was well-known as a meeting place for members of the Suffragette movement.⁴⁸ This suggests that the public/private interface in Victorian society was unfixed and contested. The female spaces of the department store were ambiguous, neither fully public nor fully private. At the same time, the domestic interior was being shaped by the values constructed in the department store, where images of modernity and affluence were displayed and – crucially – made available for purchase. The fact that women were

⁴⁴ Ibid., p48. A more dismissive view is taken by Rachel Bowlby, who argues that women acted as passive agents even in their role as consumers. Taking the extreme view that department stores were sites for the economic and sexual subjection of women, Bowlby argues that women were complying with visual codes established by the retailer in order to 'purchase sexually attractive images for themselves.' She concludes that women became 'prostitutes in their active, commodified self-display.' See Bowlby, R. (1985) *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing and Zola*. London: Methuen, p11.

⁴⁵ Walker, L. 'Vistas of Pleasure: Women consumers of urban space in the West End of London, 1850-1900' in Orr, C.C. (ed.) (1995) *Women in the Victorian Art World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp70-85. Walker demonstrates that the dichotomy of the separate spheres is overly simple. The West End of London was a bastion of male power, but it also supported a number of sites in which women were able to participate in public life. Challenging the notion that the home was a marginal space, Walker reveals that many middle class women in London transformed their home into a 'power base' from which to promote feminist activity and female employment.

⁴⁶ Bainbridge & Co. *Bainbridge Chronicle*, vol.37 no.38, October 1988.

⁴⁷ *Bainbridge's Calendar*, 1910.

⁴⁸ Neville, D. (1992) *The Tyneside Suffrage Movement*. Newcastle Polytechnic: unpublished MPhil thesis.

being induced to enter the city, and were able to do so, demonstrates that the patriarchal division of space was being discretely undermined by the semi-public spaces of the department store.

Nineteenth century discourse was charged with moralistic concerns about consumption, women's presence in the city and the ambiguous nature of the department store. The journalist W.T. Stead led this debate with his discussion of Chicago stores.⁴⁹ The department store was perceived as a marginal space in which conventional inhibitions were relaxed. Women's visibility and relative independence provoked anxiety, as did the mingling of different social classes. The new visual codes of fashion made class distinctions illegible, and were often read as indicators of sexual availability. It has been argued that department stores eroded the authority of fathers and husbands.⁵⁰ Thus, consumerism was widely perceived as a threat to the social order. As discussed in Chapter 2, the redoubtable sobriety of the Bainbridge and Fenwick families would have helped to counteract this perception and was surely important to the working class women (mainly the wives of Methodist miners) to whom respectability was still a key consideration.

Department stores had a major impact on female employment, not only due to the number of women who worked as shop girls; women were also employed as buyers, and were thus involved in crucial aesthetic and economic decision-making. In one respect, however, the spatial organisation of Bainbridge's store was not liberating. In common with many Victorian department stores, most of Bainbridge's employees lived on the premises. This made members of staff heavily dependent upon their employers, and many social commentators were critical of this form of paternalism.⁵¹ From the point of view of store owners, this situation was doubly advantageous: by providing lodgings they were able to pay lower wages and to monitor the conduct of their employees. Living-in permitted long opening

⁴⁹ Stead, W.T. (1894) *If Christ Came to Chicago*. William Thomas Stead (1849-1912) was born in Embleton, Northumberland, the son of a Congregational minister. After working in a merchant's office in Newcastle he became editor of the *Darlington Northern Echo* and was editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* from 1883 to 1889. He died on the Titanic in 1912. An obituary was published in the *New York Times*, 16 April 1912. Available at www.attackingthediabol.co.uk. Accessed 12 September 2008.

⁵⁰ This tendency was identified in Ewen, S. (2001) *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*. New York: Basic Books.

⁵¹ For example, the Shop Assistants' Union was categorically opposed to the practice. See Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p151. C.R. Fender, a well-known critic of the phenomenon, argued that retailers favoured the living-in system as a defence against trade unionism. See Fender, C.R. 'A Few Facts About the Living-In System' in *Economic Review*, April 1894.

hours, reduced labour turnover and instilled discipline.⁵² Bainbridge's enforced a strict division of gender in order to prevent sexual impropriety: women were housed above the shop premises on Market Street, but from 1891 a separate hostel was provided for male employees. Located in Ellison Place and patriotically named Albert House, this accommodated 150 men and boys between the ages of 16 and 37, who were subject to strict codes of discipline.⁵³ All members of staff were required to be indoors by 10 p.m. and all were expected to attend church on Sundays. Bainbridge's favoured Methodists when recruiting new staff.⁵⁴

Paradoxically, Bainbridge's offered the highly unusual service of trade union banner manufacturing, a fact which indicates that while nothing was spared in meeting public demand – even to the point of facilitating working class political agitation – the same liberties were not permitted among the firm's own staff. Bainbridge's regularly arranged social and sporting ventures for its male employees, including football matches, but these were essentially team-building exercises designed to create a more unified workforce.⁵⁵

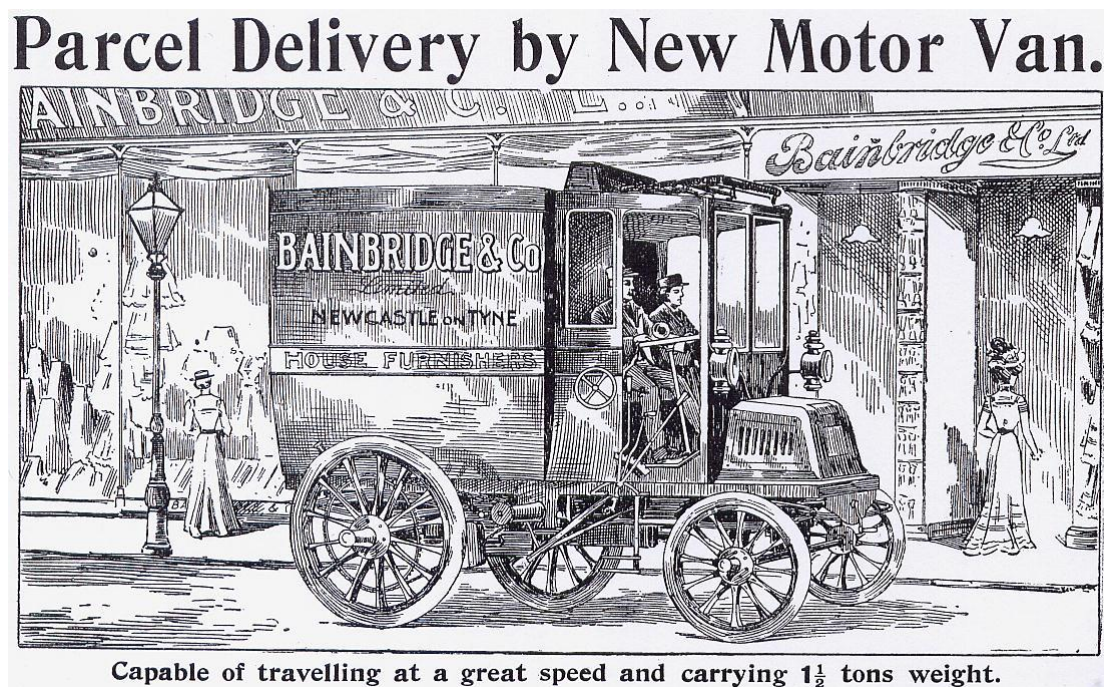


Figure 148 Bainbridge's Panhard Levasser delivery van. (Bainbridge & Co. [1912] 'Clothing and Cap Making').

⁵² Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p126.

⁵³ The Albert House Benevolent Fund was supported by subscriptions from the shop assistants. The firm also had a hostel in Jesmond Road.

⁵⁴ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p128

⁵⁵ Bainbridge & Co. (1913) *The Albert House Yearbook*. Newcastle: Bainbridge & Co.

Consumption is a fundamentally spatial phenomenon, depending not only on points of contact with customers, but on wide-ranging networks of supply and transportation. Newcastle's importance as a centre of consumption depended on its well-developed transport infrastructure. The railway, together with the expanding tram network, enabled the inhabitants of Tyneside to travel into the city in order to consume goods and services. Bainbridge's took advantage of this situation by producing free annual 'blotters' – printed volumes that detailed their goods and included a timetable of train and motorbus services into Newcastle. In 1912 Bainbridge's claimed that 2500 trams passed the Market Street entrance on a daily basis.⁵⁶ From the evidence of the printed timetables it is clear that Newcastle's tram network was considerable, extending from Elswick and Scotswood in the west to Walker and even Wallsend in the east. Further expanding Bainbridge's spatial remit, mail order catalogues meant that people unable to reach Newcastle were still able to consume Bainbridge goods. Representatives from Bainbridge's attended the Paris Exposition of 1900 and purchased a Panhard Levasser motor delivery van, which allowed the firm to extend its already thriving delivery service over a much wider area (as far as Alnwick) [Fig. 6].⁵⁷ These innovations were supported by a sophisticated use of advertising in local and national papers.⁵⁸

Britain's role in international trade expanded greatly during the 1870s and 80s.⁵⁹ Bainbridge's was among the firms able to operate on an international scale. Inspecting Bainbridge's premises in 1912, *The Gentleman's Journal and Gentlewoman's Court Review* remarked that Bainbridge's products were of such high quality that they 'cannot fail to find a market, not merely at home, but also in the colonies, for [they] give new life to the well-known phrase "British and Best."'⁶⁰ Once again, Bainbridge's ability to serve a colonial market depended on Newcastle's industrial success – shipping and rail networks extended Newcastle's supply area around the world. To organise this flourishing international trade a number of foreign consuls established themselves in the city, including officials from Norway,

⁵⁶ Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making', p9.

⁵⁷ According to the *Bainbridge Chronicle*, this was the first motor delivery vehicle in the North of England. [Bainbridge & Co. *Chronicle*, vol.37, no.38, October 1988].

⁵⁸ Department stores capitalised on Britain's expanding print culture by using newspaper advertising. Matthias (1967) argued that British retailers learned this tactic from Thomas Lipton after he returned from the USA in 1869. See Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p161.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p20.

⁶⁰ Bainbridge & Co. (1912) 'Clothing and Cap Making', p5.

Sweden, Argentina and Hawaii.⁶¹ This reminds us that retail and industry were closely related, even though the relationship was complex and shifting.

Mawson, Swan and Morgan

The development of modern retail systems occurred at different rates and was concentrated in different geographical areas. Multiple retailing was well underway in the provinces by the 1880s, but multiple stores were slow to infiltrate Newcastle's retail network.⁶² Multiple stores were able to expand by selling standardised goods and using large-scale distribution systems, but there is evidence that small local traders resented these aggressive strategies. The Cooperative movement, for example, met with considerable hostility in Newcastle.⁶³ Many local retailers were also engaged in small-scale manufacture and the rise of mass produced goods (particularly factory-made shoes) posed an immediate threat to these smaller businesses.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, by the turn of the century Lever Brothers had established a Newcastle branch and a number of multiple confectioners had opened shops in the city.⁶⁵

Another important retailer was Mawson, Swan and Morgan, which has received less attention than either Bainbridge's or Fenwick's, but which was nevertheless an important fixture of Newcastle retail in the early twentieth century. The proliferative firm of Mawson, Swan and Morgan was effectively a department store that operated at various sites across Newcastle; it was at once a stationer, fine art dealer, chemist, photographer, furniture dealer and jeweller. From a chemist's shop in Mosley Street the business expanded in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The firm occupied Nos. 7-11 Grainger Street West, where it ran a picture gallery selling original works and high-quality prints, as well as a circulating library and office furniture showroom. At Nos. 26-32 Grey Street it operated as a stationer, publisher, bookseller, fine art dealer and fancy goods repository [Fig. 7]. It was also listed as a printer, lithographer and engraver at No. 55 Northumberland Street.⁶⁶ According to their

⁶¹ Foreign consuls were based largely in Grey and Grainger Streets, as discussed in Chapter 4. [*Ward's Directory*, various years].

⁶² *Ward's Directory*, various years.

⁶³ Lamb, J. and Warren, S. (1990) *The People's Store: a guide to the North Eastern Co-op's family tree*. Gateshead: North Eastern Co-operative, p8.

⁶⁴ Morrison, K. (2003) *English Shops and Shopping*, p78.

⁶⁵ Jeffries defined multiples as firms that operated at least ten shops. [Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p11].

⁶⁶ *Ward's Directory*, 1905

1909 catalogue, the firm offered 'gifts for every taste and gifts for every occasion.'⁶⁷ Referring to its fine art showrooms the firm announced, 'We are pioneers of Art in the northern counties, and our galleries at Grainger Street West and Grey Street contain very fine examples by well known painters. Our stock is large, choice and comprehensive, and our salons are patronized by many of the best known connoisseurs in the kingdom.'⁶⁸



Figure 149 Mawson, Swan and Morgan's fine art showroom at Nos. 26-32 Grey Street. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [1909] *Gifts for Every Taste and Gifts for Every Occasion*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan and Morgan, p149).

Mawson, Swan and Morgan acquired the Royal Exchange Hotel on Grey Street and replaced it with a new building designed by W.H. Knowles and T.R. Milburn in 1904 [Fig. 8].⁶⁹ Vacillating between the Italianate styles popular in Newcastle and the Baroque style that flourished at the turn of the century, the building was calculated to merge seamlessly into the streetscape, but to simultaneously appeal to the latest tastes. The windows of the second floor have pediments derived from Domenico de Rossi's *Studio d'Architettura Civile* (1702-21).⁷⁰ Engaged Corinthian columns rise from massive bases, which unusually begin at first-floor level, permitting a continuous glazed shop front. In true Italian Renaissance fashion the

⁶⁷ This included jewellery, furniture and a wide range of electroplated goods. See Mawson, Swan and Morgan, (1909) *Gifts for Every Taste*.

⁶⁸ Mawson, Swan and Morgan (c.1910) *Fine Art Photographic Views*, p4.

⁶⁹ Milburn was a partner in the Sunderland-based firm of W. and T.R. Milburn, which produced numerous commercial and public buildings in Sunderland, including the Baroque Empire Theatre (1907). They also designed the Dominion Theatre in London (1928-9). See Johnson, M.A. and Potts, G.R. 'Architects and the Building of Sunderland, 1700-1914' in Cookson, G. (ed.) (2009) *Townscape of Sunderland*. Victoria County History (forthcoming).

⁷⁰ Rossi's three-volume work features engravings of secular and religious architecture built in Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including numerous examples of Baroque architecture. See www.imagesofengland.org.uk. Accessed 11 July 2007.

first floor is pronounced as a *piano nobile*, with tripartite windows under open pediments. The second floor windows are hooded with curved open pediments and adorned with festoons of flowers. The shop front has large areas of plate glass with minute panes of stained glass in the upper portions. The corporate identity of the firm was expressed in a series of red shields marked with the initials M. S. M. The Grey Street building housed a book department selling literary and artistic books, including collections of Japanese art and an anthology of Christina Rossetti's poetry. As a publisher, Mawson, Swan and Morgan produced a number of books that contributed to the evolving discourses of modern Newcastle. *Fine Art Photographic Views of Newcastle, Gateshead, Whitely Bay and District* (c.1912) presented carefully-selected images of the city and surrounding area. Newcastle was portrayed as a shopper's paradise, although Bainbridge's and Fenwick's (the firm's major rivals) were unsurprisingly omitted.⁷¹ Thus, the firm created a small empire of retail outlets across the city. As their catalogue stated, 'The habit of buying at Mawson, Swan and Morgan's is a good habit. It is a rapidly growing habit, and the broad reason is satisfaction.'⁷²



Figure 150 Mawson, Swan and Morgan's Grey Street premises, designed by W.H. Knowles and T.R. Milburn, 1904. (Author's photograph).

⁷¹ Other Mawson, Swan and Morgan publications that promulgated a discourse of the city included Crawhall, J. (1898) *A Beuk o' Newcassel Sangs*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mawson, Swan & Morgan, which celebrated local folk culture, and Mawson, Swan and Morgan (1882) *The Consecration and Enthronement of the First Bishop of Newcastle, Ernest Roland Wilberforce, on July 25th and August 3rd, 1882*. Newcastle: Mawson, Swan & Morgan, which commemorated Newcastle's acquisition of city status.

⁷² Mawson, Swan and Morgan, (1909) *Gifts for Every Taste*, p206.

Fenwick's

During the nineteenth century, the commercial heart of Newcastle gravitated away from the Quayside towards the upper town, with retail culture eventually re-centring on Northumberland Street.⁷³ This was consolidated by the opening of Fenwick's department store in 1882, which transformed Northumberland Street into Newcastle's premier shopping street. In contrast to Bainbridge's store, Fenwick's moved around frequently before establishing a permanent base, operating as dyers in West Blandford Street in 1875-6, and as cabinet makers and grocers at No. 5 Northumberland Street from 1875. In 1882 Fenwick's began offering exclusive tailoring for ladies and three years later the firm moved to its present location on the site of Burnup's former coach factory, a large property that ran back to Eldon Square.⁷⁴

In 1885 two houses became available at No. 37 and 39. These had been built by Alexander Baird, great-grandfather of the actress Dorothea Baird (1875-1933), and had lately been occupied by the doctors Newton and Lightfoot.⁷⁵ Fenwick's demolished the two houses, along with the Oak Leaf public house and two adjoining shops to make way for the expansion of the store. As Lancaster writes, 'Fenwick . . . pioneered Northumberland Street as Newcastle's main thoroughfare, while his son Frederick made it his hobby in life to add to the sprawl of the Northumberland Street premises.'⁷⁶ Fenwick employed W.H. Knowles to design the first shop-front, which featured seven fluted columns with gold leaf decoration.⁷⁷ The shop windows curved in towards the central entrance, where stood a metal statue brandishing a gas lamp. A balustrade ran along the first floor. Knowles's shop-front is depicted in a photograph of a summer sale held in the late 1890s [Fig. 9].

⁷³ Faulkner, T. 'Architecture in Newcastle', p230.

⁷⁴ This business was listed in directories as J. & H. Burnup, coach manufacturers. [*Ward's Directory*, 1869-70].

⁷⁵ When Dorothea Baird married Henry Irving she had her gown designed by Fenwick, with the understanding that it was to be made in the house formerly occupied by her grandfather. [Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p30].

⁷⁶ Pound, R. (1972) *The Fenwick Story*, p84.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp18-19.



Figure 151 Fenwick's summer sale, late 1890s, showing the shop-front designed by W.H. Knowles. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

Fenwick's adopted Bainbridge's policy of clearly pricing its goods to ensure a non-threatening shopping experience. The 1897 catalogue announced that 'Fenwick Ltd. invite the public at all times to walk through the whole of their new premises and inspect the goods and compare prices.'⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Fenwick's aimed to be more exclusive than Bainbridge's and devoted itself to 'good medium and high class trade.'⁷⁹ John J. Fenwick embarked on a commercial programme that brought a note of Parisian elegance to Tyneside. In the 1890s he sent his two sons, Arthur and Frederick, to study Parisian department stores such as Bon Marché. Frederick in particular was entranced by these *grand magasins*, and on returning to Newcastle he convinced his father to adopt many continental innovations, particularly those pertaining to spectacle and theatricality.⁸⁰ J.J. Fenwick had resisted the democratisation of his exclusive store, but after his death in 1905 Arthur and Frederick developed techniques for drawing more and more working class shoppers in and the clientele

⁷⁸ Fenwick (1897) *Catalogue*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰ Lancaster provides an account of Boucicault's Bon Marché store and the influence of the Paris *expositions*. See Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p18. In particular, the buildings erected for the Paris *Exposition* of 1900 popularised Beaux-Arts Classicism throughout Europe. Fenwick's new frontage brought this style to Newcastle.

became remarkably diverse.⁸¹ As well as ordinary shoppers, the store was frequented by aristocrats, the gentry and celebrities such as Dame Ellen Terry. The Duchess of Northumberland was one of Fenwick's customers. Fenwick's developed an extremely wide price range that was tailored to suit this expanded clientele. The fact that classes commingled within department stores represented an immense social shift.

Fenwick's was quick to utilise the emerging medium of advertising to promote the firm both locally and nationally. Their first illustrated advertisement appeared in the *Monthly Chronicle* in September 1890, shrewdly addressing itself to 'England's elite' and bearing a complimentary quotation from *The Queen* [Fig. 10]. Fenwick's placed an illustrated advertisement in the *Daily Graphic* (31 October 1895) and an advertisement on the front page of the first edition of the *Daily Mail* in 1896. J.J. Fenwick designed costumes for the musical *Trilby*, which gave him additional cachet.⁸²

TO ENGLAND'S ELITE.



No. 1. No. 2. No. 3. No. 4. No. 5. No. 6.

OWN MAKE in original types, Black Vicuna Cloth Jackets, lined best Silk, as illustrated, Price 3 Guineas.

These Jackets are made on the premises, are hand-sewn by Men-Tailors, and are formed and finished in perfect taste.

A Selection sent to any address on receipt of satisfactory reference.

OPINIONS OF "The Queen."—We have on previous occasions directed attention to the beauty and originality which characterises the garments that emanate from the firm of Mr. J. J. Fenwick.

4th ESTATE. "The Lady."—Extremely *chic*—specimens of skill and notable evidences of the excellence of Mr. Fenwick's creations.

J. J. FENWICK, Ladies' Tailor, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

BANKERS—LAMETON & CO.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The beautiful texture in Black Vicuna, from which these Jackets are made, is specially manufactured for Mr. Fenwick, and, being an exclusive material, cannot be obtained elsewhere.

Figure 152 Fenwick's advertisement. (*Monthly Chronicle*, September 1890).

⁸¹ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p30.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p28.

A milestone in the expansion of the firm was the opening of a London branch at No. 63 New Bond Street in 1891. Located on a corner site, this building was ornamented with columns in a giant Corinthian Order, serpentine balconies and prominent dormers. The opening of a London outlet gave Fenwick's a great deal of prestige. In fact, the 1897 catalogue proclaims that the 'object in view' was to compete with the large London drapery houses.⁸³ In a local context, it was also necessary to compete with established Newcastle stores and in 1897 Fenwick achieved a major coup by appointing William Lawrence, general manager of Coxon's drapery store for the past twenty years, to Fenwick's Board of Directors. Under Lawrence's leadership, Fenwick's underwent extensive organisational and design changes. The ground floor was remodelled to produce a vast unimpeded space, illuminated with natural light [Fig. 11].



Figure 153 Fenwick's showrooms. Illustration reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album, 1882-1982*. Newcastle: Fenwick Ltd.

Lawrence announced that 'with the new premises just completed, all purchases can now be made on the ground floor, under most perfect light, the chief essential to comfortable and enjoyable shopping.'⁸⁴ He also boasted that the newly completed hall was larger than the Newcastle Assembly Rooms.⁸⁵ Lawrence was determined that the store should offer a modern shopping experience that was fully integrated into the social lives of its customers. The Boudoir Tea Room offered tea at the relatively high price of 2d. per cup. This was an

⁸³ Fenwick (1897) *Catalogue*.

⁸⁴ Lawrence, W. 'A Special Announcement'. [Ibid].

⁸⁵ Ibid.

obvious counterpart to Bainbridge's Oak Tea Room, and the very name evokes an atmosphere of femininity and privacy. Lawrence evidently knew that spaces of respite and the provision of refreshments would prolong the duration of shopping trips, thus giving patrons more opportunity to consume Fenwick's goods. At the same time, the tearoom was a space which facilitated women's participation in a reciprocal process of looking and being seen. Thus it can be argued that women were both the object and the holder of the gaze, simultaneously admiring and parading the latest fashions.

During the early years of Fenwick's existence the store was represented by the shop-front designed by W.H. Knowles. In 1913 Fenwick's underwent a thorough remodelling to designs by Marshall and Tweedy of 17 Eldon Square. The old shop-front was demolished and replaced with an elaborate new façade, five storeys high and featuring a 116 feet wide shop-front [Fig. 12]. The building was entirely faced with white Carrara ware manufactured by Doulton.⁸⁶ Re-opened within a year, the Northumberland Street frontage evoked the Beaux Arts grandeur of Bon Marché and other Parisian stores. Service states that French Classicism had been unpopular during the high point of Baroque influence and the patriotic fervour that fuelled it, but argues that the Beaux Arts manner came into vogue in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸⁷ French influence is apparent in the prominent mansard roof running between the corner pavilions, and the deeply incised, fully-rounded columns are reminiscent of Selfridge's Oxford Street store, opened in 1909.⁸⁸ The columns are ornamented with highly-stylised floral decoration suspended from the capitals. Interlinked dormers and balustrades rise above the cornice. The rebuilding was completed in 30 weeks by J. and W. Lowery. According to the *Newcastle Journal*, 'The work altogether constitutes something of a record in the way of quick demolition and rebuilding, for less than seven months has elapsed since Messrs. J. and W. Lowery commenced the contract.'⁸⁹ The building was received as 'a good thing for the labour market, as 200 men have been

⁸⁶ 'Carrara ware' was the name given to the white terracotta manufactured by Doulton. It was so called because it resembled the white marble of Carrara. This material was rare in Newcastle at the time, but following the influence of Fenwick's it was soon utilised by several other shops.

⁸⁷ Service argues that this shift was part of a reversion to 'Classical good taste.' The flamboyance of the Baroque style fell out of favour and the elegance of French Classicism gained support. See Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, pp8, 13 and 158. Along with aesthetic influence, the Beaux Arts educational system of independent *ateliers* was promoted by architectural educationalists such as C.H. Reilly at the University of Liverpool. This is discussed in Powers, A. 'Edwardian Architectural Education: A Study of Three Schools of Architecture' in *AA Files*, vol.5, 1884, pp47-59.

⁸⁸ The frontage of Selfridge's store, with its powerful colonnade, was designed by the American architect Francis Swales who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. See Service, A. (1977) *Edwardian Architecture*, p168.

⁸⁹ *Newcastle Journal*, 10 October 1913.

employed on the building, sometimes in double shifts.⁹⁰ According to the *North Mail*, the alterations gave 'a most refreshing and lightsome tone to the busy thoroughfare.'⁹¹



Figure 12 Fenwick's, Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

Internal modifications also took place. Many writers have depicted stores as realms of fantasy, seductive environments that used the conventions of theatre and later of cinema.⁹² Fenwick's transformed itself into such a place. A foyer lit with glazed domes was installed inside the main entrance.⁹³ The walls were lined with mosaic panels executed by Italian craftsmen, and black and white rubber tiling was used for the floor. The centrepiece was a marble fountain featuring a life-size statue of Cupid. Produced in Italy, this was a replica of a fountain excavated from the ruins of Pompeii. The foyer was received as 'a really remarkable instance of modern shop fitting, and one of the most beautiful of the innovations.'⁹⁴ Perhaps showing the influence of the recently re-vamped Central Arcade, the rest of the ground floor was divided into three arcades lined with Italian marble. The *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*

⁹⁰ *North Mail*, 10 October 1913.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Nava, M. (1996) 'Modernity's Disavowal', p48.

⁹³ Artificial lights were suspended from the ceiling in order to extend shopping hours. See *North Mail*, 10 October 1913.

⁹⁴ *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 9 October 1913.

observed that, 'Needless to say, the arcade principle places at the command of the firm unlimited possibilities for the effective display of everything that pertains to the world of fashion for women, and it also admits of the public being able to witness them without incurring the inconveniences of the pavement.'⁹⁵ This is a clear indication that many affluent consumers were beginning to prefer the sanitised and regulated spaces of the arcade to conventional urban space. Such environments used subtle disciplinary tactics to exclude 'undesirable' users and forms of behaviour. This is a theme that will be discussed in more detail below.

Equally significant was the reorganisation of the various departments. The ground floor was devoted to general trade; the first floor was set aside for the annual Christmas Bazaar, a major event in Fenwick's calendar; a counting house was located on the second floor; a staff kitchen and dining rooms (seating 400) were on the third floor; and staff dressing rooms and recreation rooms were on the fourth floor.⁹⁶ There were 22 separate retail departments in all, the largest being the 'beautiful white Parisian showroom, panelled in oak in the same style as the liner Alsatian's state rooms.'⁹⁷ This featured a specially-woven Donegal carpet and mahogany showcases for the display of furs. Following the example of Bainbridge's two years previously, Fenwick's installed arcade windows along the shop-front. These were ornamented with modelled brass frames and oxidised silver electric candelabra. The *Illustrated Chronicle* commented that the windows were built as rooms with 'chaste interiors in white decoration,'⁹⁸ thus providing a large neutral space for displaying goods. This space was used strategically: Fenwick's had six 'exclusive departments,' including dressmaking, furs, millinery, young ladies' costumes, mantles and tailored gowns; each of these was represented by a window display in the main frontage, which suggests that Fenwick's had a sophisticated understanding of the role of spectacle within shopping practices. This was a principle learned from Boucicault, proprietor of Bon Marché, who recognised that spectacle was integral to the two-way process of display and consumption.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 9 October 1913.

⁹⁶ Eventually, the first floor was converted into a large open-plan showroom with fitting rooms down the south wall and a ladies' toilet in the North West corner.

⁹⁷ *North Mail*, 10 October 1913.

⁹⁸ *Illustrated Chronicle*, 10 October 1913.

⁹⁹ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p17.

Taking a pragmatic view, Lancaster points out that as well as forming a 'phantasmagorical dream world' window displays also facilitated the meticulous practice of price comparison.¹⁰⁰

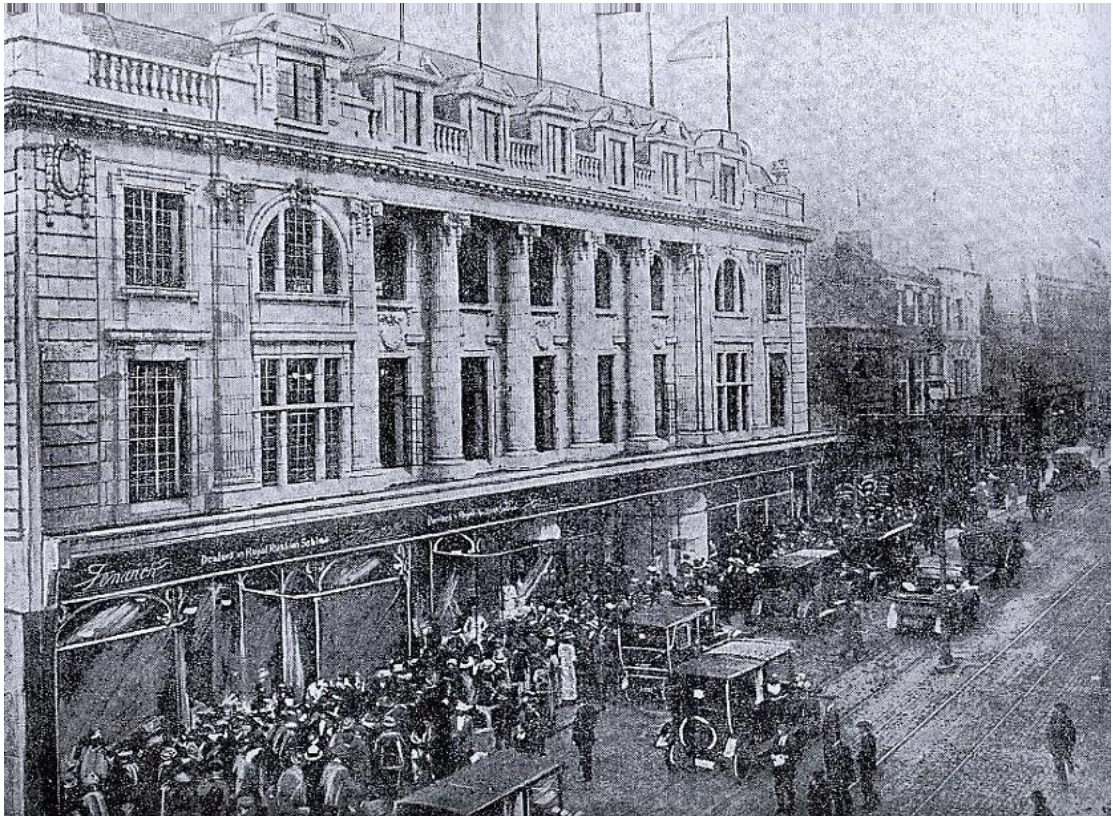


Figure 13 Reopening of Fenwick's. (*Newcastle Journal*, 10 October 1913).

The reopening of the store was a skilfully-handled publicity event, and was widely reported in the local press. A crowd of 20,000 people, predominantly women, attended the opening at three o'clock on Thursday 9 October 1913: 'From that hour to closing time the various beautiful salons were thronged with ladies, who found therein much to delight – and purchase.'¹⁰¹ In a characteristic act of showmanship, Fenwick's hired Amers's orchestra to perform during the occasion. Photographs published in local newspapers reveal a festival atmosphere as frenzied crowds of shoppers inspect the arcade windows. The most affluent consumers arrived by car [Fig. 13]. Unmistakably heralding modernity, the cars were beginning to make the tramlines laid in the street look anachronistic. In fact, Fenwick's was keen to invoke the allure of the motorcar when marketing its products.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p174.

¹⁰¹ *North Mail*, 10 October 1913.

In publicity material from 1910, Fenwick's reproduced an image from *The Motor* showing two ladies boarding a car which waits at the curb [Fig. 14]. This was a generic scene – the buildings in the background do not correspond to anything on Northumberland Street at this date – but used in this context the image associates Fenwick's with the modern lifestyle represented by the car. Another advertisement announced that Fenwick's specialised in bonnets for motoring [Fig. 15]. For those who valued stasis over rapid change, the negative aspects of modernity were addressed and ameliorated in a third advertisement: 'An old fashioned doctor deplored the passing of bonnets on the ground that their loss would mean many troubles. The modern generation may bless their revival as aids to ear savings in these nerve-destroying days of motors, hooters, street calls, and whistles.'¹⁰² By 1910 'motor coats' were being marketed to 'the Automobilist who wishes to travel in comfort and to obtain the full benefits of rapid transport, either in open or closed car.'¹⁰³



Figure 14 Advertisement from 1910, reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album, 1882-1982*. Newcastle: Fenwick Ltd.

¹⁰² Advert from 1910, reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album, 1882-1982*. Newcastle: Fenwick Ltd.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

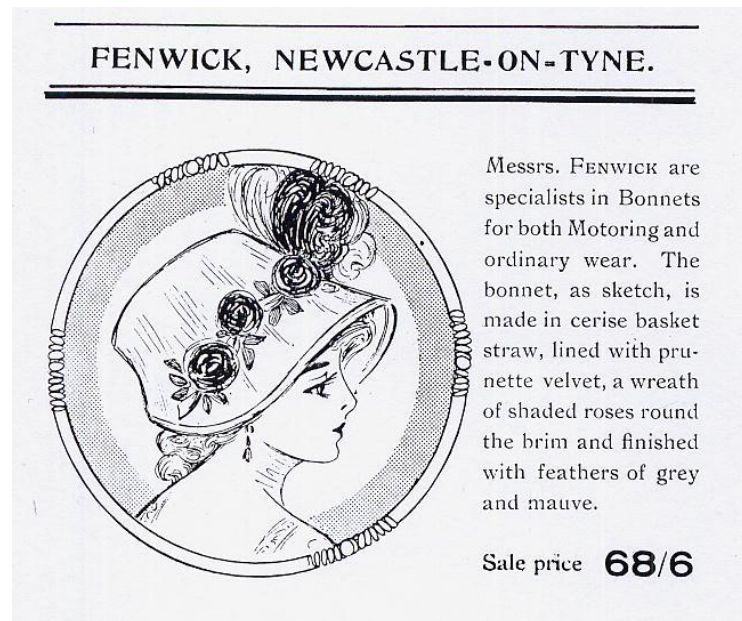


Figure 15 Advertisement from 1910, reprinted in Fenwick Ltd. (1982) *The Fenwick Album*.

Overall, public reaction to the renewed store was enthusiastic. The *North Mail* commented, 'Now that the structure is finished it is a notable addition to the beautiful edifices with which commerce from time to time adorns the Northern capital, and Messrs. Fenwick must have the heartiest congratulations in their enterprise.'¹⁰⁴ In relaying the new retail experience to its readers, the *North Mail's* account was gender specific: 'On entering the main doorway in Northumberland Street, the customer will find herself in a magnificent modern foyer, lit by triple glass domes, illuminated by the concealed type of reflected light associated with cinema palaces.'¹⁰⁵ The allusion to cinemas links department stores with another of the key sites of modernity – the dream palaces that were beginning to circulate images of glamour and status. Women encountered new representations of femininity in the cinema, and these began to shape patterns of consumption.¹⁰⁶ The new store had a positive impact on the streetscape, boosting its prestige. A photograph from 1915 reveals Fenwick's pristine white-glazed façade [Fig. 16]. Well-dressed shoppers testify to a thriving consumer culture. Passing motorcars and bicycles indicate that modern modes of transport were being adopted in Newcastle. The *Newcastle Journal* recognised the building's status as a spectacle:

¹⁰⁴ *North Mail*, 10 October 1913.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Nava has analysed the role of cinema within shopping practices. See Nava, M. (1996) 'Modernity's Disavowal.'

There is no mistaking the enterprise of this firm; it is made evident to the man in the street in the splendid façade of the new building, which is at once a business asset and a notable addition to the architectural features of the city. With its gleaming white walls, beautifully carved columns and ornamentations, all in Carrara ware, and its antique latticed windows, it cannot fail to attract attention.¹⁰⁷



Figure 16 Northumberland Street c. 1914. (Newcastle City Library).

Northumberland Street

At the outset of the period, Northumberland Street was home to a wide range of businesses, but was not well-developed as a site of retail. John Wesley's Orphan House and Wesleyan Schools were established at No. 49 and the Royal Victoria Blind Asylum was at No. 79. The existent retail was typified by the fishmonger R.Y. Lilburn (No. 57), the furrier A. Fox (No. 87), and the hide and skin broker W. Wilson (No. 68). A more sophisticated retail culture began to germinate in the 1870s, and Fenwick's relocation to Northumberland Street was both a symptom of and a factor in this. At No. 1, the perfumer T. Richardson replaced the pawnbroker who had previously occupied this prominent building. The silk mercer H. Lowes occupied extensive properties at Nos. 3, 5 and 7. The street accommodated two Berlin Wool repositories – Mrs. M.I. Muras (Nos. 20 and 22) and Mrs. H. Stafford (No. 81).¹⁰⁸ J.M. Rimmington & Co., sewing machine manufacturers, were at No. 66. The homeopathic

¹⁰⁷ *Newcastle Journal*, 10 October 1913.

¹⁰⁸ *Ward's Directory*, 1871-2.

chemist J. Ritson, who was already established on Blackett Street, opened another shop at No. 20 Northumberland Street.¹⁰⁹ Luxury goods sellers included Dellow and Forbes, perfumers (No. 4), Miss E. Brown, fancy repository (No. 61), Misses De Buck and Hewer, milliners (No. 105) and Miss E. Sherwood, dressmaker (No. 111).¹¹⁰ The music sellers Alderson and Brentnall, occupied No. 89, along with the architect M. Reed. Clearly, a substantial retail culture existed before J.J. Fenwick established his department store. Despite the increase in commercial activity, the architectural redevelopment of Northumberland Street was not as impressive as that of Blackett Street.¹¹¹



Figure 17 Northumberland Street in 1897. (Jack Philips Photograph Collection).

The building of Fenwick's stimulated the development of Northumberland Street. Due to the increased levels of trade that Fenwick's drew to the vicinity, shops selling luxury or novelty goods proliferated. Significantly, there were many married and single women catering to female consumers, including the dressmakers Mrs M. Turner (No. 119) and Mrs S.E. Peterson (No. 129). Lace was an essential item within the fashion industry; Miss M. Wannop operated as a lace mercer at No. 143 and Misses E. and E. Symonds ran a lace warehouse

¹⁰⁹ *Ward's Directory*, 1875-6.

¹¹⁰ *Ward's Directory*, 1877-8.

¹¹¹ As Mike Barke observes, 'in contrast with the former commercial core in Grainger Town, the buildings are generally undistinguished.' [Barke, M. (2002) *Discovering Cities*, p42].

at No. 56.¹¹² These new shops represent the beginnings of a specialised boutique culture. Madelon et Cie, milliners, were established at No. 99 in 1883-4, the name evoking the same sense of Parisian chic as Fenwick's decorous façade. Other shops included R. Macfarlane, tailor, auctioneer and upholsterer (No. 128), and G. Kuss and Son, clockmakers (No. 6). To these were soon added H.C. Calley, confectioner (No. 29), Miss E. Brown, toy dealer (No. 65) and Miss L.A. Procter, china dealer (No. 87).¹¹³ The street became particularly important in the sale of alcohol. J. Sanderson and Son, wine merchants, had a shop at No. 157 and the North of England Wine and Spirit Company was at No. 146. An image from 1897 reveals that the lower part of Northumberland Street was still architecturally underdeveloped by the turn of the century, despite flourishing trade [Fig. 17]. The draper and ladies' tailor H.S. Stockdale is based in a plain building (No. 8), although the ground floor has a substantial modern shop-front with balustrades, keyed arches and pilasters. This area was substantially redeveloped after the turn of the century.



Figure 18 Northumberland Street in 1949. (Newcastle City Library).

¹¹² *Ward's Directory*, 1883-4.

¹¹³ *Ward's Directory*, 1889-90.

A photograph taken in 1949 shows the buildings at the base of Northumberland Street, including the premises formerly utilised by the boot maker Amos Atkinson [Fig. 18]. Atkinson moved to No. 12 Northumberland Street in 1892 and operated from a diminutive building that also accommodated the furrier H. Denley.¹¹⁴ At the corner of Northumberland Street and New Bridge Street, the Pearl Assurance Company erected a building to designs by William Hope (1904, demolished).¹¹⁵ This is depicted in a photograph from c.1930 [Fig. 19]. An elongated turret echoes that of the Laing Art Gallery nearby. The façade is modulated with bay windows and the pilasters are chamfered, giving an impression of lightness. The plasticity of the stonework and the interplay between solid and void suggest the influence of Art Nouveau. The building also accommodated the County of Northumberland Education Committee and the City of Newcastle Building Society.¹¹⁶



Figure 19 Pearl Assurance building, Northumberland Street c.1930, designed by William Hope, 1904. (Newcastle City Library).

¹¹⁴ *Ward's Directory*, 1895. For further information of this store, see TWAS - DT.AA, records Amos Atkinson Ltd. Boot and shoemakers and retailers of Newcastle, 1812-1965.

¹¹⁵ William Hope's work has been partially explored in Pearson, L.F. 'The Architecture of Entertainment Run Riot: William Hope of Newcastle, 1862-1907' in *Northern History*, vol.27, 1991, pp184-197.

¹¹⁶ *Ward's Directory*, 1905.

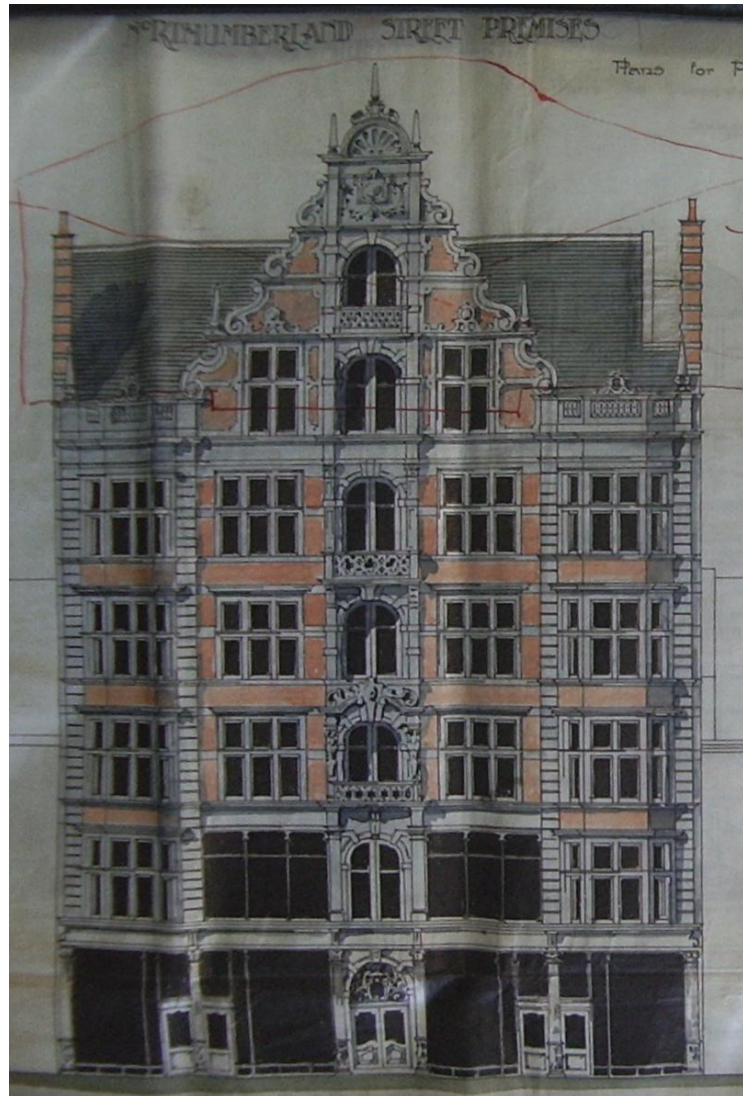


Figure 20 Nos. 54 and 56 Northumberland Street. (TWAS - T186/15642).

Northumberland Street was partially rebuilt during the period, but much of this architecture was swept away in the wake of twentieth century development, meaning that it has to be reconstituted through surviving plans and photographs. The architects Oliver and Leeson designed an important commercial building at Nos. 54 and 56 Northumberland Street in June 1890 [Fig. 20], which closely resembled the buildings designed by the same firm in the Gallowgate area (see Chapter 4).¹¹⁷ Thomas Oliver had been based at No. 66 ½ Northumberland Street in 1873-79, and this earned the firm a number of commissions from local retailers. Above the plate glass shop front, twin oriel windows surge up through four

¹¹⁷ The site had previously been occupied by W.H. Clare, ladies' outfitter, and S. Nairn and Son, nurserymen. Nairn remained in this building. [*Ward's Directory*, 1890].

storeys. Between them rises a richly-ornamented Dutch gable with finials, volutes and a shell-shaped dormer. The central bay is adorned with balconies, keystones and pilasters. Above the central entrance a series of deep portals are incised into the façade. This plan was passed by the Town Improvement Committee in September 1902. An alternative design produced in October 1902 was not executed, although a delicate cupola rising above the rightmost bay was incorporated into the completed building.¹¹⁸ The interior housed four luxury shops, each of which was entered through a separate door in the façade. Between them ran a long entrance corridor leading to a bicycle store and electric lift. Two large showrooms were at the rear. By 1895 the building accommodated a Ladies' Club and the Ladies' Work Depot, suggesting that it formed an important meeting place for women, both in terms of sociability and prospective employment. In the twentieth century, the building became Callers' department store. A photograph from 1958 shows Callers' on the extreme right [Fig. 21]. This building was destroyed in an infamous fire in December 1969.



Figure 21 Northumberland Street in 1958. (Newcastle City Library).

By 1910, Northumberland Street supported a number of cafés and tea rooms, including F. Robinson's café at No. 9, Gregson's Café at No. 52 and the Elite Tea Rooms at

¹¹⁸ See TWAS - T186/15642, plans for Nos. 54 and 56 Northumberland Street, by Oliver and Leeson, dated June 1890.

No. 41. Their presence suggests that Northumberland Street had become a site of leisured consumption analogous to Blackett Street. The area was also notable for a number of public houses operated by Newcastle's leading publicans. F.M. Laing had public houses at Nos. 9 and 29.¹¹⁹ Robert Deuchar owned the Ord Arms Inn at No. 13 and by 1914 had established the Northumberland Arms at No. 75.¹²⁰ The wine merchants J. Gibb and Co. were based at No. 18 ½ and Newcastle Breweries operated as a wine merchant at No. 157. Additionally, the Newcastle Chess Club was at No. 38 and Newcastle Whist Club at No. 50. Thus, Northumberland Street seems to have become a focal point for Newcastle's social networks. By the end of the period, retail culture was flourishing. Miss M. Short, milliner, operated at No. 63 and the important firm of H. Chapman and Co., upholsterers, was at No. 83. Other shops included Rainbow and Sons, confectioners (No. 116) and Alfred's, fancy dealers (No. 77). There were also some surprising ventures, including Miss Miller, masseuse (No. 144) and the Order of Druids Friendly Society (No. 52).¹²¹



Figure 22 Nos. 61-63 Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

¹¹⁹ *Ward's Directory*, 1879-80

¹²⁰ *Ward's Directory*, 1914.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

The jewellers Summerfield and Co. erected a shop at Nos. 61-63, with twin dormers and an array of stained glass windows advertising 'cutlery' and 'clocks' [Fig. 22]. The firm traded here for over 60 years. No. 45 Northumberland Street was one of the most lavish buildings in the vicinity [Fig. 23]. Created by Boot's, chemists, the façade had four statues of famous Newcastle figures: Sir Henry Percy (1366-1403), who was known as 'Harry Hotspur' and won renown at the Battle of Otterburn; Roger Thornton (d. 1429), a Newcastle merchant and MP who secured for the town immunity from the Sheriff of Northumberland; Sir John Marley (1590-1673), a supporter of Charles II who was imprisoned for defending the castle against the Scots; and Thomas Bewick (1755-1828), the celebrated Newcastle naturalist and engraver.¹²² The building was designed by M.V. Treleaven, architect to the Boot's Corporation, which took over the premises formerly occupied by Inman. Plans were submitted on 30 October 1912. The building was opened in 1913.



Figure 23 No. 45 Northumberland Street, designed by M.V. Treleaven, 1912-13. (Author's photograph).

¹²² Usherwood, P. et al. (2000) *Public Sculpture of North East England*.



Figure 24 North end of Northumberland Street in 1897. (Newcastle City Library).

The north end of Northumberland Street was slow to develop. A photograph from 1897 reveals that the west side of the street was still dominated by plain brick buildings, a feature which has persisted to this day [Fig. 24]. However, the Grand Hotel and Assembly Rooms on Barras Bridge are visible beyond, and their presence helped to turn Northumberland Street into an axial route, further encouraging the flow of pedestrians and traffic.¹²³ The ornate Tudor-Gothic shop belonging to the cabinet makers Bechstein & Co. (No. 125) provides a note of architectural sophistication.¹²⁴ A Servants' Free Registry is nearby, indicating that domestic service was still an important part of Newcastle's social structure. Visible across the street is No. 132-134, an inventive corner building with a single-bay frontage to Northumberland Street and five bays to Ridley Place, with a delicate turret on the corner [Fig. 25]. Finely modelled architraves appear over the windows.

¹²³ The Grand Hotel and Assembly Rooms were designed by Lamb, Armstrong and Knowles, 1889-91. See *Building News*, vol.61, 13 November 1891, p680 and plate.

¹²⁴ *Ward's Directory*, 1905.



Figure 25 No. 132-134 Northumberland Street. (Author's photograph).

It seems that the consumer culture flourishing on Northumberland Street had a transformative effect on the surrounding area. Built on a continuous axis with Northumberland Street, Pilgrim Street has perhaps been underestimated as a site of retail. A number of shops sprang up to take advantage of the trade filtering down from Fenwick's and other important stores. A photograph from c.1912 shows the junction of the two streets, the division signalled by the Art Nouveau dome and turret of the Pearl Assurance Co. [Fig. 26]. As the image reveals, the architecture of Pilgrim Street shows a clear division. The west side was lined with Tyneside Classical buildings erected during the Grainger development of the 1830s. These marked the eastern boundary of Grainger's central core. The east side was initially made up of modest brick buildings, but many of these were replaced during the period. The headquarters of the Northern Conservative Club, designed by Cackett and Burns Dick (1909-12, demolished), rises prominently from a two-stage rusticated base.¹²⁵ Shop

¹²⁵ This building was discussed in *Building News*, vol.96, 5 March 1909, p353.

fascias testify to an eclectic range of businesses, including Fenwick's laundry and dry cleaners, and a Turkish bath.¹²⁶



Figure 26 Looking north up Pilgrim Street c.1912, with Northumberland Street visible in the distance. (Newcastle City Library).

The commodification of space

The rise of Newcastle's sophisticated consuming public engendered new types of urban space, particularly the ambiguous, semi-public spaces of the department store. These developments were underpinned by civic improvements initiated by the Corporation. In 1886 Newcastle Corporation began a major programme of urban renewal, which involved repaving the streets at a cost of £30,000. Commencing in Blakett Street, this scheme encompassed the full expanse of the Grainger development.¹²⁷ Newcastle's central area was thereby transformed into a sedate and consistent space free from muddy streets, loose paving stones and other perils that might impede the pursuit of urban leisure. Following Lefebvre's assertion that space is the medium through which the power of dominant groups is exercised, it can be argued that the forces of capitalism modified urban space in order to facilitate consumption.

¹²⁶ Baths were popular in Newcastle in the late nineteenth century. The Corporation built a number of public baths and wash-houses in working class areas of the city for the sake of hygiene. The architect Thomas Oliver Junior published a book on the subject entitled *Baths and Wash-houses: their intention, construction and cost* (1851).

¹²⁷ This programme was documented in *Building News*, vol.50, 7 May 1886, p764. The major thoroughfares were repaved with granite blocks. The work was spread over six years and was supervised by City Engineer W.G. Laws.

This involved opening up the city's spaces, forming unrestricted highways of commerce, and creating an arena in which the spectacle of consumption could be contained. The renewal programme greatly benefited Newcastle's retail functions. In particular, the streets became a venue for the practice of promenading. Ostensibly a leisurely walk, the promenade was also a purposeful display of the taste, wealth and status of the consumer and was extended into key spaces of consumption, including department stores, shops, cafés and tearooms. As the city increasingly came to be perceived as the arena for these practices, traditional aspects of urban space came under scrutiny.



Figure 27 Itinerant street trader on Northumberland Street. (Newcastle City Library).

It should be remembered that the streets themselves formed a fluid, unfixed arena for retail, as they were populated by itinerant street traders, catering to a different class of consumers, specifically those who could not afford to shop in department stores. These traders did not directly affect the built fabric of the city, although many had ties to specific

spaces within the urban matrix.¹²⁸ One of these figures is depicted in a photograph surviving in the collection of Newcastle City Library [Fig. 27]. In this case, the location can be pinpointed fairly accurately – the trader stands on Northumberland Street in front of Miss Werner's High School of Music and R. Waugh's Circulating Library at No. 135. The ironmonger George Storey's shop at No. 137 is also visible.¹²⁹ Census figures suggest that there were 14,662 hawkers and peddlers in Britain in 1841. Due to the nature of their trade, however, Alexander (1967) persuasively suggests that census records considerably underestimate their numbers.¹³⁰ The presence of these traders emphasises the transitory nature of retail patterns, demonstrating that the spatial arena of consumption was in constant flux.

Municipal programmes of urbanisation and gentrification were prompted by anxieties about the nature of urban space, anxieties that were becoming widespread towards the end of the nineteenth century. In a pioneering study of European shopping arcades, J.F. Geist observed that across Europe suspicions arose about the safety, hygiene and moral integrity of the city.¹³¹ Newcastle Council took an active role in ensuring that the city's public spaces and retail sites were placid and unthreatening. In 1879, for example, a deputation of shopkeepers whose premises bounded the Bigg Market complained to the Council that the nature of the trade conducted in the market itself was disrupting their business.¹³² The vigorous trade that occurred here on a daily basis is depicted in Fig 28. The space is crowded with stalls, traders and working class shoppers. However, the image also depicts the increasingly grand premises that were growing up around the space, preserving its form, but irrevocably changing its character. The Half Moon Chambers public house is visible (1902-4, by Benjamin Simpson). Most significantly, the Town Hall buildings (demolished) appear in the background, presiding over the space. As the surrounding buildings became increasingly sophisticated, the new shop-keepers objected to the rambunctious trade taking place in the Bigg Market, and petitioned the Council to bring it under control. The Council

¹²⁸ In some cases these were well-known local characters. 'Shoe Lace Tommy' was a familiar figure in the 1870s, and a Mrs. Richardson sold fruit and vegetables outside the Central Station.

¹²⁹ It is more difficult to date the photograph because each of these businesses was listed from 1900 to 1912. [Ward's *Directory*, various years].

¹³⁰ Alexander quoted in Benson, J. and Shaw, G. (eds.) (1992) *Evolution of Retail Systems*, p54.

¹³¹ For example, J.F. Geist views the Garden City movement, which was gaining support at this time, as a response to the perceived dangers of urban space. [Geist, J.F. (1983) *Arcades: The History of a Building Type*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, p79.]

¹³² These businesses included paper merchants, watchmakers, jewellers and druggists, as well as Bainbridge's Oak Tea Room. [Ward's *Directory*, various years].

responded by passing a series of bye-laws designed to establish order and decorum in the market.¹³³ This signals the emerging division between Newcastle's traditional working class market culture and the new, well-appointed shops catering to affluent consumers.



Figure 28 Bigg Market c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*). Bainbridge's Oak Tea Room is visible on the extreme left.

J.F. Geist attributes the decline in popularity of shopping arcades to anxieties about the dubious morality of the city. However, there was a major revival of arcade-building in Britain in the late nineteenth century and it could be argued that this was an attempt to regulate and sanitise urban space in response to these very anxieties.¹³⁴ Morrison suggests that the provision of elite shopping districts depended on the exclusion of 'rough market traders'.¹³⁵ In some cases, retailers took it upon themselves to provide spaces that were free of the perceived disorder and uncleanness of the street. The beginnings of this process can be seen in the erection of well-lit, well-ventilated arcades lined with pristine glazed tiles and

¹³³ For example, the Council byelaws stated that, 'No person resorting to the Market Place . . . shall, by calling out or otherwise, cause any annoyance in the Market Place.' [Newcastle Council (1880) *Proposed Byelaws for Regulating the Cloth Market, Groat Market and Bigg Market*, in Local Tracts, D50 L042].

¹³⁴ Jane Rendell sees arcades as one of the new types of urban space created by, and forming the arena of, consumer capitalism. She uses the arcade to challenge the 'separate spheres' ideology that divided the home from work, men from women and production from reproduction. To Rendell, the arcade was an ambiguous space that existed between the poles of this binary opposition: it was neither wholly public nor private and was given over to consumption, which was neither simply productive nor reproductive. See Rendell, J. 'Subjective Space: A Feminist Architectural History of the Burlington Arcade' in McCorquodale, D., Rüedi, K. and Wigglesworth, S. (eds.) (1996) *Desiring Practices: Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*. London: Black Dog Publishing, pp216-233.

¹³⁵ Morrison, K. (2003) *English Shops and Shopping*, p32.

supervised by private wardens.¹³⁶ Shopping arcades represented one of the most specialised forms of retail architecture. Devoted to the display of luxury and novelty goods, they catered to affluent consumers; indeed, as Geist says, the form developed specifically as a 'means of marketing the products of a blossoming luxury goods industry.'¹³⁷ As Jane Rendell argues, these goods had to be presented not as objects with specific use-value, but as 'pure commodities,' divorced from the context of their production. Most arcades were speculatively built by private developers – they were privately-owned zones within the public realm. To support this function the internal spaces had to be controlled. Arcades were patrolled by beadles who controlled access to the space and regulated behaviour within it. It can be argued that arcades constituted a sanitised form of urban space for middle class consumers in which the controversial and unpalatable elements of the street had been suppressed.

Arcades had been popular throughout the nineteenth century and Newcastle possessed an early example. The Royal Arcade was designed by John Dobson and built by Richard Grainger (1831-2, demolished), closely following the design of John Nash's Royal Opera Arcade in London, but on a larger scale.¹³⁸ The long interior space was covered with a barrel-vaulted ceiling and lit with glazed domes. The walls were lined with Corinthian columns. The elegant design prompted the local press to hyperbolically state, 'We do not believe that, as an Arcade, this of Newcastle has its equal in Europe or in the universe.'¹³⁹ Running between the southern end of Pilgrim Street and Manor Street, however, it was poorly located and was never successful as a retail space. Geist observes that location was vitally important for shopping arcades and many were severely disadvantaged by being placed too far from prosperous parts of town or by failing to act as significant through-routes. Clearly, if it was to be frequented by the *flâneur* an arcade could not break the spell of anonymity: a constant flow of pedestrians was required to animate it. The Royal Arcade led away from the central shopping district, opening onto an unsavoury part of town, where the sharp incline of the site necessitated a vertiginous flight of steps, which would have deterred many potential

¹³⁶ Benjamin's uncompleted *Passagen-Werk* is regarded as one of the few attempts to theorise shopping arcades. See Benjamin, W. (1999) *The Arcades Project*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin.

¹³⁷ Geist, J.F. (1983) *Arcades*, p12.

¹³⁸ The Royal Opera Arcade in Pall Mall (1815-7) was designed by John Nash and George Repton.

¹³⁹ Unidentified Newcastle newspaper quoted in Geist (1983) *Arcades*, p442.

customers.¹⁴⁰ The Arcade was soon taken over by second hand furniture dealers, which Geist interprets as a sure sign of decline.¹⁴¹

The high point of the arcade's popularity in Britain came in the 1890s, but Newcastle's last foray into arcade-building came slightly later.¹⁴² This was an attempt to salvage Grainger's Central Exchange, which was gutted by fire in 1901. Designed by Walker and Wardle, the Central Exchange (1837) was the visual, if not the commercial, centrepiece of Grainger's urban plan. Occupying the triangular site between Grey Street, Grainger Street and Market Street, the building expertly used dramatic colonnaded drums to round the corners. However, it never fulfilled its intended role as a corn exchange, instead becoming a subscription news room. Following this dramatic change in function, the Central Exchange gradually developed into a focal point for Newcastle's urbane social elite. A succession of coffee rooms occupied space in the corner drums and in 1870 the news room was acquired by the Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts and converted into an art gallery, concert hall and theatre.¹⁴³ These functions were in turn brought to an abrupt end by the 1901 fire. The building was reconstructed from within and transformed into the Central Arcade, which became a site of luxury retail.¹⁴⁴

Joseph Oswald and Son were the architects who carried out the conversion. Perhaps learning from the example of the Royal Arcade, Oswald ensured that the new arcade had an entrance in each of its three faces in order to maximise accessibility and to maintain a constant circulation of customers. A wide passage running from Grey Street to Market Street formed the central axis. Another passage led to an entrance on Grainger Street. These intersecting avenues were covered with a barrel-vaulted glazed roof supported on cast iron arches. The resulting space was flooded with light, allowing the shop windows to be adequately lit, but as light filtered through the glazed roof it gave the space a vaguely unreal quality. Rendell explores the psychological implications of arcades, arguing that the theatrical

¹⁴⁰ The failure of the Arcade has encouraged the belief that Pilgrim Street did not support a substantial retail culture. However, its tributaries such as Carlisle Square boasted a considerable number of retail outlets.

¹⁴¹ Geist, J.F. (1983) *Arcades*, p442.

¹⁴² Birmingham opened the Great Western Arcade in 1875 and the City Arcade in 1898. Frank Matcham's Country Arcade in Leeds was opened in 1900. Matcham's building was ornamented with domed corner-towers similar to those of the Central Exchange, and this may have prompted Oswald to study it as a possible model.

¹⁴³ The opening of the Central Exchange Art Gallery is documented in *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 18 June 1870, p3. See also *Newcastle Daily Leader*, 16 November 1870, p3. The gallery was run by Thomas Pallister Barkas. As an influential councillor, Barkas may have discouraged the Corporation from establishing a public art gallery in order to avoid competition.

¹⁴⁴ The reopening of the building was reported in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 19 May 1906, p9.

atmosphere encouraged a suspension of normative conventions. Glass was a vital component: its transparency allowed goods to be displayed and protected, while its reflective properties allowed shoppers to view themselves.¹⁴⁵ Arcades represented an 'interpenetration of public and private space' and thus blurred the boundaries between interior and exterior. Although arcades were primarily designed for female shoppers, Rendell has shown that the Burlington Arcade was located in an upper class male district and was frequented by prostitutes. Along with shop girls, these women were objects of desire for men, who frequented arcades in order to consume images of femininity and, by extension, women's bodies.¹⁴⁶ The ambiguous space of the arcade thus had the effect of relaxing social and sexual mores.

Beneath its innovative roof structure, the interior of the Central Arcade was transformed using the full arsenal of Edwardian decorative techniques [Fig. 29]. The corridors were lined with lustrous faïence tiles manufactured by Rust's Vitreous Mosaics, Battersea.¹⁴⁷ The main entrances are formed from double-arches with a central column in the Composite Order. A dated cartouche is displayed in the spandrel above, proclaiming the modernity of the arcade and appealing to the public's thirst for the new. The faïence tiling fuses Renaissance details with Art Nouveau decoration, all executed in rich autumnal colours. Blind Venetian arches are set into the walls above the entrances. The mosaic floor features a Greek key motif, a favourite device of Oswald's.¹⁴⁸ The shop fronts consist of large expanses of plate glass with fine woodwork and Ionic columns. Glazed tiles were an ideal material for arcades, the lustrous surface connoting both luxury and hygiene. Oswald was an expert in this field, having made extensive use of faïence and other decorative surfaces in public house commissions across the North East.¹⁴⁹ A number of Newcastle buildings embraced the fashion for faïence between 1890 and 1900.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Rendell, J. (1996) 'Subjective Space', p223.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p227.

¹⁴⁷ Geist calls it 'sculptured wallpaper.' [Geist, J.F. (1983) *Arcades*, p443].

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, his Wheatsheaf public house in Sunderland (1897-8).

¹⁴⁹ See the Beehive public house in the Bigg Market (1902), as well as the head offices for Newcastle Breweries in Newgate Street. These commissions are discussed in Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub*.

¹⁵⁰ For example, the interiors of the Central Station were renovated with tiles made by the leading manufacturer, Burmantoft's of Leeds. Adjoining the station, the North Eastern Station Hotel was also renovated with Burmantoft's faïence tiles in 1890-2 by William Bell, architect to the North Eastern Railway. See Burmantoft's (1902) *Photographs of Buildings Decorated with Burmantoft's Terracotta and Faïence*. Leeds: Burmantoft's Works.



Figure 29 Central Arcade, interior designed by Joseph Oswald, 1906. (Author's photograph).

Following its conversion, the Central Arcade attracted Newcastle's most affluent consumers with a range of shops, including three warehousemen.¹⁵¹ However, Geist remarks that Victorian arcades – initially the preserve of the elite members of society – began to serve an expanded, more socially-diverse clientele.¹⁵² Evidence of this is provided by the Handyside Arcade, built in 1906 by the developer George Handyside.¹⁵³ Running from Percy Street to Leazes Lane, this arcade had a three-storey stone frontage and an iron and glass

¹⁵¹ Occupants included the warehousemen Cook, Son and Co., Foster, Porter and Co. and R.R. Buck and Sons. The Durham and Northumberland Brewers Association had premises here, as did the artist Miss L.J. Barber. [*Ward's Directory*, 1906 and 1907-8].

¹⁵² Geist, J.F. (1983) *Arcades*, p76.

¹⁵³ George Handyside was a speculative builder. He had laid out the Bentinck Crescent Estate, which 'was considered a very "dandy" place indeed.' [Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p136].

roof. This was a lower-class shopping space that lacked the architectural refinement of the Central Arcade.

Arcades denote the emergence of a new form of space. Although they were publicly accessible, the fact that they were privately owned made them fundamentally different from the street. Many used private security forces, as well as subtle disciplinary tactics, to exclude transgressive individuals or practices. This 'commodification' of public space was commensurate with a burgeoning consumer culture. These spaces created sanitised streetscapes that were free of the poverty, social diversity and perceived danger of the street.

Procedures of performance and display were integral to issues of consumption. It was during the period under study that Veblen coined the phrase 'conspicuous consumption' to define the purchase of goods for display rather than explicit need. Writing about the American *nouveaux riches*, Veblen developed the concept of conspicuous consumption by observing the inherently wasteful and shallow process by which people were emulating the socially elite circles of Rhode Island and Fifth Avenue.¹⁵⁴ Thus, Veblen reduced the intricate practices and motivations of consumption to a simple emulation of the lifestyles and behavior of those higher up the social scale. This analysis reflects Veblen's distaste for this hedonistic culture and the newly-prominent social groups that shared in it. More recent discussions of consumption agree that individuals buy goods for reasons other than basic need, but take a much more sophisticated view of the articulation of identity via consumption.

Elaborating this theme, Bourdieu argued that goods function as signs of social status in a system of communication that works by identification and distinction.¹⁵⁵ Goods form a symbolic language, a discourse that is used consciously or unconsciously to signify one's position within the social formation. Bourdieu demonstrates that one's social status does not depend solely upon income level; the acquisition of cultural capital via consumption is another key factor. Bourdieu contends that social background and levels of education shape the tastes and values of the individual, and thus influence habits of consumption. Despite measuring a multiplicity of variables, however, Bourdieu tends to treat class as a constant. He sees individuals operating in terms of 'solidarities', their actions conforming with patterns of behaviour determined by seemingly-immutable class structures. Surely the study of

¹⁵⁴ Veblen, T. (1899) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an economic study in the evolution of institutions*. New York: Macmillan.

¹⁵⁵ Bourdieu, P. (1989) *Distinction*.

consumption should seek to understand how social relations can be mediated and negotiated through patterns of consumption? The strengths of Bourdieu's analysis are his recognition that consumption shapes identity, and that this process depends on venues for *display*. Arcades and similar retail spaces facilitated the construction and representation of identities constituted through the consumption of goods and patterns of sociability.

A dominant space in Newcastle retail was the Grainger Market, occupying a central site between Grainger, Clayton, Nun and Nelson Streets. As mentioned previously, Grainger's redevelopment scheme disrupted market trade in Newcastle. He was therefore obliged to provide a large market hall in order to appease uprooted traders. In doing so, Grainger consolidated the city's market trade into a modern, purpose-built structure that offered unprecedented standards of hygiene, as well as a range of new facilities. The Grainger Market encompassed a series of alleys accommodating 243 units. Although the superstructure dates from the 1830s, the building continued to act as an important retail venue throughout the period 1870-1914. Outwardly, the palatial building made a positive contribution to the cityscape. Lancaster sees the building as part of the 'rationalisation' of city centres that took place in the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Built primarily as a replacement for the Flesh Market, the Grainger Market was initially dominated by butchers, but during the period it increasingly came to be populated by dealers in luxury and novelty goods. These included milliners, toy sellers, book sellers and 'fancy' dealers. Marks and Spencer opened a Penny Bazaar in 1895, a sure sign that the character of the Market was changing.¹⁵⁷ Lancaster places great emphasis on consumption as an index of social relations and interprets the Grainger Market as a space where classes comingled and interacted. It can therefore be viewed as one of the key sites in which class identity became mutable. The mingling of classes allowed working class women – both consumers and shop assistants – to learn how to invoke the dress codes and manners of upper class women.¹⁵⁸

The central space inside the Grainger Market was formed by cast iron arches and a glazed barrel-vaulted ceiling [Fig. 30]. Permanent shops were installed behind glazed shop-fronts with ornamental woodwork. These included J. Brunskill's Music Salon, selling musical

¹⁵⁶ Lancaster, B. (1994) *The Department Store*, p8

¹⁵⁷ Marks and Spencer's began as a Penny Bazaar in Leeds in 1884. See Rees, G. (n.d.) *Marks and Spencer: A History*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

¹⁵⁸ Rendell, J. (1996) 'Subjective Space', p230.

instruments and sheet music. In the centre, a number of wooden stalls were erected by luxury retailers. Percival's Dining Rooms are visible at the rear, along with a florist. This demonstrates that the Grainger Market supported an advanced retail culture, even though it continued to be used by butchers.



Figure 30 Grainger Market c.1912. (Mawson, Swan and Morgan [c.1912] *Fine Art Photographic Views*).

The convergence of two distinct forms of consumption – traditional market culture and an emerging consumer culture – confirms that the Grainger Market was socially diverse, and more importantly, that it made class identity fluid for those able to engage in the consumption of goods. It is significant that the interior was adapted during the period. An important motivation behind the building of market halls was the exclusion of ‘undesirable’ users and forms of behaviour. The Grainger Market was re-evaluated by the Corporation and in 1880 the Borough Engineer John Fulton made changes to the superstructure, including the introduction of skylights and louvred openings to improve lighting and ventilation.¹⁵⁹ He also provided washing facilities, which encouraged traders to operate in a more sanitary manner. These improvements cost £5000. This polite retail space was patrolled by private wardens –

¹⁵⁹ Fulton wrote, ‘I propose also to improve the ventilation of the whole building by the introduction of louvred openings in the present dome light.’ [Newcastle Council Report, 12 May 1880, p3. Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50].

one of whom is visible in the photograph above – who enforced the new edict of decorum and hygiene.

The Grainger Market had a lasting influence on municipal patronage; Newcastle Council began to contemplate the remaining market spaces in the city with a view to improving them along the same lines. Such a scheme was the building of a new Fish Market on the Quayside. The local industrialist Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell had laid the groundwork for this project by reconstructing the quay in 1868, allowing the fish trade to reach further inland. Newcastle Council became aware that the number of fishing vessels sailing upriver as far as Newcastle had increased dramatically since 1875. In 1880 the Corporation proposed to establish a permanent fish market so that the city could profit from the extensive fishing industry that operated up and down the North East and North Yorkshire coasts.¹⁶⁰ Various sites were considered, but in an early example of market research, the ‘eminent engineer’ Alfred M. Fowler conducted a study of traffic levels over the Swing Bridge and up to Sandhill, and found that an average of 27,187 foot passengers and 1491 carts or carriages crossed the bridge on a daily basis.¹⁶¹ Fowler concluded that the new market should be sited next to this busy thoroughfare.¹⁶² The proximity of the railway lines was another advantage, as Fowler recognised: ‘The advantages of the site in my opinion are self-evident, and require but little comment to prove the facilities offered over other towns on the north-east coast; in fact, I am not aware of any town having a railway immediately in connection with the fishing boats.’¹⁶³

The Council consulted prospective users in order to gauge the demand for a new fish market. A local fish salesman, Joseph R. Bewley, gave his opinion of the proposals at a Council meeting in May 1880. Bewley expressed his concerns about the hygiene of the existing market: ‘Cleanliness is next to Godliness, and I have a great aversion to seeing good wholesome food thrown about upon the ground where scores of people pass and re-pass, and whose boot soles carry more filth than would be palatable to the stomach.’¹⁶⁴ He continued, ‘I trust you will see your way clear to carry out the building of the new market

¹⁶⁰ This was discussed during a Council meeting. See Newcastle Council (1880) ‘Report on the Fish Market.’ [Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50].

¹⁶¹ Newcastle Council Reports, 6 January 1876. [Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50]. For details of Fowler’s career, see Appendix.

¹⁶² Fowler also summarised the problems of the original market, which with its ‘inconvenient position, and dirty condition, together with the narrowness of the Close (being only 16 feet wide), offers but little inducement to the public as a retail market.’ [Newcastle Council Reports, 1880, p4. Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50]. The new building was designed for both wholesale and retail trade.

¹⁶³ Newcastle Council Reports, 31 August 1880, p4. [Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50].

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p7.

according to the original plans and drawings.¹⁶⁵ This is further evidence that among Newcastle's more successful retailers sensibilities were shifting, as many began to feel that traditional market culture and the spaces in which it operated were in need of reform. Fowler's recommendations were duly adopted and a new wholesale and retail market was constructed to his designs by the contractor Walter Scott [Fig. 31].¹⁶⁶ This was a major operation that involved the widening of the Close and the extension of the railway line to the quayside at an estimated cost of £4,980.



Figure 31 Fish Market, designed by Alfred M. Fowler, 1880. (Author's photograph).

In accordance with its original purpose, the Fish Market was built 'on the most improved principles, and of such a design and character as to cultivate and establish permanently a fish trade in Newcastle.'¹⁶⁷ The low symmetrical building has seven principal bays defined by wide Roman arches with keystones. The entrance is framed by pairs of engaged columns with block rustication. This composition evokes the form of a Roman

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p7.

¹⁶⁶ Fowler envisaged a series of shops forming a frontage to the market: 'These shops will be quite complete and apart from the fish market, and can be let for almost any purpose.' [Newcastle Council Report, 31 August 1880, p5. Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50]. The total cost was expected to be £8361.

¹⁶⁷ Newcastle Council Report, 31 August 1880, p4. [Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts D50].

Triumphal arch, but the rustication – derived from the Gibbs Surround – exhibits a Baroque sensibility that would have been more appealing to contemporary tastes. The building of the market was an ingenious piece of political manoeuvring that enabled the Council to reform the city's fish trade using techniques developed in the retail sector and to bring one of the major industries of the North East coast under its authority. The Fish Market itself was appropriately monumental. Upon the heavy entablature is a statue of the Roman sea god Neptune, along with statues of North East fisherfolk sculpted by George Burn [Fig. 32].¹⁶⁸ The stern visage of King Coal, bearing a basket of coals on his head, completes the ensemble and serves as a reminder of Newcastle's primary industry. The arms of the city are displayed above the entrance and upon the wrought iron gates, marking the building as the property of the Corporation and simultaneously announcing that the fish trade of the Tyne had come under its authority.



Figure 32 Detail of the Fish Market. (Author's photograph).

¹⁶⁸ The fishwives are depicted in traditional dress. North East fisherfolk were a social type celebrated by contemporary artists, including Winslow Homer (1836-1910), who spent 20 months at Cullercoats on the Northumberland coast. See McConkey, K. 'Winslow Homer at Cullercoats' in Faulker, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, pp223-40.

Intended for working class consumers, the market was subject to strict regulations and standards of decorum.¹⁶⁹ The use of 'abusive, obscene, offensive, blasphemous [and] profane language' was forbidden and numerous sanitary measures were put in place.¹⁷⁰ The market was to be equipped with slate fittings that could be cleaned easily. The low hipped roof had a ventilation system running along the ridge, ensuring constant circulation of air. Fowler specified that the site itself was to be flagged, paved and fitted with water hydrants to ensure that the market and surrounding space would be kept 'in a wholesome and perfectly sanitary state at all times.'¹⁷¹ The Fish Market transformed Newcastle into the centre of the North East fishing trade, thereby bringing a large part of the North East coast, and indeed the North Sea, into the city's spatial economy.

Conclusion

As an investigation of taste and patronage, this thesis is primarily concerned with the producers of architecture – principally architects and patrons. However, the ways in which architecture was consumed add an important dimension to the study of taste. This chapter has asked how the evolving architectural forms and spaces of the city were consumed by the urban public. In doing so, it has argued that a range of identities were formulated and performed in the new spaces created by the retail sector. Patterns of shopping have continually invested Newcastle's urban matrix with meaning. The spaces of retail formed an arena in which identity became pliable; this facilitated interaction between classes, the pursuit of social mobility and the subtle renegotiation of gender relations. This was particularly true of Newcastle's major department stores, but these had a galvanising effect on retail, stimulating development in surrounding spaces such as Northumberland Street. The pioneering department stores of Bainbridge's and Fenwick's remained at the forefront of British retail into the twentieth century, offering the promise of luxury, domesticity and social status. The re-conceptualisation of urban space extended into the municipal sphere. Newcastle Corporation embarked on major programmes of reform and renewal, focussing on the Grainger Market

¹⁶⁹ A series of regulations was drafted by Newcastle Council and signed by the Mayor, Richard Cail. These included the edict that, 'Every person using the Market shall obey the directions of the Market Keeper for the time being, given for the purpose of preserving order and regularity in the Market, and facilitating the despatch of business therein.' [Newcastle Council (1880) 'Report on the Fish Market,' p3. Newcastle City Library, Local Tracts, D50.]

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p4.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p4.

and the Fish Market. The creation of such well-appointed and grandiose spaces suggests that the Corporation had learned much from Newcastle's successful retailers. Overall, Newcastle provided a range of highly-sophisticated spaces suitable for the new modes of consumption.

6 Newcastle School Board

Among the most prolific architectural patrons ever to have operated in Newcastle upon Tyne was Newcastle School Board. The schools erected under its guidance had a major impact on the urban landscape and transformed the lives of generations of children; yet they were part of a much wider programme of educational reform and prodigious school-building. Newcastle School Board was one of many public bodies set up under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 with the goal of establishing a universal system of elementary education for children between the ages of 5 and 13. The thesis argues that architectural taste and patronage in Newcastle were increasingly mediated by developments in the London-based national mainstream. As a nationwide initiative, the School Board programme is an ideal area in which to study the impact of the mainstream upon provincial architecture. The nature of architectural patronage changed as the state began to play a more active role in the life of the nation. Government regulations, the powerful influence of London architects and the agency of architectural journals encouraged uniformity in the design of urban Board Schools. The buildings produced by the London School Board have been subjected to a great deal of scrutiny, but few commentators address the patronage of other local boards, and many do not even acknowledge that the initiative extended beyond the capital.¹ With these channels of influence acting on provincial architecture, it is important to ask how far Newcastle schools echoed developments in London.

This chapter examines the role of Newcastle School Board as an architectural patron, focussing on the new schools it built between 1871 and 1903.² The emphasis of the chapter will be comparative: it will situate Newcastle Board Schools within the context of national educational reform and ask how far they conformed to metropolitan models. A key method of architectural history is the analysis of specific building types. The chapter employs this method as a valuable analytical tool which makes it possible to examine how architectural

¹ These writers present insightful studies of the London School Board, but too often dismiss the Board Schools erected in other towns as provincial imitations. Kelsal assumes this to be the case in Ringshall, R., Miles, M. and Kelsall, F. (1983) *The Urban School: Buildings for Education in London, 1870-1980*. London: Architectural Press. An important recent study is Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

² The records of Newcastle School Board are preserved in the Tyne and Wear Archives, under the reference SB/NC/1-10 and cover the period 1871-1903. Particularly useful are the Triennial Reports, which analysed the Board's activities over a three year period.

form evolved in response to wider social and economic changes. Victorian School Boards had a complex social mission: as well as inculcating knowledge, they trained pupils for the roles they were expected to fulfil in adulthood, instilled 'proper' gender relations and promoted social cohesion. Underlying the educational programme was an urge to safeguard Britain's economic and military competitiveness. The chapter argues that Newcastle Board Schools closely followed the architectural programme and social mission of the metropolitan system. This was facilitated by connections between Newcastle architects and the metropolitan centre. As a locally-elected public body, however, Newcastle School Board was inextricably linked to its local context. Powerful private individuals dominated its membership and were able to participate in school-building. To a large extent they determined the nature of educational provision and the form of the buildings in which it was administered. Thus the School Board became another instrument of power for Newcastle's ruling elite.

The 1870 Education Act

By the mid-nineteenth century it was widely recognised that elementary education in Britain was inadequate. The massive population increase associated with industrialisation meant that two-thirds of British children received no educational instruction whatsoever, and existing schools could not possibly meet the increasing demand. Equally significant, however, was a shift in attitudes toward education. Britain's economic and military supremacy were increasingly under threat from rival nations, particularly Germany and the USA. There was also a pervasive fear that social unrest among the urban poor might erupt into revolution. Educationalists argued that these crises could be averted by improving educational standards among Britain's youth, and education quickly became a matter of national concern. In 1870 Gladstone's Liberal government passed the Elementary Education Act, which promised a standardised system of education. The Act initiated a nationwide programme of school-building that was to be administered by parochial or municipal School Boards.³ However, the Act was not intended to supplant local educational provision; private and voluntary schools already in operation were vital to its success, since even the most productive urban School

³ In London, and elsewhere, School Board elections were contested by Progressives, who were broadly Liberal and non-conformist, and the Moderates, who were Tory and Anglican. There was a fear among Moderates that an educated working class could threaten the social order. See Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London*, p24.

Board could not hope to accommodate every child of school age in a newly-built school. As W.E. Forster, the principal author of the Act, acknowledged, the intention was to 'complete the voluntary system and fill up the gaps.'⁴ Thus, ambitions for a unified national system were undermined from the very beginning.⁵ This meant that the local contexts in which the Act was administered had a crucial influence.

The first Newcastle School Board was elected on 25 January 1871 with John Brunton Falconar as the first Chairman and the Reverend Berkeley Addison as Vice-Chairman.⁶ Its first act was to assess the state of educational provision in Newcastle. On 14 August 1871 the Statistical Committee reported on the 'full requirements of the borough'.⁷ The survey revealed that there was an immediate deficiency of 19,800 school places and that fewer than half the children of school age attended any form of school.⁸ The population of Newcastle was projected to increase by an average of 3000 per year during the next three decades, meaning that an additional 500 school places would be required annually.⁹ The Board assessed Newcastle's existing schools, which altogether accommodated 5,236 children. There were fifteen voluntary schools, which were run by religious or philanthropic parties on a charitable basis.¹⁰ In the field of religious schooling, there were twelve National Schools and ten British Schools, as well a number of church schools.¹¹ The Anglican National Schools were burdened with unfeasibly large class sizes (frequently up to eighty pupils) and the value

⁴ W.E. Forster quoted in Goldwater, S. (1975) *Elementary Educational Provision in Newcastle upon Tyne During the Nineteenth Century*. University of Newcastle, Institute of Education, p3.

⁵ Local boards were given a great deal of latitude to interpret the bill, particularly concerning the key issues of denominational instruction and compulsory attendance. The byelaws stated that, 'Subject to the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, and of these byelaws, the parent of every child not less than five years of age, nor more than 13 years of age, residing within the district of the said borough, shall cause such child to attend school.' In March 1872 an officer was appointed to enforce these byelaws, but compulsion was not put into operation until November 1872. [Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p7]. The question of religious education was the most controversial aspect of the bill. To avoid denominational rivalry, the Act permitted Bible teaching but forbade the teaching of dogma. The Cowper Temple Clause precluded the teaching of 'any religious catechism or religious formula which is distinctive of any particular denomination.' [Section 14 of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, quoted in Goldwater, S. (1975) *Elementary Educational Provision*, p3].

⁶ This election is examined in Starr, T. (1985) *The 1870 Education Act: A Religious and Educational Compromise*. The Board was elected twelve months after the passing of the Act. From then on the Board was elected on a triennial basis until it was eventually disbanded along with the other local boards with the passing of the 1902 Education Act. The first Newcastle School Board was dominated by Anglicans, but influential non-conformists also served, including Joseph Cowen and Newcastle's three most prominent educationalists J.H. Rutherford, Robert Spence Watson and J.C. Bruce. See also Dennis, N.E. (1970) *1870 Education Act: Centenary Programme*. Newcastle: Newcastle Corporation Education Committee.

⁷ Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p3.

⁸ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 23 November 1870, p27.

⁹ Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p4.

¹⁰ Such a school was Sir W.G. Armstrong's Elswick Works School opened at Scotswood Road in 1869. This catered for the children of Armstrong's workers and had the agenda of training them for future employment in Armstrong's firm. In 1894 the attendance at this school was 2759. See Goldwater, S. (1975) *Elementary Educational Provision in Newcastle*, p14.

¹¹ Goldwater, S. (1975) *Elementary Educational Provision*, p9. Religious schools received state funding but were largely independent of state control.

of their educational provision was therefore limited.¹² Lastly there were private adventure schools, which were run for profit. Forty-one such schools existed in Newcastle before 1870. The Board inspected private adventure schools and found them to be inadequate: 'As a rule, the teachers were incompetent; no record of the daily attendance of the scholars was kept; the premises were unfit for educational purposes.'¹³ Therefore, the new schools erected by the Board supplemented this patchwork of voluntary and private schools. In the 31 years of its existence Newcastle School Board built 22 new schools, acquired three by transfer and purchased another two.¹⁴ Overall, it provided 21,471 school places.



Figure 154 Bath Lane School. Founded by J.H. Rutherford, this was one of Newcastle's most respectable voluntary schools. The building was designed by Thomas Oliver Junior. (Newcastle City Library).

¹² Prior to the passing of the Act, the main forces in elementary education in Britain were the Anglican National Schools, founded by Dr. Andrew Bell, and the nondenominational religious British Schools. The Elementary Education Act did not immediately signal the end of these schools. The wording of the Act meant that local churches had a year's grace in which to improve their schools. In fact, School Boards gave financial support to voluntary schools. Between June 1872 and November 1873 Newcastle School Board contributed the following amounts to Newcastle's religious schools:

National - £78, 7s. 3d.
 Roman Catholic - £79, 9s. 7d.
 British - £1, 5s. 2d.
 Wesleyan - £0, 2s. 0d.

[Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p10].

¹³ [Newcastle School Board, *Second Triennial Report*, 1874-6, p15. Of course, it was consistent with the ideology of the Elementary Education Act to find private schools deficient in terms of educational and moral instruction and hygiene. In the long term, the inception of the better-regulated Board Schools contributed to the 'slow but natural decay of the inefficient adventure schools.' [Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p18].

¹⁴ North View and Blenheim Street Schools were purchased by the Board in 1897.

The first Board Schools

Newcastle School Board's first building programme was concentrated in the industrial districts where need was most pressing. It was proposed to build three schools at a total cost of £40,000 and the Board borrowed £37,942 from the Public Works Loan Commissioners as an initial building fund.¹⁵ Each was to consist of a mixed department for 700 pupils and an infants' department for 300. After consultation with the Educational Department this was changed to a mixed department for 600 pupils and an infants' school for 400.¹⁶ The cost of building caused acrimony within the Council, with Alderman Thomas Leslie Gregson objecting, 'That magnificent pile of masonry Gateshead Town Hall only cost £12,000.'¹⁷ Nevertheless, R.J. Johnson, Thomas Oliver Junior and F.R.N. Haswell were appointed joint architects to the Board, and the first three commissions were divided between them. The first Newcastle Board School was Westmoreland Road School at Bell Terrace, designed by Thomas Oliver (1873-5).¹⁸ Architects had no precedent for building large schools for the working classes and as a result they relied on the example of religious schools. Indeed, Oliver had designed J.H. Rutherford's voluntary school in Bath Lane [Fig. 1].¹⁹ The appearance of the first Board School was somewhat ecclesiastical, with a low pitched roof broken by a corner tower and spire, and a rose window piercing the stone-built walls.

This was followed by Arthur's Hill School at Snow Street in the north-western district of the borough (1873-5) [Fig. 2].²⁰ Designed by R.J. Johnson, one of Newcastle's leading ecclesiastical architects, the stone-built structure resembled Newcastle's church schools. A third school was built in the parish of St. Peter in the eastern suburbs to designs by F.R. N. Haswell. This was a low Tudor-Gothic building with a bell-turret [Fig. 3].

¹⁵ Newcastle School Board, *Second Triennial Report*, 1874-6, p20.

¹⁶ Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p5.

¹⁷ Alderman T.L. Gregson speaking at a Council meeting. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 7 May 1873, p335]. Gregson was a respected surgeon who came to Newcastle in 1839. He was elected to the Council in 1853 and served as Sheriff in 1869 and Mayor from 1871-2. An obituary was published in the *British Medical Journal*, vol.2, no.1290, 19 September 1885, p574. As a Tory councillor, Gregson can be classed as one of the Moderates who opposed the idea of universal free education and were determined to limit public expenditure.

¹⁸ The school was examined in *British Architect*, vol.3, 8 January 1875, p20. Thomas Oliver clearly saw the School Boards as a prodigious source of commissions. He entered a competition for James Williams Street Board School in Sunderland [*Building News*, vol.23, 4 October 1872, p269], winning the third premium. Thereafter he designed at least fifteen Board Schools in the North East, including Ocean Road, South Shields [*Architect*, vol.12, 8 August 1874, p73] and Sheriff Hill, Gateshead [*Builder*, vol.35, 10 March 1877, p248]. See Appendix for further details.

¹⁹ The Bath Lane School was discussed in *The Builder*, vol.28, 23 July 1870, p591.

²⁰ See *Building News*, vol.26, 5 January 1875, p20.



Figure 155 Arthur's Hill Board School, Snow Street, designed by R.J. Johnson, 1873-5. (Newcastle City Library).

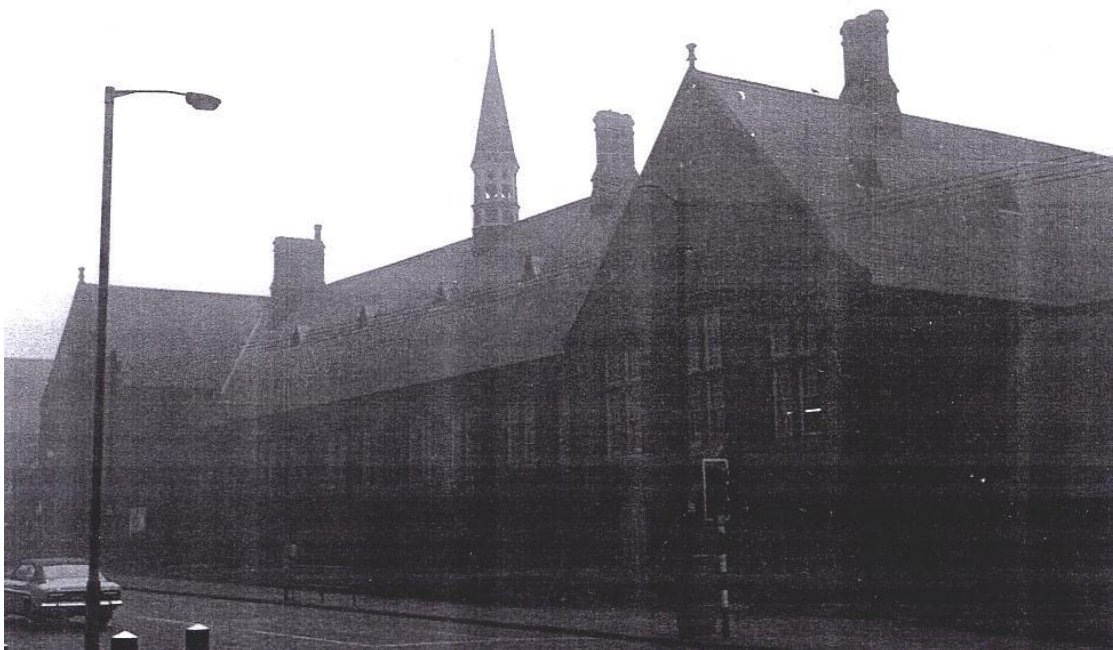


Figure 156 St. Peter's Board School, designed by F.R.N. Haswell. (Newcastle City Library).

Together, the early Board Schools maintained the image of Newcastle's church schools. This was consistent with developments in London, where many of the first Board Schools were designed in the Gothic style as architects fell back on ecclesiastical

precedents.²¹ E.R. Robson, the first architect to the London School Board, commented on the lack of precedents: 'The Public Elementary School – the school for the rudimentary education of the poor – has, in the nature of things, no remote history as an English institution, neither has the scientific, constructional, or artistic aspect of its buildings any annals.'²²

The School Boards were charged with an important social mission and it was soon recognised that a consistent architectural strategy based on sound principles was required. Edward Robert Robson (1835-1917) was appointed architect and surveyor to the London School Board in 1871 and he began to formulate a more rigorous approach.²³ Robson conducted a study of schools on the Continent and in the USA, and his findings were published as *School Architecture* (1874), a book that was highly influential. Robson's principles shaped the official policy of the London School Board, which built 289 schools between 1870 and 1884. It seems that Robson's solution was regarded as a serviceable model, but it was not universally admired. *The Builder* commented: 'If we add that some of the new schools, externally, are wonderfully ugly, it is not with the view of finding fault with work done under great pressure, but to prevent the assumption that nothing better is desired.'²⁴ However, Deborah Weiner has demonstrated that Robson's programme was formulated without recourse to any comprehensive theory of child development and that the internal planning of his schools was fairly crude.²⁵ Robson's main contribution was to establish 'Queen Anne' as the semi-official style of the School Boards.

The influence of the London Board Schools was felt throughout the country. During its existence, Newcastle School Board built dozens of schools in an institutional Queen Anne mode replete with red brick elevations, Flemish gables, terracotta ornament and white sash windows. The first school to exhibit this new mode was Spital Tongues Infants' School in Morpeth Street (1881, demolished) [Fig. 4]. Although the Board had initially appointed three joint architects, it began to hold limited competitions in the 1880s. No evidence to explain why this new system was adopted has come to light, but W.L. Newcombe won the

²¹ Examples of early London Board Schools in the Gothic style included Winstanley Road School, Lambeth and Mansfield Place School, Camden Town. Both were designed by E.R. Robson in 1874.

²² Robson, E.R. *School Architecture*, p159.

²³ The designs for the first thirty London Board Schools were selected by limited competition. After Robson's appointment, he and his staff of fifteen designed every school. His salary was soon increased to £1000. See Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p64.

²⁴ A review of Robson's book, *School Architecture*, published in *The Builder*, 30 May 1874, p452.

²⁵ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p120.

commission for Spital Tongues School. This was a relatively small school, accommodating only 215 infants, and was built at a cost of £1,824, 3s. 6d. Nevertheless, it used the full Queen Anne regalia – red brick with stone dressings and a series of Flemish gables. The playground was cemented and equipped with a covered play-shed.²⁶ The school opened on 31 January 1881 and the date is crucial – the building predated Dame Allan’s School (designed by R.J. Johnson in 1882), which is usually credited with being among the first Queen Anne buildings in Newcastle.²⁷ This suggests that Newcombe was directly influenced by the London Board Schools, rather than local precedents.

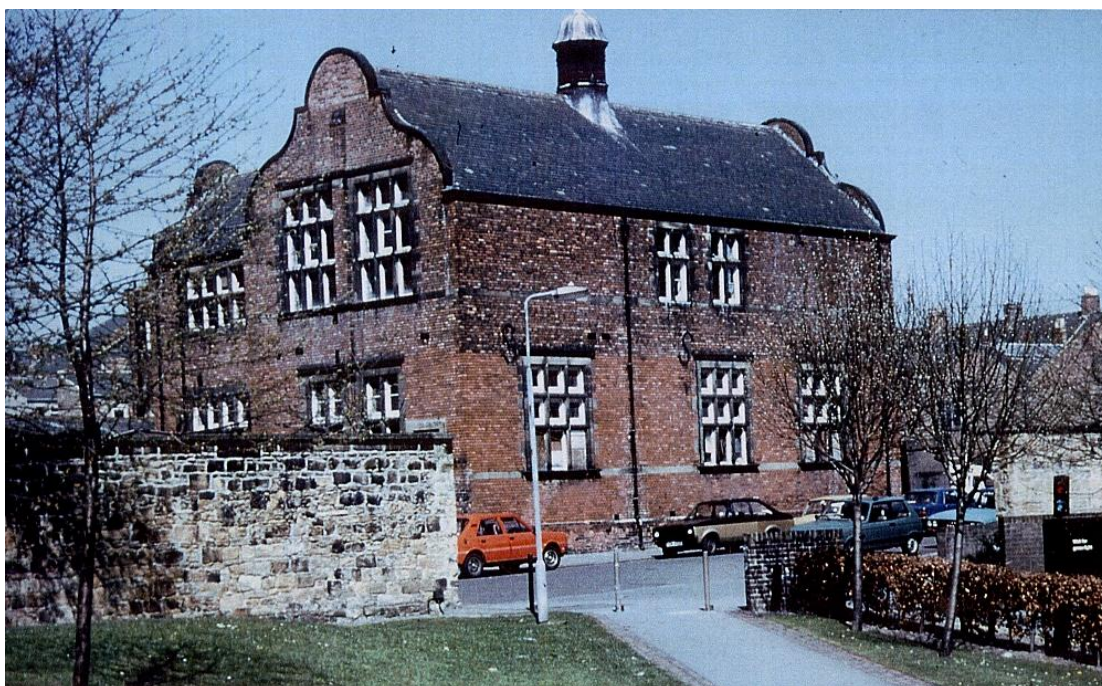


Figure 157 Morpeth Street Board School, Spital Tongues. (Newcastle City Library).

Bentinck School in Mill Lane (1880-2, demolished) was delayed by protracted debates over the tenders. It was eventually opened on 24 July 1882 at a cost of £10,360, 9s. 6d.²⁸ Atypically, this was executed in stone, which sets it apart from the conventional Board Schools [Fig. 5]. The architects were Lamb and Armstrong. John Lamb had served as Surveyor to Newcastle Corporation for ten years and was therefore well-versed in municipal

²⁶ Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p7.

²⁷ Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light: The 'Queen Anne' Movement, 1860-1900*, p233.

²⁸ The school was discussed in *The Architect*, vol.25, 22 January 1881, p61.

building. He joined Charles F. Armstrong in partnership in 1878. The school accommodated 400 infants on the ground floor and 596 older children on the first floor.²⁹



Figure 158 Bentinck School in 1965. (Newcastle City Library).

It soon became apparent that larger schools were required for Newcastle's industrial districts, where the deficiency of school places was at its worst. The population of Byker rose as workers were attracted to centres of employment such as the works of R. and W. Hawthorn. St. Peter's School rapidly became overcrowded.³⁰ R.J. Johnson prepared plans for a new school at Bothal Street, Byker, but was made to revise them after the tenders received for construction were deemed to be too high. Construction began on 18 November 1885 under the supervision of Matthew Cleugh, the Board's Clerk of Works. The cost was estimated at £11,395, 12s. According to the Board's reports:

²⁹ Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p7.

³⁰ The population of Byker rose from 10,704 in 1871 to 45,460 in 1901. Census 1871 and 1901.

This School, it may be remarked, will differ in organization from that of any other School provided by the Board, inasmuch as it will comprise *three* distinct departments (Infants, Junior Mixed, and Senior Mixed), instead of two departments (Infants and Mixed) only; and the Board anticipates that this tripartite division of the School will the more conduce to its efficiency, and further the interests of the ratepayers.³¹

The two-storey format remained the norm until the 1890s. In March 1889 R.J. Johnson was instructed to design a new school at Scotswood Road, the cost of which was not to exceed £6 per head. Located in Elswick, the school was intended to serve the working class community based around Armstrong's Elswick Works.³² The Board rented a 3650 square yard site at a cost of £3,701, 10s. 5d. Located on a site behind Mitford Street, Scotswood Road School provided for 364 infants on the ground floor and 646 older children above. The total cost was £13,519, 0s. 4d.³³



Figure 6 Raby Street Board School, Byker, designed by W. L. Newcombe, 1895-7. (Author's photograph).

³¹ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p11.

³² However, many children in this district were already accommodated by the Elswick Works School, as discussed in Chapter 2.

³³ An account of Scotswood Road School was published in Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p7.

Raby Street School was designed by W. L. Newcombe [Fig. 6]. The utilitarian façade was capped with a low hipped roof and relieved with plain brick mouldings with keystones of red sandstone. Each floor had an assembly hall measuring 73 by 30 feet. Opening off the hall, and separated from it by glazed screens, were seven classrooms. Desks were lit from the left, according to Robson's recommendation.³⁴ A separate single-storey infants' school was opened in November 1897. This too was built with a central hall surrounded by seven classrooms and the internal spaces were lined with glazed brick. The only embellishment was a Georgian-style cupola on the roof, which also functioned as part of a plenum heating and ventilation system. Together the buildings accommodated 1540 children, and cost £12,950.³⁵

Local and national influences

The architects employed by Newcastle School Board did not have an entirely free hand when planning schools, but had to comply with government regulations. Once completed, plans had to be approved by the School Board and the Education Department, which formulated a series of guidelines to ensure consistency between the buildings erected by the various Boards. Published as *Rules on School Planning*, these specified room sizes and maximum capacities. Sixty pupils were considered the optimum number for a master assisted by a pupil-teacher, and 40 for pupil-teachers operating without supervision. The Education Department made practical demands, such as the necessity of keeping laboratories separate from gymnasia. No style was specified, but in the interests of fire prevention all schools were to be executed in brick or stone. Newcastle School Board adhered closely to these guidelines and produced comparative tables to demonstrate how their schools corresponded.³⁶ However, one exception to the regulations illustrates the specific circumstances of Newcastle. A key mandate was that accommodation should be calculated at ten square feet per child – this applied to all Board Schools across the country. Owing to the severe deficiency of school provision in Newcastle's industrial districts, however, the Education Department allowed the

³⁴ Illumination from the left was considered beneficial because it meant that no shadows were cast on the desks of right-handed pupils.

³⁵ *Building News*, vol.73, 12 November 1897, p686.

³⁶ These regulations were discussed by the New Schools Committee and issued to architects. Ten classrooms were required in the average school and it was specified that each class should have a room of its own. Classes for forty scholars were to be 620 square feet. Desks two feet long were to be arranged in pairs. Schools could be planned with a central hall, which was to be fifty by twenty-five feet. See Newcastle School Board (1902) *Reports of the Various Committees, New Schools Committee*, vol.5, no.3, pp23-24. [TWAS - SB.NC/3/1].

Newcastle Board to calculate accommodation at eight square feet per child, thus increasing the number of school places considerably.³⁷

The educational content administered within schools was also regulated by the Education Department. The standard system of 'payment by results' had been in operation since the inception of the School Boards. Under this system, schools received grants based on examination performance. Theoretically, this imposed a form of centralised control and ensured a certain standard of education, but in practice it was a faulted and illogical system. Weiner argues that payment by results forced teachers to use rote memorisation in order to impart the information needed to satisfy the inspectors; this meant that children's comprehension suffered considerably.³⁸ Schools that failed to win grants were condemned to operate without them, further disadvantaging the pupils in attendance. The majority of Newcastle schools did, however, successfully compete for grants. The Board received a total of £2,453 in 1870-1, increasing to over £5,524 in 1875-6.³⁹ Much of this money was fed back into building funds.

School Boards encountered hostility from various quarters. Boards were not able to levy a rate directly, but they did have the power to demand that the Corporation did so, and this frequently caused friction with local government. The School Board elections were more inclusive than any electoral system in the country and councillors resented the fact that working class candidates were able to participate in the running of the Board.⁴⁰ Newcastle School Board had a turbulent relationship with the Town Council. Soon after the Board was established, Alderman Hammond claimed that the School Board was illegally elected and 'utterly worthless.'⁴¹ According to some councillors, the Board 'wanted to erect schools at an

³⁷ The Chairman stated that, 'The Education Department have allowed us to calculate the accommodation of some schools on the eight square feet basis instead of on the ten square feet, so that the accommodation recognised by the Department at the end of the year amounted to 13,769.' [Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1895*, p5].

³⁸ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p102. The system of payment by results was abolished in 1890.

³⁹ Newcastle School Board (1898) *Works Committee Reports*, p74.

⁴⁰ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p29.

⁴¹ Alderman Hammond speaking at a Council meeting. [Newcastle Council Proceedings, 3 May 1871, p341]. Hammond's hostility comes as no surprise. He had stood as a candidate in the first Newcastle School Board election, pledging to minimise the Board's expenditure and its reliance on the rates if elected. As Starr observes, the cumulative election system, in which each voter had one vote for every member of the committee, meant that a well-organised minority could seize control of the Board. [Starr, T. (1985) *The 1870 Education Act*, p18].

enormous cost.⁴² Religious instruction was a major source of contention within the School Board programme. The Education Department promoted Bible teaching without denominational bias, but many felt that Board School education was too secular. Newcastle Council was alarmed that the Newcastle Board did not insist on attendance at Sunday school, worrying that the government's failure to prescribe religious tuition meant there was nothing to prevent a school master teaching the dogma 'There is no God.'⁴³ Similarly, a number of councillors feared that private subscription would be withdrawn from religious schools once publicly-funded schools were introduced.⁴⁴ Siding with this group, the *Newcastle Daily Journal* argued that the School Board was inordinately expensive and would have a detrimental effect on voluntary provision.⁴⁵

As a consequence of this situation, parsimony was a major influence on architectural character. Architects were forced to evolve a style based on bold massing and careful selection of materials, rather than ostentation or elaborate decoration. In London, the ratepayers accused the London School Board of building palaces, which Robson took as an indirect compliment, stating that, 'Truth of construction, of meaning, of expression, is insisted on. Good outlines, suitable each to the material in which they are made, artistic forms, and good colour are the main principles followed.'⁴⁶ This meant that any architectural achievement was the result of skilful design not ostentation. Obligated to build on an industrial scale, the London School Board introduced standardisation as a design strategy, especially after Robson departed.⁴⁷ Ultimately, schools had to fulfil their duty at minimum cost to the ratepayers. Robson himself wrote that, 'Under the circumstances, Art cannot be in her loftiest mood, or appear in her noblest aspect.'⁴⁸

Newcastle's Queen Anne Board Schools

'Queen Anne' was the stylistic language chosen to express the ideals of the Elementary Education Act and was thus given great impetus by the initiative. Ostensibly, the Queen

⁴² *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 7 May 1873, p335. However, W.H. Stephenson informed the Council that Newcastle School Board spent an average of £12 per head on its schools, whereas the cost in Bradford was £17 per head. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 7 May 1873, p338].

⁴³ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 23 November 1870, p25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p29. This fear proved unfounded.

⁴⁵ See *Newcastle Daily Journal*, 25 November 1870.

⁴⁶ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools', p140.

⁴⁷ Standardised details were used frequently, including architectural lettering and sculptural emblems. See Gregory-Jones, D. 'Towers of Learning' in *Architectural Review*, June 1958, p395.

⁴⁸ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools', p137.

Queen Anne style was based on the architecture produced during the reign of Queen Anne (1701-1714). In practice, it was an eclectic style incorporating Classical, Flemish and French Renaissance influences. Queen Anne gained support as the Gothic Revival declined in popularity during the 1870 and 80s. The younger generation of architects reacted against the strictures of Gothic and 'defected' to Queen Anne, which combined freely-treated Classical details with the adaptability of Gothic planning. Sir George Gilbert Scott, the venerable Gothic Revivalist, called Queen Anne a 'vexacious disturber of the Gothic movement,' but many of the pioneers of Queen Anne emerged from within Scott's office.⁴⁹ J.J. Stevenson, for example, codified the shift with his essay 'On the Recent Re-action of Taste' (1874), and subsequently published *House Architecture* (1880), an unusually temperate architectural manifesto that proclaimed the merits of the style.⁵⁰ He signalled this transition with the Red House in Bayswater, an exemplary Queen Anne house designed for his own occupation (1871). G.F. Bodley and Thomas Garner designed the London School Board offices on the Embankment (1873) in a rich Queen Anne style. Foremost among the Scott alumni was Robson, who established Queen Anne as the style of the Victorian School Boards, thanks to his pioneering designs and extensive publications.⁵¹

Robson's approach illuminates the controversy surrounding the Gothic and Queen Anne styles. Beginning from the conviction that, 'A Board School should look like a Board School and like nothing else,' Robson felt it was imperative that the new schools could be clearly distinguished from the voluntary and private schools that preceded the Elementary Education Act:

A building in which the teaching of dogma is strictly forbidden can have no pretence for using with any point or meaning that symbolism which is so interwoven with every feature of church architecture as to be naturally regarded as its very soul. In its aim and object it should strive to express civil rather than ecclesiastical character. A continuation of the semi-ecclesiastical style which has hitherto been almost exclusively followed in England for National Schools would appear to be inappropriate

⁴⁹ Sir George Gilbert Scott quoted in Clark, K. (1974) *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*. London: J. Murray, p212.

⁵⁰ Stevenson argued that Queen Anne was eminently suitable for British architecture because brick construction was an indigenous tradition, while Classical forms had been part of the 'workman's vernacular' during the 17th century. From his own experience he had determined that Queen Anne 'adapts itself to every modern necessity and convenience.' [Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p348].

⁵¹ Robson recounted his experience in Scott's office: 'Those of us who (like the writer) had the advantage of some years of study under Sir Gilbert know what a fine school his office was for inculcating scorn of all shams, adherence to truth in architecture, and careful study of detail, even if confined too narrowly to that of ancient English work. Much of what he taught passed away with his own life, as being out of harmony with the spirit of the age.' [Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools', p169].

and lacking in anything to mark the great change which is coming over the education of the country.⁵²

Gothic was invalid because it had inescapable religious associations and was indicative of a moribund system of education. As the 1870 Act forbade denominational instruction, it was imperative that schools were seen to be 'free from ecclesiastical bias.'⁵³ This could be achieved with the Queen Anne style. However, Robson's remarks are revealing: 'The architecture prevalent in the time of any dead and buried king or queen is not slavishly followed, and to name the buildings after any such can only indicate ignorance.'⁵⁴ This is an outright rejection of the denomination 'Queen Anne' and its implication of a retrograde, revivalist style. Robson insisted that the style was adopted after close examination of the problems presented by the urban Board Schools.⁵⁵ As a versatile and informal style, Queen Anne could be applied to the freely planned, multi-storey buildings that were essential for accommodating unprecedented numbers of children. Unlike Gothic, it had no religious dimension; it therefore allowed schools to transcend denominational rivalry. Although the style drew on the past, in particular the simple brick vernacular of the Jacobean, Queen Anne and early Georgian periods, it was adapted to the exigencies of the present and the radically new building type.

The Queen Anne style re-emerged as part of the Domestic Revival in English architecture. The red brick houses of Norman Shaw, J.J. Stevenson and others were a response to the lack of picturesque architecture in London.⁵⁶ These architects developed a style that stepped deftly between ponderous Victorian Classicism and the dogmatic Gothic Revival. Principally used in the affluent neighbourhoods of the West End, the Queen Anne style 'flourished because it satisfied all the latest aspirations of the English middle classes.'⁵⁷

⁵² Robson, E.R. (1972) *School Architecture*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2nd edition, p321.

⁵³ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools,' p169.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p140.

⁵⁵ Robson wrote that Queen Anne formed 'the nucleus of a good modern style. In looking to the architecture of this period as a basis, a servile copyism need not be attempted, for it may not be impossible to accept its spirit and yet to clothe our rendering with new form and a higher sense of architectural being.' [Robson quoted in Gregory-Jones, D. 'Towers of Learning', p395].

⁵⁶ Saint, A. (1976) *Richard Norman Shaw*, p131.

⁵⁷ Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p1. Bedford Park was a Queen Anne community founded by Jonathan T. Carr (1845-1915). It boasted hundreds of houses and even a church in the Queen Anne style. Much of the environment was designed by E.W. Godwin, whom Carr may have appointed after coming across a *Building News* illustration of a parsonage Godwin had designed at Moor Green, Nottinghamshire. Girouard's immediate concerns are with the inner circle of 'Progressive' architects and patrons. He examines the buildings erected by the London School Board, but does not address the stern, institutional character that the style acquired when it was adopted by provincial Board Schools, buildings which were far from the 'sweetness and light' associated with the metropolitan nucleus of Queen Anne.

Robson did not directly address the rhetorical properties of the style, but the middle class associations remained pertinent when he adapted it for use in working class schools. The Queen Anne Board Schools gave form to Progressive middle class values and served as beacons of enlightenment or, in Robson's words, as 'sermons in brick.'⁵⁸

Height was a crucial element in the design of London schools, having both social and aesthetic significance. Robson intended the schools to present a 'glimpse of nobler things.'⁵⁹ He therefore exaggerated their height by using tall windows, pitched roofs and elongated chimney stacks and gables. In much the same way that the soaring verticality of Gothic architecture suggested heavenly aspiration, the verticality of Queen Anne Board Schools was expected to inspire the Victorian populace with enthusiasm for the benefits of education. As a result of these measures, the Board Schools rise above the ranks of terraced houses like 'brick islands in a lead-coloured sea,' as Arthur Conan Doyle memorably put it.⁶⁰

In fact, the schools had a complex relationship with the surrounding terraced houses. Although there was a profound discrepancy in terms of scale, the red brick construction and the domestic associations of the Queen Anne style helped to unify the schools with the surrounding houses. According to Robson, this meant that, 'The working man also appears quite to consider the schools in the light of a property peculiarly his own, of which he may be proud, and not as an alien institution forced upon him by those of superior station.'⁶¹ Once again, the Queen Anne style was suffused with a middle class domesticity and carried with it all the 'pleasant associations of the English home.'⁶² By using such a style, the middle class domestic ideal was presented as a model for the working classes to follow. Robson makes this ambition explicit:

If we can make the homes of these poor persons brighter, more interesting, nobler, by so treating the necessary Board Schools planted in their midst as to make each building undertake a sort of leavening influence, we have set on foot a permanent and ever-active good.⁶³

⁵⁸ Robson quoted in Jackson, A. "'Sermons in brick': design and social purpose in London Board Schools', p41.

⁵⁹ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools,' *Art Journal*, vol.43, 1881, p140.

⁶⁰ Doyle, A.C. 'The Adventure of the Naval Treaty' in Doyle, A.C. 'The Adventure of the Naval Treaty' in Doyle, A.C. (1928) *Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Short Stories*. London: John Murray, p515.

⁶¹ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools', p140. However, this was disputed by a number of contemporary commentators, who argued that Board schools were often perceived as foreign invaders.

⁶² Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p336.

⁶³ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools', p140.

Robson argued that London was fragmenting into a series of separate towns and that geographical separation led to social disintegration. Weiner takes up this theme and shows how charity was used as a means of bridging the gulf between rich and poor while simultaneously reinforcing class relations, since 'to accept with repaying had meant subordination and subservience.'⁶⁴ Queen Anne, a style associated with the West End and translated to the impoverished neighbourhoods of working class London, gave a clear visual expression of the charitable relationship.⁶⁵ Crucially, these visual codes could be read by middle class ratepayers. The Queen Anne style was used to present the Board Schools as part of a prudent social mission, that of civilising the working classes. As the style of the Board Schools, Queen Anne was a tool of social reform, convincing working class parents of the benefits of education, and the means by which the School Boards communicated their programme to the middle class ratepayers.

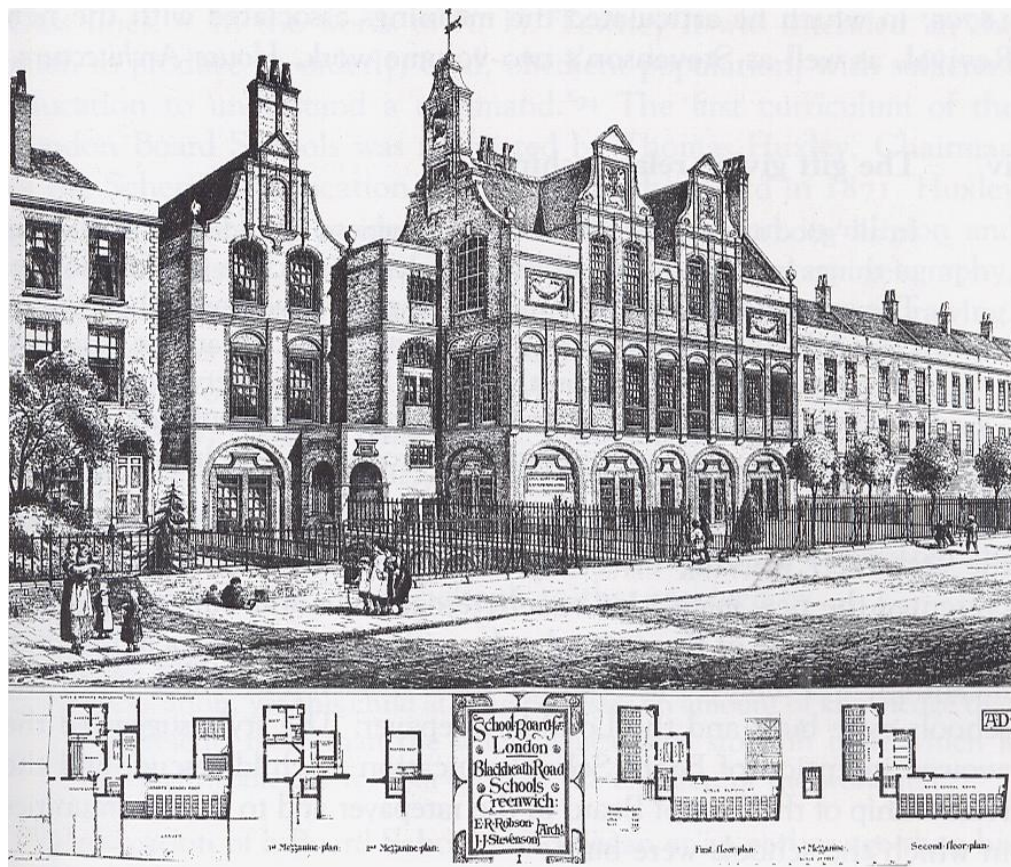


Figure 7 Blackheath Road School, London, designed by E.R. Robson and J.J. Stevenson. (*Building News*, vol.26, 19 February 1875).

⁶⁴ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p10

⁶⁵ Ibid., p85.

Queen Anne buildings were being illustrated in the building press in the early 1870s. Maurice B. Adams (1849-1933) joined the staff of the *Building News* in 1872 and promoted the style in many of his illustrations.⁶⁶ *The Architect* was largely hostile to Queen Anne, but it did publish a list of building guidelines approved by the London School Board in 1872.⁶⁷ Engravings of major London Board Schools were published in these journals, along with descriptions of the internal planning, thus making the form readily accessible to provincial architects [Fig. 7]. For example, Robson published an article entitled 'Art as Applied to Town Schools' in *The Art Journal*, which was illustrated with woodcuts of the most prominent London Board Schools. Thus, the metropolitan model of Board School design was widely disseminated.

A significant Queen Anne community developed in the North East and formed links with the metropolitan centre. Robson himself had been born in Durham and began his career under the tutelage of John Dobson in Newcastle, before entering the office of Sir George Gilbert Scott in 1857. He practised as Architect to Durham Cathedral for six years until he was appointed Architect and Surveyor to the Corporation of Liverpool in 1864. He was a founding member of the Northern Architectural Association, with which he was involved throughout his career, periodically attending meetings and giving papers.⁶⁸ Through this network, Newcastle architects had a direct link to the man who stood at the centre of the metropolitan School Board programme. J.J. Stevenson was in partnership with Robson from September 1871 to 1876 and contributed to the evolution of the London School Board style.⁶⁹ Stevenson's family was based in South Shields. His father J.C. Stevenson was the owner of the Jarrow Chemical Works and a Chairman of the Tyne Improvement Commission; his eldest brother Alexander was an art collector.⁷⁰ For his brother Archibald, Stevenson designed Southgarth, a Queen Anne house in Westoe, South Shields (1874-5). His sisters were also active in the sphere of education: Flora (1839-1905) was a Chairwoman of the

⁶⁶ Girouard observes that Passmore Edwards, proprietor of the journal, was a supporter of many progressive causes and would not have discouraged Adams's enthusiasm for the style. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p57.

⁶⁷ *Architect*, vol.7, 4 May 1872, pp226-7. Likewise, the *Building News* published important articles on Board School architecture. See, for example, *Building News*, vol.69, 13 December 1895, p842 and 27 December 1895, p911.

⁶⁸ Robson was a founding member of the Northern Architectural Association and survived each of the architects who were present at the initial meeting in 1858. See MacKellar, N. 'The Story of the N.A.A.', p968.

⁶⁹ Stevenson claimed to be responsible for some of the early Board Schools. This was disputed by Robson's son, Philip. See Robson, P.A. (1917) 'Edward Robert Robson: A Memoir by his Son' in *RIBA Journal*, vol.24, February 1917, pp92-6.

⁷⁰ The Newcastle-South Shields nexus has been explored by Mark Girouard. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, pp55 and 128.

Edinburgh School Board; Louisa (1835-1908) was a proponent of education for women and a Suffragette.⁷¹

A major exponent of Queen Anne in Newcastle was R.J. Johnson, one of the three architects appointed to Newcastle School Board. A former pupil of Sir George Gilbert Scott, Johnson set up practice in Newcastle in 1858, where he earned a reputation as one of the finest architects to work exclusively in the provinces: *The Builder* described him as 'one of the very few men standing in the front rank of the profession who continued to practise in the country instead of being absorbed in the great vortex of London.'⁷² Johnson collaborated with his friend J.J. Stevenson on designs for the Tyne Improvement Commissioners' building on Clayton Street, Newcastle (1884). Equally adept at Gothic and Renaissance styles, Johnson was a local pioneer of Queen Anne, designing the Ingham Infirmary in South Shields (1871-3), one of the earliest Queen Anne buildings in the North East.⁷³ As an antiquarian, Johnson continually demonstrated a thorough knowledge of historical precedents in his work. In Newcastle, he designed the Dame Allan School on College Street (1882), which *The Builder* described as:

A school and master's house, which it is difficult to believe is not old work. [It is] built of thin bricks with stone quoins, and [has] wooden bays and oriels, and a heavy wooden cornice. The entrance is flanked by two little square towers with ogee roofs; the detail throughout is remarkably good, and the character preserved without a flaw.⁷⁴

As a private academy, the Dame Allan School was able to charge higher fees than the Board Schools and was not subject to the same financial restrictions. The building exudes a middle class domesticity that reflects the conditions of its funding and the higher social status of its pupils [Fig. 8].⁷⁵ The design was clearly influenced by the Queen Anne mansions of Richard Norman Shaw, for example the Albert Hall Mansions, Paddington (1879). Together these buildings provided a vivid demonstration of the merits of the Queen Anne style. They seem to

⁷¹ Ibid., p38.

⁷² *Builder*, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353.

⁷³ Girouard calls this the first Queen Anne building in the North East. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*.

⁷⁴ *Builder*, 'Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p310.

⁷⁵ Dame Eleanor Allan was the daughter of a local goldsmith and widow of a successful tobacco merchant. The school was founded in 1705. See Middlebrook, S. (1950) *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p293.

have been a major inspiration to Newcastle architects, as a series of Queen Anne Board Schools followed soon afterwards.⁷⁶



Figure 8 Dame Allan School, College Street, designed by R.J. Johnson, 1882. (Author's photograph).

Dunn and Hansom designed several Board Schools during the period of Queen Anne influence, including Todd's Nook School (1891-5, demolished) in Darnell Street [Fig. 9].⁷⁷ Building operations were delayed over difficulties obtaining a site, which were not resolved until twelve months after the plans had been approved by the Education Department. The architects were instructed to provide the school at moderate cost (£11,000) and site restrictions demanded an inventive plan.⁷⁸ As was often the case with Dunn and Hansom's schools, and indeed their ecclesiastical work, the design had to be simplified in execution. Todd's Nook Board School was built without its tower, which would have dominated the

⁷⁶ According to its supporters, the Queen Anne style was coordinated by Gothic principles, in particular the truth-to-materials ethic and free-planning. This made it possible for architects like R.J. Johnson and Dunn and Hansom to practise it without abandoning their Gothic commitments, and indeed most of their schools were produced concurrently with significant ecclesiastical commissions.

⁷⁷ Dunn and Hansom had a substantial Catholic church practice in the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, but found a major source of secular commissions in Newcastle School Board, designing four of the most prominent Board Schools in the city. See Appendix for further details.

⁷⁸ A loan of £2,263 was acquired from the Corporation for the purchase of a 3,573 square yard site. [Newcastle School Board, *Sixth Triennial Report*, 1886-8, p12].

central block [Fig 10]. Side wings projected at first floor level, supported on brick piers and round arches. Covered playgrounds were formed beneath.⁷⁹ This device was frequently used in London Board Schools (e.g. Robson's Tottenham Road School, Hackney, opened in 1874). Thanks to the efficiency of the plan, the school was able to accommodate 1287 pupils, making it the largest Board School in Newcastle at that date.⁸⁰

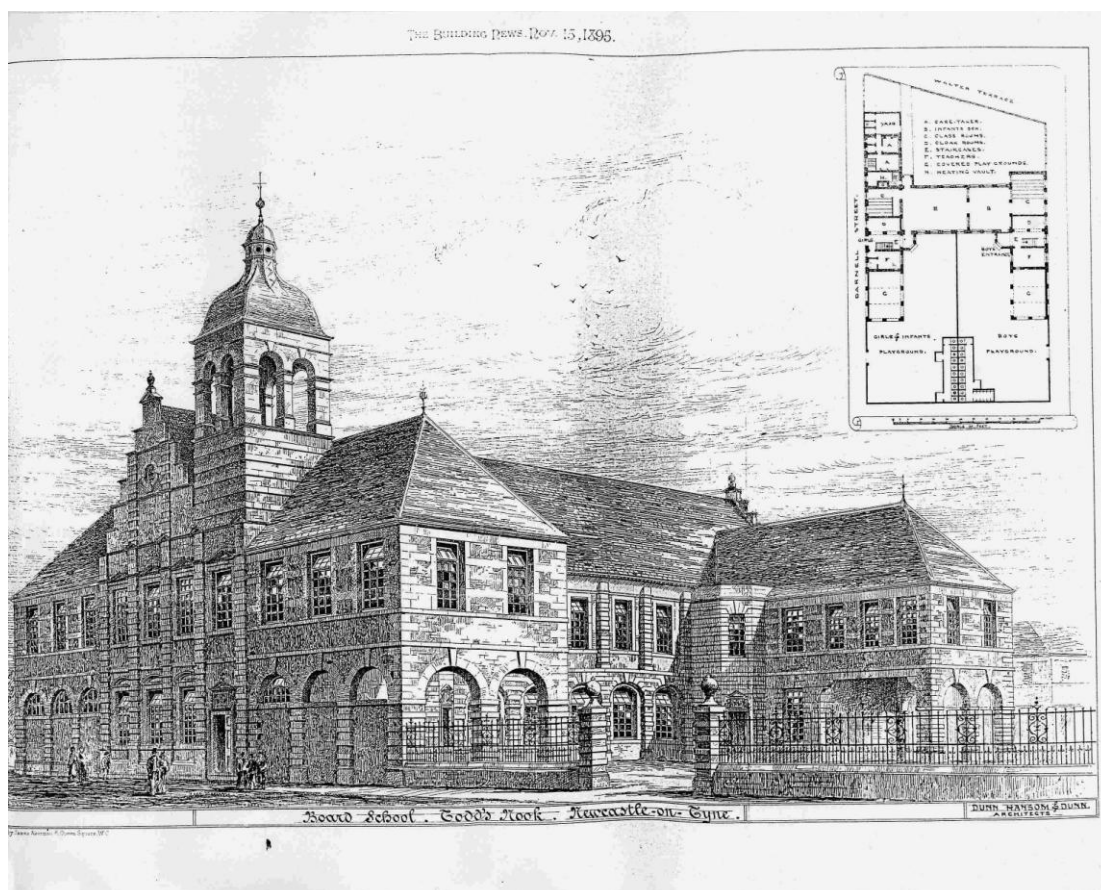


Figure 9 Todd's Nook Board School (*Building News*, vol.69, 15 November 1895, p701).

⁷⁹ The arches lining the frontage were filled in to provide security and shelter.

⁸⁰ An illustrated article on the school appeared in the *Building News*, vol.69, 15 November 1895, p701. The east wing was designated for boys and the west wing for girls. The school was built of stone from Kenton Quarry.



Figure 10 Todd's Nook Board School, designed by Dunn, Hansom and Dunn. (Newcastle City Library).

Elswick Road Board School by Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke (1896-7, demolished) typified the mature form. It featured outer pavilions surmounted by stepped gables [Fig. 11]. The canted central block terminated with a half-timbered gable with a prominent chimney, perhaps showing the influence of Crag-side. The school accommodated 1600 pupils. The Infants' department was on the ground floor; Junior Mixed on the first; and Senior Mixed on the second. A corridor ran from end to end of the building, through a central hall. As was typical of Board Schools, the building utilised mass-produced fittings. Terracotta dressings were supplied by J.C. Edwards of Ruabon, flooring was provided by the Wood Block Flooring Company, London, and lavatory fittings were provided by Doulton and Co.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Building News*, vol.71, 31 July 1896, p166



Figure 11 Elswick Road Board School. A covered playground is visible on the left. (Newcastle City Library).



Figure 12 Pupils of Elswick Road Board School, 1908. (Newcastle City Library).

Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke's next school at Westgate Hill (1896-9) eclipsed all other Newcastle Board Schools in terms of scale [Fig. 13]. The towering form, bright red brick and terracotta mouldings make it Newcastle's closest equivalent to the London Board Schools. The powerful central block is three storeys high, with rusticated ground floor and segmental arches imparting an institutional character. An undulating gable completes the block, which is flanked by pavilions with stepped gables and terracotta scrollwork. The date is appended to the central pediment. Internally, the building exemplifies Victorian theories of hygiene, to which prominent sanitarians such as Edwin Chadwick attached huge importance.⁸² Ceilings are extraordinarily high to ensure the circulation of air – 16 feet was considered the optimum height. The stairwells are faced with glazed brick, which gave protection against wear and tear and facilitated cleaning. In *School Architecture* Robson had recommended that interiors should have hard, brilliant finishes, which testifies to the expectation that Board Schools would be inundated with hordes of unwashed children.⁸³

These buildings adhered to Robson's principles in terms of planning, utility and outward appearance: plans were compact; stairwells formed the principal means of communication and were enclosed within prominent towers or projecting wings – saving space and forming a dominant feature on the exterior. Corridors were avoided since they could serve as an obstacle to lighting, ventilation and surveillance. For similar reasons, playgrounds were only enclosed on three sides to prevent them from becoming dark, airless yards. Victorian school-planners firmly believed in the benefits of light and air, with Robson stating that the sun's rays 'are to a young child very much what they are to a flower.'⁸⁴ After the example of Westgate Hill, schools became more imposing and impressive. The major formal change was the introduction of the three-decker system, which had already been used at Bothal Street School. This allowed architects to fully exploit the limited sites.⁸⁵ Not only was this cheaper, but three-storey buildings gave expression to the three-tier system of education, with separate departments for infants, juniors and seniors.

⁸² Chadwick was President of the Association of Public Sanitary Inspectors. He was also one of the earliest members of the London School Board and wrote a report on school construction. See Chadwick, E. (2000) *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain; with a new introduction by David Gladstone*. London: Routledge.

⁸³ The Victorians are often ridiculed for their puritanical obsession with cleanliness, but as Harris points out, lack of sanitation regularly had lethal consequences until sanitary reforms were introduced. [Harris, J. *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p55].

⁸⁴ Robson, E.R. (1874) *School Architecture*, p167.

⁸⁵ This was a necessity in London, where sites were particularly expensive. See Port, M.H. 'Form and reform: The English School, 1870-1970' in *London Journal*, vol.4, 1978, p254.



Figure 13 Westgate Hill Board School, designed by Dunn, Hansom and Dunn, 1898-9. (Author's photograph).

The design of Newcastle Board Schools broadly followed national patterns due to the influence of Robson, the role of the building press, and the agency of the Education Department, but an analysis of school design reveals that local idiosyncrasies continued to flourish. The new schools were designed in a broader range of styles than was typical in London. A departure from the Queen Anne style was made by the Victoria Jubilee School at Unwin Road, Byker (1885), which was executed in Tudor style [Fig. 14]. Designed by R.J. Johnson, the ground floor plan was divided into an infants' department, two classrooms, committee room and offices. The school opened onto a central hall with blocks of classrooms arranged at right angles on either side. The eight-bay frontage was terminated by wide eaves with a cupola above. A mixed school room and six classrooms occupied the first floor. The Victoria Jubilee School was opened in October 1885 by the Sheriff of Newcastle. The building cost £7,760 and accommodated 1000 children.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ A new junior school was built within the grounds in 1896-7 to the designs of Charles Walker. This too had separate entrances for boys and girls and a segregated playground. See TWAS - T67/1, plans of proposed junior school, Byker, by R.J. Johnson, dated October 1885 and plans of proposed junior school by Charles Walker, dated January 1896 – September 1897.



Figure 159 Victoria Jubilee School at Unwin Road, Byker. (Newcastle City Library).



Figure 160 Chillingham Road Board School, designed by Oliver and Leeson, 1893. (Author's photograph).

Another Tudor-style building was Chillingham Road Board School, opened on 20 November 1893 [Fig. 15].⁸⁷ Built at a cost of £18,861 to designs by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, this was a large school that accommodated 1115 pupils. Situated in the eastern district north of Byker, it replaced a temporary school that was held in the Temperance Hall in Grafton Street and forms a regular arrangement of volumes beneath steeply-pitched roofs. Tudor windows with decorative mouldings and splayed buttresses impart a domestic tone. The most remarkable features are the ornate chimneys, which are worked with fleur-de-lys motifs and carved foliage [Fig. 16]. The school is built of brown brick instead of the red brick typical of urban Board Schools. Despite its scale, these features give the building the aura of a Tudor mansion. If the external style differed, health was still paramount within the building. According to the Board, the main feature was the plenum heating and ventilation system – ‘The air in the various rooms being maintained at an even temperature all the year round and being as fresh and pure when the children are dismissed as when they assemble. The result is that teachers and scholars are exceptionally healthy and their attendance is exceptionally good.’⁸⁸



Figure 161 Detail of Chillingham Road Board School. (Author's photograph).

⁸⁷ The symmetrical side wings had three storeys; the rest of the building was still on the two-storey format.

⁸⁸ Newcastle School Board, *Eighth Triennial Report*, 1892-4, p11.

Like Queen Anne, the Tudor style was a key component of the domestic revival and was deemed to be inherently English. J.J. Stevenson argued that the Tudor style was ideally suitable for domestic purposes: 'For the charm of homeliness nothing can surpass the houses of the Tudor age, with their mullioned windows and oak carving, and we can only feebly imitate the sumptuousness and elegance of those of the Renaissance of Francis I or of our own Jacobean.'⁸⁹ In the context of Board School design, the style was an alternative means of communicating the ideal of education administered as a form of charity. The Tudor style had longstanding associations with charitable almshouses and was widely used for philanthropic institutions.⁹⁰ It therefore visualised the relationship between giver and recipient as effectively as Queen Anne. The domesticity of the style carried particular meaning for the education of young children, making the school less intimidating than the utilitarian Board Schools.



Figure 162 Aerial view of Chillingham Road Board School. The infants' school is behind the main block. The image demonstrates the impact Board Schools had on the urban landscape. (Newcastle City Library).

⁸⁹ Stevenson, J.J. (1880) *House Architecture*, p17.

⁹⁰ For example, the Tudor style was used for philanthropic banks: 'A significant number chose to emphasise, by the Elizabethan style, the basic constitution and ideological differences which set the savings banks apart from the world of private and joint-stock banking.' [Booker, J. (1984) *The Architecture of Banking*, p123].



Figure 163 Ouseburn Board School, designed by Frank W. Rich, 1893. (Author's photograph).

At first glance, Frank W. Rich's Ouseburn Board School (1893) seems to be a typical Queen Anne school [Fig. 18].⁹¹ Framed by the side towers, the busy frontage is arrayed with dormers and a swan-neck gable, as well as an eclectic mix of seventeenth and eighteenth century details. Tall windows with Gibbs surrounds articulate the ground floor; smaller windows and a long glazed skylight illuminate the upper storey. The tower-bases are punctured by round-headed arches with heavy keystones. Piercing the tower roofs are small dormers with spiky finials. On closer inspection, the building reflects the taste for Japanese art and design that had a brief influence on British culture during the later nineteenth century. An interest in Japanese artefacts flourished within *avant-garde* circles during the 1880s, particularly among members of the Aesthetic Movement. Based in London, this group of

⁹¹ Sir W.G. Armstrong participated in the development of the Ouseburn district, even though his industrial holdings were located two miles to the west. The navigability of this stretch of the Tyne was crucial to his success. Armstrong built a bridge over the Ouseburn in 1875-8. The Ouseburn Bridge was a collaboration with the Town Improvement Committee, which provided £5000 of the £30,000 cost. There were a number of industrial sites in the vicinity, including the Ouseburn Lead Works and the Northumberland Lead Works. See Ordnance Survey, Second Edition 1896.

artists and patrons favoured the Queen Anne style for their own houses, but developed a passion for Japanese art and design.⁹²

This passion was swiftly democratised. Christopher Dresser published a book entitled *Japan; its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures* in 1882 and gave a lecture to the Architectural Association that was subsequently printed in *The Builder*.⁹³ Newcastle was briefly infatuated with *japonisme*. The Central Exchange Art Gallery held a 'Japanese Village Fair' in January and February 1886. The attractions included 'real Japanese artists at work' and 'fan painting by real Japs'.⁹⁴ The interior of the Central Exchange was temporarily transformed into the 'Yokohama Tea Lounge' and decorated with silks supplied by Bainbridge's department store. This fascination with Japan was underpinned by the strong connections that Newcastle industrialists formed with the Japanese military, as discussed in Chapter 2. Responding to this craze, Rich imbued the Ouseburn School with a hint of *japonisme*. The dominant features of the school are the twin pagoda-like towers, which evoke traditional Japanese architecture. The highly ornamental roofs also functioned as outlets for a plenum ventilation system that was installed in the towers. This system was commonly used in Newcastle Board Schools, but is not usually given such a powerful expression on the exterior. Ouseburn School was built at a cost of £17,035, 8s. 8d. and opened in November 1893.⁹⁵

Spatial distribution

Almost as soon as it began building schools, the London School Board found itself unable to acquire sites by advertisement, and instead became embroiled 'in the complexities of compulsory purchase orders, arbitration, compensation and the like'.⁹⁶ In Newcastle, too, negotiations were often protracted and on average it took three years to acquire a site,

⁹² For example, E.W. Godwin (1833-86), a leading architect of the Aesthetic Movement, was enamoured of Japanese taste. Godwin's work is discussed in Soros, S. W. (1999) *E.W. Godwin: Aesthetic Movement Architect and Designer*. London: Yale University Press.

⁹³ Dresser, C. 'Some Features of Japanese Architecture and Ornament' in *Builder*, vol.43, 13 December 1884, p787.

⁹⁴ Conte-Helm, M. (1989) *Japan and the North East*, p67.

⁹⁵ A copy of Dresser's book was held by Newcastle Central Library. [Onions, T.A. (1900) 'Catalogue of books on the Fine Arts,' Newcastle Public Library]. In 1887 Josiah Conder read a paper before the RIBA entitled 'Domestic, Civil and Palatial Buildings in Japan', which was also reprinted in the *Builder*, vol.53, 5 March 1887, p342. Henry Baker Tristram, Canon of Durham, visited Japan as a missionary and published *Rambles in Japan: the Land of the Rising Sun* (1895). In this work he attempted to map the monuments and topography of Japan onto the more familiar landscapes of the North East, describing Nagoya Castle as 'the Alnwick Castle of Japan', for example. In 1897 the Reverend Walter Weston gave a lecture on Japan to the Literary and Philosophical Society entitled 'Travel and Exploration in Unfamiliar Japan'. From this discourse, Japan emerged as the 'Britain of the East' due to its rapid modernisation. See Conte-Helm, M. (1989) *Japan and the North East*.

⁹⁶ Gregory-Jones, D. 'Towers of Learning', p394.

prepare plans and construct a new school from start to finish.⁹⁷ The Board usually purchased sites, but where this was impossible sites were rented from the Corporation.⁹⁸ In areas of most deficiency the Board opened temporary school premises.⁹⁹ For example, the Temperance Hall in Byker was used as a temporary school until Raby Street School was built.¹⁰⁰

The geographical distribution of schools elucidates the complex motives that lay behind the School Board programme. The first act of Newcastle's newly elected School Board was to conduct a survey to determine the deficiency of school places in the borough. This took the form of a demographic and spatial analysis and formed the template for the Board's conceptualisation of the city until its dissolution in 1903. Newcastle was divided into four school districts: Eastern District A, lying to the east of the Ouseburn; Eastern District B, stretching from the Ouseburn to Pilgrim and Northumberland Streets; the Central District, between Westgate Road and Pilgrim and Northumberland Streets; and the Western District, lying beyond Westgate Road. Each district was to be overseen by a committee consisting of five Board members and three ratepayers. The survey found that a serious lack of provision existed in the new industrial suburbs, particularly Byker and Elswick. As these outlying suburbs underwent rapid industrialisation they experienced dramatic population growth. Workers were drawn to the new industrial installations of Armstrong, Hawthorn and others, and the social and economic profile of these areas was thereby transformed. Since these workers' communities included a large number of young families, a high proportion of the inhabitants were of school age. The Board built major schools in the western district at Bentinck (1882), Scotswood Road (1882) and Elswick Road (1896), and in Eastern District A from Heaton to lower Ouseburn.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1892*, p11.

⁹⁸ An example was Morpeth Street School at Spital Tongues (1891). Conversely, the Board often rented its school buildings out to local enterprises. This provided increased revenue and helped schools to establish themselves within the community.

⁹⁹ The Board had 1086 children in temporary accommodation at the end of 1891. Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1892*, p4.

¹⁰⁰ Another system was the use of temporary iron schools that could be raised quickly from prefabricated elements. These did not require permanent sites, and could be erected within the grounds of existing schools to provide additional accommodation. For example, a temporary iron school was built in the playground of Raby Street School. The plans were prepared by the architects of the school (Newcombe and Newcombe) and the structure was executed by the Glasgow firm of Speirs and Co. for £1080. Details of this scheme are recorded in Newcastle School Board (1902) *Reports of the Various Committees, New Schools Committee*, vol.5, no.3, p38. [TWAS - SB.NC/3/1]. Another temporary iron school was proposed for the Chillingham Road School. Plans were prepared by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, but the project was eventually abandoned.

¹⁰¹ Eastern District B (from Sandgate to City Road) had a similarly high population, but was already served by two Anglican National Schools, three Catholic schools, a Wesleyan school, the publicly-funded Royal Jubilee School



Figure 164 Welbeck Road School, designed by W.H. Knowles, executed 1905-6. (Author's photograph).

The plain visual identity of the Board Schools became even more severe in the provinces.¹⁰² Most Newcastle schools are far from the 'sweetness and light' usually associated with the Queen Anne style. Welbeck Road School (1905-6) in the industrial suburb of Walker, for example, has an unrelieved severity in its stark triangular eaves and monolithic stone dressings [Fig. 19].¹⁰³ Broken into a uniform parade of pitched roofs with enlarged Venetian windows, the school is visually imposing, as were many other examples. Overall, Newcastle Board Schools are marked by a stern, institutional character and eschew the devices that give many London schools a sense of lightness.¹⁰⁴ The reasons for this seem to have been ideological as well as economic. Schools were instruments for the

and two industrial schools. Only one Board School was ever built in this district, at Stepney Road in Shieldfield (demolished).

¹⁰² In his introduction to the reprint of Robson's *School Architecture*, the architectural historian Malcolm Seaborne observes that '[Robson's buildings] rarely have the grim and stark appearance so usual with the red brick and terra cotta buildings put up by School Boards in other towns, often in direct imitation of the London schools.' [p21]. This statement ignores the fact that Robson himself preferred red brick, but used yellow stock bricks because they were readily available in London, where they were manufactured. It should also be realised that London Board Schools themselves became decidedly grim and stark once Robson's tenure as Architect to the Board ended.

¹⁰³ Designed by W.H. Knowles, this school was built after the dissolution of the School Board. See *Building News*, vol.89, 20 October 1905, p566.

¹⁰⁴ The schools of R.J. Johnson are something of an exception. Johnson's work is known for being closer to the actual architecture of the early eighteenth-century than was typical of the Queen Anne Revival. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p55.

reformation of the working classes. Ostensibly motivated by a desire to banish illiteracy and improve the circumstances of children across the country, the School Board initiative also sought to instil discipline and morality, and thereby quell the perceived threat of revolution posed by Britain's uneducated masses. Provincial Board Schools were bulky, stolid and clad in hard, imperishable materials. Overall, they were clearly recognisable as corrective institutions. Despite Robson's efforts to integrate each school with its environment, Weiner argues that schools contrasted with their neighbourhoods and were often perceived to be intrusive. Building a Board School was 'like planting a fort in an enemy's country. The building was the symbol of tyranny and oppression, and often the school keeper had difficulty in protecting it from malicious damage.'¹⁰⁵ The stark appearance, regimented arrangement, and imposing dimensions of Newcastle Board Schools are the visual and physical embodiment of the Board's programme of reform.

The Board Schools were instruments of social reform, serving to inculcate both knowledge and sets of social values. This corresponds with Lefebvre's theoretical account of the means by which social relations are constructed in and transmitted through space. Lefebvre argues that space derives its form and meaning from the patterns of use played out within it, but that it simultaneously structures social interaction. The building of Board Schools across Newcastle, as well as other towns and cities, had the effect of ordering the marginal, impoverished spaces where middle class ratepayers rarely ventured. Previously unknown and unregulated areas were brought under the control of the elected officials who made up the School Board's district committees. Lefebvre contends that those with power over space frequently reduce it to an abstraction – representing it by means such as Euclidean geometry and cartography – thus making the social functions of space difficult to comprehend. The division of Newcastle into a series of districts under the supervision of committees and increasingly dominated – visually and socially – by towering Board Schools represents the fulfilment of this strategy. It reduced the teeming, contradictory and heterogeneous spaces of the city to a simpler, more 'knowable' form. The reformist agenda of the Board Schools was extended into neighbouring spaces by attendance officers who visited houses in pursuit of

¹⁰⁵ Philpott, H.B. (1904) *London at School: The Story of the School Board 1870-1904*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, p40.

truanting children.¹⁰⁶ Newcastle School Board's triennial reports clarify their role: 'These Officers have been daily employed in making house-to-house visits, looking-up absentees and clearing the streets of children; serving Notices upon defaulting parents, and taking legal proceedings wherever necessary.'¹⁰⁷ The 'School Board man', as attendance officers were collectively known, became a malevolent presence in these communities.

Whom did this conjunction of space and power serve? Members of the School Board were drawn from a relatively wide social and political spectrum, yet the reports of the various subcommittees suggest that they were united in their belief in the benefits of education. Reflecting on several years of Newcastle School Board's activities, the Chairman, Canon Pennefarther, was able to remark, 'There have been discussions without end on the Elementary School question. We have never brought into this Board Room the heat of party strife.'¹⁰⁸ If the School Board was able to transcend party politics, it nevertheless represented another branch of power for Newcastle's most prominent and ambitious citizens, whom the legislation of 1870 permitted to play an integral role. The membership of Newcastle School Board was dominated by some of the city's most powerful citizens. The Radical MP and newspaper proprietor Joseph Cowen served on the first Board, as did the industrialist Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell. W.H. Stephenson, a leading industrialist and seven times mayor of Newcastle, was a long-term member, along with the educationalists Robert Spence Watson and J.H. Rutherford.¹⁰⁹ As each subcommittee of the Board included three ratepayers, in addition to elected members, the system allowed private individuals to participate in the provision of education, and not surprisingly it was made to serve their interests.¹¹⁰

It is generally agreed that the ratepayers were hostile to the School Board scheme because they resented the extra burden on the rates. There is much evidence to support this. Writing on the financial constraints of school building, Robson concluded that, 'Good architecture, indeed, has never been asked for. Taxpayers do not want it.'¹¹¹ This picture should be viewed cautiously, however. Many ratepayers took an active interest in education

¹⁰⁶ Parents were often hostile to the idea of elementary education because their children supplemented the family income by taking up employment. See Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p22.

¹⁰⁷ Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p15.

¹⁰⁸ Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1895*, p16.

¹⁰⁹ Newcastle School Board, *Second Triennial Report*, 1874-6, p2. George Anthony Fenwick was a member of the Board, but retired on 17 July 1885 after moving to Bywell, which made it impossible for him to attend meetings. [Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p6].

¹¹⁰ This constitution was designed to appease the ratepayers, giving them control over the expenditure of public money, since the notion of publicly-funded education was by no means universally accepted.

¹¹¹ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools,' p172.

both locally and nationally. In 1874 the East End Ratepayers Association of Newcastle drew the Board's attention to the deficiency of accommodation in Byker and urged it to obtain a site as soon as possible.¹¹² This indicates that, despite the popular image of frugal ratepayers, many were concerned with the academic, moral and technical instruction of children, as well as their physical well-being and social conduct. In many cases this was because they had a vested interest in these matters. The School Board initiative coincided almost exactly with the 'Great Depression' of 1873-1896, when Britain's economic position declined in relation to Continental nations and the USA.¹¹³ There was a fear that Britain's workers did not have the skills to compete on a global economic stage. W.E. Forster, whose name was synonymous with the 1870 Act, warned of 'invading armies of ignorance, misery, and destitution [which] swarm in upon us like insects and feed on the trees of our commercial prosperity.'¹¹⁴ It was observed that other countries – particularly Germany – had already made the connection between elementary education and military capability.¹¹⁵ The School Boards therefore set out to improve educational standards among the British workforce as a matter of national priority.¹¹⁶ This was certainly a motivating factor and a reason for the ratepayers' active involvement in the School Boards.¹¹⁷

Drill classes had been part of the School Board curriculum since 1871, but became compulsory in 1897; boys received twenty-minute lessons in drill three days per week. These were used to promote physical fitness and instil patriotism and discipline. Britain's military prowess became a cause for concern, particularly during the tortuous conflict of the Boer War (1899-1902), which damaged national pride and depleted military resources. This became linked in the public mind with anxieties over the apparent physical decline of the urban poor.

¹¹² Since no permanent site could be found, the Board used the Temperance Hall at Byker as a temporary school: 'As no eligible site for a permanent school could be readily secured, the Board resolved to open out a temporary school and hired the Temperance Hall in Grafton Street for that purpose. Negotiations are now in progress for the purchase of an eligible site near to Byker Bank.' [Newcastle School Board, *Second Triennial Report*, 1874-6, p19].

¹¹³ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p129.

¹¹⁴ W.E. Forster quoted in Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p23. In the introduction to the Education Bill (1870) Forster had written, 'Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity.' See Martin, C. (1979) *English Schools*, p54.

¹¹⁵ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p131.

¹¹⁶ Many historians have accepted this as a primary catalyst for the School Board programme. See, for example, Martin, C. (1979) *A Short History of English Schools*. Hove: Wayland, p42. To industrialists, education was a means of training pupils for future employment.

¹¹⁷ For the same reasons, prominent board members Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell and Joseph Cowen contributed funds to the Durham College of Science. At a meeting of Newcastle Council, Alderman Harle stated, 'It was really most satisfactory to see gentlemen who had secured fortunes by commerce or industry like Mr. Bell and Mr. Cowen come forward in order to co-operate with the authorities of Durham in establishing this admirable body.' [Newcastle Council Proceedings, 5 July 1871, p404].

In the long term it was hoped that drill classes would improve Britain's national defence capability.

Proponents of the School Boards gained support by playing on these very anxieties.¹¹⁸ Contemporary literature abounded with vivid depictions of the plight of the Victorian poor. Commentators denounced the poor physique of the working classes and the unhygienic, debilitating conditions in which they lived. For example, Robson himself voiced these anxieties when he wrote that working class housing in London was 'equally dingy, and one common level of squalor drags everything down to the point at which life is scarcely worth living, and the gin palace is the handiest refuge.'¹¹⁹

Within this narrative, a critical role was played by children. Girouard observes that within Progressive circles children were idealised within a world of innocence, the contours of which were defined by the nursery.¹²⁰ Expanding this theme, Weiner identifies a profound shift in conceptions of childhood in the late nineteenth century.¹²¹ Childhood was increasingly seen as a distinct and crucial phase of human development, and the ideal childhood was envisaged as a period of innocence and passive dependency occurring within a space wholly separate from the adult world. However, this was a thoroughly middle class ideal of childhood, and educationalists became aware that the working class experience was very different. Using emotive language, they argued that many working class children were forced into work by selfish parents and thus never experienced a nurturing childhood. To middle class observers, urban children often appeared prematurely old. According to one teacher, 'Many of the faces had lines of care, sorrow, and crime marked on them, which would have done honour to a "lifer". Others seemed old, as if heads had by some mistake been misplaced and put on too youthful a body.'¹²² This notion of a 'lost' childhood was one of the key narratives utilised by proponents of working class education.

¹¹⁸ Girouard demonstrates that the School Board programme was part of a wider cause of social reform. Progressive liberals experienced guilt over the impoverished classes of society: '[...] those who felt increasingly unhappy because their pleasant and comfortable lives floated on top of a massive substratum of poverty and ignorance could ease their guilt by bringing sweetness and light to others less fortunate than themselves.' [Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p4]. These individuals built schools, libraries and art galleries as a curative measure.

¹¹⁹ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools,' p138.

¹²⁰ Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p5. The work of Kate Greenaway and others made the distinction between childhood and adulthood visually clear.

¹²¹ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p20.

¹²² A London School Board teacher quoted *ibid.*, p38.

Another factor which gave momentum to the School Board programme was the extension of the franchise. The 1867 Reform Act lowered the property-holding restrictions that had limited the right to vote to the upper and middle classes. In this context, it became particularly important that the working classes accepted the authority of those in power, and this meant that schools were increasingly used to promote social cohesion and encourage them to share the values of the middle classes. Robson attributed the disparity between middle class and working class life to 'the gradual removal of the richer inhabitants from among the poorer,' as the affluent sought more prestigious and healthy locales.¹²³

Geographical separation made classes mutually suspicious of each other. In London, Robson writes, 'Our civilisation has had the effect of separating the masses of the people into great towns of their own, unheeded and uncared for. London is more than a town; it is a collection of towns. Some of these are almost unknown to most people.'¹²⁴ Robson deplored this process of spatial segregation not only out of genuine concern for the welfare of impoverished communities, but also because it resulted in a potentially dangerous fragmentation of society, which Robson termed a 'gradual loosening of that old interlocking of different classes of society, which enabled one to lean on the other, and helped so much to hold all ranks together.'¹²⁵ The Victorian school-building programme attempted to deal with these 'unknown' masses. Just as the style devised by Robson and others expressed the ideals of education, social order and cleanliness, so the schools functioned as instruments for the dissemination of middle class values. The ambition of quelling social unrest underlay the egalitarian ideals.¹²⁶

Above all, educationalists believed that education would teach the working classes to respect authority and social order. These concerns were shared by the supporters of the School Board movement in Newcastle Council: 'The want of education has been the cause of so much crime, poverty and so many other ills that are rampant on all hands.'¹²⁷ To facilitate this mission, Newcastle enabled its schools to be used as free libraries for working men and

¹²³ Robson, E.R. 'Art as Applied to Town Schools, p139.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p140.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p139.

¹²⁶ An opposing view was that the unfathomable masses living in towns and cities would become dangerous if educated to too high a level. As Andrew Jackson observes, the 1870 Act itself was hampered by concern over the effects education might have on the working class populace. [Jackson, A. "Sermons in Brick": Design and Social Purpose in London Board Schools' in *London Journal*, vol.18, no.1, 1993, p31].

¹²⁷ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 23 November 1870, p30.

women out of school hours, thus reaching out to the adult population as well as children.¹²⁸

This social mission was zealously pursued by the industrial schools – a type of institution committed to the correction of impoverished and lawless children.¹²⁹ As Newcastle School Board reported:

The experience of School Boards who have established Day Industrial Schools is that these Schools serve as a powerful corrective and cure for truancy; and not only effect great moral, mental, and physical reformation in the children themselves, but also, in numerous instances, a marked change in the feelings, character, and habits of their too-often indifferent and careless parents.¹³⁰

Concerning themselves with nothing less than the ‘moral, mental and physical reformation,’ of children, industrial schools were notoriously paternalistic in outlook, interposing themselves between children and their parents. This attitude was endemic within Britain’s industrial schools, as the legislation confirms: ‘A School Board shall have the same powers of contributing money in the case of an industrial school as is given to a prison authority by Section 12 of the Industrial Schools Act 1866.’¹³¹ The suggestion of parity between industrial schools and prison authorities is alarming given that few, if any, of the children sent to such schools had committed any crime. The Day Industrial Schools Act of 1876 introduced schools for ‘a class of children who by reason of dirt, semi-nakedness and hunger, were unfit and unable to attend the ordinary Elementary Schools.’¹³² These served to clear children from the streets, thereby eradicating the embarrassing spectacle of ‘street Arabs’.¹³³

There was a steady increase in the number of children committed to Newcastle’s industrial schools during the 1880s and 90s. The reasons for this are complex. Compulsory education came into force by government decree in 1876. With attendance now mandatory and Board Schools still unable to provide the necessary accommodation, there was a vast increase in the number of children ‘under detention’ at industrial schools in Newcastle (178

¹²⁸ Beginning in 1878, each school made a large room available as a library for six evenings a week. See Goldwater, S. (1975) *Elementary Educational Provision*, p12.

¹²⁹ Newcastle School Board inherited two single-sex industrial schools that predated the 1870 Act; it also built a new co-educational industrial school.

¹³⁰ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p8.

¹³¹ Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p9.

¹³² Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p9.

¹³³ The number of ‘stray’ children roaming the streets was a source of anxiety. Newcastle schools had the stated aim of ‘clearing the streets of children.’ [Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1895*, p16]. To this end, schools were sited in playgrounds large enough to keep ‘waifs and strays’ out of sight.

were committed in the three years following the 1876 Act).¹³⁴ Many of these children were sent by the police, but the majority were remanded – with some reluctance – by the Board. Decrying this situation, the Chairman stated that he ‘did not think . . . that the population of Newcastle was worse than that of other large towns.’ Instead, ‘certain classes of children’ were refused admission to ordinary elementary schools simply ‘because the schools were full.’¹³⁵ This suggests that higher classes of children received priority when the School Board allocated places and that less fortunate children were streamed away and contained within the industrial schools. This amounted to a selection policy based on vague social discriminations: the respectable working classes were separated from the ‘unworthy’ poor.¹³⁶

Industrial schools played an integral role within the School Board programme. In 1871 the Board inherited the Jubilee School on City Road, a Classical building which had been designed by John Dobson c.1810. This was soon found to be inadequate and the Board proposed to build a replacement, together with an adjoining industrial school. The original building was demolished and Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke were awarded the commission. The new building cost over £8,457, which was borrowed from the Corporation at the usual rate of 3.5 % interest over fifty years. The Board noted with satisfaction that the contracts for both schools were carried out within the estimates.¹³⁷ This was achieved by working stone and slate salvaged from the former building into the fabric. The new Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial School (1883-5, demolished) bore the hallmarks of the Queen Anne style, including Flemish gables, white sash windows and terracotta dressings.¹³⁸ Overall, the building was consistent with London models. Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke were primarily ecclesiastical architects and their characteristic motifs were present in their initial design – the building abounded with gargoyles and exotic beasts [Fig. 20]. Once again, however, these had to be omitted for reasons of expense, along with a projected cupola [Fig. 21]. This reiterates the financial constraints acting on School Board design.

¹³⁴ A list of police prosecutions was a regular feature in the reports of the Industrial Schools Committee. See, for example, Newcastle School Board (1898) *Miscellaneous Reports – Minutes of the Industrial Schools Committee*.

¹³⁵ Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1892*, p7.

¹³⁶ There was a deep-seated conviction that poverty was a symptom of weakness of character and this gave rise to the perpetual fear of helping the ‘undeserving’ poor. The social implications of the charitable relationship are discussed in Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, pp10-11.

¹³⁷ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p9.

¹³⁸ The Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial Schools have now been demolished. This description is based on an illustration and plans published in the *Building News*, vol.45, 7 September 1883.

The Royal Jubilee School accommodated 424 infants on the ground floor and 582 children on the first floor, all in 'cheerful, lofty, well-lighted and well-ventilated rooms.'¹³⁹ The two schools form a single composition, but the dual function is expressed in the more severe character of the industrial school. According to the Board's Triennial Reports:

The Day Industrial School situated in City Road differs from an ordinary Public Elementary School, in that the waifs and strays who will be committed to it by order of the magistrates, will, besides being taught the rudiments of elementary instruction, be provided with three meals a day, and be trained to use their eyes and hands in simple industrial occupations, suited to their sex and age.¹⁴⁰

The building included school rooms and work rooms for girls and boys, plus a dining room, kitchen and scullery, baths and separate playgrounds. The inclusion of baths highlights the concern with hygiene that lay at the heart of the School Board initiative. Chadwick exclaimed that each school should be 'an implement fashioned by the best practical sanitary science.'¹⁴¹ In Newcastle, the spatial deployment of schools coincided with the building of public baths and washhouses. In 1886 Corporation baths were opened in Snow Street, the site of one of the earliest schools, as well as Shipley Street in Byker and Scotswood Road in Elswick.¹⁴² Like the Board Schools, public baths were constructed of red brick with freestone dressings and lined internally with glazed brick, the visual similarity suggesting an analogous mission.¹⁴³ Thus, schools were the sites in which standards of cleanliness were taught, and public baths and washhouses provided the necessary facilities. Together these institutions helped to relieve urban squalor.

¹³⁹ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p9.

¹⁴⁰ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p7.

¹⁴¹ Edwin Chadwick quoted in Gregory-Jones, D. 'Towers of Learning', p397.

¹⁴² *Building News*, vol.50, 18 June 1886, p948. Snow Street Baths were opened by the Mayor, which testifies to their importance within Newcastle's civic agenda.

¹⁴³ A.B. Gibson and E.J. Milner Allen won for commission for all three buildings by public competition. The division of space within these buildings illuminates attitudes to class, gender and ethnicity. Each had a large swimming bath lined with white glazed bricks. The Snow Street Baths had separate rooms for women and for Jews. Private baths (first, second and third class) were provided for men. See *Building News*, vol.50, 2 April 1886, pp560-1.

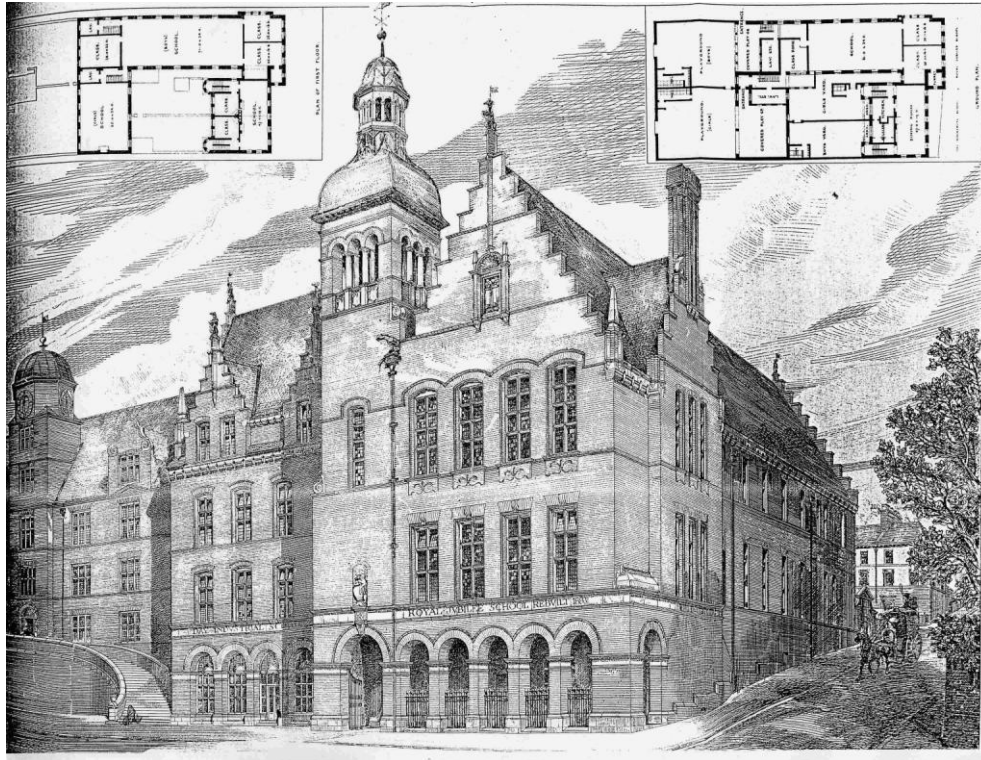


Figure 165 Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial School (*Building News*, vol.45, 7 September 1883, p367). The illustration seems unusually opulent and may have been embellished for publication. The Day Industrial School lies to the left.



Figure 166 Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial School in 1964. (Newcastle City Library).

Gender

The 1870 Education Act made all rate-paying householders eligible to serve on local School Boards, irrespective of gender. Women were actively involved in the administration of the London School Board and, as teachers, in the provision of education throughout the country. The London School Board actively sought middle class women, believing that they would be able to persuade working class mothers to make their children attend school.¹⁴⁴ Yet as Jane Martin observes, the contribution of women is often overlooked in the historiography of education.¹⁴⁵ A place within elite social circles and an advanced education were prerequisites for women wishing to embark on public careers. The women who served on School Boards were overwhelmingly from privileged backgrounds and connected to the 'genteel' professions.¹⁴⁶ This was consistent with Victorian attitudes to female employment. It was considered socially acceptable for upper and middle class women to undertake charitable work, and the administration of the School Boards was analogous to this. However, feminist involvement in schools was largely concentrated in London, where progressive circles were more prominent. Women did not play an active role in the organisation of Newcastle School Board until 1898, when the Chairman announced that:

For the first time in its history, the Board welcomed to its deliberations a lady member, and the opinion which had been widely held that the educational authority of a large city like Newcastle should never be without one or two lady members has, I am sure, been strengthened by our experience of the benefit Mrs. Runciman has rendered to the work of the Board.¹⁴⁷

Even overlooking the somewhat patronising tone, these remarks imply that women's contribution, though beneficial, was expected to be fundamentally different from that of men. Integral to the Board's social mission was the inculcation of 'proper' gender relations. The notion of appropriate male and female roles pervaded every aspect of school planning and operation. Women participated in the administration of the Board, but their contribution to anything pertaining to the design or building of schools was minimal. No woman ever served

¹⁴⁴ This policy is discussed in Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p31.

¹⁴⁵ See Martin, J. (2000) 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women to Follow Along": sex, gender and the politics of education on the London School Board, 1870-1904' in *Gender and Education* vol.12, no.2, p166. Martin examines the contribution of feminist educationalists such as Florence Fenwick Miller and Elizabeth Garret Anderson.

¹⁴⁶ An exception was Mary Bridges Adams, the daughter of an engine fitter, who served as a member of the School Board for London. She had formerly been a teacher and head teacher at Newcastle and Birmingham. See Martin, J. (2000) 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women"', p168.

¹⁴⁷ Newcastle School Board, *Statement by the Chairman of the Board for the year 1898*, p4.

on the New Schools Committee, which oversaw the purchase of sites and the building of schools, or the Works Committee, which supervised their maintenance. These areas were defined as a male preserve, and women were generally relegated to committees overseeing matters such as needlework, laundry, cooking and domestic economy.

With the Board advertising for female teaching staff in the *School Mistress* newspaper, it is clear that women were valued as teachers, but their role and status were distinct from those of male teachers.¹⁴⁸ All junior and senior schools were run by head masters with or without a subordinate head mistress. Mixed schools utilised both male and female teachers, but infants' schools were exclusively staffed by women. Evidently women were entrusted with teaching young children because the Board cast them in the nurturing, maternal role by which they were defined within conventional ideology. Moreover, head masters were consistently paid more than head mistresses and even male pupil-teachers were paid more than their female counterparts.¹⁴⁹ Thus, male and female roles within Newcastle schools were organised according to a traditional sexual division of labour. Women could, occasionally, turn this situation to their advantage. Many women joined School Boards specifically because they wanted to represent schoolgirls and female teachers, and as Martin argues, the feminist members of School Boards were often able to create empowering public roles while operating within the conventional ideology of gender.¹⁵⁰

An analysis of school design indicates that these gender divisions were transmitted to scholars themselves. Playgrounds were bounded by foreboding walls and fences with separate gateways marked 'Boys' and 'Girls'. At Todd's Nook School the entrances were at opposite ends of the playground; at Westgate Hill they were in separate streets. Separate

¹⁴⁸ Newcastle School Board had a decidedly national outlook. It placed adverts in national publications such as the *School Guardian*, *School Mistress* and the *Journal of Education*. Notices were also placed in the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Glasgow Herald* in order to recruit teachers and inspectors. The Board kept an eye on its counterparts around the country. When considering whether to provide Higher Grade schools, for example, the Board looked to Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham, finding that their Higher Grade schools were 'popular and doing good work, without practically entailing any charge upon the rates.' [Newcastle School Board, *Sixth Triennial Report*, 1886-8, p13]. In order to attain the standard set by the metropolitan School Board, Newcastle appointed the widely-respected William Breakwell as its Inspector of Schools. Breakwell was a former master of St. Peter's School, Wolverhampton. In his new role he was required to inspect every school under the control of the Board following the same procedures as the Government Inspectors. From a national perspective, it seems that the Newcastle schools were unusually popular. Breakwell reported that, 'The popularity of the Newcastle Board Schools is a fact that must strike everyone who has any experience of the position of such schools in other large towns,' and this was confirmed by the Government Inspector. [Newcastle School Board, *Fourth Triennial Report*, 1880-2, p22].

¹⁴⁹ Head masters were paid £250 per annum plus £100 for every 100 children above 250, as opposed to £100 per annum plus £50 for every fifty girls above 100 for head mistresses. [Newcastle School Board, *First Triennial Report*, 1871-3, p17]. The School Board for London was the first to elect a female member on the same terms as men. See Martin, J. (2000) 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women,"' p167.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p179.

entrances divided the pupils into gendered groups as soon as they entered the school grounds and this facilitated the administration of separate curricula. The infants' and girls' entrances were placed side by side to encourage girls to take younger siblings to school, thereby fostering the maternal instincts needed for their future role as wives and mothers. Playgrounds were invariably divided by partition walls (for example at Heaton Park Road and Todd's Nook Schools). Headmasters' and mistresses' rooms were equivalent in size and placement, but they were separate – each was housed in one of the towers that dominated the frontage. Indeed, the towers made the gendered division of schools visible externally. Each formed a separate entrance for boys or girls and served one half of the segregated playground. Gendered cloakrooms were installed in the base of each tower. The concept of separate spaces for boys and girls followed Robson's recommendation and was consistent with the notion that boys and girls required wholly distinct forms of education as training for the roles that would devolve upon them in later life.¹⁵¹ The planning of the Board Schools attempted to replicate the sexual division of labour of the middle class household and present it as a model for working class children and parents to follow.

The school curriculum, which was imposed upon thousands of children between 1871 and 1903, was also planned in accordance with a traditional sexual division of labour. The Education Department's *Scheme of Education* specified a number of essential and discretionary subjects. Biblical instruction, reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar were classed as essential for both sexes, but essential subjects intended solely for girls included plain needlework, cutting out and domestic economy. Boys received manual training in order to equip them with the skills they would need for their future employment. Girls undertook five hours of domestic economy and cookery per week, which made them conversant with the domestic and maternal roles they were expected to enter. Crucially, this was intended to support their future roles within the home, not to equip them for employment as domestic servants. According to the Education Department Code of 1897, 'It is not intended that this teaching should resolve itself into a class for training children for domestic service, but it is intended to be a course for the various household duties which devolve more

¹⁵¹ Robson, E.R. *School Architecture*, p206.

or less upon all women.'¹⁵² As the *Triennial Report* of 1879 remarks, 'To many of the girls who know little of home comforts the lessons prove to be of immediate practical service, whilst to all they are beneficial, bearing as they do directly upon their future lives.'¹⁵³ This indicates that education for girls was conceived solely as 'training for married life.'¹⁵⁴

Divergent gender roles were particularly pronounced in Newcastle's industrial schools, which specifically trained children 'to use their eyes and hands in simple industrial occupations, suited to their sex and age.'¹⁵⁵ Boys were engaged in chopping wood as training for industrial labour, but they also sold it as firewood, thereby venturing at an early age into the public sphere and the world of work. Female 'inmates' were almost exclusively occupied in cleaning the workshops.¹⁵⁶ Industrial schools threw into sharp relief the ideology of Victorian education, which in Newcastle and the metropolis was structured to impose a middle class domestic ideal of male breadwinner and dependant housewife.¹⁵⁷

Heaton Park Road Board School (1900) embodies these strategies. Designed by the young Sunderland architect S.D. Robins in conjunction with Frank W. Rich, it is typical of the Board Schools that followed London precedents [Fig. 22].¹⁵⁸ An imposing red brick edifice, the corners are cut away to produce an overhanging first floor. The south elevation consists of a central block with stepped gables. A cupola straddles the steeply-pitched roof and slender chimney stacks terminate the composition. The central block has two storeys, expressed by tall windows. Symmetrical wings project at either end, counteracting the vertical emphasis of the main block.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² Education Department Code of 1897, quoted in Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London*, p142.

¹⁵³ Newcastle School Board, *Third Triennial Report*, 1877-9, p13.

¹⁵⁴ British Parliamentary Papers, 1895. See Martin, J. (2000) 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women,"' p174.

¹⁵⁵ Newcastle School Board, *Fifth Triennial Report*, 1883-5, p7.

¹⁵⁶ Newcastle School Board, *Sixth Triennial Report*, 1886-8, p28.

¹⁵⁷ Martin, J. (2000) 'To "Blaise the Trail for Women,"' p173.

¹⁵⁸ S. Denison Robins had not previously designed a Board School. It is likely that Robins won the commission by competition and that the Board employed F.W. Rich, designer of the highly successful Ouseburn School, to advise him. Together, the architects delineated the site by laying out a curb. The site had been used as a football ground, which raised concerns as to whether the curb would still be there when building work began. The plans were initially rejected because a well was found to exist beneath the proposed caretaker's house. The plans were eventually passed on the 14 November 1900. See TWAS - T186/19471, proposed new school for Heaton, by S.D. Robins and F.W. Rich, September 1900.

¹⁵⁹ The building was discussed in *The Builder*, vol.80, 11 May 1901, p476.

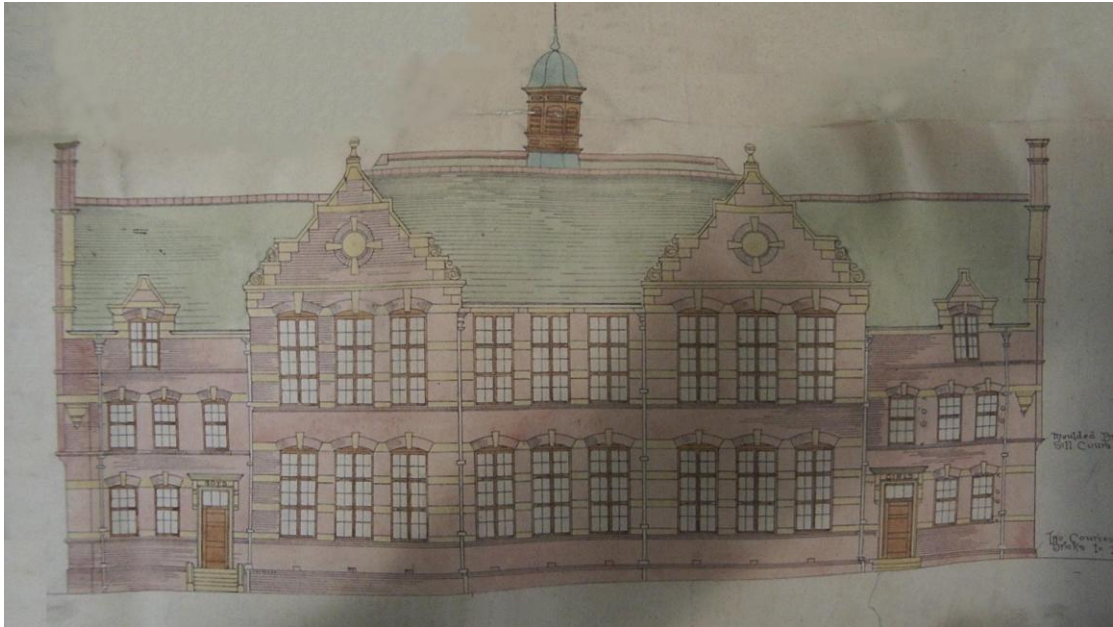


Figure 167 Heaton Park Road Board School (1900), S.D. Robins and F.W. Rich (TWAS - T186/19471).

The school was built on the central hall plan – a single large hall occupies both the ground and first floors. Surveillance was a key requirement in the design of Board Schools and most were planned so that the head master could view each of the subordinate teachers without disturbing their classes. In *School Architecture*, Robson warned against the use of corridors because they occluded sight-lines within the building.¹⁶⁰ Most Board Schools of the 1880s consisted of a central hall surrounded on three sides by separate classrooms. Each class was bounded by glazed partitions, allowing supervision from within the hall. Large halls facilitated simultaneous instruction, which was administered with the aid of pupil-teachers, some as young as 13. Robson was initially sceptical about central halls, but they were permitted by the Education Department and were used in several London schools.¹⁶¹ Robson came to view the central hall more favourably, explaining the arrangement thus: 'As each school is under the supervision of one master or mistress, [the planning] must in some degree be subordinate to the necessity for such supervision.'¹⁶² The interior space thus functioned something like a panopticon, in which each teacher was potentially under the supervision of the head master at any given time. This seems to have had adverse psychological affects on

¹⁶⁰ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, p107. The central hall principle was a remnant of the monitorial system of education in which children were taught *en masse* in vast halls.

¹⁶¹ Robson criticises the Johnson Street School, London, for its inefficient use of space. [Robson, E.R. *School Architecture*, pp72-3, p161, p305.

¹⁶² Port, M.H., (1978) 'Form and reform', p253.

staff. The reports of the Works Committee of Newcastle School Board record numerous requests to have the windows of classrooms and teachers' private rooms obscured with curtains or opaque glass, requests which were invariably refused.¹⁶³ Schools built on this principle include the Ouseburn, Heaton Park Road, Raby Street and Victoria Jubilee Board Schools. The internal planning was therefore designed to reinforce the authority of the headmaster.

At Heaton Road School, the hall doubled as a gymnasium and could provide additional accommodation for 112 children if required. Two blocks of classrooms were ranged along the axis of the building, each of the classrooms having the capacity to accommodate 30 pupils. Atypically, one of the wings housed a drawing office. Educational facilities in Newcastle schools were not uniform, but varied according to location and the nature of the community they were built to serve.¹⁶⁴ Drawing was considered to be beyond the requirements of most working class children, but Heaton was home to skilled artisans.¹⁶⁵ Drawing classes were provided to prepare children to enter the same trades as their parents and thus support local industrial and commercial enterprises [Fig. 23].



Figure 168 Pupils at Heaton Park Road Board School in 1885. Heaton was home to skilled artisans, and their dress suggests that these children were from relatively affluent working class families. (Newcastle City Library).

¹⁶³ See, for example, Newcastle School Board (1898) *Reports of the Works, Stores and General Purposes Committee*, vol.1, p18.

¹⁶⁴ Beyond the provision of essential subjects, facilities available at individual schools varied considerably. Sandyford Road Board School had a cookery room. In the manufacturing districts, the emphasis was on practical skills. For example, Elswick Road and Ouseburn had facilities for boys' handicraft. [Newcastle School Board (1898) *Reports of the Works, Stores and General Purposes Committee*, vol.1, p45].

¹⁶⁵ See Barke, M. 'Population in the mid-19th Century: Migration' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p29.

Within the school, space was divided according to gender. The projecting wings housed separate entrances, stairwells and cloakrooms for boys and girls. The head master's room was prominently located in the east wing, above the boys' entrance, thereby defining this as the male section of the school [Fig. 24]. A communal staff room in the west wing mirrored the placement of the head master's office. The building stood within a walled enclosure on the boundary between the boys' and girls' playgrounds.¹⁶⁶ These spaces had a complex function. Their primary role was to serve as a space for exercise where pupils received their daily dose of fresh air, but playgrounds were often under the surveillance of a superintendent who applauded or condemned the pupils' behaviour:

Any case of oppression, or dishonesty, or particular act of generosity or disinterestedness, is, on the return to the gallery, taken up by the master, and thoroughly investigated, and condemned or applauded before the whole, or rather simultaneously with the whole scholars, they sitting, in a sense, both as judges and jury.¹⁶⁷

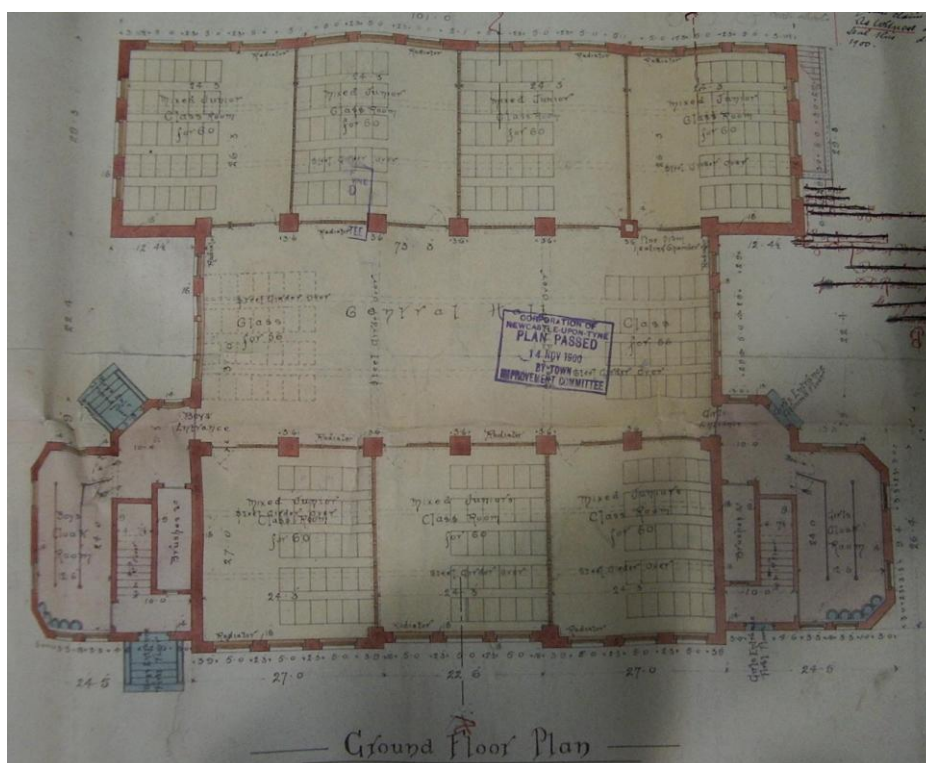


Figure 169 Heaton Park Road Board School (1900) by S.D. Robins and F.W. Rich. (TWAS - T186/19471).

¹⁶⁶ A separate infants' school stood in the playground, divided from the main building by a boundary wall. The infants' school reproduced the form of the main building, but reduced it to a single storey. Again, this consisted of a central block with side wings and featured a cupola and tall windows. The central entrance was ornamented with a round arch. [TWAS - T186/19471].

¹⁶⁷ Stowe, D. (1859) *The Training System of Education, including Moral School Training for Large Towns and Normal Seminary, for Training Teachers to Conduct the System*. London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, p185. This text pre-dates the School Board programme, but is quoted by Deborah Weiner in her discussion of the London School Board. It seems that the moral function of the playground remained important.

Head office

On only one occasion did Newcastle School Board commission a building that lay outside the sphere of school architecture. This was the combined School Board office and pupil-teachers' centre in Northumberland Road (demolished). The School Board was initially without premises when it was founded in 1871. The Board requested permission to use the Council Chamber in the Town Hall for meetings, but this request was summarily refused, a fact that reiterates the Council's hostility towards working class education and the Board itself.¹⁶⁸ To have erected a purpose-built office immediately would have incurred the wrath of the ratepayers; the School Board was therefore obliged to operate from rented accommodation. During 1875 it was located at No. 73 Northumberland Street, but for most of its existence the Board rented space in the offices of the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company on Grainger Street West.¹⁶⁹ Around 1898 the Board determined to erect purpose-built offices and a new pupil-teacher centre. A 1000 square yard site on Northumberland Road was obtained from St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital.¹⁷⁰ The Sunderland architect Joseph Potts was appointed assessor for a competition open only to 'those architects who have business offices in Newcastle.'¹⁷¹ Instructions were issued to architects. The building was 'to be brick in general harmony with the adjacent college, but inexpensive in design.'¹⁷² Accommodation was to include a board room, Chairmen's room and lady members' retiring room. The Board specified that separate entrances for boys and girls be provided in the pupil-teachers' centre.

¹⁶⁸ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1871, p187.

¹⁶⁹ The Board paid roughly £60 per quarter in rent to the Gas Company. See Newcastle School Board (1898) *Reports of the Works, Stores and General Purposes Committee*, vol.1, no.1, p8.

¹⁷⁰ The pupil-teacher centre had previously been housed in Trinity Hall, Byker. The Board initially tried to purchase an 800 square yard site on College Street from the Durham College of Science, but this proved unsuccessful. See Newcastle School Board (1898) *Miscellaneous Reports – Minutes of the Industrial Schools Committee*.

¹⁷¹ *Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p441.

¹⁷² These requirements were set out as 'Instructions to Architects'. The document was drafted by the School Board and revised by Joseph Potts. See Newcastle School Board (1898) *Miscellaneous Reports – Minutes of the Industrial Schools Committee*. The 'adjacent college' was the Durham University College of Medicine by Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke.



Figure 170 Unexecuted design for Newcastle School Board's head offices and pupil-teachers' centre, designed by Armstrong and Knowles. (*Building News*, vol.79, 7 September 1900, p323).

The competition was won by Armstrong and Knowles, who had built a number of Board Schools in the city.¹⁷³ Their design was illustrated in the building press [Fig. 25]. However, Armstrong and Knowles dissolved their partnership in 1899 and W.H. Knowles

¹⁷³ Armstrong and Knowles had designed Board Schools at Prospect Place and Sandyford Road. See Appendix.

submitted a new design for the office, which was executed in 1900-1. The Board had to be extremely cautious when spending public money on itself as it was always vulnerable to accusations of profligate spending. Nevertheless, the Board spent £12,000 on the building, which was equivalent to the average cost of a three-storey school. As reported in *The Builder*, the offices and pupil-teacher centre were divided into two blocks, but formed a complete group. The roofline was arrayed with chimney stacks and gables. A central entrance on the Northumberland Road elevation opened onto an entrance hall with marble staircase. General offices were ranged along the frontage, with the chiefs of individual departments occupying offices at the rear. These were not accessible to the public. Space for attendance officers and clerks was provided in the basement, along with a strong room for storing the Board's funds. The pupil-teacher centre was stepped back from the main block in order to convey its subordinate status. As in most of the Board Schools, there were separate entrances and staircases for male and female pupil-teachers. However, the facilities were more elaborate than in most schools, indicating that pupil-teachers were given more extensive instruction than ordinary pupils. On the first floor were three large classrooms divided by moveable glass partitions. The second floor was devoted to laboratories, which were ventilated by means of an electric fan.¹⁷⁴

In March 1902 Knowles submitted plans for furnishing the offices. Oak fittings and furniture for the board room and Chairman's room were designed and executed by the artist and architectural carver Ralph Hedley at a cost of £638, 15s. This included wood block flooring. The subordinate offices were furnished by Sopwith and Co. at a considerably lower cost (£545, 7s.), reflecting their lower status.¹⁷⁵ The Chairman's room and committee room faced onto Northumberland Street. Residential space for the caretaker was installed on the second floor, including a bath and stove. A lift was provided for board members, but a separate staircase allowed the caretaker to go about his duties without disrupting the work of the Board. In the interests of fireproofing, the stairs and landings were constructed of concrete, but faced with marble. The building utilised modern appliances, including an

¹⁷⁴ *Building News*, vol.77, 22 December 1899, p835.

¹⁷⁵ Newcastle School Board (1902) *Reports of the Various Committees, New Schools Committee*, vol.5, no.4, p45. [TWAS - SB.NC/3/1].

'intertelephonic communication' system.¹⁷⁶ Offices were equipped with electrical lighting by Usher and Co. White opal shades were installed in the basement, the general office and inspector's office. The staircase was illuminated with a stained glass window. The School Board offices and pupil-teacher centre may have promised a new lease of life for Newcastle School Board, but the Board and its counterparts throughout the country came to an end with the passing of the Education Act of 1902. Under this system, the powers of the School Boards passed directly to local authorities.¹⁷⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the buildings erected by Newcastle School Board. Focusing on a particular building type, it has employed methods of typological analysis in order to assess the impact of social and economic forces upon architectural form. As part of a national programme of educational reform, Newcastle Board Schools illuminate the processes that were transforming the relationship between provincial architecture and the metropolitan centre. The authority of central government, the influence of metropolitan models and the role played by architectural periodicals had a profound effect. Responding to these forces, the design of Newcastle Board Schools shows a clear progression. The earliest are low single-storey buildings executed in stone, resembling the church schools that had dominated local education before the passing of the 1870 Act. These prototypes were soon succeeded by two and three-storey buildings in the Queen Anne style, revealing the influence of metropolitan precedents.

The School Board programme brought about a revolution in the way schools were funded, designed and utilised. It was envisaged as a national system that would transcend the haphazard provision and denominational rivalry of religious schools. Due to the intricacies of the Education Act, however, the Board Schools did not eradicate or replace local systems of education. The immediate social and economic contexts in which the Act was interpreted were crucial to the operation of individual School Boards. As a locally-elected body, Newcastle School Board represented a means by which Newcastle's leading figures

¹⁷⁶ The Board specified that this was to be installed at a cost not exceeding £73. [Newcastle School Board (1902) *Reports of the Various Committees, New Schools Committee*, vol.5, no.10, p124].

¹⁷⁷ Details of the reorganisation are recorded in City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne (1902) *Education Act 1902*. [Newcastle City Library].

could extend their power over the city. Without transgressing the ideology of elementary education, these figures were able to influence the construction of schools and the nature of educational provision. The buildings gave tangible form to specific sets of social values and gender relations, and played a crucial role in bringing the city under the control of the ratepayers.

7 ‘A Citizen of No Mean City’: the architectural patronage of Sir W.H. Stephenson

In nineteenth-century Newcastle, power resided with a small number of individuals who stood at the centre of the city's industrial, commercial and political networks. Such figures exerted unparalleled influence over the governance of the city and, as patrons of architecture, over its evolving form. This chapter examines the architectural patronage of Sir W.H. Stephenson (1836-1918), a director of the Throckley Coal Company and seven times Lord Mayor of Newcastle [Fig. 1]. Focussing on four acts of private philanthropy – the building of three public libraries and a monument to Queen Victoria – the chapter examines the role of one of the most powerful figures in Newcastle's history. Architectural history frequently foregrounds the individual ‘author’ and examines buildings in terms of his or her personal agency, drawing on methods of biographical analysis. This chapter uses the biographical method to examine the agency of a single patron. It thus contributes another facet to the main theme of the thesis, revealing how architecture could be shaped by the taste and patronage of powerful individuals. This is an effective means of analysing local power structures, as Stephenson's influence spanned the public and private spheres. He continually channelled his influence through various municipal authorities, including such fundamentally-important public bodies as the Town Improvement Committee and the Finance Committee of Newcastle Corporation. Even when acting under his own volition, Stephenson ensured that his gifts to the city supplemented and/or completed programmes that had been initiated within the Council. Stephenson was a lynchpin within the city's ruling elite. An analysis of his architectural patronage helps to reveal how power was distributed in Victorian and Edwardian Newcastle.

The chapter begins by surveying Stephenson's life and career, revealing how he rose to his position of influence. It gives an account of public library campaigns in Newcastle, and analyses the aesthetic and social programme embodied in the three Stephenson libraries. After discussing Stephenson's municipal and religious patronage, the Queen Victoria monument is discussed as an instance of patronage designed to write Newcastle into the wider narratives of British history.

Studies of authorship have been a mainstay of architectural history. The publication of monographs and biographical studies has been used to construct a pantheon of great figures (usually men) to stand alongside those of the more established discipline of art history.¹ The portrayal of architects as creative geniuses was accomplished by those with a vested interest – namely architects themselves, critics and architectural historians, and is fundamental to the common perception of architects as the sole locus of meaning within the field of architecture. It is undeniable that the ‘author’ is an effective organising category, since architects do indeed produce bodies of work that have internal coherence. Moreover, the biographical method is central to our understanding of history. We understand ourselves and our place in the world in biographical terms and, as this chapter demonstrates, historical figures were motivated by a sense of their public image, duties and legacy. Yet to view buildings solely in terms of an architect’s *oeuvre* gives only a partial view of their significance. Buildings are fundamentally shaped by the tastes, ambitions and political beliefs of their patrons. Recent studies have interrogated the agency of the patron, simultaneously breaking down the idolised figure of the architect as ‘author’. For example, Alice T. Friedman explores the architecture and heraldic imagery deployed by Bess of Hardwick at Hardwick Hall (1590-97), which gave a tangible expression of her identity as a powerful female landowner. Friedman reveals that Bess’s architect, Robert Smythson, has nevertheless been ‘constructed’ as the primary author, thereby suppressing problematic questions about female architectural patronage.² More generally, Friedman reminds us that the patron had a coordinating influence, which must always be taken into account when writing histories of architecture. This chapter attempts to negotiate this approach by focussing on W.H. Stephenson, a figure who was chosen from among many eligible candidates because he was representative of the independently-wealthy individuals who immersed themselves in local government and the cultural realm, and who exercised a controlling influence over the city’s architecture. Crucially, this influence transcended the agency of any one architect. Drawing on techniques of biography, the chapter asks how the personal agency of this powerful figure

¹ See for example, Colvin, H. (1954) *A Biographical Dictionary 1660-1840*. This highly influential text foregrounds attribution as a key component of the architectural historian’s methodology.

² Friedman, A.T. (1998) *Women and the Making of the Modern House: a social and architectural history*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.

was transmitted through a number of public and private institutions, in order to understand how 'that potent, impalpable thing we call influence' operated in Newcastle.³

A prominent industrialist, entrepreneur and Councillor, Stephenson was a public-spirited individual who used his money to improve and beautify Newcastle, building three public libraries in working class areas of the city at minimal cost to the ratepayers, and funding the Queen Victoria Monument in St. Nicholas's Square. His philanthropic donations were gratefully received by a Council that was notorious for its lack of vision. Stephenson's role as an architectural patron illustrates how thoroughly private and municipal power overlapped and reinforced each other in Victorian Newcastle. His long public career spanned the full duration of the period examined in this thesis, and he was intimately involved in the city's economic and cultural development. So thorough was his influence that fellow Councillor Sir Henry Newton said that 'the life of Sir William is the history of Newcastle for the like period.'⁴



Figure 171 W.H. Stephenson, photograph by Bacon, James & Sons, 1894-5. (Newcastle City Library).

³ Newcastle Council (1916) *Presentation of an Address of Congratulation to Alderman Sir William Haswell Stephenson, on the 80th Anniversary of his Birthday*. Newcastle: J. Dowling & Sons, p4. Stephenson received a number of accolades towards the end of his career, and in each case a report of the ceremony was published by the Corporation. These documents give a valuable insight into Stephenson's activities and his standing within Newcastle Council. As transactions of ceremonial occasions, however, they are rich with hyperbole and must be read with caution.

⁴ Sir Henry Newton paraphrased in Newcastle Council (1911) *Presentation of the Honorary Freedom of Newcastle upon Tyne to Alderman Sir William Haswell Stephenson*. Newcastle: J. Dowling & Sons, p5.

Stephenson's career: commerce, industry and politics

William Haswell Stephenson was born on 15 May 1836 at Throckley, a Northumberland mining-town seven miles west of Newcastle.⁵ His father was the founder of Throckley Colliery and a manufacturer of fireclay, gas retorts and blast furnace linings.⁶ The young Stephenson was educated at Mr. Weeks's School in Ryton, where he came into contact with future Newcastle MP and newspaper baron Joseph Cowen. Upon leaving school, Stephenson attended Wesley College in Sheffield, an experience that fostered a lifelong devotion to the Methodist faith.⁷ Despite his privileged upbringing, it seems that Stephenson was determined to succeed independently. He began his commercial career on Newcastle Quayside in 1853, joining the office of Joseph Heald at the Newcastle Commercial Insurance Company, and moved permanently to the city in 1862. As he later remarked, 'I came into the city in the year of 1862, a new lad from the country, unnoticed and unknown.'⁸ He became a manager of Throckley Colliery in 1856 and strengthened his position in 1867 by co-founding the Throckley Coal Company with the steel manufacturer John Spencer and the mining engineers E.J. Boyd and John Bell Simpson (1837-1926).⁹ Utilising the expertise of his new partners, Stephenson was able to deepen the existing shafts and extract coal from a much greater depth than had previously been possible.

⁵ The details of Stephenson's life were recorded in a biographical outline produced by Deputy Lord Mayor Johnstone Wallace and presented during the ceremony at which Stephenson was awarded the Freedom of the City. See Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*. Further details are recorded in Stephenson's obituary in *The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9.

⁶ The Stephensons had farmed the area since 1782. William Stephenson Senior lived at Throckley House. He married Miss Ward of Edmundbyers in 1827. See Walton, G. (1994) *Bygone Throckley*. Newcastle: Newcastle City Library and Arts, n.p.

⁷ The Stephenson family had a longstanding connection with Methodism. In 1742 Stephenson's great-grandfather had sold the land in Northumberland Street on which John Wesley built Newcastle Orphan House. The family built a Wesleyan Methodist Church in Throckley in 1871, and added a church hall in 1905 [Fig. 2]. Stephenson himself made numerous donations to Methodist causes. [Ibid.]

⁸ W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by Newcastle Council (1916) *80th Anniversary*, p5.

⁹ John Spencer (1785-1867) of Lemington Hall was the owner of Newburn Steel Works. He was a member of one of Newcastle's industrial dynasties. His son Thomas Spencer (d. 1902) became a partner of the Throckley Coal Co. and the Consett Iron Co. John Bell Simpson was a partner in the Elswick Coal Company and Walter Scott Limited (Colliery Steel Company). He served as Chairman of the Newcastle and District Electric Lighting Company and was mining consultant to the Duke of Northumberland and to Sir Matthew White Ridley. [Benwell Community Project (1978) *Ruling Class*, p108].



Figure 172 Throckley Wesleyan Methodist Church, Hexham Road, Throckley, 1902. Built by the Stephenson family in 1871. (Newcastle City Library).



Figure 173 Elswick House, Stephenson's residence from 1871. (Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. [1996] *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*).

Having established himself in business and industry, Stephenson joined Newcastle Council in 1869 and began a spectacularly successful public career, serving as Chairman of

the Finance Committee, the Town Improvement Committee and the Lunatic Asylum Committee for over twenty years. In 1871 Stephenson moved into Elswick House, a two-storey Neo-Classical villa on the south side of Elswick Road [Fig. 3].¹⁰ He was appointed to represent the Corporation on the Tyne Improvement Commission in 1878, eventually becoming Chairman of this immensely powerful coalition of colliery owners, traders and shipping magnates. As a Councillor, it was said that 'Sir William was a Conservative, but always declined a political contest.'¹¹ Nevertheless, Stephenson distinguished himself by the zeal with which he promoted his particular causes and was renowned for his belligerent contributions to Council debates; as fellow Councillor Johnstone Wallace commented, 'Our Lord Mayor was capable of infusing into his speeches a positively aggressive robustness.'¹² Stephenson was one of the leading supporters of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and it was he who instigated the election of Newcastle School Board.¹³ As Chairman of the Finance Committee, he continually ensured that the School Board had access to Council funds.¹⁴ A member of the Board until it was disbanded in 1903, Stephenson actively participated in the building of many of the schools discussed in Chapter 6. In each of these official roles, Stephenson earned a reputation as a shrewd financier, since by his own admission he was 'no advocate for any extravagant expenditure of money.'¹⁵ He was first elected Mayor on 9 November 1875 and again in 1884, 1894, 1902, 1909, 1910 and 1911, becoming only the second person to hold the office on seven separate occasions.

Equally successful in the commercial sphere, Stephenson was Chairman of the Newcastle Exchange and Vice Chairman of the local Chamber of Commerce. He was also Chairman of the Free Trade Wharf in London, the Leeds Phosphate Company, the National Peat Company, the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company [Fig. 4] and the Tyne Tees Steamship Company. Along with other sponsors, Stephenson built a railway from Scotswood

¹⁰ Elswick House was a nineteenth-century villa. The house was of two storeys with three principal bays. The entrance was framed with Doric pilasters and originally had a projecting portico. See Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*.

¹¹ *The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9.

¹² Johnstone Wallace quoted in Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p4.

¹³ Beyond Newcastle, Stephenson was involved in the establishment of Leys School in Cambridge and was a director of Woodhouse-Grove Middle Class School. [*The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9].

¹⁴ For example, he urged the Council to lend £1750 to Newcastle School Board in order to buy the site for the Portland Road School. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 7 February 1894, p206].

¹⁵ Stephenson speaking at a Council meeting. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 June 1894, p513]. According to Stephenson's *Times* obituary, 'a native caution in dealing with expenditure gave him a commanding influence.' [*The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9].

to North Wylam, which connected at both ends with the existing Newcastle to Carlisle railway (1872-6). This facilitated the transport of coal from his colliery to the staiths on the River Tyne. Therefore, as *The Times* wrote after his death, 'his interests covered almost the whole area of commerce and industry in the North of England.'¹⁶

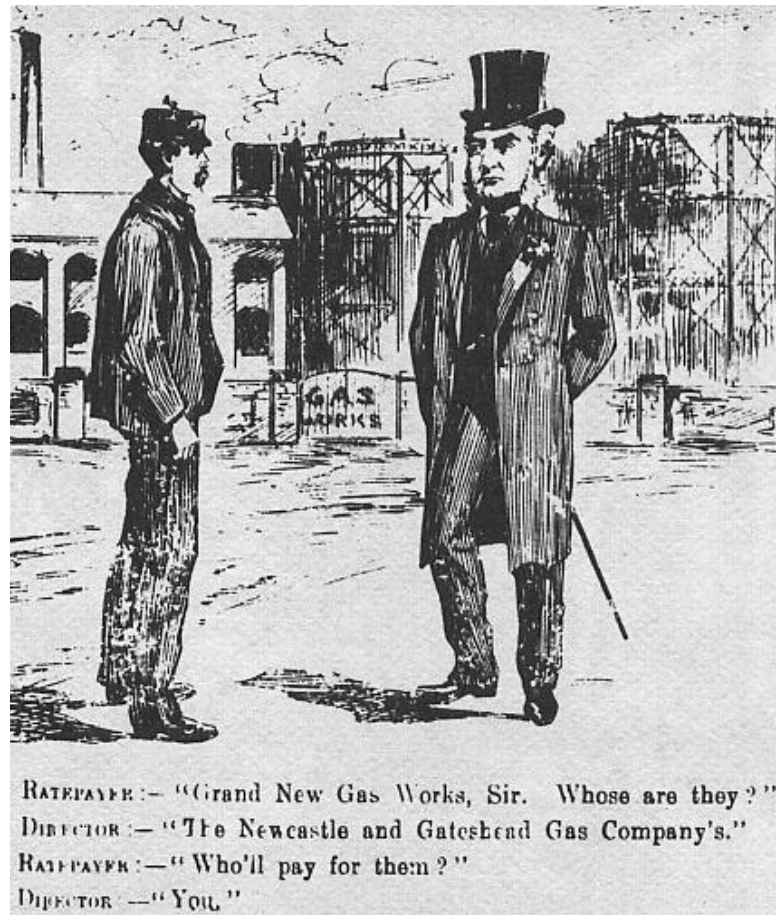


Figure 174 Unidentified press cutting satirising Stephenson in his role as Chairman of the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company, reprinted in Benwell Community Project [1978] *The Making of a Ruling Class*.

During his life, Stephenson garnered many public honours. He was appointed magistrate for Newcastle in 1874 and subsequently for the county of Northumberland. The University of Durham awarded him the honorary title of Doctor of Civic Law. Most importantly, he was awarded the Freedom of the City of Newcastle in 1911.¹⁷ In receiving this honour, Stephenson was aware – and remarked in his acceptance speech – that the Freedom of the City had previously been awarded to Lord Armstrong and his military advisor Sir Andrew

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p9.

¹⁷ Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p3.

Noble. Stephenson said he was honoured to enter this company, which he regarded as a 'magnificent galaxy of talent.'¹⁸

When Stephenson embarked on his programme of library-building, his credentials as a philanthropist were well-established. In 1872 the Throckley Coal Company had built a Day School for 200 children at a cost of £1200, and added an infant school in 1876. Stephenson remained committed to philanthropic causes throughout his career. In 1909 he opened a fund for the relief of the unemployed, of which there were estimated to be 40,000 on Tyneside.¹⁹ It is likely that his philanthropic leanings were galvanised by his move to Newcastle, where there was a well-developed culture of philanthropy. Stephenson was an admirer of the Newcastle educationalist Dr. Rutherford, and stated that Rutherford College was 'the crowning edifice of the life work of the late Dr. J.H. Rutherford, whose object was to erect an educational ladder connecting the elementary school and the technical college with the university.'²⁰ An ardent supporter of the temperance movement, Stephenson was elected to the council of the Northumberland Public House Trust Company, along with the MP Sir Matthew White Ridley, Sir Andrew Noble, Sir Benjamin C. Browne and Charles Mitchell. This body endeavoured to create 'direct counter-attractions to the public-house,' which it achieved by:

Acquiring sites for and building, restoring, altering, enlarging, maintaining and endowing hospitals, infirmaries, colleges, schools, school-houses, clubs, institutes, museums, picture and other art galleries, libraries, reading-rooms, public baths, gymnasiums, parks, gardens, open spaces, and other lands and buildings dedicated or intended to be dedicated to the public.²¹

Stephenson's involvement with the Northumberland Public House Trust Company probably convinced him that culture had a moral function, and he later stated that in Newcastle 'there are public picture galleries, museums, works of beauty, and musical entertainments to elevate the tastes; and all these go to promote the moral and religious welfare of the people.'²²

¹⁸ W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by the Deputy Lord Mayor, *ibid.*, p6.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 2 December 1909, p4. Subscriptions amounting to £500 were announced.

²⁰ Stephenson speaking at the opening ceremony of an extension to Rutherford College. [*The Times*, 23 September 1910, p4].

²¹ Anon. (n.d.) *British Gothenburg Experiments*, Chapter X, 'Public House Trust Companies', available at www.prestoungrange.org/arts-festival. Accessed 17 September 2006.

²² W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by the Deputy Lord Mayor, Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p9.

Victorian philanthropy is a complex issue. Ostensibly motivated by generosity and concern for the welfare of the urban poor, philanthropists often deployed their wealth strategically. As discussed in Chapter 2, industrialists had a vested interest in providing amenities such as schools, libraries, hospitals and parks, as these helped to create a dependable, loyal and healthy workforce. Philanthropy also offered a less tangible benefit – it served to legitimise the capitalist system by invoking a model of Christian charity. Acts of benevolence made the disparity of wealth seem morally justified, and as Deborah Weiner notes in *Architecture and Social Reform in Victorian London*, charity reproduced social hierarchies by perpetuating the authority of the donor and the subservience of the recipient.²³ Undoubtedly, Stephenson was motivated by a sense of Christian sympathy and a desire to elevate the working classes with education, but his patronage had a strong element of paternalism and formed part of a complex social mission.

Public libraries in Newcastle

The three Stephenson libraries were built by private patronage, but they represent the culmination of debates which had preoccupied Newcastle Council for over 40 years. In discussing these buildings, it is necessary to examine attitudes to public library provision in Newcastle. The free library question was a particular concern within Victorian society. Prior to the nineteenth century, reading had been a socially exclusive practice, with both literacy and access to reading materials being restricted to the upper and middle classes. Improvements in education facilitated the spread of literacy among the working classes, but even after the benefits of the 1870 Elementary Education Act began to be felt, the cost of books prevented many working people from reading. To meet the new demand for reading matter, libraries and reading rooms sprang up in major towns and cities. In Newcastle, the demand was temporarily met by the libraries of the Literary and Philosophical Society and the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, but since both of these charged fees, they were effectively out-of-bounds to most of the labouring population. There was also a newsroom in the Royal Arcade (opened in 1832), which offered newspapers such as the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Manchester Guardian*. Bainbridge's department store

²³ Weiner, D.E.B. (1994) *Architecture and Social Reform*, pp10-11.

reputedly had a library for the use of staff.²⁴ The public library cause was mainly promoted by middle class philanthropists who were concerned with conditions among Britain's labouring population and believed that the accumulation of wealth gave them a moral obligation to help those less fortunate than themselves.²⁵

Public libraries were initiated by the Public Libraries Act of 1850. In Newcastle, the cause was assiduously promoted by the local doctor William Newton, who was a Councillor for East All Saints' ward.²⁶ Newton had a deep sympathy for the working classes and ardently believed in the power of education to elevate the individual. It was at his behest that the Corporation formed a committee for the establishment of free libraries and he served as its first Chairman.²⁷ Newton died in 1863, but the campaign was taken up by his son Dr. Henry William Newton (1842-1914), who was also a Newcastle Councillor. He was supported by W.E. Adams (1832-1906), editor of Cowen's *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. In regular editorials and a series of letters (for which he used a pseudonym), Adams petitioned for the establishment of free libraries, alleging that the opponents of the library movement were determined to keep knowledge from the people.²⁸ There was in fact much hostility towards the public library cause. The 1850 Public Libraries Act gave local councils the right to levy a ½ penny rate for the establishment of public libraries, but the majority of Newcastle Councillors were reluctant to use these powers. The notion of a free library supported by the rates was vociferously opposed by Conservative Councillor Thomas Leslie Gregson, whose objection stemmed from his belief that the ratepayers' money should not be used for something that would primarily benefit the working classes.²⁹ This illiberal attitude was shared by many who feared that educating the working classes would breed political insurrection.

After hesitant beginnings, including an abortive proposal to build a library above the vegetable market in Clayton Street, Newcastle's first free public library opened in New Bridge

²⁴ Knott, J. (1975) *A History of the Libraries of Newcastle upon Tyne to 1900*. Newcastle University: unpublished MLitt thesis, p147.

²⁵ The public library cause was often promoted by Progressive educationalists as a corollary of the School Board programme. See Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p85.

²⁶ William Newton was Union Medical Officer in one of the poorest districts of Newcastle from 1844. He joined Newcastle Council in 1851, saying that it was poor sanitary conditions that had made him into a politician. Newton reportedly had a 'peculiar temperament', which led to cantankerous behaviour such as hissing at respected aldermen. Yet he was an active sanitarian and demanded action from the Council. He was an ally of the Congregational preacher and educationalist Dr. J.H. Rutherford. See Rowe, D.J. 'The Population of Nineteenth Century Tyneside' in McCord, N. (ed.) (1977) *Essays in Tyneside Labour History*, p31.

²⁷ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 12 July 1854.

²⁸ Knott, J. (1975) *Libraries of Newcastle*, p245.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p244.

Street in 1880.³⁰ The new library was initially met with enthusiasm and was reportedly used by a wide spectrum of the population.³¹ However, the shortcomings of the new building soon became apparent. The cramped newsroom was continually overcrowded and, combined with poor ventilation, this gave rise to an unpleasant smell.³² The lack of affordable public transport between the centre of Newcastle and the suburbs meant that the library was virtually inaccessible to the infirm and those who worked long hours.³³ As a result, a demand arose for branch libraries throughout the city.

In Newcastle, as elsewhere, the library cause was allied with educational reform. Alderman John Brunton Falconar made this connection explicit when he stated that branch libraries were needed for the beneficiaries of the 1870 Elementary Education Act.³⁴ As a member of Newcastle School Board, W.H. Stephenson recognised the value of free libraries and in 1884 he proposed that Board Schools might be used as branch libraries outside of school hours. This suggestion was taken up in a number of schools, albeit sporadically. In 1893, Dr. Henry Newton proposed that the Council should raise the library rate to 1 ½ pennies in the pound. Surprisingly, Stephenson objected to this suggestion, arguing that the Council should not raise the library rate until the full cost of any new libraries was known.³⁵ Stephenson stated that he was not opposed to libraries in principle, but was concerned that Newcastle was becoming 'a very heavily-rated city.'³⁶ Stephenson also observed that in Leeds (which had 25 branch libraries) and Bradford (which had 18) the library rate was only one penny in the pound.³⁷

³⁰ Cowen backed the project and announced that the Corporation was to erect a free library. Space was provided for an art gallery, which was illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*, 25 September 1880, p310 and p320. A newsroom was opened two years later in the same building. See TWAS - D.NCP/16/4, plans of the Free Library and Museum, New Bridge Street (twentieth-century copies from Fowler's drawings).

³¹ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 December 1881.

³² *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 15 January 1886 and 19 February 1886.

³³ Electric trams were not introduced until 1901. See France, L. 'Transport in the 19th Century' in Barke, M. and Buswell, R.J. (1980) *Historical Atlas*, p39.

³⁴ See Falconar's obituary in the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 28 September 1876. As discussed in Chapter 6, Falconar was the first Chairman of Newcastle School Board.

³⁵ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 12 April 1892, p306. Throughout his career, Stephenson was known for his cautious spending. Johnstone Wallace commented that 'Finance has always been with him a strong point, and the city has benefited greatly by the exercise of his expert knowledge in the interests of the exchequer.' [Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p5].

³⁶ As he later pointed out, the rateable value of Newcastle had been £405,853 in 1869, but by 1910 it had risen to £1,631,789. See W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by the Deputy Lord Mayor, Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p10.

³⁷ Stephenson speaking at a Council meeting held on 7 June 1893. In response to this statement, Newton said it was unfair for Stephenson to confuse the library question with that of the general finances of the city and pointed out that if Newcastle was heavily rated, that was largely attributable to Stephenson's management of the Finance Committee. [Newcastle Council *Proceedings*, 7 June 1893, p452-5].

The Stephenson libraries

Stephenson believed in the free library principle as a corollary of the 1870 Education Act, but gradually came to the conclusion that the Council was incapable of making the necessary provision without placing an unacceptable burden on the rates. Clearly frustrated with the inertia of the Council, Stephenson was also conscious that Newcastle lagged behind other towns and cities in the provision of amenities. Speaking at a meeting of the Council in 1876, he said, 'In Newcastle we had the reputation of being about the last town in the kingdom to undertake any improvement and when we did undertake any improvements we did it in a half-hearted way.'³⁸ Seeking to resolve the stalemate, Stephenson sent a letter to Newcastle Council dated 6 December 1893, stating that he had lived on Elswick Road for twenty years and felt that the residents of this densely populated area needed a place 'where they could assemble for the purpose of social intercourse, reading and refreshment, apart from the influence of the public house and strong drink.'³⁹ He felt that a branch library was 'a felt want and absolute need,' but remarked that neither public nor private enterprise was forthcoming.⁴⁰ Exclaiming that, 'A good deed is worth a thousand brilliant theories,' Stephenson offered to finance the building of a public library at Elswick.⁴¹ He stipulated that the site should be of at least 400 square yards and located in Elswick Park, but pledged to let the Public Libraries Committee choose the exact location.⁴² The Council accepted this offer unanimously and instructed the Parks and Public Libraries Committees to confer with Stephenson on the best location within the park. Stephenson's unorthodox approach allowed him to control almost every aspect of the project. In selecting an architect, he turned to John William Dyson MSA (1855-1916). As Chairman of the Lunatic Asylum Committee, Stephenson had overseen a major extension of the Coxlodge Asylum in 1891-2.⁴³ The plans for this extension had been provided by Dyson, and Stephenson evidently found the architect to be reliable and compliant with his instructions. Stephenson established a productive working relationship with Dyson,

³⁸ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 29 January 1876.

³⁹ Letter from Stephenson to Newcastle Council, reproduced in *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 December 1893, p87.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p87.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p87.

⁴³ The Coxlodge Asylum was opened on Jubilee Road, Coxlodge in 1869. The original building had been designed by W.L. Moffat. Additions were made in 1886-8 by the Newcastle architect A.B. Plummer. See *The Builder*, vol.46, 23 February 1884, p286. Dyson's extension was examined in the *Building News*, vol.63, 5 August 1892, p175 and plate. Further details of Dyson's career are provided in the Appendix.

using his services for all four of the philanthropic commissions discussed in this chapter. The prominent Newcastle builder Walter Scott was the contractor.



Figure 175 Stephenson Library, Elswick, designed by J.W. Dyson, 1895. (Author's photograph).

The new Stephenson Library at Elswick was formally opened on 26 September 1895 by Northumberland MP Sir Matthew White Ridley during his tenure as the Home Secretary. The presence of such an illustrious figure testifies to Stephenson's considerable political connections.⁴⁴ The Stephenson Library is a two-storey building executed in red Leicestershire bricks and augmented with sandstone dressings [Fig. 5]. Three of the five bays are set forward, terminating with scrolled dormers, and the symmetry of the frontage is offset by a tower rising above the west entrance. This low tower is capped with a pyramidal turret. The design makes free use of English Renaissance motifs, echoing the Queen Anne Board Schools erected in Newcastle and elsewhere. By using a consistent visual style,

⁴⁴ Sir Matthew White Ridley lived at nearby Heaton Hall, built in 1713 by Richard Ridley. See Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*, p21. As mentioned previously, both Stephenson and Ridley were members of the Northumberland Public House Trust Company.

Stephenson and his architect defined the library as a corollary to the School Board programme, encouraging the local population to see it as a logical continuation of their school education.⁴⁵ This was enhanced when Elswick Road Board School (1896-7) was built in the same street. In common with most Board Schools, the library used terracotta ornament to communicate its ideals. The arms of Newcastle are displayed on the central dormer, indicating that Stephenson intended the library to be an asset to the city. At the same time, the crest of the donor is displayed upon a stone shield, and the name 'Stephenson Library' is above the door, reminding the local populace of Stephenson's beneficence.



Figure 176 Stephenson Library, Elswick – dedication plaque, 1983. (Newcastle City Library).

The building functioned as much more than a library; it was intended to form a focal point for the urban community of Elswick, and Stephenson's complex social programme was actuated in the building's plan. The main entrance, beneath the tower, led via a vestibule and staircase to the first floor, which was dominated by a large library hall. The ground floor,

⁴⁵ Dyson did not design a board school, but he did make an unsolicited application to Newcastle School Board for the chance to design any proposed new school. [Newcastle School Board, *New Schools Committee Reports*, 1902, p133]. The Board resolved to consider Dyson at a future date.

entered via a second entrance in the centre of the façade, housed a general reading room, committee room and a large refreshment room. The presence of two entrances indicated that the building had a dual function as a library and recreational centre. The library hall on the first floor was a large space with a hammer-beam roof [Fig. 7]. The hall doubled as a venue for public gatherings, and was equipped with a raised wooden platform at one end. It may seem surprising that Stephenson should provide a venue for democratic activity, but use of this space was strictly regulated. Political and religious discussions were prohibited, as Stephenson specified that the library was to be non-political and nondenominational.⁴⁶



Figure 177 Stephenson Library, Elswick – first floor library hall in 1983. (Newcastle City Library).

In terms of facilities, the Stephenson Library was considerably advanced. The book provision and cataloguing were much more sophisticated than those in the Central Library, and the book-stock was classified according to the Dewey Decimal system. The reading room was supplied with newspapers and journals, and was open between 9 am and 9 pm. The library was equipped with electric lighting, a vital requirement for a predominately working class library. Artificial lighting extended opening times, making it possible for workers to

⁴⁶ Letter from Stephenson to Newcastle Council, reproduced *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 December 1893, p88.

attend outside of working hours. A ladies' table was provided in the main reading room, but the fact that it offered titles such as *The Queen*, *The Gentlewoman* and *The Gentlewoman's Review*, suggests that it was meant to have a didactic effect. There was also a separate reading room for women.

Stephenson stated that he was donating the library 'in a spirit of Christian sympathy, especially for the working classes,'⁴⁷ but his vision of how the library should operate was decidedly paternalistic, encapsulating anxieties about the conduct and character of the working classes, anxieties which were shared by many middle class philanthropists. In his own words, the library was designed to promote the 'comfort, enjoyment and moral welfare' of the public.⁴⁸ By acting as a private individual, Stephenson was able to exert a much greater influence on the planning and policies of the library than would have been possible by operating exclusively through official channels. Gambling, obscene language and 'improper conduct' were forbidden. As a devout Christian, he insisted that the library should be closed on Sundays, even though, for many workers, Sunday provided the only opportunity for recreation. Clearly, Stephenson was adamant that the library must not deter people from going to church. The presence of a smoking room and refreshment room indicates that the library was intended as a centre of recreation as well as learning, but Stephenson's commitment to the temperance movement resulted in his stricture that no alcoholic drinks could be sold on the premises.⁴⁹ The refreshment room was intended to function as a counter attraction to the public house, in keeping with his involvement with the Northumberland Public House Trust Company.⁵⁰ Library policy was determined by a committee occupying an office in the tower. From this vantage point, the committee would have been able to scrutinise people as they entered the library, and thus regulate its readership.

Discussing the use of space in Victorian cities, Kate Hill has demonstrated that ruling elites often used civic institutions as adjuncts to their own social arena.⁵¹ The working classes were allowed access to these institutions, but on terms which were fixed by the elite. Perhaps the ultimate indication of Stephenson's paternalistic agenda was his stipulation that he, his

⁴⁷ Ibid., p87.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p87.

⁴⁹ Similarly, the village of Throckley was a prohibition district, since the Throckley Coal Company forbade public houses. [*The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9].

⁵⁰ This is confirmed in Stephenson's letter to Newcastle Council, reproduced in *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 December 1893, p87.

⁵¹ See Hill, K. "Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece", p106.

wife and daughters be entitled to exclusive use of the library for ten days every year, suggesting that he did not want to mix with the recipients of his generosity, nor did he want the female members of his household coming into contact with them. Thus, philanthropists invoked the myth of democratic inclusivity and this was an important component of their power, but it was qualified by exclusionary policies.

Stephenson did not use the library to promote his Methodist faith, insisting that it remain nondenominational, but he did build a Methodist church on the far side of Elswick Road, almost directly opposite the library.⁵² Together with Elswick Road Board School, these buildings formed a spatial nexus offering spiritual and intellectual improvement to the labouring population. A key aspect of the library's intended social function was its situation in Elswick Park, which Stephenson had in fact been instrumental in creating. Along with the lack of libraries and art galleries in Newcastle, the deficiency of public parks had been a cause of embarrassment within the Council. In 1877, the landowner Christian Allhusen proposed to sell off the estate of Elswick Hall for building sites.⁵³ A deputation of 'enlightened gentlemen', including Stephenson, Joseph Cowen, the Elswick Councillors Thomas Grey and Thomas Forster, the Councillor William Smith and the banker Thomas Hodgkin, petitioned the Council to purchase the land for use as a public park.⁵⁴ The estate was transformed into Elswick Park, and a drinking fountain was erected by public subscription in 1881 as a sign of gratitude [Fig. 8]. The names of the donors were inscribed on the stonework, along with the inscription, 'To elevate man and honour God, they saved this park for public use for health, brawn and happiness.'

⁵² According to his obituary in *The Times*, 'Sir William was a staunch Wesleyan, although his sympathy and support were given to all denominations.' [*The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9].

⁵³ Elswick Hall had been purchased by Richard Grainger in 1839 and he lived there briefly. See Faulkner, T.E. and Lowery, P. (1996) *Lost Houses of Newcastle and Northumberland*.

⁵⁴ The creation of Elswick Park is documented in Adams, W.E. (1903) *Memoirs of a Social Atom*. London: Hutchinson & Co. Adams had worked as the editor of Cowen's *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* for many years and his book contains a chapter on Cowen's life and political career.



Figure 178 Elswick Park drinking fountain, 1881. (Author's photograph).

The provision of parks and other spaces of public recreation was designed to improve the health and physical fitness of the labouring population. Fresh air and exercise were prescribed as an antidote to the smoke and squalor of the city. Such facilities ensured a healthy and therefore productive workforce. By choosing a site in Elswick Park, Stephenson aligned the library with this ethos of healthy public activity and shared recreation. A contemporary postcard surviving in Newcastle City Library is revealing [Fig. 9]. The photographer has chosen not to photograph the building from the front, as one might expect, but to show it in conjunction with the park, thereby portraying it as a site of enjoyable recreation. The fact that the image captures the three amenities provided by Stephenson suggests that the photographer was aware of Stephenson's patronage, and the circulation of this image would certainly have helped to unify the three sites in the mind of the public. The purpose of this spatial nexus was to initiate Newcastle labourers into polite social practices and encourage them to adopt middle class values.



Figure 179 A postcard showing the Stephenson Library from the rear. Elswick Road Wesleyan Methodist Church is visible, along with the leisured folk who are using Elswick Park. (Newcastle City Library).

The library was itself configured with bodily health in mind. The Central Library in New Bridge Street had drawn criticism for its poor air quality, and Stephenson took steps to prevent similar problems occurring at Elswick. John Dyson was a technically-minded architect who had invented the 'Eon Ventilator', a device for purifying air in public buildings.⁵⁵ At the Elswick branch he developed an advanced system of ventilation in which the vitiated air was extracted via flues and expelled through the turret that protrudes on the Elswick Road elevation. The turret thus had a practical as well as a decorative purpose.

Once completed, the library was an immediate success, becoming 'a popular place of public resort' with a daily attendance of between 300 and 400 people.⁵⁶ According to the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, it was:

Daily patronised by persons belonging to all grades of society . . . When I looked into the handsome hall, at present used as a newsroom, the other night, I found labourers, tradesmen, mechanics, apprentices and even clergymen at the newsstands, or engaged in looking over the magazines lying on the tables.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ A description of Dyson's Eon Ventilator was published in the *Building News*, vol.52, 18 February 1887, p235.

⁵⁶ *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 23 January 1896. However, it should be remembered that the *Chronicle* newspapers had been promoting the library cause for decades and publicising the new library's success was partly an act of self-congratulation.

⁵⁷ *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 23 January 1896.

From this evidence, it seems that the library had managed to span a social divide, encouraging the labouring population to share the values of the middle classes. This fulfilled Stephenson's original vision for the library: Dyson's design had been illustrated in the *Building News*, vol.70, 24 January 1896, p130. The image shows the library being used by a spectrum of social classes [Fig. 10]. Two affluent ladies stand in the doorway, one leaving as the other enters. A group of working class people stand outside and two affluent gentlemen walk towards the entrance. The building is framed by the trees of Elswick Park. Sir Matthew White Ridley stated during the opening ceremony, 'The beneficence of Alderman Stephenson will help to weaken the prejudices which foster invidious social distinctions. It will add too in softening the differences between classes, and in fostering a sentiment of unity and solidarity in the community.'⁵⁸

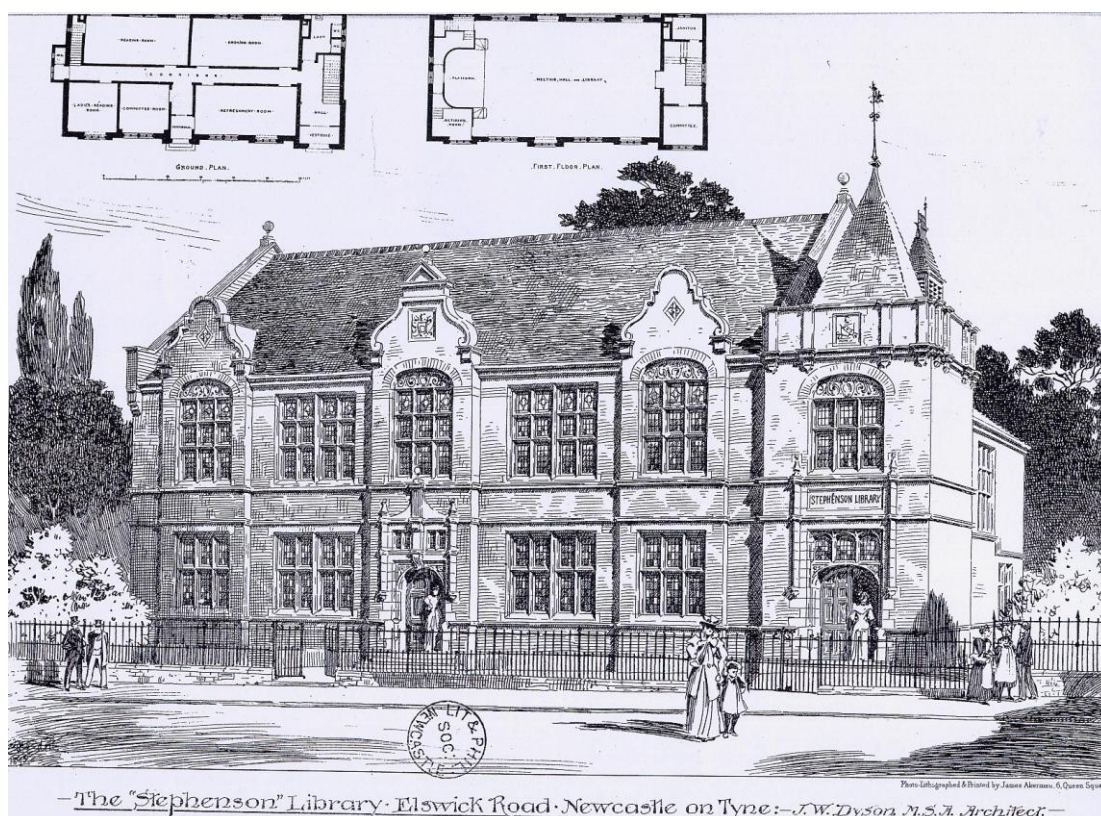


Figure 180 Stephenson Library, Elswick. (*Building News*, vol.70, 24 January 1896, p130).

The Council expressed its gratitude for Stephenson's gift, which according to the Mayor's estimate amounted to £3000 or £4000.⁵⁹ Dr. Henry Newton, longstanding proponent of free libraries, stated that Stephenson's donation would 'immortalise the name of the

⁵⁸ Sir Matthew White Ridley's remarks were reported in *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 26 September 1895.

⁵⁹ As reported in the *Building News*, vol.69, 18 October 1895, p578 the final cost was £4000.

alderman,' a remark that perhaps contained a veiled criticism of Stephenson's propensity for self-promotion.⁶⁰ Newton also reminded the assembled Councillors that the gift would demand an ongoing financial commitment from the Council. Nevertheless, he regarded the donation as a victory for the library cause and concluded, 'This is the establishment of the branch library principle in Newcastle.'⁶¹

When Stephenson offered to build a library at Elswick, members of the Council had expressed the hope that similar provision could soon be made for the east end of the city, which likewise supported a working class community clustered around bases of industry. For example, Newton speculated that, 'What Alderman Stephenson has done for the west end, in these brilliant days of the coal trade, some other generous benefactor may possibly do for the east end.'⁶² Crucially, there was a demand for a new branch library among the community itself. On 1 March 1893 a deputation of Byker and Heaton residents had petitioned the Council to establish a library to serve these districts.⁶³ One of the residents, Mr. Wright, remarked that 'dwellers in the east end of the city were essentially a toiling class. Many of them worked from early morn till late at night, and they had very little leisure time.'⁶⁴ As a result, the Central Library was out of bounds. Another local resident named Mr. Burnell – described in somewhat patronising terms as a 'working pitman who spoke in the vernacular' – reiterated the demand for a library, without which he felt his education was 'falling back.'⁶⁵ In 1898 Stephenson offered to build another library to be 'somewhat similar to the branch at the west end presented by him in 1895.'⁶⁶ Once again, he commissioned John Dyson to prepare the plans [Fig. 11]. This offer was unanimously accepted by the Council, and Alderman Coltman anticipated that the expenditure required would be 'one returning them a certain interest in the way of intellectual and moral development.'⁶⁷ Stephenson's offer was calculated to coincide with the 60th anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, and in a gesture of loyalty he elected to name the new library after the monarch. The Victoria Library was opened in the Heaton district of Newcastle by Earl Grey on 16 October 1898.

⁶⁰ Dr. Henry Newton speaking at a meeting of Newcastle Council. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 6 December 1893, p88].

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p88.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p89.

⁶³ This meeting was reported in *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 March 1893, pp188-9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p189.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p190.

⁶⁶ *Building News*, vol.73, 18 December 1897, p899.

⁶⁷ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 March 1893, pp189.

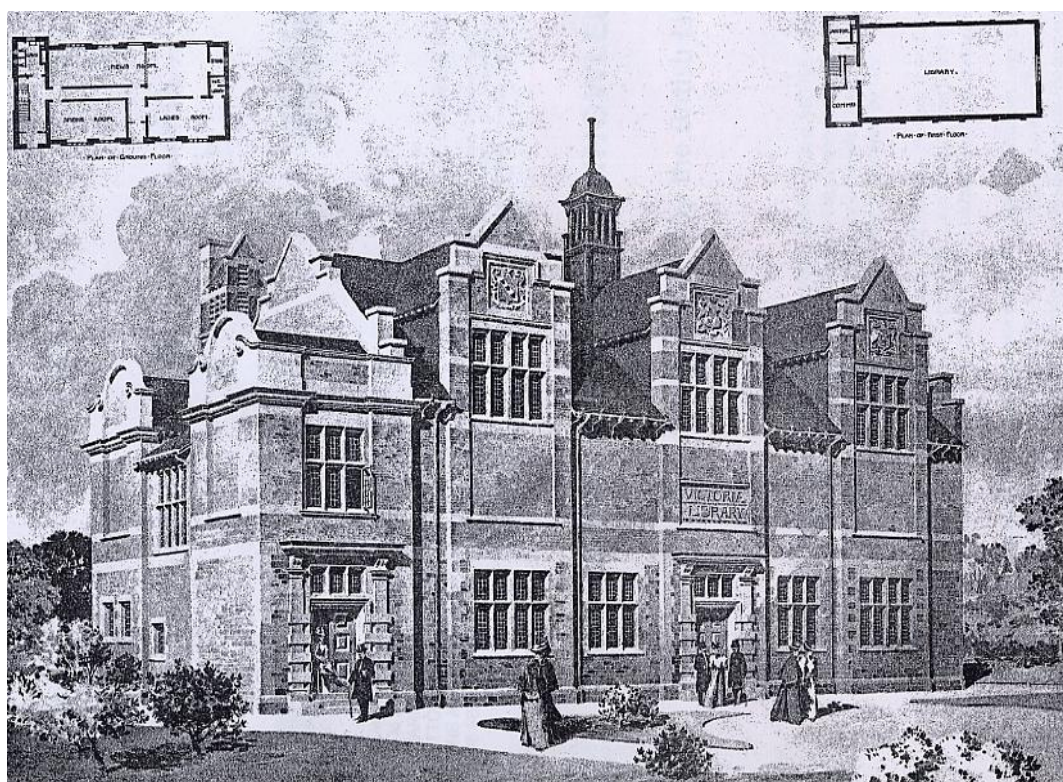


Figure 181 Victoria Library, Heaton. (*Building News*, vol.77, 28 July 1899, p97).



Figure 182 Victoria Library, Heaton, designed by John W. Dyson, 1898. (Author's photograph).

The Victoria Library closely followed the aesthetic and social programme of its predecessor.⁶⁸ Continuing Stephenson's strategy of offering both mental and physical improvement, the new building was sited on the edge of Armstrong Park.⁶⁹ The building itself reprises the Queen Anne style, but the ground floor is faced with sandstone rather than red brick [Fig. 12]. Similarly, the two doors are framed with Gibbs surrounds and flat pediments, imparting a sense of dignity commensurate with its status as a public building. Three dormers obtrude along the roofline, each with carved panels featuring coats of arms, and the name 'Victoria Library' is set among stylised foliage [Fig. 13]. Echoing its predecessor, the building features a cupola that forms part of the ventilation system. Decoration is restricted to the front elevation, but large Tudor windows illuminate the reading rooms at the rear and provide a view of the park, thus linking park and library by an unbroken visual axis. Like the Elswick branch, the Victoria Library was paternalistic in function, but crucially the residents themselves welcomed its reformist role, feeling that in Byker and Heaton 'there were attractions of a very demoralising kind provided, while there were very few counter attractions.'⁷⁰ The new library matched the success of its predecessor, improving literacy and reading facilities in the east end of the city. Organised on the Dewey Decimal Classification system, the book stock was identical to that of the Elswick branch, enabling the committee to save money on cataloguing costs.

⁶⁸ The library was examined in *Building News*, vol.73, 18 December 1897, p899.

⁶⁹ Armstrong Park featured an iron and glass pavilion, one of many provincial imitations of the Crystal Palace.

⁷⁰ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 March 1893, p189.



Figure 183 Detail of the Victoria Library, Heaton – Stephenson's coat of arms. (Author's photograph).



Figure 184 Victoria Library, Heaton, ground floor reading room in 1970. (Newcastle City Library).

Stephenson added a final branch library in 1908, this time dedicated to his wife, whom he described as 'one of the best women that ever lived upon the face of this earth.'⁷¹ The Lady Stephenson Branch Library was situated on Welbeck Road in Walker, an industrial suburb at the extreme east end of Newcastle [Fig. 15].⁷² Initially a separate township, Walker's economy was based on coal mining and chemical manufacturing. The area experienced rapid growth during the nineteenth-century, particularly after Charles Mitchell opened a shipyard in 1882.⁷³ By 1894 the population had reached 14,000, and Walker was incorporated into the borough of Newcastle in 1904. The building of the Walker library was prompted by events at Benwell, another township lying just beyond the borders of the city. Benwell residents were eager to have their own library and managed to secure a promise from the Scottish-born philanthropist Andrew Carnegie that he would provide one.⁷⁴ This caused a certain amount of consternation within Newcastle Council, and Stephenson reproached the inhabitants of Benwell for seeking 'outside help'.⁷⁵ Revealingly, he argued that the residents of Benwell would not have approached Carnegie if they 'had known the advantage that was going to accrue to them by being associated and incorporated in the city.'⁷⁶ The Lady Stephenson Library was conceived as a reward to the people of Walker for joining Newcastle. As such, it would simultaneously benefit the residents of Walker and demonstrate to neighbouring towns the advantage of affiliating themselves with the city. Stephenson declared that 'Walker has as much right to have a library as Elswick and Heaton . . . until all such districts have been fully and fairly supplied with that advantage, I don't think Newcastle has honestly done its duty.'⁷⁷ He added, 'I am ashamed that men of wealth, men of culture, and men of unquestioned financial position have not come forward to help the Council in a matter of such importance as this.'⁷⁸ With this in mind, Stephenson stated that, 'If the Corporation will put a site at my disposal – a site that I can approve of – in Walker, I will

⁷¹ Stephenson speaking at a Council meeting. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 May 1907, p659]. Stephenson married Elizabeth Bond in 1862. Lady Stephenson died in 1901. See *The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9.

⁷² The Walker branch is the only one of the three buildings still operating as a library. The Elswick Library is now used as a resource centre for Asian women. The Heaton library has been closed altogether and is currently awaiting demolition.

⁷³ Charles Mitchell had built a library in Bath Street in 1861, but this was forced to close in 1869.

⁷⁴ See *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 10 January 1906, p123.

⁷⁵ Stephenson speaking at a Council meeting. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 May 1907, p658].

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p658.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p659.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p659.

build a library.’⁷⁹ The Council accepted the offer ‘with profound gratitude on behalf of the ratepayers,’ which reminds us that the Corporation was eager to promote civic improvement if it did not have to pay for it.⁸⁰



Figure 185 Lady Stephenson Library, Walker, designed by John W. Dyson, 1908. (Author’s photograph).

Once again, the building was designed by Stephenson’s favoured architect, John Dyson. Echoing the basic configuration of the earlier branches, it was executed in red brick with sandstone dressings and terracotta panels combining floral and lion motifs. Lady Stephenson’s coat of arms was displayed above the door, along with the motto ‘Non Sufficit Orbis’ – the world is not enough.⁸¹ The design reprises the Queen Anne style of the earlier libraries for the sake of consistency, but tastes had inevitably shifted in the 15 years since the first library opened. A number of Baroque elements have been introduced, in keeping with Edwardian tastes. The door is framed with a gaping segmental pediment, exaggerated keystones and a Gibbs surround. At the same time, a white-painted cupola on the roof exhibits the sinuous lines of Art Nouveau, a style that was often synthesised with the Baroque

⁷⁹ Ibid., p659.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p660.

⁸¹ This is the family motto of the Bond family. Lady Stephenson was the daughter of James Bond (d.1901). [*The Times*, 8 May 1918, p9].

mode in Newcastle.⁸² Again, the cupola was used for ventilation, but it also illuminated the large library hall that was located on the first floor. As in the previous buildings, the library hall was entered through a marble entrance hall and staircase. There was a stained glass window at the head of the stairs, illuminated with lions' heads, a wheat-sheaf and Stephenson's family motto 'Fidus in Arcanum' – faithful in a secret matter. A reading room, newspaper room and ladies' room were situated on the ground floor.

The library was opened on 7 October 1908 by Sir Walter Runciman, Member of Parliament and president of the Board of Education. During the opening ceremony, Runciman gave a speech in which he observed that, 'The library at Walker was an improvement on the other two, several alterations having been made after consultation with the Libraries Committee. Mr. Dyson had done his work remarkably well; and there was nothing shoddy or shabby about the building.'⁸³ Commenting on the library's social mission, Runciman declared, 'Here the most highly specialised clerk or artisan may widen his outlook or fertilise his mind.'⁸⁴ He also offered his views on what sort of literature should be prescribed, thus confirming the library's didactic function: 'An overdose of magazines leads to the development of a jumpy mind. From them come no calm deliberation or constructive thought.'⁸⁵

In erecting three public libraries, Stephenson was undeniably motivated by a concern with his own public image. He was determined that his reputation would endure after his death, stating that 'Post mortem adulations are not desirable; crosses, anchors, and wreathes laid on a dead man's bier are very beautiful, but he cannot appreciate them, neither are monuments or stained glass windows erected to his memory of any value to the deceased.'⁸⁶ Stephenson ensured that his philanthropy would be recognised and appreciated by branding each library with his name, coat of arms and family motto. A portrait of Stephenson was hung in the reading room of the Elswick branch, reminding the Newcastle public of his generosity.⁸⁷

⁸² The architect Benjamin Simpson used Art Nouveau motifs in exuberant commercial buildings such as Emerson Chambers, as discussed in Chapter 4.

⁸³ Sir Walter Runciman's remarks were reported in *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 7 October 1908.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Runciman spoke at length on the power of serious literature to elevate the mind, but he was scathing in his assessment of newspapers and magazines, which he claimed had a pernicious influence. The Newcastle reporters who attended the ceremony were infuriated by these remarks, and their reports were dominated by denunciations of Runciman's speech.

⁸⁶ W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Presentation of a Portrait of the Chairman of the Board, Alderman Sir William Haswell Stephenson*, p22.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p10.

Accordingly, the branch libraries were expected to 'perpetuate the name of Stephenson long after Sir William has gone to his fathers.'⁸⁸



Figure 186 Unidentified press cutting depicting Stephenson as the proprietor of a soup kitchen, dated 13 February 1897. (Walker Library).

It was inevitable that such a prominent public figure, with such strong convictions, should attract opponents as well as supporters, and Stephenson was satirised in sections of the Newcastle press. A cartoon entitled 'The Aldermen's Conspiracy' mocks Stephenson's self-appointed role as a benevolent philanthropist, depicting him as the matron of a soup kitchen [Fig. 16]. A picture on the wall depicts a supposed free library, but the image is subtitled 'Stephenson Memorial Library.'⁸⁹ The Classical 'Doomed Temple' is an emblem of the genuine democratic process which many believed Stephenson was bypassing. Local Councillors are portrayed as impoverished urchins; those in favour of the 'Doomed Temple' go hungry, while a clique of Councillors, including Joseph Heald, accepts 'fettered libraries' in return for soup doled out by Stephenson.⁹⁰ This suggests that Stephenson's generosity was not without conditions. Another cartoon depicts Stephenson as the Finance Bird, 'a somewhat rare fowl' with peacock-like plumage that 'feeds chiefly on coal' [Fig. 17]. This is a

⁸⁸ Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p5.

⁸⁹ This text is partially obscured by the figure of Stephenson.

⁹⁰ As discussed above, Joseph Heald had employed Stephenson at the Newcastle Commercial Insurance Company when Stephenson moved to Newcastle in 1862.

scathing parody which ridicules Stephenson's propensity for self-promotion: 'At certain seasons it builds for itself little mounds, in front of which it is fond of sunning itself.' This is a direct reference to the Stephenson libraries, suggesting that Stephenson's philanthropy was motivated by a concern with his own public status and reputation. The portrait is a good likeness, but in case the reading public were in any doubt, the bird has the Latin name 'Gulielmus Stephensonius'.

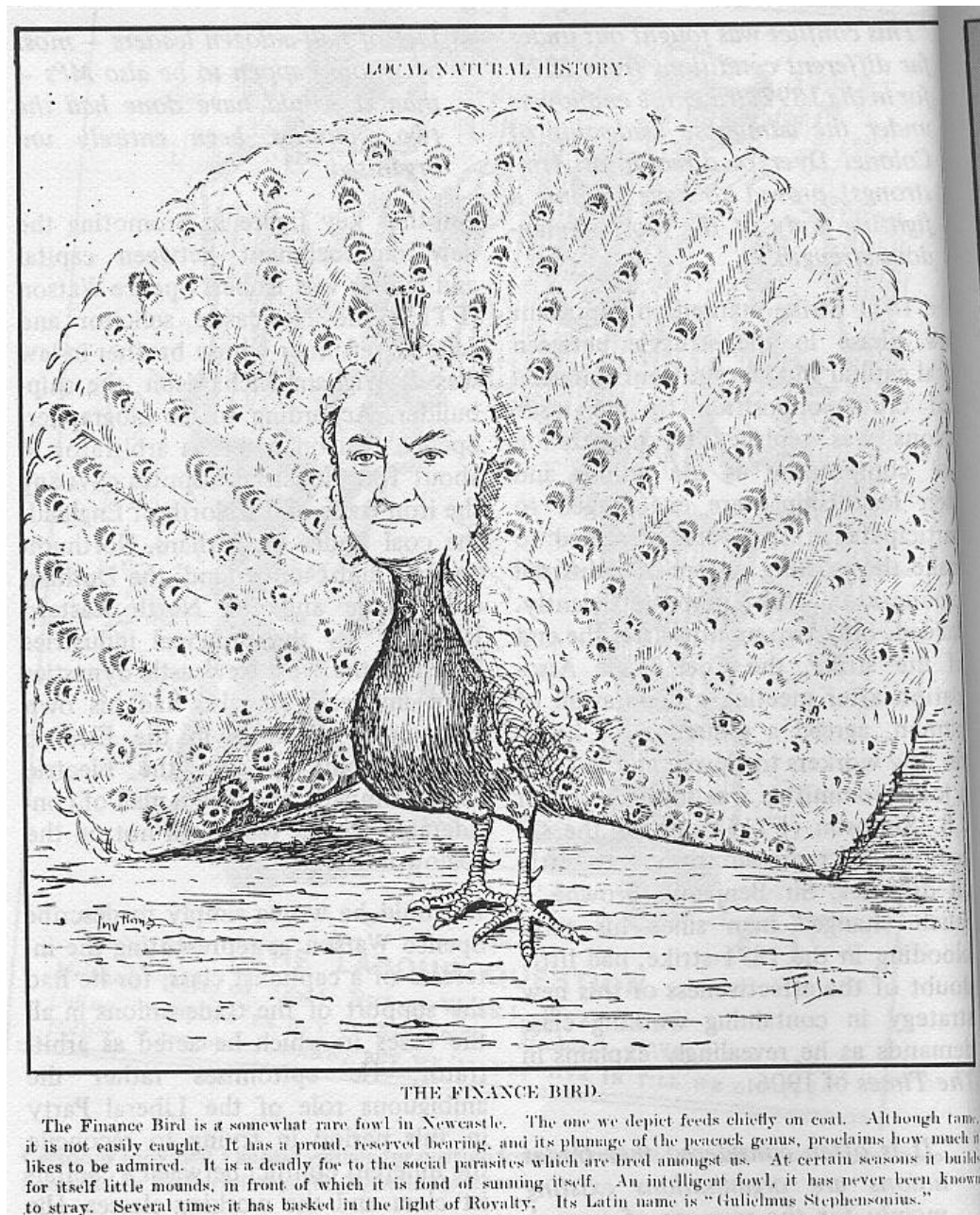


Figure 187 Unidentified press cutting mocking Stephenson's role as Chairman of the Finance Committee of Newcastle Corporation. (Benwell Community Project [1978] *The Making of a Ruling Class*).

Stephenson's municipal and religious patronage

Although Stephenson subverted the usual democratic procedures in building his branch libraries, he was an active member of Newcastle Council and a major participant in its decision-making processes. It is therefore important to consider how Stephenson channelled his influence through municipal authorities. Stephenson's birth coincided closely with the passing of the Municipal Reform Act in 1835. Besides being prophetic, this meant that the apparatus of municipal government was in place by the time he was beginning his public career. The Act placed power in the hands of local authorities, a measure that Stephenson supported, since he believed that local figures were better able to judge situations than centralised authorities. Stephenson certainly understood the value of cooperation, stating that:

The great merit and advantage which municipalities enjoy enables citizens to do by combination what could not possibly be accomplished individually, and, as now constituted, municipalisation is the nearest approach to a Christian communal government that the world has ever seen.⁹¹

Yet it seems that he was reluctant to defer to the opinions of others. Enumerating the achievements of local government, he added an important proviso:

As regards the importance of municipal Corporations, with their increased trusts and responsibilities, it might be said, since the passing of the Reform Act of 1835, such improvements as public buildings, parks, tramways, paving, lighting, sewerage, free libraries, etc. have resulted in greater benefit to the people; and by the enactments of both Houses of Parliament the powers of municipal Corporations for good or evil are almost unlimited; hence it is important to get the best men to join them.⁹²

In other words, Stephenson welcomed concerted action in so far as he was able to participate and direct its course. When addressing Newcastle Council on the matter of Walker library, however, he had remarked, 'If you will let me have my own way, I don't want to be governed and guided and controlled by anybody. I believe in what I once heard the late Mr. Spurgeon

⁹¹ W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by the Deputy Lord Mayor, Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p8.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p8.

say – “I believe in a committee of one, and that one myself.”⁹³ This helps to explain why he was willing to sidestep Newcastle Council in order to bring about a swift resolution to the library debate.

Kate Hill has argued that Victorian civic elites controlled the discourse of the city, but were not able to suppress alternative discourses altogether. This was because their portrayal of the city as the ideal form of social organisation depended to a large extent on the notion of democracy, as did their own hegemonic power. By re-shaping the city into a vision of urban democracy, the ruling elite were ‘forced to negotiate’ with lower middle class and working class groups.⁹⁴ Stephenson’s call for ‘the best men’ suggests that he did not welcome the participation of the newly-educated working classes in local government.

Stephenson helped to steer the course of municipal patronage in Newcastle throughout his forty-year career. As Chairman of the Town Improvement Committee, he participated in many of Newcastle’s municipal building programmes, including the extension of Coxlodge Asylum, the building of baths and washhouses in Gallowgate (1894, by Gibson Kyle) and extensions to Jesmond Park.⁹⁵ He served for 17 years as Chairman of the Tyne Improvement Commission, an independent body that worked in cooperation with the Council, and which was of vital concern to Tyneside industrialists, since it ensured that the River Tyne remained navigable and was equipped with the infrastructure needed by the mining and shipbuilding industries. The Tyne Improvement Commission was composed of four life members plus two members from each of the Coal Owners, Shipping Owners and Traders Associations.⁹⁶ Therefore, it was essentially a tool for local industrial magnates and facilitated private enterprise as much as public action. Stephenson was appointed to the Commission in 1878, ostensibly to represent the Council, but as an industrialist he obviously had a vested interest in the river’s quality as a waterway.⁹⁷ His ambition was to harness all the commercial activity that took place on the river and channel it into Newcastle’s economy. In his own words, Stephenson envisaged the whole ‘River Tyne as one port for loading and

⁹³ Stephenson speaking at a Council meeting. [*Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 May 1907, p659].

⁹⁴ Hill, K. “‘Thoroughly Imbued with the Spirit of Ancient Greece’”, p100.

⁹⁵ The details of the Gallowgate commission are discussed in *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1 August 1894, p613. The extension of Jesmond Park is recorded in *Building News*, vol.71, 18 September 1896, p435.

⁹⁶ Tyne Improvement Commission had been constituted by the River Tyne Improvement Act of 1850, and assumed powers previously held by the Corporation. See Lendrum, O. ‘An Integrated Elite?’, p30.

⁹⁷ For example, he was the director of the Tyne Steam Shipping Company.

discharging.⁹⁸ Under Stephenson's direction, the Commission oversaw the extension of the Elswick Works, the construction of docks at Hebburn, and the building of new shipyards for both Palmer's Shipbuilding Company and Swan, Hunter and Wigham Richardson. The Commission also constructed the Swing Bridge (1873-6), the Tyne Piers (1854-95), the Albert Edward Dock (1884) and Numbers 3, 4 and 5 staiths.⁹⁹ The river was deepened to 26 feet and the King's Meadow, a 30 acre island in the middle of the Tyne, was removed. A total of £3,172,000 was spent between 1878 and 1914.¹⁰⁰ These extensive programmes fundamentally restructured industrial operations in the North East, and as Deputy Mayor Johnstone Wallace remarked, Stephenson had done service 'not only to Newcastle, but to Tyneside, the North, and England itself, in so guiding the deliberations of the commission as to make the River Tyne one of the finest waterways in the country.'¹⁰¹ Surveying Stephenson's contribution to the Tyne Improvement Commission, Alderman J.H. Breckingham remarked that, 'His interest in the development of transport and the improvement of the Tyne was very great; he saw the river grow from a shallow stream into a great highway of commerce, and gave life to battleships and leviathan liners.'¹⁰²

Stephenson's patronage was inextricably linked to his Methodist faith, and as Lord Mayor George Lunn commented, 'His strong conviction that the soul of all improvements is the improvement of the soul has found tangible expression in the building of churches, and especially in his generous support of the Newcastle Mission.'¹⁰³ Although, Stephenson's ecclesiastical buildings fall outside the remit of this thesis, it is important to address the relationship between his faith and his philanthropy. As a highly respected and influential figure, Stephenson rose quickly through the ranks of Newcastle Methodism, working zealously to promote his faith in the city and beyond. In 1898-9 he presented a Wesleyan chapel, known as Bond Memorial Chapel, to the district of New Benwell, at a cost of £4000.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Portrait of the Chairman*, p19.

⁹⁹ The construction of the Albert Edward dock was reported in *The Builder*, vol.43, 30 August 1884, p306.

¹⁰⁰ Stephenson enumerated these works in his response to the presentation of his portrait by the Tyne Improvement Commission. Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Portrait of the Chairman*, p21.

¹⁰¹ Johnstone Wallace quoted in Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p5.

¹⁰² J.H. Breckingham quoted in Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Portrait of the Chairman*, p14. In recognition of his services, the Tyne Improvement Commissioners presented him with a portrait by the artist John Charlton, a protégé of Sir Isaac Lowthian Bell. The portrait was hung in the board room of the Tyne Improvement Commissioners' office in Bewick Street. See Tyne Improvement Commission (1914) *Portrait of the Chairman*, p5.

¹⁰³ George Lunn quoted in Newcastle Council (1916) *80th Anniversary*, p4.

¹⁰⁴ This was built in Adelaide Terrace to designs by Dyson. See *Benwell Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.1, pp149-53. [Newcastle City Library].

He also contributed to the building of Westgate Hall, a large meeting hall for Newcastle Mission in the west end of the city [Fig. 18].¹⁰⁵



Figure 188 Westgate Hall, Westgate Road. (Author's photograph).

Stephenson was responsible for bringing the national Wesleyan Conference to Newcastle in 1885, which was regarded as a considerable achievement. As President of the

¹⁰⁵ Westgate Hall accommodated the Tyne Tees Steam Shipping Company, of which Stephenson was a director. [Ward's Directory, 1914].

Newcastle YMCA, he invited the English National Council to a conference at Newcastle on 12 June 1900.¹⁰⁶ Many Victorian philanthropists conflated the lifestyles and physical well-being of the working classes with their supposed moral character. Hygiene was a primary concern, since it was feared that unsanitary conditions would lead to moral and spiritual decay. Stephenson organised a meeting between the Methodist New Connexion and Newcastle Council, believing that the Corporation should cooperate 'with moral religious agencies by improving the sanitary conditions in which people lived.'¹⁰⁷ Although, Stephenson never explicitly used the libraries to promote the Methodist faith, his religious convictions were a powerful motivation for his patronage. This was recognised by Johnstone Wallace:

His work in the cause of religion and his munificence especially towards his own denomination, of which he is a tower of strength, and his generosity in gifts of labour and money where suffering can be alleviated, or those in depths uplifted, require no words of mine, for they bear their own fruit. In the branch libraries and in the new wing of the Stannington Sanatorium we have examples of the generous and Christian use to which he has applied his wealth.¹⁰⁸

Queen Victoria Monument

Stephenson's most celebrated act of private patronage was not a philanthropic gift to the working classes, but a calculated political symbol. In July 1899 he wrote to the press, offering to erect a monument to the ailing Queen Victoria in gratitude for his election as Sheriff of Newcastle in the jubilee year of 1887. The late Victorian and Edwardian era was a period of heightened military and imperialistic fervour. Britain's urban spaces were frequently inscribed with narratives of local and national history through the building of statues and memorials. The placement and public reception of the Queen Victoria Monument have been discussed in Chapter 3, but it is important to consider Stephenson's role as a patron. The Heaton library had commemorated Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, and the Queen Victoria Monument was a similar act of devotion, expressing Newcastle's loyalty to the crown. This was an opportune moment at which to make such a display, coinciding with the 500th anniversary of the Shrievalty of Newcastle.¹⁰⁹ As the holder of this office, Stephenson saw it as his duty to be 'Lord and master over everything that relates to the Queen and the administration of the

¹⁰⁶ *The Times*, 13 June 1900, p7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p7.

¹⁰⁸ Johnstone Wallace quoted in Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p5.

¹⁰⁹ Newcastle's shrievelty was granted by Henry IV on 23 May 1400.

law.¹¹⁰ The Queen Victoria Monument was therefore a well-calculated and well-timed political gesture that won national recognition for Newcastle and Stephenson himself.



Figure 189 Queen Victoria Monument, St. Nicholas' Square, sculpted by Alfred Gilbert, 1903. (Author's photograph).

Stephenson was not widely known as a patron of sculpture, but in 1875 he had acquired the Lough Models on behalf of the Corporation. These comprised a number of models and works of art produced by late J.G. Lough (1789-1876), the artist responsible for the George Stephenson Monument in Neville Street.¹¹¹ After extensive negotiations with Stephenson, Lough's widow decided to donate the Lough Models to the city on condition that suitable accommodation could be found. Stephenson arranged to display them in Elswick Hall.¹¹² Reporting on this achievement, the *Newcastle Chronicle* described him as a man 'of decidedly aesthetic tastes.'¹¹³ In contemplating his own foray into memorial sculpture,

¹¹⁰ Stephenson quoted in *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1899, p412.

¹¹¹ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1875-6, p357.

¹¹² Reed, A. (1903) *Bruce's School*, p136.

¹¹³ *Newcastle Chronicle* quoted in Anon. (n.d.) *Local Biography*, vol.2, p194. [Newcastle City Library].

Stephenson selected a leading artist of the *avant-garde* – the Queen Victoria Monument is an example of the ‘New Sculpture’ by one of its chief exponents, Sir Alfred Gilbert [Fig. 19].¹¹⁴ The overall form recalls Gilbert’s Jubilee Monument in Winchester (1887), but it is clearly a response to the location: the regal figure is seated beneath a canopy that echoes the majestic lantern of St. Nicholas’s Cathedral.

The aged Queen is depicted as a supreme matriarch, an image Gilbert achieved by basing his rendering on his own mother: ‘I realised my deduction of the Queen from my mother, and thus got a more spiritual representation than if I had merely reproduced the Queen’s features and form only.’¹¹⁵ The Queen holds the emblems of the monarchy, an orb and sceptre. Within its shrine-like canopy, the representation is thoroughly solemn and regal. Despite the semi-allegorical quality of the statue, the visualisation benefited from Victorian achievements in science. The likeness was derived from photographs, allowing Gilbert to capture the Queen with unprecedented accuracy and immediacy. In this representation, the aged Queen is undeniably human and mortal, a theme emphasised by the fact that Victoria died during its construction. The bronze base echoes that of the Shaftesbury Memorial in Piccadilly Circus, which Gilbert executed in 1887. The faces of sleeping babies appear amid Art Nouveau foliage, perhaps suggesting – on the cusp of the twentieth-century – that a new world was germinating. The folds of the voluminous dress are vividly realised, conveying both movement and transience. Despite the emphasis on the durability of Victoria’s reign, then, there is a sense of temporality. The monument explores the interface between the individual and her symbolic role as a figurehead. Discussing Gilbert’s earlier sculpture *Comedy and Tragedy* (1892), Jason Edwards remarks that Gilbert’s homosexuality and outsider status allowed him to peer behind the public mask of individuals and into their private selves – a tension felt by many of the Victorian men who were compelled to hide their sexuality.¹¹⁶ It is possible that this consciousness of the interface between public and private identities enabled Gilbert to see beneath Victoria’s public persona.

¹¹⁴ The New Sculpture represented a concerted effort within the avant-garde to break away from Victorian Classicism.

¹¹⁵ Gilbert quoted in McAllister, I. (1929) *Alfred Gilbert*. London: Black, p126.

¹¹⁶ Edwards, J. ‘Alfred Gilbert’s Aestheticism: Homoeroticism, Artistic Identity and the New Sculpture’ in *Visual Culture in Britain*, vol.2, no.1, 2001, p92.

Located between St. Nicholas's Cathedral and the Town Hall, the monument suggests the Queen's dual role as head of Church and State.¹¹⁷ Gilbert was eager to obtain the apposite orientation, telling the Council that, 'We cannot put Her Majesty with her back to the Church; the statue must be placed square with the tower, looking up Collingwood Street, with the left to the Church and the right to the Town Hall.'¹¹⁸ For the architectural portions, Stephenson turned once again to his trusted architect, John Dyson, who designed the plinth of red granite on which the monument stands. Despite the political expediency of his commission, Stephenson was forced to postpone the unveiling ceremony when Gilbert fell into financial difficulties and went into exile in Bruges. Cast by Compagnie des Bronzes of Brussels, the monument was eventually unveiled on 24 April 1903 by Countess Grey, whose presence defined the Queen Victoria Monument as a counterpart to Grey's Monument. Before she died, Victoria rewarded Stephenson with a knighthood. According to Johnstone Wallace, 'The Knighthood to which he was graciously raised by the late Queen Victoria was appreciated by Newcastle as a complement to the city as much as to one of her best and truest citizens.'¹¹⁹

Stephenson's long and influential career came to an end on 7 May 1918 when he died aged 82, leaving an estate valued at £86,000. He was buried in Elswick Cemetery, close to the Stephenson Library [Fig. 20]. In keeping with his Methodist faith, his body was laid in a modest tomb of pink granite bearing a verse from the Book of Job, 17:9: 'The Righteous shall hold his way and he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger.' Benevolent until the end, Stephenson left his former residence of Elswick House to Dr. Stephenson's National Homes for Boys, a charity he had founded.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ A number of possible sites were designated, but Stephenson and Gilbert agreed that St. Nicholas's Square was the best location. See Usherwood, P. *et al.* (2000) *Public Sculpture of North East England*, p120.

¹¹⁸ *Newcastle Council Proceedings*, 1899, p440.

¹¹⁹ Johnstone Wallace quoted in Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p5.

¹²⁰ *The Times*, 18 June 1900, p9.



Figure 190 Stephenson's tomb in Elswick Cemetery. (Author's photograph).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored a key aspect of architectural taste and patronage – the role of powerful private individuals in re-shaping the city. Biographical studies are central to architectural history, but usually deal with architects, who are constructed as the primary 'author'. Newcastle's architectural patronage was dominated by a ruling elite. This chapter has used techniques of biographical analysis in order to understand the agency of one such figure. William Haswell Stephenson exemplified the independently wealthy individuals who participated in the governance of Victorian Newcastle. His spectacular career spanned Newcastle's political, industrial and commercial spheres, and for this reason the biographical method provides a valuable insight into the way power was distributed. Rising to prominence in each field, Stephenson endeavoured to transform Newcastle into a city of grace and culture. Looking back on his career, he surveyed Newcastle's expansion since his arrival in 1853. Observing the markers of Newcastle's modernity, he praised 'Grainger's magnificent streets' and said that there had been no 'Town Hall, Public Parks, Free Libraries, tramlines, drinking fountains, long bars, Limited Companies, daily newspapers, typewriters, telephones,

talking machines, bicycles and motors, gas stoves, paraffin and petroleum, electric light and power, golf links, big football matches, tomatoes, bananas, tinned meat and fruit; and no lady doctors!'¹²¹ 'In educational facilities,' however, 'Newcastle did not rank among the highest in the land.'¹²² The building of Board Schools brought about a revolution in the education of the working classes. Stephenson responded by building the three Stephenson libraries, which helped to transform the social profile of Newcastle's reading public, facilitating the spread of literacy and the availability of reading material. Attendance levels at the Stephenson libraries confirm that reading was avidly pursued by the working classes, who began to recognise that with knowledge came social status and political awareness. Stephenson's donations ushered in the era of universal literacy, but he imposed considerable restrictions on the means by which knowledge could be absorbed; each building had a definite social mission. The form and visual identity of the libraries suggested a complementary relationship with Newcastle Board Schools, and it was understood that they would cater to the beneficiaries of the 1870 Education Act. At Elswick and Heaton, the conjunction of library and public park promoted the ideal of a healthy mind in a healthy body, while the proximity of Methodist churches helped to inculcate moral values. Stephenson declared that with the advent of Armstrong College, numerous Board Schools, and his own libraries, 'no city in the empire is better endowed with educational privileges, or better equipped for educational work, than ours.'¹²³

The steady transformation of Newcastle was due in large part to Stephenson's efforts as a philanthropist and architectural patron. His extraordinary contribution was recognised by Dr. Henry Newton, who claimed somewhat hyperbolically that, 'Few cities in the Empire, if any outside of London, can compare with the metropolis of Tyneside.'¹²⁴ Stephenson's own assessment was rather more measured, yet still cognizant of his contribution: 'I was born free, like the Apostle Paul, and like him also, I can say I am a citizen of no mean city.'¹²⁵

¹²¹ This last point was a joke that is unpalatable today, but which was received with laughter by Newcastle Council. See W.H. Stephenson's response to the presentation by the Deputy Lord Mayor, Newcastle Council (1911) *Honorary Freedom*, p20.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p18.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p5.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p6.

Conclusion

Newcastle upon Tyne underwent dramatic expansion between 1870 and 1914. The city was transformed as the wealth generated in industry, finance and retail was expended on new buildings executed in a range of architectural styles. Indicative of the city's modernity, these changes were supplemented by the extension of Newcastle's infrastructure, particularly in terms of transport, communication and public amenities. In this vibrant urban context, the thesis has examined the interrelated issues of architectural taste and patronage. The overall aim has been to determine whether Newcastle formed an architectural culture distinct from the national mainstream. The research has revealed that Newcastle architecture was neither wholly distinct from nor wholly consistent with the national picture, but was engaged in a subtle and inflective relationship with it. Provincial cities were at the height of their power and influence in the nineteenth century. London was, of course, the focal point of national and imperial power, but provincial cities were not yet subsumed under a centralised bureaucracy and remained stubbornly independent. Economies were controlled locally and an integrated oligarchy held power.¹ As central government grew stronger, however, the distinctiveness of these cities was steadily undermined.

There is evidence for the existence of a unique architectural culture in the early part of the period; the legacy of 'Tyneside Classicism', the presence of a tightly-bound ruling elite who dominated patronage, and the existence of a community of architects united by membership of local societies such as the Northern Architectural Association incubated a distinctive architecture. To some extent these conditions persisted throughout the period, but were gradually eroded by an increasingly national economy, the influence of the metropolis (especially as channelled through architectural journals) and the more active role played by the centralised state. Architects themselves were eager to mitigate their provincial status by supporting the formalisation of the architectural profession, and this meant that by the end of the period Newcastle's architectural culture was substantially linked to the London-based mainstream.

There is an extensive body of writing on nineteenth-century civic culture, but discussion invariably revolves around the cities of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and

¹ Cherry, G.E. (1994) *Birmingham*, p8.

Glasgow. Newcastle has largely been omitted from this discourse, but as an important industrial centre that underwent continuous development throughout the period, it has much to contribute. The thesis has attempted to rectify this omission by investigating Newcastle in depth and writing it into the literature. For this reason it was decided that a comparative analysis, viewing Newcastle alongside other cities, would have rehearsed arguments already made in the secondary literature on other cities, without revealing the intricacies of Newcastle architecture.

Evidence of Newcastle's architectural culture

In the decades following Richard Grainger's redevelopment of the city, Newcastle architecture continued to be dominated by the legacy of Neo-Classicism, exemplified by the severe, monumental work of John Dobson. This tradition was simultaneously celebrated and continued in the major buildings of the 1870s, including the self-consciously monumental General Post Office (1871-4) and Hancock Museum (1879-84). When viewed against the national picture, the Hancock Museum is an anachronism – mainstream tastes had shifted away from this brand of Classical purity. However, the museum was created by a coalition of Newcastle's most influential figures and was opened with a public fanfare. The Hancock Museum was a key marker of Newcastle's civic identity and confirms that Classicism remained the supreme standard of architectural dignity within the city.² The younger generation of architects who came to the fore during the period greatly admired Grainger and Dobson, particularly Thomas Oliver Junior (himself an able Classicist) and Frank W. Rich. Both of these figures commented on Grainger's legacy at meetings of the Northern Architectural Association. In comparison with other northern cities, Newcastle was deficient in secular Gothic architecture. This was a symptom of the continued faith in Classicism, and when Newcastle architects responded to the eclectic climate of the 1870s and 80s, their work was marked by the persistence of Classical and Renaissance styles.³

Architectural historians must engage with the question of periodisation and how we demarcate phases in architectural production. The thesis has studied the years between

² Its status was reaffirmed when the monument to Lord Armstrong was built in its vicinity (1906), thereby using the museum as the backdrop to this celebration of Newcastle's most famous citizen.

³ For example, G.G. Hoskins employed Gothic and Venetian styles for Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s banks in Bishop Auckland, but the same company remained faithful to the Classical precedents of Newcastle architecture when it built an office in the city.

1870 and 1914, but there were strands of development that spanned the period and beyond. Knowing how historical processes culminated can help to clarify their operation and for this reason architectural periodicals such as *The Builder* and *Building News* were used to gain a perspective on subsequent developments. Viewed within the date frame of the thesis, the persistence of Classicism in Newcastle might be attributed solely to the legacy of Grainger and Dobson; Classicism certainly had particular meaning in Newcastle due to the continued admiration for these figures. However, knowledge of architectural developments in the 1910s and 20s reveals that on the national stage Classicism was undergoing a long process of renegotiation throughout the period.

Classicism began to reappear in different guises in the early twentieth century. In London, Inveresk House (1906-7, by Charles Mewès and Arthur Davis) exhibits a French Classical idiom, while John Belcher and John J. Joass's Royal Insurance Building (1907-8) makes unorthodox use of Classical devices. In Newcastle, Cackett and Burns Dick's Conservative Club (1909-12) reflects national trends, rather than a strict Dobsonian influence. Likewise, Cross House (1911) by the same architects is indicative of this resurgent Classicism, with its rusticated base and Portland stone cladding.⁴ County Hall (1910) was designed by J.A. Bain in a restrained Classicism, probably in deference to the Greek Revival Moot Hall (1810-12) nearby.⁵ The cataclysm of the Great War interrupted architectural development, but did not constitute a definitive break; many strands of development were picked up after 1918. In particular, Classicism was reinvigorated by American influence. Britain's knowledge of American Classicism has been dated to around 1905.⁶ As a westward-facing port Liverpool became the main point of entry for this new idiom. The stylistic influence was underscored by Liverpool's symbolic connection to the USA and by longstanding business ties.⁷ A monumental brand of Classicism was promoted by Charles Reilly, director of the Liverpool School of Architecture from 1904-1933.⁸ Reilly had already adopted Classicism as the mainstay of his school, partly because it was a teachable doctrine and

⁴ The building was constructed from reinforced concrete by Hennebique.

⁵ County Hall was extended by Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar in 1929-34.

⁶ Powers, A. 'Liverpool and Architectural Education in the Early Twentieth Century' in Sharples, J. (ed.) (1996) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture*, p7. However, American Classicism was not homogenous. There were evident differences between the commercial architecture of Fifth Avenue, New York and that of San Francisco, for example.

⁷ In the 1920s, Liverpool remained a largely Classical city, although stripped Classicism could take on an Art Deco sheen. The Rylands Building was designed by Harry S. Fairhurst and P.G. Fairhurst (1932) in the Stripped Classical style. The design is very similar to Carliol House.

⁸ See Sharples, J. (ed.) (1996) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture*, pV.

therefore helped to stabilise university education.⁹ Reilly also recognised that Classicism could lead to abstraction, a modern architecture defined by bold composition, rather than stylistic detail.¹⁰

This belief was answered in the elemental quality of Stripped Classical architecture in the 1920s and 30s, which can be seen as a form of proto-Modernism.¹¹ Metropolitan examples of Stripped Classicism include Sir Edwin Lutyens's Midland Bank on Prince's Street (1924) and Nos. 82-5 Fleet Street (1935). Unilever House at New Bridge Street (1930-2) was designed by J. Lomax Simpson in collaboration with Burnet, Tait and Partners. These were invariably built on a steel frame and faced with Portland stone. Newcastle's interwar architecture is fully consistent with this trend and boasts a number of Stripped Classical buildings. Burnet, Tait and Lorne designed Carlol House (1924-8) in collaboration with the Newcastle firm of L.J. Couves and Partners. Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar became major exponents, designing the Magistrates Court, Police and Fire Station (1931-3), which reveals American influence in its aesthetic and construction.¹² Even the Tyne Bridge, the most potent symbol of Tyneside, has monumental granite piers based on Egyptian pylons, revealing the contemporary influence of Art Deco and the vogue for Ancient Egyptian motifs. Looking back from the vantage point of the 1920s reveals that Newcastle's continued faith in Classicism was part of a gradual remaking of the Classical tradition.

The social, economic and cultural development of Newcastle was dominated by a ruling elite composed of industrialists, financiers, retailers and men-of-letters. This group was bound by business, social and family connections. Diversifying their interests, they amalgamated to form highly-competitive companies that spanned various economic sectors. Capital generated from mining was frequently invested in other industries, and coal itself was the raw material that powered many of the city's industrial triumphs. For example, the Spencers were partners in the Throckley Coal Company and used the coal to supply their steelworks at Newburn. Glass and metal manufacture depended on an abundant supply of coal, as did heavy engineering, which gradually became the dominant industry on Tyneside.

⁹ In particular, Classical doctrine could be assessed by examination. See Powers, A. 'Liverpool and Architectural Education in the Early Twentieth Century' in Sharples, J. (ed.) (1996) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture*, p7.

¹⁰ Ibid., p6.

¹¹ However, it has been argued that in the early years of Reilly's teaching Classicism became an end in itself and contributed to the suspension of architectural development in the 1920s. See *ibid.*, p19.

¹² For a discussion of Newcastle's interwar architecture see Buckley, C. and Walker, L. (1982) *Between the Wars: Architecture and Design on Tyneside 1919-1939*. Killingworth: Chatsworth Studios.

Thus, the region's primary industry stimulated advances in other fields. This fostered a group identity among Newcastle's entrepreneurial elite. Many provincial cities preserved an autonomous and variegated local culture during the late Victorian period. This was due to the highly-specific nature of industrial specialisms, flourishing civic pride and the interaction between municipal corporations and the new entrepreneurial elites. This was certainly the case in Newcastle.

Newcastle's leading citizens consolidated their power by forming alliances through business partnerships and intermarriage. The most successful of them built or acquired country houses in rural Northumberland and established themselves as a landed class. Those who remained in the city formed close-knit communities, concentrated in the western suburbs, where they could keep a watchful eye on their industrial concerns. They thus formed a ruling elite and were able to establish hegemonic control over the city. Not only did they dominate industry, finance capital and public utility companies, they also provided the social infrastructure and amenities such as hospitals, parks and housing. As members of the Council they were able to influence local government and the building projects undertaken by the Town Improvement Committee. They exercised control over the morals and character of all classes by building churches and chapels. By taking positions within Newcastle School Board they were able to determine the form of elementary education and the location and design of schools. By building colleges they extended their influence into the field of higher education. They controlled the major social and political institutions in which the key issues of the day were discussed, such as the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Northern Counties Club and the Northern Conservative Club, and to the same end they controlled newspaper circulation. In these ways, the ruling elite were able to inculcate their own values and propagate a worldview that served their own purposes.

As a thoroughly-integrated elite class, this group formed the basis of Newcastle's architectural culture, a community that engaged in architectural debate and incubated a unified, though not entirely homogenous taste consensus in which particular styles and architects were validated. As patrons of architecture, this group overwhelmingly favoured local architects for public and commercial buildings within the city. Therefore, architects and patrons interacted within a relatively self-contained community. The interests and activities of

Newcastle's leading patrons extended into the cultural realm. They pervaded the membership of cultural institutions such as the Arts Association of Newcastle and the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. Crucially, architects gained access to these circles, and this led to important commissions. The major example was Frank W. Rich, whose involvement with the Natural History Society led to a position as consulting architect to Lord Armstrong, the Society's President. Rich subsequently worked on several projects for Lord Armstrong, including Bolbec Hall and Cragside. The professional sphere provided similar sources of patronage. For example, Septimus Oswald and his son Joseph designed dozens of public houses for Newcastle Breweries. Newcastle's late Victorian and Edwardian buildings survive as indices of these networks of patronage.

Underpinned by this economic structure, the architectural profession in Newcastle followed a similar pattern of development. The vast majority of Newcastle architects practising between 1870 and 1914 received their training in the offices of established local figures. Many firms were continued by family members, such as Oswald and Sons, Hicks and Charlewood, and Oliver and Leeson. These were among the longest-surviving architectural practices in Newcastle's history. This encouraged the handing-down of knowledge from master to pupil and the perpetuation of a distinctive approach. Architects were active in a number of architectural and antiquarian societies, including the Northern Architectural Association, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, the Literary and Philosophical Society, and the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society. Architects circulated within these societies forming links and sharing knowledge and ideas – the reports and papers of the Northern Architectural Association give a sense of the vigorous dialogue that occurred between them. These societies provided a forum for discussion and gave architects the opportunity to meet patrons and gain commissions. Again, this encouraged a unified approach to architecture, the main characteristics of which were the continued admiration of Grainger and Dobson and the antiquarian interest in the historical monuments and churches of Newcastle and Northumberland, exemplified by the sensitive restoration

work of Thomas Austin, R.J. Johnson and others. Many Newcastle architects published antiquarian studies of these buildings.¹³

In the long term, however, the role of the Northern Architectural Association was twofold. It may seem contradictory, but by galvanising Newcastle architects into a community, the Association exposed them to the changes that were affecting the profession nationally. The thesis has investigated the theme of professionalism, asking how provincial architectural societies responded to debates on professional status. Architects' livelihoods were under particular threat in the provinces, where municipal corporations were sometimes unscrupulous in handling competitions. As a consequence, provincial architectural societies lobbied for registration. Throughout the country, architects were attempting to consolidate architecture as a profession in order to clarify their role, establish codes of practise and elevate their social status. The Northern Architectural Association was a zealous campaigner for professional reform. It formed links with the RIBA in order to participate in the major debates, including such issues as education, registration and compulsory examination. On the question of registration, most of the senior architects in Newcastle were members of the RIBA (either as Fellows or Associates) and the Northern Architectural Association was more enthusiastic in its support of examination and registration than most other provincial societies. Consequently, the North East has had an important but little recognised role in the development of the architectural profession in Britain. The concern with professional status affected the capital as well as the provinces. Here the cause was spearheaded by the RIBA, which was increasingly perceived as the epicentre of the profession.

It has already been stated that the pupilage system preserved some of the insularity of Newcastle's architectural culture. As time wore on, however, architects began to need more skills than could be acquired by pupilage alone. The Victorian era gave rise to new building types, often with highly specific requirements, and architects became increasingly specialised. A major theme of the period was the changing role and nature of education. It has been argued that the Profession-or-Art debate arose in the absence of architectural

¹³ See, for example, Hicks, W.S. 'Notes on the Chapel of Our Lady at Seaton Delaval' in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.12, p229 and Oswald, J. 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in Newcastle and Gateshead' in Richardson, G.B. and Tomlinson, W.W. (eds.) (1916) *The Official Handbook to Newcastle and District*. Newcastle: British Association, pp32-8.

training and qualification.¹⁴ University training finally triumphed over the apprenticeship model in the first decades of the twentieth century, due principally to the efforts of Charles Reilly, head of the Liverpool School of Architecture. Reilly's commitment to education underpinned his faith in American Classicism, which had major stylistic consequences. In Newcastle, the Northern Architectural Association acted as a forum for education, communication and the dissemination of metropolitan, mainstream models of practise. Ultimately, the Association helped to consolidate Newcastle's architects into a community, but made this community less parochial than it had been at the start of the period.

The erosion of Newcastle's specificity

Britain's industrial cities are superficially similar, since they followed comparable patterns of development, but deeper study inevitably reveals differences. Economic structures produced specific social and cultural conditions. Liverpool's civic character was derived from its status as a mercantile city; it was the chief port of entry to industrial Britain and had longstanding international and imperial trade links. This gave the city a cosmopolitan atmosphere and facilitated the influence of American Classicism in the early twentieth century.¹⁵ As a centre of distribution, Liverpool supported ancillary industries such as banking, insurance and ship-owning. This contributed to the city's urban character; the centre was given over to trade and commercial activities. Purpose-built offices have been the defining characteristic of Liverpool architecture since the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶ Liverpool had the first fully-formed business district outside London, which grew up around the Exchange. Indeed, the cityscape is divided into well-defined zones as related businesses were concentrated in specific areas.¹⁷ In Newcastle, too, the banking sector expanded to serve local industries. Newcastle had a centralised business district on Collingwood and Mosley Streets, but the rest of the city was not specialised according to function; Newcastle's urban pattern was more diffuse. With no central exchange, the business district was formed by the confluence of traffic from Dean Street and the High Level Bridge.

¹⁴ Powers, A. 'Liverpool and Architectural Education in the Early Twentieth Century' in Sharples, J. (ed.) (1996) *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture*, p3.

¹⁵ Liverpool's status as a port meant that the School attracted international students, including many from the USA. The historic link with America became a channel of influence for American Classicism. See *ibid.*, p27.

¹⁶ Giles, C. (2008) *Building a Better Society*, p33.

¹⁷ The city had a number of specialised zones. For example, shopping was concentrated in Church Street, and cultural activities around St. George's Hall. See Sharples, J. and Stonard, J. (2008) *Built on Commerce*, p19.

When viewed over a forty-four year period, Newcastle architecture broadly followed national trends in the gradual shift from the Italian Renaissance idioms of the 1870s, through the Baroque style popular around the turn of the century, to the resurgence of Classicism in the years before the Great War. As the period progressed, the distinctive pattern of taste and patronage was eroded by economic and cultural factors. The ruling elite experienced a gradual loss of control in key areas. Heavy engineering declined as firms such as Armstrong, Mitchell and Co. were taken over by external firms in a process of amalgamation and merger, thus relinquishing a certain amount of control to metropolitan bases. The finance sector underwent similar changes. Private banks declined or were taken over by national firms.¹⁸ This was a symptom of the increasingly national economy that came into force in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ It has been argued that 'the late Victorian period saw a subterranean shift in the balance of social life away from the locality to the metropolis and the nation.'²⁰ This gave rise to a more centralised and homogenous national culture, and architecture exemplified this shift.

Cultural factors contributing to the decline of Newcastle's specificity included the influence of London-based architects who built in the region. As a thriving commercial city, Newcastle continued to offer enviable opportunities for its own architects, but like all major Victorian towns and cities it was periodically invigorated by nationally-renowned figures. John Gibson and Alfred Waterhouse designed important office buildings on Mosley Street, and these were part of the extensive branch networks established by powerful corporations. J.J. Stevenson designed buildings in Newcastle and South Shields, which helped to popularise the Queen Anne style in the North East. The most powerful individuals employed London architects to design their own houses, particularly Lord Armstrong, Sir Andrew Noble and Charles Mitchell. Norman Shaw's work at Cragside demonstrates that, as Newcastle's leading citizen and benefactor, Lord Armstrong had highly sophisticated architectural tastes. Crucially, these private houses and estates supported the business dealings of the ruling elite and thereby played a key role in Newcastle's economic development.

¹⁸ These larger firms were able to mobilise the new media of advertising and used it to develop coherent corporate identities.

¹⁹ However, the Benwell Community Project demonstrated that within the major coal-owning families power was passed down to successive generations. This form of dynastic control persisted into the era of nationalisation. See Benwell Community Project (1978) *The Making of a Ruling Class*.

²⁰ Harris, J. *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p19.

The role of the architectural press in publicising the latest tastes, technological innovations and professional developments was profound. Journals such as *The Builder*, *Building News* and *British Architect* disseminated metropolitan models of practise.²¹ In doing so, they undermined local specificity by introducing provincial architects to national trends. For example, Newcastle became a minor centre of Queen Anne, a fashionable style that germinated within the middle class neighbourhoods of the West End. Frequently associated with progressive causes, the Queen Anne style was utilised for Newcastle Board Schools and the Stephenson libraries. The influence of metropolitan precedents was underpinned by the connections that existed between Newcastle and London. E.R. Robson, architect to the London School Board, had trained in Newcastle under John Dobson and was involved with the Northern Architectural Association. The local architect R.J. Johnson had worked alongside Robson and J.J. Stevenson in the office of Sir George Gilbert Scott and maintained connections with the leading exponents of Queen Anne. This indicates that Newcastle architects were fully aware of tastes circulating within the mainstream. Indeed, the city began to expand around the central core in a range of new styles. The variety reflects the eclectic tastes current in the mainstream in the 1870s and 80s. The city's commercial architecture maintained a continuity with the Classical and Renaissance styles of the Grainger era, but fell into line with the reassertion of Classicism in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Another key factor was the changing role of the state. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 initiated dramatic change in local government. There was a shift from *laissez-faire* individualism to more formalised state control and this had profound consequences for Britain's towns and cities.²² One manifestation was the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. The School Board programme has been used to study the interaction between provincial architecture and the national mainstream, since it was a particularly acute instance of metropolitan influence. Although it was compromised by various factors, the Act reflected the widespread belief that a national system of education was sorely needed.²³ The School

²¹ However, the *Building News* was published in Manchester, a fact reflected in its more thorough treatment of provincial architecture.

²² The shift from *laissez-faire* individualism to collectivism was a major concern within late Victorian and Edwardian society and remains one of the key narratives within historical accounts of the period. A.V. Dicey was a leading proponent of this belief, arguing that the centralised State played an increasingly important role after 1870. See Dicey, A.V. (1905) *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*. London: Macmillan.

²³ The legislation demanded a response from local government bodies across the country, but did not in itself constitute a genuinely national programme for education reform. It was not centralised under a government

Board programme was envisaged as a universal system that would transcend the haphazard provision and denominational rivalry of religious schools. The patronage of Newcastle School Board played a key role in educational reform within the city and the perpetuation of the Queen Anne style.

Due to the intricacies of the legislation and the complexities of the existing educational system (a minefield of religious and political agendas), the Act was in fact a compromise. Crucial questions of educational provision were left up to the conscience of local School Boards. For this reason, the immediate contexts in which the individual Boards operated were crucial. In Newcastle, leading citizens joined the School Board and were able to extend their power over urban space, while acting within the progressive ideology of the Education Act. The building of Board Schools had a seismic impact on the city, bringing the unknown spaces inhabited by the urban poor under the control of the ratepayers. The school-building programme targeted deprived, predominantly working class areas and the new Board Schools transformed the economic, social and gender relations within them.²⁴ Britain's uneducated masses were seen as potentially dangerous, and Board Schools were intended to produce 'an orderly, civil, obedient population, with sufficient education to understand a command.'²⁵ The schools thus had a complex social mission. Linked with Britain's declining economic and military supremacy, public health became a matter of public concern in this period. By promoting physical health and vigour, Board Schools attempted to arrest the deterioration in Britain's industrial and military efficiency.

Private and municipal patronage

If the architectural styles of Newcastle are rarely unique, the specific context of patronage was critical nonetheless. The key forces within architectural patronage in the period 1870-1914 were the agency of powerful private individuals and the role of the municipal Corporation. Comparison with other cities reveals how urban space and discourses of the city functioned in the nineteenth century. The extensive literature on urban culture and space

ministry, but administered by School Boards, which were elected locally and were not necessarily dominated by the 'progressives' who had championed free elementary education in the first place.

²⁴ It was not until 1902, the year the School Boards were abolished, that Newcastle School Board thought of acquiring sites in the vicinity of the middle class South Jesmond and Jesmond Park estates. [Newcastle School Board (1902) *New Schools Committee Reports*, p146].

²⁵ Tawney, R.H. (1924) *Education: The Socialist Policy*. London: Independent Labour Party, p22.

suggests that other cities had an oligarchy that dominated architectural patronage, particularly Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. Civic identity was controlled by these elite groups and space was their medium. Statuary was used for highly-conscious rhetorical gestures, while public spaces were used to represent civic values and to construct the ideal citizen. In each case, the ruling elite used prominent figures from the city's past or present to illustrate its rise to greatness and simultaneously to consolidate their own achievements. Liverpool, for example, venerated Gladstone as well as traders and shipping magnates. Civic leaders thus created a discourse of the city.

With their vast wealth and political power, Newcastle's ruling elite were able to dominate architectural patronage, transforming the built environment according to their own interests. The thesis has used methods of spatial analysis in order to understand how the built environment functioned as an index of power. Space simultaneously gives form to and derives meaning from the social relations played out within it. It can therefore be used as an instrument of power by those able to manipulate its form. Despite the popular image of *nouveaux riches* industrialists, Newcastle's architectural patrons cannot be classed as parvenus who used over-decorated buildings to display their wealth and real or desired status. Instead, they possessed a sophisticated architectural vocabulary and recognised that an effectively-coded building could help them accrue social status. Among the narratives woven into the fabric of the city was that of the self-made man, personified by George Stephenson, who was commemorated with a statue in one of Newcastle's key public spaces. The space surrounding the Stephenson Monument was bisected by the axes formed by Neville Hall (focal point of the North East coal trade), the Literary and Philosophical Society, Bolbec Hall and the Union Club; it therefore embodied the power structures of Victorian Newcastle and the overlap between the industrial and cultural spheres. Public space was the medium through which discourses of the city were transmitted. The environs of the Stephenson Monument formed a space in which miners and engineering workers represented themselves as a public and asserted the dignity of hard work in a series of parades and demonstrations. Stephenson's persona thus had a dual function; it was invoked by leading industrialists, who cast themselves as romantic heroes who had achieved success through ingenuity and sheer force of will. It also served as an inspiring vision for the working classes,

extolling the virtues of labour and thereby ensuring their complicity in Newcastle's prevailing economic system. In a broader context, the monument represented Newcastle as a powerhouse of the Empire.

The ruling elite attempted to transform Newcastle into a city of grace and culture. As previously discussed, their architectural achievements were primarily founded upon the wealth generated by industry, although the finance and retail sectors were also significant. Reviewing the Newcastle Exhibition in 1887, *The Builder* commented on what it saw as a fundamental inconsistency:

The material progress is extraordinary enough, as also the change from the feudal domination of the castle to the development of a great industrial centre; but possibly the moral progress in some ways is not so great, after all. The building of a castle with walls of some dozen feet or so in thickness was one way of overawing your neighbours and imposing your own will upon other people; it seems a clumsy way now, and would at all events, be inefficient in the present day; but, after all, the scientific manufacture of guns at the Elswick works, which are very largely represented here, is only a highly-elaborated effort in the same direction.²⁶

If the national press disapproved of the sources of Newcastle's wealth, it tended to view the uses to which capital was put more favourably. Attitudes to the Classical core built by Grainger varied according to fluctuations in taste, but the evidence suggests that late Victorian and Edwardian Newcastle was generally admired. In a major article on the city's development, published near the end of the nineteenth-century, *The Builder* commented:

Public, commercial, and ecclesiastical architecture are all on a high level; in domestic work alone there is a failure. Neither in Jesmond nor the Elswick quarter do we find any examples of houses or villas of more than low average merit as architecture; in this direction Newcastle architects must look to their laurels; a community that could produce and appreciate the late Mr. R.J. Johnson should be able, without much difficulty, to find a good domestic architect; and when he is found, let him be well supported, that Newcastle architecture may hold its own in all departments.²⁷

The building types which failed to develop can be just as revealing as those that did. To the above remarks we may add that Newcastle was deficient in civic architecture. Manchester and Liverpool both had capable and energetic municipal corporations, resulting in first-rate buildings such as Manchester Town Hall and St. George's Hall. By contrast, Newcastle Corporation erected few civic buildings in the period; the Town Hall was completed in 1869,

²⁶ A review of the Newcastle Exhibition published in *The Builder*, vol.53, 25 June 1887, p932. As a provincial echo of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Newcastle Exhibition was a celebration of Newcastle's industrial and commercial prowess.

²⁷ *Builder*, 'The Architecture of Our Large Provincial Towns, XVIII Newcastle-On-Tyne', vol.75, 8 October 1898, p311.

but was widely deemed to be inadequate and the Council could not reach a decision on a replacement building until well into the twentieth century. This highlights the problems of local government in Newcastle.

Newcastle Council was reluctant to raise rates in order to subsidise improvement, often preferring to multiply the functions of existing buildings rather than build new ones.²⁸ Likewise, the Council was loath to fund any project that might be controversial with the ratepayers. This gave greater scope to wealthy individuals such as Lord Armstrong, Sir W.H. Stephenson and Alexander Laing to contribute to civic improvement; their patronage filled the gaps left by the Corporation. In most cases, the Corporation was willing to let these individuals build and thereby accrue the benefits of improvement without having to spend its own funds. The monuments of civic culture were usually supplied by private patronage, but the Corporation was building extensively to provide the amenities demanded by a modern city. Municipal patronage concentrated on utilitarian buildings such as schools and hospitals, and on amenities such as water, sewerage and public transport. Supporting these projects, the Corporation instigated programmes of urban renewal. Extensive paving of streets and the passing of byelaws to regulate urban space represented a process of gentrification. This facilitated the flow of commerce and turned the city into a modern, urbane centre capable of supporting a substantial consumer culture. There was a concomitant concern for the hygiene, morality and physical well-being of the urban populace, which was manifested in the building of baths and washhouses and public parks such as Jesmond Dene and Cruddas Park. These were among the sites where middle class values were instilled in the working classes and it was hoped they would ensure the reproduction of a healthy labour force. Municipal building projects often attracted controversy. The Northern Architectural Association objected to the Corporation's tendency of employing borough engineers for important public buildings. Instead, Newcastle architects urged the Corporation to award commissions by open competition.²⁹

²⁸ This is one reason why the Town Hall was notoriously cramped.

²⁹ The competition system attempted to regulate building by enlisting the taste and judgement of a professional assessor, but architectural competitions rarely ran smoothly in practice. The pages of architectural journals are littered with complaints from architects. Relatively few of Newcastle's major buildings were the result of architectural competitions, the main exception being the Royal Victoria Infirmary (1897).

In Victorian cities philanthropy frequently supplemented civic programmes of improvement and renewal.³⁰ For this reason it is not always easy to distinguish between public and private patronage. Municipal powers were limited, but could be facilitated by wealthy private individuals who granted sites, authorised building and gave donations to the city. In Liverpool, gestures of civic pride were funded by private philanthropy. The Walker Art Gallery offers a direct comparison with Newcastle's Laing Art Gallery; both were funded by wealthy entrepreneurs and became markers of civic identity. A number of commentators have discussed the implications of charitable effort.³¹ Ostensibly motivated by genuine Christian sympathy and an idealised model of social organisation, philanthropy was often calculated to reaffirm the prevailing social hierarchy and to nullify all opposition. Philanthropy also facilitated self-advancement. For example, the Liverpool philanthropists Andrew Barclay Walker and William Brown were able to secure Baronetcies.³² In Newcastle, the industrialist William George Armstrong was awarded a Baronetcy for his services to the nation and W.H. Stephenson was knighted for erecting a monument to Queen Victoria.

Private patrons were crucial to the operation of Newcastle, supplying much of the infrastructure through philanthropy. Widely acclaimed civic improvements were often forced through at the behest of a select group with a vested interest in the economic, social or cultural profile of the city. In doing so, they consolidated their status as a ruling class and justified the staggering wealth they had accumulated. Acts of charity enabled them to portray themselves as benevolent donors and to reinforce the existing social order by perpetuating the hierarchical relationship between giver and recipient. The most influential of these figures were able to channel their influence through municipal authorities. This tendency was exemplified by Sir W.H. Stephenson, who was independently wealthy, but participated in the governance of the city. The three Stephenson libraries alleviated the embarrassing deficiency of library provision in Newcastle, again compensating for the Corporation's inertia. The building of the libraries had undeniable social benefits – democratising education, improving standards of literacy among the working classes and making reading matter available to a much wider social spectrum than ever before. However, the ruling elite controlled the dissemination of knowledge, making sure that it served their own purposes. The Stephenson

³⁰ Giles, C. (2008) *Building a Better Society*, p12.

³¹ See, for example, *ibid.*, p13.

³² *Ibid.*, p13.

libraries were built in conjunction with public parks and Methodist chapels, and were closed on Sundays. Clearly, intellectual matter was to be administered with strong doses of physical and moral improvement.

Libraries and Board Schools were fundamentally linked, since the 1870 Education Act ushered in the era of universal literacy and thereby increased the demand for reading material. There was much cooperation between the School Board programme and the free library movement. In Newcastle, Board Schools were used as temporary libraries for the working classes and the leading proponents of the free library cause served on the School Board, including Dr. Henry Newton and Stephenson himself. Outwardly, the most obvious connection was the Queen Anne style, which was adopted as the visual identity of both types of institution. The style had a dual function, simultaneously illustrating the middle class ideals of education and reinforcing the social order by making the charitable relationship visually clear.

As the thesis has demonstrated, industry was crucial to Newcastle's economic success. The activities of Lord Armstrong, Charles Mitchell and others allowed Newcastle to operate on a global economic stage, serving markets in Russia, Japan, South America and elsewhere. However, Oliver Lendrum has demonstrated that Newcastle's economy was distinct from that of Tyneside.³³ As a consequence of its industrial success, Newcastle emerged as the commercial and administrative centre of the Tyneside conurbation. The financial and industrial sectors were intricately related. The banks and insurance companies that were concentrated in Collingwood and Mosley Streets used architecture to convey a sense of strength and durability. Architectural ostentation was recognised as a necessary expenditure, but sobriety was valued over frivolity. The Italianate style was favoured by these patrons due to its associational values: Goodhart-Rendell pointed out that it was used for the homes of many of the banks' key depositors. Likewise, the style had been used for Sir Charles Barry's socially-exclusive clubhouses, and this made it ideal for banks and insurance companies. Within the city itself, service and commercial jobs dominated the employment structure, and retail was particularly important in this regard. Architectural programmes such as the building of Grainger Street West stimulated the germination of retail culture and the

³³ Lendrum, O. 'An Integrated Elite?', p27.

department stores of Bainbridge and Fenwick transformed Newcastle into a sophisticated centre of consumption.

Retail patterns had a deep influence on the physical form and social structure of the city. Between 1870 and 1914 the city expanded beyond the confines of the Grainger development, which stimulated the growth of retail outlets. Adapting to changing fashions, the Neo-Classicism of the Grainger development was superseded by the Italian and French Renaissance styles, together with sporadic examples of Jacobean and Gothic influence. The Edwardian Baroque style was used for the redevelopment of Blakett Street and Westgate Road, which occurred simultaneously. Most Newcastle architects remained committed to established styles, but commercial imperatives also gave rise to the frenzied stylistic alchemy of Benjamin Simpson and others. Baroque was synthesised with Art Nouveau, which provides further evidence that Newcastle architects were increasingly aware of *avant-garde* developments.

Urban matrices structure the social and cultural processes played out within them, but at the same time urban space is given meaning by these processes. The spaces of retail were the sites in which consumers – principally women – encountered and made sense of modernity. Within the spatial nexus formed by pioneering department stores, boutiques and the streets themselves, social distinctions were blurred as classes interacted with each other and gender relations were renegotiated. Newcastle's department stores offered domestic luxury and social status. Their buildings stimulated development in the surrounding spaces, and Northumberland Street became particularly important as a centre of consumption. Emulating Newcastle's successful retailers, the Corporation created sanitised, highly-regulated spaces appropriate for a modern, urban public.

In conclusion, Newcastle initially formed an architectural culture that was fostered by a socially and professionally-integrated cultural oligarchy. Architects and patrons met within specialist and amateur societies, and this permitted a high level of communication between key figures. Newcastle architects used the full range of styles current in the national mainstream, but did so in particular ways and for specific purposes. The persistence of Classicism and derivative styles such as Italian and French Renaissance was a testament to Grainger's influence; Gothic secular work was scarce, despite the fact that Newcastle

possessed a number of talented ecclesiastical architects, including R.J. Johnson, Hicks and Charlewood, and the Catholic specialists Dunn and Hansom. Without the coordinating influence of a figure like Grainger, however, late Victorian and Edwardian Newcastle was built up by discrete additions to the urban fabric. This fact was often lamented by Newcastle's Victorian architects. The forces of professionalisation and intercommunication have left their mark on Newcastle, creating a number of fashionable buildings that augment the Classical uniformity. Responding to the influence of the national mainstream, Newcastle architects increasingly formed links with the metropolis, and this gradually undermined the city's distinctiveness. The period 1870-1914 was therefore a transitional one, but the decades leading up to the First World War can be seen as the pinnacle of Newcastle's prosperity and cultural achievement

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Welford, R. (1881) *Pictures of Tyneside, or Life and scenery on the River Tyne sixty years ago. Thirty-three engravings from drawings by J. W. Carmichael, with descriptive letter-press by Richard Welford*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Mawson, Swan and Morgan.

Who Was Who, 1916-28.

Who's Who in Architecture, 1914.

British Architectural Library

Competitions Conditions Collection

RIBA/CCC/B&I/2/4 - Royal Victoria Infirmary, Newcastle (1898)

RIBA/CCC/B&I/4/23 - Armstrong Memorial, Newcastle (1902)

RIBA/CCC/B&I/5/41 - Northumberland War Memorial, Newcastle (1904)

RIBA/CCC/B&I/8/21 - Walker Estate, Newcastle (1913)

RIBA/CCC/B&I/8/22 - Public Baths, Newcastle (1913)

Durham County Record Office

Architectural plans

D/Ed/1/8/4-6 – Gainford, National School, by Thomas Austin, 1857.

EP/CS4/76-84 - Chester-le-Street, St. Mary's Church (restoration), by W.H. Dunn, 1862.

Da/NG2/I 141 - Darlington, Turks Head Hotel (stables), by W.L. Newcombe, 1881.

EP/D 14/5 - Low Dinsdale, St. John's Church (reredos), by R.J. Johnson, 1883.

EP/Dip4/12-14 - Dipton, St. John the Evangelist's Church, by Oliver and Leeson, 1885-6.

D/Br/P129 - Newcastle, Beech Grove Estate, by William Glover, 1887.

EP/CS4/114-116 - Chester-le-Street, St. Mary's Rectory, by Lamb and Armstrong, 1887-90.

EP/HM4/67 - Hutton Magna, St. Mary's Parsonage, by W.S. Hicks, c.1888

D/Ad/I/3/22 – Brotton, St. Margaret's Church (remodelled), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1888-91.

EP/HM4/68-9 - Hutton Magna, St. Mary's Church (vestry), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1889.

M/Co.138 - Consett, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Middle Street (1st premium), by Lamb and Armstrong, 1891-3.

Da/NG2/1745 - Darlington, House, Skinnergate for Dr. Newcombe, by W.L. Newcombe, 1893.

EP/Swa4/1-2 - Swalwell, Holy Trinity Mission Church, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1893-4.

EP/SW4/135 - South Shields, St. Michael's Church, Westoe (aisle, porch and vestry), by Hicks and Charlewood, c. 1894

Du/3/17/2 - Durham City, Sewage Scheme, by A.M. Fowler, 1894.

ND/Du/13/85, 119, 127 - Durham, Half Moon Inn, New Elvet, by Septimus Oswald and Son, 1894 and 1908.

D/CE 214 - Castle Eden, Castle (alterations with H.T. Gradon), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1896.

EP/Ma4/16-17 - Marley Hill, St. Cuthbert's Church (vestries), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1901.

EP/Mo.SP 205-6 - Sunderland, St. Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth (extension), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1902.

EP/P74/68-9 - Preston on Tees, All Saints' Mission Church, Eaglescliffe, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1902-3.

EP/MS.SH4/74-6 - Sunderland, St. Hilda's Vicarage, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1904.

Da/NG2/3328 - Darlington, Temporary Presbyterian Chapel, Thompson Street, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1906-7.

D/HF/137/1 - Shincliffe, St. Mary's Church (reseating and fittings), by W.H. Wood, 1911-20.

D/HF/57/1-5 - Durham, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration-completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1911-22.

D/HF/143/2-68 - Stanley, St. Andrew's Church (extensions including concrete tower), by W.H. Wood, 1911-31.

D/HF/35/1-30 - Dawdon, St. Hild and St. Helen's Church, Mount Street (completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1912.

D/HF/22/1-30 - Ferryhill Station, St. Oswald's Church High Street/Chilton Lane, by W.H. Wood, 1912.

D/HF/168/1- Doncaster, St. Mary's Church, Woodland (reredos and chancel furnishings), by W.H. Wood, 1912.

D/HF/40/47-8 - Durham, St. Margaret's Parish Hall, Crossgate, by W.H. Wood, 1912-13.

D/HF/95/1-23 - Hett, Mission Chapel, by W.H. Wood, 1913.

D/HF/130/2 - Sedgefield, St. Edmund's Church (transept restored), by W.H. Wood, 1913-15.

D/HF/82/1-6 - Ferryhill, St. Cuthbert's Church, Dean Bank (fittings and decoration), by W.H. Wood, 1913-19.

EP/Col/57-62 and D/HF/99/2 - Collierley, St. Thomas's Church, Harelaw (vestry and alterations), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

D/HF/80/1 - Ushaw Moor, St. Luke's Church (completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

D/HF/49/1-4 - Durham, Chorister School (alterations), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

D/HF/48/2-64 and ND/DU/13/167 - Durham, Durham School, Langley House, by W.H. Wood, 1914.

D/HF/99/1 - Annfield Plain, New Church (not built), by W.H. Wood, 1914-27.

Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections

Architectural plans

WOD/2/3/1-39 - Winterton, Humberside All Saints' Church (restoration completed for Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1896-1925.

WOD/1/21/6-14 - Gateshead, St. Paul's Church, Low Teams (alterations and additions), by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, c. 1906.

WOD/1/39/54-55 - Swalwell, Parsonage, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1906-7.

WOD/2/1-64 - Quarrington, Lincolnshire, Church (completed for Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1907-12

WOD/1/31/9-64 - Sedgfield, St. Edmund's Church (alterations and additions, completed for Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1908-13.

WOD/1/1/3-26 - Bishop Auckland, St. Peter's Church (vestries, completed for Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1909-11.

WOD/1/21/47-55 - Gateshead, St. Paul's Church (reredos and woodwork), by W.H. Wood, 1911-12.

WOD/1/9-55 - Shindcliffe, St. Mary's Church (reseating and fittings), by W.H. Wood, 1911-20.

WOD/1/14/1-65 - Durham, St. Margaret's Parish Hall, Crossgate, by W.H. Wood, 1912-13.

WOD/1/16/2-92 - East Boldon, St. George's Church, by W.H. Wood, 1912-23.

WOD/1/15/1-12 - Durham, St. Oswald's Church (morning chapel and rood screen), by W.H. Wood, 1913-16.

WOD/1/9/1-15 - Collierley, St. Thomas's Church, Harelaw (vestry and alterations), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

WOD/1/21/15-22 - Gateshead, St. Paul's Church (tower and south aisle), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

WOD/1/20/41-44 - Gateshead, St. Mary's School, Ellison Place (additions and alterations), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

WOD/1/34/111-115 - Shiney Row, St. Oswald's Church (enlarged), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

D/HF/77/4 and 17-20 - Craghead, St. Thomas's Church (parish hall), by W.H. Wood, 1914-21.

Northumberland Record Office

Architectural plans

ZLK/SS/5 and 12 - Hexham, Subscription Schools, by Thomas Austin, 1852-6.

EP/10/43 - Stannington, St. Mary's Church (restoration), by W.H. Dunn, c. 1868.

QRUP/142 - Newcastle, Tramway Routes, by A.M. Fowler, 1878.

SANT/BEQ/21/4/1/8 - Gateshead, Workhouse, Bensham Road, by W.L. Newcombe with Morton and Knowles, 1886.

EP/206/36 - Mickley, St. George's Church (extensive additions), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1888.

3331/247 - Blenkinsopp Castle, tennis court, by William Glover, 1894.

3410/Plans/1/65 - Newcastle, Wood Memorial Hall (alterations), by J.T. Cackett, 1898.

UR/P13/4/3/1- Haltwhistle, Presbyterian Chapel and Hall, by W.L. Newcombe, 1898.

ZLK/GS/27 and 45 - Hexham, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Bog Acres Farm, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1909-10.

EP/33/62 - Wooler, St. Mary's Church (reredos), by A.B. Plummer, 1904.

EP/39/191-2 - Bedlington, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration and addition of north aisle), by A.B. Plummer, 1908-11.

EP/33/45-67 - Wooler, St. Mary's Church (chancel and vestries), by A.B. Plummer, 1910-12.

EP/28/144 - Morpeth, St. James' Church (reseating), by A.B. Plummer, 1911.

RIBA Drawings Collection

Dove Brothers Collection, PA1880/1(1-96) - London, Presbyterian Chapel, Camden, by R.J. Johnson, 1861.

Dove Brothers Collection, PA1880/1(1-96) - London, 1 High Street, Hampstead, by R.J. Johnson, 1861.

R.J. Johnson Drawings Collection, Vol. III, p69, VOS/146 - Acklam, St. John's Church (rebuilt), by R.J. Johnson, 1874.

R.J. Johnson Drawings Collection, Vol. III, p67, VOS/146 - Mitford, St. Michael's Church (chancel screen and seating), by R.J. Johnson, 1875.

BOW [452] 1-8 - Cockfield, St. Mary's Church (reredos, pulpit and lectern), by W.H. Wood, 1911.

BOW [457] - North Malton, St. Peter's Church (upper section of tower), by W.H. Wood, 1911.

BOW [455] 1-2 - Filey, St. Oswald's Church (reredos), by W.H. Wood, 1911-12.

BOW [456] 1-5 - Sunderland, Venerable Bede Church (alterations to chancel), by W.H. Wood, 1911-13.

BOW [479] - Shincliffe, St. Mary's Church (reseating and fittings), by W.H. Wood, 1911-20.

BOW [461] 1-16 - Durham, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration-completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1911-22.

BOW [468] 1-3 - Dunholme, Lincolnshire, St. Chad's Church, by W.H. Wood, 1912-14.

BOW [459] - Nidd, Yorkshire, Nidd Hall (oratory), by W.H. Wood, 1912.

BOW [462] 1-2 - Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church (rood screen and panelling), by W.H. Wood, 1912-15.

BOW [471] 1-10 - Sedgefield, St. Edmund's Church (transept restored), by W.H. Wood, 1913-15.

BOW [474] 1-2 - Hedworth, Church (reredos), by W.H. Wood, 1914.

BOW [476] 1-10 - Bexley, London, Designs for St. Augustine's Church, Belvedere, by W.H. Wood, 1914-16.

RIBA Search Rooms

Architectural plans

PA1453/AHP [193] 1-2 - Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary, by Adams and Newcombe, 1899.

PB612/AHP [302] 1-2 - Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary, by Adams and Newcombe, 1910-14.

Miscellaneous documents

AAL/1 - Papers relating to the Architectural Alliance, 1863-1870.

LC/7/7/1 - Letter from George Aitchison to RIBA, 4 April 1870.

LC/15/2/8 - Letter from Arthur Cates to RIBA, 5 February 1877.

LC/15/7/3 - Letter from Arthur Cates to RIBA, 7 July 1877.

LC/27/2/29 - Letter from Arthur Cates to RIBA, 7 July 1877.

WAA/7 - Alfred Waterhouse papers, Certificates of commissions, 1877-1899.

LC/27/2/14 - Architect's and Engineer's Registration Act Committee, 20 February 1888.

LC/28/4/3 - Liverpool Architectural Society, Letter to RIBA Council, 3 October 1888.

Northern Architectural Association, Letters by the honorary secretary of the Northern Architectural Association to the RIBA Council, 1888-1898:

LC/8/2/7

LC/24/4/15

LC/27/2/23

LC/28/2/14

LC/29/5/9

LC/29/5/10

LC/30/1/6-7
LC/30/2/14
LC/30/4/27
LC/31/3/21
LC/31/3/31
LC/31/4/12
LC/37/2/14
LC/40/3/10

LC/29/5/3 - Liverpool Architectural Society, Letter to RIBA Council, 6 May 1889.

LC/29/5/16 - Manchester Architectural Association, Letter to RIBA Council, 18 May 1889.

LC/33/6/8 - Letter from Arthur Cates to RIBA, 26 October 1892.

WAA/10 - Alfred Waterhouse papers, Drawing Register.

Sunderland Museum

Drawing - Sunderland, Half Moon Inn, High Street East, by B.F. Simpson, 1903.

Tyne and Wear Archives

Architectural Plans

DT.SC/241 - Gateshead, Building Sites, Cramer Dykes, by Matthew Thompson, 1868.

T186/3768 – Newcastle, National Provincial Bank, Collingwood Street, by John Gibson, 1871.

234/4849-50 - Sunderland, Workman's Dwellings (competition entry), by Septimus Oswald, 1871.

1169 - Plans of Septimus Oswald and Co.

Gateshead, School, Prior Street, Dunston, by Septimus Oswald, c. 1871.

Houses, Hawthorn Street, Elswick, by Septimus Oswald, 1875.

Shop Fronts, Blakett Street, by Septimus Oswald, 1875.

T186/4720 - Newcastle, Victoria Buildings, Grainger Street, by Matthew Thompson, 1872.

D.NCP/17/1- Newcastle, Artisans Dwellings Improvement Scheme, Elswick Lane/City Road, by A.M. Fowler, 1877.

T186/7825 - Newcastle, Collingwood Street, shop front, 1877.

T186/8398 - Newcastle, Northern Assurance Company offices, Collingwood Street, by R.J. Johnson, 1878.

D.NCP/7/19 - Newcastle, New Street, Spital Tongues, by A.M. Fowler, 1878.

D.NCP/7/22 - Newcastle, Melbourne Street Extension, by A.M. Fowler, 1880.

T186/17309 - Newcastle, Collingwood Buildings, Collingwood Street by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1880-1902.

DT.CC/194 – Westoe, South Shields, St. Michael's Church (extensions and fittings), by W.S. Hicks, 1882-1902.
T186/16340 - Newcastle, Claremont Buildings, William Hope, 1884.

DT.CC/83/1-4 - St. John Lee, St. John of Beverley's Church (enlargement), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1885-6.

T67/1 - Newcastle, Junior School, Byker, by R.J. Johnson and separate school by Charles Walker, 1885-97.

DT.WO/8/282-90 - Newcastle, St. Luke's Church, Claremont Road, by Oliver and Leeson, 1886-98.

D.NCP/18/13 - Newcastle, Grainger Estate Plan, Low Elswick, by Lamb and Armstrong, 1887.

T186/12969 - Newcastle, Hodgkin, Barnett, Spence, Pease and Co.'s Bank Collingwood Street, by R.J. Johnson, 1888.

DT.CC/59/1 – Garrigill, St. John's Church (restoration), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1888-90.

DT.WO/8/354-62 - Ryton, St. Hilda's Church, Hedgefield, by Oliver and Leeson, 1888-92.

DT.WO/8/240-2 - Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College, Bath Lane, by Oliver and Leeson, 1888-94.

DT.CC/36/1-46 – Cliddesdon, St. Leonard's Church (alterations and additions), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1889.

T186/11983 - Newcastle, Nos. 1-6 Blackett Street, proposed alterations, by J.T. Cackett, March 1889.

DT.SC/249 - Newcastle, Heaton Junction estate, by William Glover, 1889.

DT.WO/8/241-6 - Newcastle, Girls' High School, Tankerville Terrace, Jesmond, by Oliver and Leeson, 1889-90.

DT.SC/61 - Shiremoor, St. Mark's Church, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1890s.

DT.CC/74/1-8 - Haughton-le-Skerne, St. Andrew's Church (restoration, transepts and porch), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1890-5.

T186/14761 - Newcastle, Prudential Assurance Company, Mosley Street, by Alfred Waterhouse, 1891.

DT.CC/189/1 - Warkworth, St. Laurence's Church (reredos), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1891.

T186/12273 - Newcastle, Eldon Buildings, by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, August 1892.

T186/14089 - Newcastle, Union Assurance Offices, Westgate Road, alterations, 1893.

DT.CC/130/1-8 - Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church (restoration of Trinity Chapel), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1894.

DT/CC/43/1-10 - Crewe, St. John the Baptist's Church, Stalbridge Road, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1894-1901.

DT.WO/8/326-31; 52/1/66 - Newcastle, St. Monica's Church, Wingrove Road, by W.H. Wood, 1894-1915.

DT.WO/8/291-2 - Newcastle, St. Luke's Vicarage, by Oliver and Leeson, 1895.

234, 1745, 1746, 1748-1750 - Plans by Joseph Oswald, 1895.
T186/16611 - Newcastle, Grand Theatre, Byker, William Hope, 1895-6.

DT.CC/184/1-3 - Wall, St. George's Church, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1895-7.

T186/16716 - Newcastle, Mawson, Swan and Morgan's premises (alterations) by C.S. Errington, 1895-1904.

DT.CC/110/1-7 - Longframlington, St. Mary's Church (restoration and extension), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1896.

DT.CC/183 - Walker, Parish Hall and Sunday School, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1896.

DT.CC/14/7-9 - Beadnell, St. Ebba's Church (alterations), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1896.

DT.CC/9/1-16 - Ashington, Holy Sepulchre Church (final stage – aisle; tower; vestries), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1896-8.

T186/17102 - Westgate Hill Board School, by Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke, 1896-9.

52/1/40 - Winterton, Humberside, All Saints' Church (restoration completed for Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1896-1925.

DT.CC/85/1-6 - Horton, St. Mary's Church (vicarage), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1897.

DT.CC/68/1-26 - Greenhead, St. Cuthbert's Church (new chancel and restoration), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1897-1900.

DT.CC/26/1-12 - Blyth, St. Mary's Church, Wanley Streey, Cowpen (extensions), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1897-1903.

T186/17457 - Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Buildings (extension), by William Stubbs, 1897-1906.

DT.CC/70/1-4 - Hart, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (fittings and repairs), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1898.

DT.CC/50/1-11 - Great Driffield, St. John's Church, Lockwood Street, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1898-1900.

DT.CC/47/1-4 - Deighton, All Saints' Church (restoration), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1898-1901.

DT.SC/391/1 - Newcastle, 27 Newgate Street (alterations), by B.F. Simpson, 1899.

DT.SC/391/2 - Newcastle, 23 Dean Street (alterations), by B.F. Simpson, 1899.

234/485, 1-55 - Sunderland, The Foundry Inn, by Joseph Oswald, 1901.

T186/21449 - Newcastle, Tyneside Tramways Office, Melbourne Street, by Benjamin Simpson, 1901.

DT.CC/207/1-2 - Wymondham Abbey (restoration and reredos), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1901-2.

DT.CC/39/1-4 - Consett, Christ Church (alterations and additions), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1902.

DT.CC/45/1 - Darlington, New Church, Hummersknott (not built), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1902.

DT.CC/18/1-2 - Gateshead, St. Hilda's Mission Hall, Lobley Hill Road, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1903-4.

DT.SC/61/29-30 - Shiremoor, St. Mark's Church, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1904.

T186/19096 - Newcastle, Pearl Assurance Building, Northumberland Street, by William Hope, 1904.

DT.CC/157 - Seaton Hirst, St. John's Church (extension), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1904-6.

DT.SC/61/25 - Seaton Hirst, St. Andrew's Church, by Oliver and Leeson, 1905.

1152 - Miscellaneous plans, 1905-1932.

DT.CC/92/6 - Jesmond, Clayton Memorial Church (baptistery), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1906.

DT.JHM/265 - Wallsend, Semi-Detached Villas, King's Road, by B.F. Simpson, 1906.

DT.CC/29/1 - Newcastle, St. Laurence's Church, Walker Road, Byker, by Hicks and Charlewood, 1906-8.

DT.CC/49/4-8 - Doddington, St. Mary and St. Michael's Church (restoration of baptistery), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1908.

1146 - Miscellaneous plans, 1908-1938.

DT.WO/8/3 39-44 - Newcastle, St. Paul's Church, Havelock Street (fittings), by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1909.

DT.WO/4/38-9 - Belvedere, Kent, St. Augustine's Church, by W.H. Wood, 1909-16.

DT.WO/5 - Earsdon, St. Alban's Church (alterations), by Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1910.

DT.CC/138/1-2 - Newcastle, 6 Trinity House (restoration of chapel), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1911.

DT.CC/196/2 - Whalton, St. Mary's Church (reredos), by Hicks and Charlewood, 1911.

DX 956/3/1-4 and 4/1 - Newcastle, Crippled Children's Home, Gosforth (alterations to house - without fee), by W.L. Newcombe, 1911-19.

52/1/17 - South Shields, St. Mary's Church, Tyne Dock (completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1911.

DT.WO/8/446-454 - South Shields, St. Mary's Church, Tyne Dock (completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1911.

52/1/42 - Sunderland, St. Aidan's Church, Grangetown (completed for C.H. Fowler), by W.H. Wood, 1911.

DT.WO/4/70 - Filey, St. Oswald's Church (reredos), by W.H. Wood, 1911-12.

52/1/67 4- DT.WO/8/435 - Sunderland, Venerable Bede Church (alterations to chancel), by W.H. Wood, 1911-13.

DT.WO/4/3 - Haxby, St. Mary's Church (enlarged), by W.H. Wood, 1911-20.

DT.WO/4/59 - Dunholme, Lincolnshire, St. Chad's Church, by W.H. Wood, 1911-20.

DT.WO/7/2-3 - Newcastle, Tyne Commissioners' Office (two extra storeys added), by W.H. Wood, 1912-14.

DT.WO/4/60-7 - Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church (rood screen and panelling), by W.H. Wood, 1912-15.

DT.WO/4/73 - Hett, Mission Chapel, by W.H. Wood, 1913.

T186/A736 - Newcastle, Scotswood Road stores, Armstrong, 1913.

T186/A738 - Newcastle, Cruddas Park school, 1913.

52/1/43 - Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College (extension – invited entrant), by W.H. Wood, 1913.

52/1/44; DT.WO/4/123 and DT.WO/8/345-52 - Newcastle, St. Wilfred's Mission, Blandford Street (alterations and fittings), by W.H. Wood, 1913-15.

T186/4613 - Newcastle, Victoria Buildings (alterations) by C.S. Errington, Grainger Street, 1931.

DT.CC/129 - Newcastle, St. Aidan's Church, Benton Park (completion of church), by Hicks and Charlewood, n.d.

DT.CC/67/16 - Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Church, Gosforth (mission room), by Hicks and Charlewood, n.d.

DT.SC293/1-2 - Newcastle, 5 St. Nicholas's Buildings, by W.H. Dunn, n.d.

DT.JHM/249 - Hebburn, Board School, by A.M. Fowler, n.d.

D.NCP/16/4 - Free Library and Museum, New Bridge Street (twentieth-century copies from Fowler's drawings, n.d.).

Armstrong Papers

DF/A/1/32/1-6 - Letters from R.N. Shaw to Sir William Armstrong, 1884.

DF/A/1/41/1-2 - Letters from F.W. Rich to W.G. Armstrong, 1884.

DF/A/4/14 - Letter from Rev. J.W. Hooper, Gateshead Fell Church, 1884.

DF/A/4/22 - Letter from Town Clerk on Jesmond Dene, 1884.

DF/A/4/32/1 - Letter from Fred R. Wilson, 1884.

DF/A/4/40 - Letter from F. Browns on Eye Infirmary, 1884.

DF/A/4/12 - Letter from Hardwicke, Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis, 1900.

DF/A/18 - Letter from Alexander Laing to Sir William Armstrong, concerning Laing Art Gallery, 1901.

DF/A/17/8 - Letter from Regina Plucknett concerning property in Whitley Bay, 1905.

Miscellaneous documents

DT.BEL - Bell and Son, surveyors, 1742-1917.

DT.AA - records Amos Atkinson Ltd. Boot and shoemakers and retailers of Newcastle, 1812-1965.

DS.HL – R. and W. Hawthorn, Leslie and Co Ltd., c.1817-1970s.

D.VA/94-109 - Records of the Elswick Literary and Mechanics Institute, 1837-1979.

D.VA/110-119 - Records of the Elswick Works School, 1837-1979.

DS/JD/1 - Memorandum and articles of association of James Deuchar, brewers, 1862-1898.

DT.WO/1-10 - Papers of W.H. Wood, 1865-1932

DT.WO/1/1-125 - Notebooks and sketchbooks, 1865-1921.

DT.WO/1/30 - C. H. Fowler's notebooks, 1876.

DT.WO/1/52 - C. H. Fowler's notebooks, 1884.

DT.WO/2/1-17 - Out-letter books, indexed, 1880-84, 1911-1934.

DT.WO/3 - Index to client files, n.d. [1930s].

DT.WO/4/1-192 - Client files, 1901-1936.

DT.WO/5/1 - W.H. Wood's diary, December 1908 - December 1910.

DT.WO/5/2 - W.H. Wood's diary, 3 January 1911 – 23 July 1912.

DT.WO/5/3 - W.H. Wood's diary, 26 July 1912 – 21 March 1914.

DT.WO/5/4 - W.H. Wood's diary, 23 March 1914 – 31 December 1917.

DT.WO/5/5 - W.H. Wood's diary, 3 January 1918 – 27 June 1924.

DT.WO/5/6 - W.H. Wood's diary, 7 July 1924 – 16 December 1932.

DT.WO/6/1-4 - Specifications, n.d. [1890s]-1927.

DT.WO/7/1-17 - Bills of quantity, 1910-39.

DT.WO/8/1-481 - Plans, 1865-1937.

SB.NC - Newcastle School Board, 1871-1903

SB.NC/1 - Newcastle School Board, *Board Minutes*.

SB.NC/4/1 - Newcastle School Board, *Triennial reports 1871-1888*.

SB.NC/4/2 - Newcastle School Board, *Triennial reports 1889-1897*.

SB.NC/4/3 - Newcastle School Board, *Triennial reports 1898-1903*.

SB.NC/8 - Newcastle School Board, *Public Works Loan Commissioners Loan Accounts to individual Schools*, 10 May 1878 – 21 April 1886.

SB.NC/9 - Newcastle School Board, *Day Industrial School ledger, October 1890 – 29 September 1894.*

SB.NC/10 - Newcastle School Board, *Newspaper cuttings album, 9 January 1889 – 29 September 1903.*

SB.NC/3/1 - Newcastle School Board (1902) *Reports of the Various Committees.*

DT.SC/346 - Deed of partnership between Thompson and Dunn, architects, 1873.

DF.WEK/3/10 (1) - Grainger Permanent Building Society, *Annual report*, 1876.

DF.WEK/3/10 (2) - New Bridge Permanent Building Society, *Annual report*, 1879.

DX872/22 - Photograph of Lockhart's Cocoa Rooms, the Side, Norman Cook collection, c. 1882.

D.NCP/4/192 - Post Office, acquisition of property, 1884.

DF.WEK/3/10 (3) - Newcastle upon Tyne Incorporated Trade Protection Society – Report and accounts, 1885.

DS.JWL/31/9 - Co-operative store, Newgate Street, photograph, 1886.

DF.WEK/3/3 (1) - Northern Conservative Club – Annual report, 1886.

DF.WEK/3/3 (2) - Northern Conservative Club – Report of the new premises committee, 1886.

1463/1-6 - John Barras and Co., brewers, board minutes, 1889-1904.

DS.JWL/59/1 - Letter from George Bell, surveyor, on structural defects in adjacent property, Corporation Street, 14 April 1892.

DF.WEK/3/10 (4) - North Eastern Banking Company – Report and balance sheet, 1897.

HO.RVI/88 - Royal Victoria Infirmary, revised competition conditions, 1899.

DX.23/1 - Co-operative Print Works, Bath Lane, by F.W. Rich, 1900.

DX908/1/3 - Survey of Messrs. Ingeldew and Daggert's property on Dean Street and the Side by Oliver and Leeson, 1901-2.

DX908/3 - Survey of William Milburn's property on Dean Street and the Side, by Oliver and Leeson, 1901-2.

D.NCP/4/218 - Post Office, sites bill, 1904.

D.NCP/7/40 - New streets between New Bridge Street and Carliol Square (unexecuted), 1905-1920.

DS.ADZ/43 - Letters from W. Armstrong and Sons, Collingwood Buildings, 1911-23.

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Gibson, John (1817-1892)

Gilbert, Sir Alfred (1854-1934)

Glover, William (1829-1912)

Haswell, Francis Robert Newton (1834-1913)

Hicks, William Searle (1848-1902)

Johnstone, John (1814-1884)

Knowles, William Henry (1857-1943)

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Milburn, William (1853-1935)

Newcombe, William Lister (1848-1929)

Oliver, Thomas Junior (1824-1902)

Oswald, Joseph (1851-1930)

Plummer, Arthur Benjamin (1855-1925)

Rich, Frank West (1840-1929)

Simpson, Benjamin J. (fl. 1885-1920)

Thompson, Matthew (c.1822-1878)

Williams, James (1824-1892)

Wood, W.H. (1861-1941)

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Appendix

THOMAS AUSTIN [1822-1867]

Thomas Austin was born on 17 October 1822 at Haughton-le-Skerne. He was the eldest son of the Reverend Thomas Austin MA, Rector of Redmarshall in County Durham. From c.1839-1846 he received architectural training in the office of Edmund Sharpe of Lancaster, whose practice was mainly ecclesiastical. Here he encountered E.G. Paley and together they executed drawings for Sharpe's *Architectural Parallels of Abbeys in Yorkshire*. When Sharpe retired in 1851, Paley made an offer of partnership, but Austin declined and began to practise in Newcastle in 1852. Ten years later he entered partnership with R.J. Johnson. He also trained his half brother H.J. Austin (1841-1915) from 1860-4 and founded the important partnership of Paley and Austin in Lancaster. Austin and Johnson purchased the practice of the late John Dobson in 1865 (Dobson's son had been killed in the fire of 1856), and they saw some of Dobson's projects through to completion. It seems that Johnson played the leading role in the partnership because of Austin's poor health. Austin was based at 15 New Bridge Street in 1868. He was among the founders of the Northern Architectural Association. He read the first paper to the Association (entitled 'English Architecture in the Latter Half of the 12th Century') and served as the first Treasurer (1859-62) and later as Vice President. However, he never joined the RIBA. Austin was a prominent antiquarian and joined the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle in 1854. Perhaps his best known work was his sensitive restoration of Brinkburn Priory, which he re-roofed in a way that was in keeping with the archaeological remains. At his father's expense he restored the church of Redmarshall and added a new rectory. Austin began to suffer from ill health and travelled to Australia in order to recover. However, he died on the return voyage on 24 March 1867. The firm was continued by R.J. Johnson under the style of Austin and Johnson. W.S. Hicks joined the partnership in 1885, whereupon the firm became Austin, Johnson and Hicks.

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- 1853 Newcastle, Public Buildings, St. Nicholas's Square (plan exhibited)
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[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 December 1855, p4]
- 1855 Ovingham, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
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- 1855-6 Beadnall, House near Chathill
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- 1856-7 Sunderland, Gray Schools House, Holy Trinity
[*Sunderland Herald*, 21 November 1856, p1]
- 1857 Washington, School and House
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 13 February 1857, p1]
- 1857 Gainford, National School
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- 1857 Redmarshall, St. Cuthbert's Church (rebuilt)
[Price, J. (1998) *Sharpe, Paley and Austin: a Lancaster architectural practice, 1836-1942*, p32, no.21]
- 1858 Brinkburn Priory (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p200]
- 1859 St. Andrew Auckland, St. Andrew's Church (repaving and galley removal)
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- 1859 West Boldon, Boys' School
[*Newcastle Journal*, 31 December 1859, p8]
- 1859-60 Witton Gilbert, St. Michael's Church (restored)

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- 1859-63 Ulgham, St. John the Baptist's Church (rebuilding)
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- 1861 Sunderland, Monkwearmouth Colliery Schools
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- 1861 Bishop Auckland, St. Andrew's Church (pulpit)
[Richley, M. (1872) *History and Characteristics of Bishop Auckland*, p107]
- 1862 Seaham, Christ Church (south aisle)
[Goodhart-Rendel Index; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 10 October 1862, p8]
- n.d. Ravensworth Castle (additions)
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[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 3, vol.10, 1913, pp239-40]
- n.d. Rectories and Schools in various places
Archaeologia Aeliana, series 3, vol.10, vol.1913, pp239-40]

Austin and Johnson

- 1862-8 Cramlington, St. Nicholas's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1863 South Shields, St. Mary's Church, Tyne Dock
[Goodhart-Rendel Index]
- 1863 Newcastle, St. James's Church, Bywell (restoration)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1863-6 Billingham, St. John's Church, Haverton Hill
[Goodhart-Rendel Index; Moorsom, N. (1970) *The Anglican Church in Teesside: An introductory historical survey and directory*, p14; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1864 Blyth, St. Mary's Church
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- 1864 Cowpen, St. Mary's Church (completed for J. Dobson)
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- 1864 Sherburn Hospital (chapel restored)
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- 1864 Staindrop, Raby Castle (staircase)
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[*Builder*, vol.23, 24 June 1865, p453]
- 1865-6 Bishop Auckland, St. Helen's Church (restoration)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 9 March 1866, p5; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1865-8 Cramlington, St. Nicholas's Church
[*Builder*, vol.26, 6 June 1868, p417]
- 1866 Whitburn Parish Church, (restoration)
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- 1866 Sadberge, School House
[*Durham Chronicle*, 26 January 1866, p5]
- 1866 Felling, Christ Church
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CACKETT AND BURNS DICK

James Thoburn Cackett, FRIBA, MSA, JP [1860-1928]

J.T. Cackett was born in West Hartlepool and educated at the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle. He then went to the Academy in Greenock, taking classes in Art and Science. He received architectural training in the office of J. and L.H. Armour of Gateshead from 1876, simultaneously taking art classes for which he won prizes. He remained as managing assistant from 1881-4, before commencing independent practice in 1884. Cackett was well known as a valuer of land and buildings and acted as an arbitrator in many cases, including the widening of Osborne Road, Westgate Road, and of the railway between Newcastle Central Station and Manors. He was based at 24 Grainger Street from 1891-6. He became a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in 1884 and was elected a Fellow of the RIBA on 18 January 1892, having been proposed by E.J. Hansom, J.H. Morton and W.L. Newcombe. In 1899 he entered partnership with Robert Burns Dick. He was a member of the Northern Architectural Association, serving as Treasurer from 1892-1928 and as President from 1905-6. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1887. He retired from active practice in 1920, but maintained a connection with the firm. Cackett was a supporter of the Fleming Hospital and became an honorary life governor in 1907. He was a founder member of the Northern Conservative Club and co-designed the premises of this institution in 1909. By 1914 he was based in Pilgrim House, Newcastle. He became a J.P. for Newcastle in 1919 and was also a director of a local building society.

Publications

'Newcastle Improvements', *RIBA Journal*, vol.13, 1906, pp135-144.

Robert Burns Dick FRIBA [1868-1954]

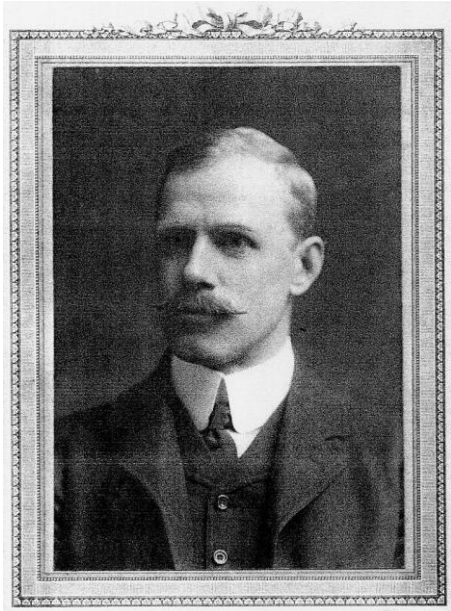


Figure 191 Robert Burns Dick. (British Architectural Library, Biographical File).

Robert Burns Dick was born in Stirling in 1868. His family moved to Newcastle where his father worked in the brewing trade. After education at the Royal Grammar School, he served articles with W.L. Newcombe FRIBA from 1883-8 and attended art classes. He was employed as an assistant to Armstrong and Knowles from 1888, but began independent practice in 1892. A partnership with C.T. Marshall (1866-1940) lasted from 1895-7, and he joined in partnership with J.T. Cackett in 1899. It is generally accepted that Burns Dick provided the artistic input to the firm while Cackett provided the business acumen. In 1905 he joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries and was elected FRIBA on 8 January 1906, having been proposed by Cackett, A.W.S. Cross and G. Hubbard. He was a member of the Northern Architectural Association, acting as President from 1914-8 and Treasurer from 1928-47. During his terms as President he wrote a series of articles on the war and its effects on architecture. Conservative in politics, Burns Dick joined the Tynemouth Volunteer Artillery. He was seconded from military service in 1915 to design works for Short Brothers. He was a founding member of the Newcastle Society, which was established in 1924 to create a Green Belt around the city and to give Newcastle a modern centre. He had a reputation as a good planner of buildings and was also regarded as a fine draughtsman of perspectives. He

travelled in Belgium, France and Italy. By 1914 he was residing at Millmont in Fenham.

Burns Dick retired to Esher in 1940 and died there on 11 December 1954.

Publications

'The Cataclysm - and After', *RIBA Journal*, 24 December 1916, pp38-41.

Newcastle: Suggested Plan for Future Development, 1927.

Buildings

J.T. Cackett, 1884-1899

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1890 | Newcastle, Northern Goldsmiths, Blackett Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p483] |
| 1892 | Newcastle, Business Premises, Pilgrim Street
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.63, 9 September 1892, p374] |
| 1892 | Newcastle, 18-22 Blackett Street
[Lovie, D. (1997) <i>The Buildings of Grainger Town</i> , p21] |
| 1894 | Newcastle, Bainbridge Store, Grey Street (extension)
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.66, 28 April 1894, p333] |
| 1895 | Newcastle, County Hotel, Grainger Street (restaurant)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.66, 27 June 1895, p932] |
| 1896 | Newcastle, Presbyterian Church, Elswick Road
[Pevsner, N. (1957) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p259] |
| 1896-7 | Newcastle, Barclays Bank, Grainger Street/Market Street (rebuilt after fire)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.73, 27 August 1897, p316] |
| 1897-8 | Newcastle, Art Gallery and Vaudeville Theatre (alterations)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.73, 27 August 1897, p312] |
| 1898 | Byker, Cumberland Arms
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) <i>The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History</i> , p32] |
| 1898 | South Gosforth, Millstone Inn, Hoddricksmill Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) <i>The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History</i> , pp38-9] |
| 1898 | Newcastle, Wood Memorial Hall (alterations)
[Northumberland Record Office, 3410/Plans/1/65] |
| n.d. | Gateshead, Co-operative Store
[Pattman (1996) <i>Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar</i>] |
| n.d. | Gateshead, Gas Offices
[Pattman (1996) <i>Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar</i>] |
| n.d. | Newcastle, Barclay's Bank
[<i>Who's Who in Architecture</i> , 1923, p47] |

n.d. Newcastle, 4 Shops and Offices, Blackett Street
[Pattman (1996) *Cackett, Burns Dick and Mackellar*]

R. Burns Dick, 1892-1895

- 1893 Newcastle, Model Lodging House (1st premium with Marshall)
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.62, January 1955, p131]
- 1895 Newcastle, Trinity Presbyterian Church, Northumberland Road (1st premium - Marshall and Dick)
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.62, January 1955, p131]
- 1896 Aberdeen, Model Lodging Houses (3rd premium)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p3]
- 1896 Newcastle, Congregational Chapel, West Clayton Street (2nd premium - Marshall and Dick)
[*Builder*, vol.70, 1896, p166]
- 1898-1901 Berwick, Police Station and Magistrates' Court (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.74, 20 May 1898, p704]
- 1899 Prudhoe, Dr. Syntax Hotel (rebuilt)
[*Building News*, vol.76, 20 January 1899, p114]
- 1899-1901 Warrington, Police Station and Courts, Arpley Street (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.16, 14 April 1899, p509 and plate]
- n.d. Newcastle, St. George's Presbyterian Church
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.62, January 1955, p131]

Cackett and Burns Dick, 1899-1924

- 1900 Newcastle, Trafalgar Inn, New Bridge Street
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p247] R.B. Dick
- 1900 Newcastle, White Hart Inn
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p26] J.T. Cackett
- 1900 Walsall, Municipal Buildings (4th premium)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 26 October 1900, p573 and plate]
- 1900-3 Newcastle, Police and Fire Station, Headlam Street, Byker (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 14 September 1900, p358]
- 1901 Newcastle, Bridge Hotel
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p108]
- 1901-2 Newcastle, Turk's Public House, High Bridge
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p107]
- 1901-4 Newcastle, Laing Art Gallery
[*Building News*, vol.80, 24 May 1901, p715]
- 1902 Newcastle, Ward's Buildings, 31-7 High Bridge
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p489]
- 1902 Newcastle, Institute of Mining Engineers, Lecture Theatre

- [Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*, pp12-13]
- 1902 Newcastle, 18-22 Blackett Street
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, no.48]
- 1903 Newcastle, Collingwood Buildings (conversion to Barclay's Bank)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 30 May 1903, p563]
- 1903 Scotswood, Delaval Arms
[*Building News*, vol.85, 21 August 1903, p258]
- 1903 Whitley Bay, Board School (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p434]
- 1903-4 Newcastle, 133 Pilgrim Street (alterations for Watson, Hendy and Burton)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p135]
- 1904 Newcastle, Sutherland Memorial Hall, Jesmond
[Pevsner, N. (1957) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p256] R.B. Dick
- 1904 St. Annes-on-Sea, Seaside Pavilion
[*Building News*, 1904]
- 1904 Gosforth, 7 Shops and 2 Houses, Church Road
[Cox, T.A. (1977) *Gosforth High Street*, Appendix 5]
- 1904-5 Newcastle, St. George's Presbyterian Hall, Jesmond Road
[*Building News*, vol.87, 18 November 1904, p741]
- 1905 Newcastle, New Streets and Town Hall (not built)
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*, pp2-13]
- 1906 Newcastle, Old Black Bull Inn, Westgate Road (refurbishment)
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, pp70-1]
- 1906 Newcastle, Presbyterian Chapel, Westgate Road
[*Building News*, vol.90, 11 May 1906, p689]
- 1906 Newcastle, Market Street Scheme (advisor with Leeson and Newcombe)
[*Building News*, vol.91, 31 August 1906, p289]
- 1907 Sunderland, Branch Libraries, Church Street and Villette Road (J.T. Cackett - judge)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 12 April 1907, p536]
- 1907 Saltburn, 1 House
[*Building News*, vol.93, 12 July 1907, p42 and plate]
- 1907-10 Sunderland, Presbyterian Church, Roker (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.92, 8 June 1907, p696; *Builder*, vol.99, 1 October 1910, p361]
- 1907-8 Newcastle, 'Millmount', Fenham (Dick's own house)
[Pattman (1996) *Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar*, p43]
- 1908-9 Hexham, Primitive Methodist Chapel, Beaumont Street (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.94, 12 June 1908, p842] R.B. Dick

- 1908-10 Whitley Bay, Spanish City Pleasure Grounds (with L.G. Mouchel)
[*Building News*, vol.98, 20 May 1910, p681]
- c. 1910 Newcastle, Northern Goldsmiths, Clayton Street West
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p30]
- 1909-12 Newcastle, Northern Conservative Club, Pilgrim Street
[*Building News*, vol.96, 5 March 1909, p353]
- 1911-13 Newcastle, Cross House, Westgate Road/Fenkle Street
[*Building News*, vol.103, 15 November 1912, p705; *Building News*, vol.105, 26 September 1913, p437 and plate]
- 1912-14 Newcastle, Pilgrim House
[*British Architect*, 1912; *British Architect*, 1914]
- 1913 Blagdon Hall (remodelling)
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*, pp12-13]
- 1912-13 Blyth, Harbour Commissioners' Office, Bridge Street
[*Builder*, vol.102, 23 February 1912, p217]
- 1913 and 1919 Newcastle, 2 Tobacco Warehouses for R. Sinclair, Blenheim Street and Westgate Road
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p71]
- 1914-15 Walker, Armstrong Naval Shipyard Offices
[*Builder*, vol.107, 20 November 1914, pp485-8 and plates]
- n.d. Newcastle, Business Premises for March, Jones and Cribb
[Information from Graham Potts]
- n.d. Newcastle, Shipbuilding Yards for Vickers and Cammell Laird
[Gray, A.S. (1985) *Edwardian Architecture*, p183]
- n.d. Warrington, Business Premises
[Gray, A.S. (1985) *Edwardian Architecture*, p183]

Sources

Practice

Pattman, F. (1996) *Cackett, Burns Dick and MacKellar: Their Redevelopment Plans and the Police Headquarters and Fire Station, 1930-33*.

Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp68 and 69.

J.T. Cackett

Builder, vol.134, 30 March 1928, p524. Obituary.

Gray, A.S. (1985) *Edwardian Architecture*, p133.

Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, p148.

Northern Mail and Newcastle Chronicle, 27 March 1928. Obituary.

RIBA Journal, vol.35, 14 April 1928, p375. Obituary by R. Burns Dick.

Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p43.

R. Burns Dick

Archer, K. (1987) *Robert Burns Dick and the New Tyne Bridge. Builder*, vol.187, 17 December 1954, p976. Obituary.
Martin, P. (1989) *R. Burns Dick: The Progressive Conservative. RIBA Journal*, vol.62, January 1955, p131. Obituary.
Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p68.

FREDERICK MARSHALL DRYDEN, FRIBA [1867-1946]

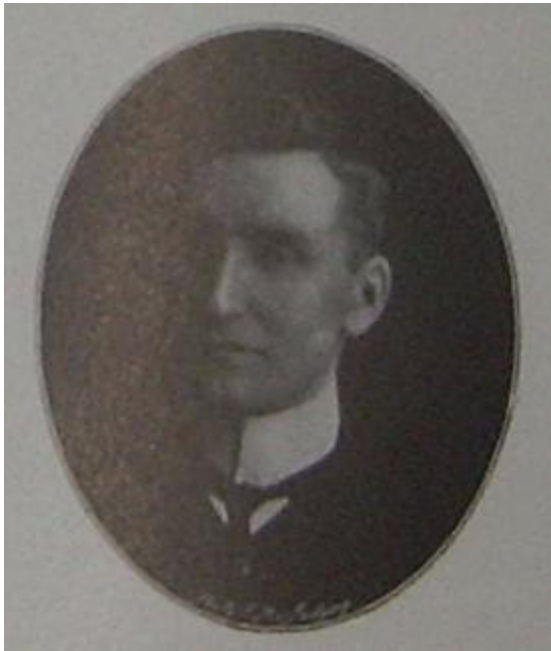


Figure 2 F.M. Dryden. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

F.M. Dryden was born at Glendale in Haltwhistle on 15 March 1867, the son John Dryden of Barhaugh, Alston in Cumberland. He received private education in Twickenham. He was a pupil of William Glover and served as his assistant from 1895. Dryden succeeded to Glover's practice in 1901. He was in partnership with J.E. Shaw from 1913 until 1942, when Dryden retired. He joined the Northern Architectural Association, but his professional activities remain obscure – according to his obituary the practice designed schools, country houses, estate developments, bus garages and industrial works in the North of England. After the Education Act of 1904, he was appointed Architect to Newcastle Council Education Committee. He married Dorothy Cicely Blain, daughter of William Blaine, shipowner of South Shields in 1896. They had one daughter. Dryden was based at 6 Market Street in 1911. By 1914 he was residing at Barhaugh, Slaggyford, Northumberland. Dryden died on 13 November 1946. The practice was continued by Shaw and A. Bird, ARIBA into the 1950s.

Buildings

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 1906 | Newcastle, Council School, Armstrong Road, Benwell
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.90, 2 February 1906, p165] |
| 1906-7 | Newcastle, Wesleyan Methodist School Chapel, Atkinson Road |

- [*Benwell Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.2, p349-51; *Building News*, vol.91, 3 August 1906, p167]
- 1907 Chopwell, Co-operative Store (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 22 February 1907, p295]
- 1907 Newcastle, Model Cottage Exhibition, Walker (entrant)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 3 May 1907, p615]
- 1908 Newcastle, Palladium Cinema, Groat Market (conversion of shop)
[Manders, F. (1991) *Cinemas of Newcastle: a comprehensive history of the cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp122-3]
- 1910 Newcastle, Benwell Higher Elementary School, Atkinson Road
[*Building News*, vol.99, 21 October 1910, pxi; *Newcastle Illustrated Chronicle*, 19 October 1910 and plate]

Sources

Pike, W.T. (1905) *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*, p203.
RIBA Journal, vol.54, 29 January 1947, p202. Obituary.

DUNN, HANSOM AND DUNN

Archibald Matthias Dunn, JP, Hon ARIBA [1832-1917]



Figure 3 A.M. Dunn. (*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326).

Archibald Matthias Dunn was born on 23 October 1832 at Wylam. His father was Matthias Dunn (1789-1869), a colliery viewer and one of the first Government Inspectors of Mines. His mother was Margaret Hall Rennie of Castle Hill, Wylam. Dunn was educated at the Roman Catholic schools of Ushaw and Stonyhurst, and received architectural training in the office of Charles F. Hansom of Bristol, where he met his future partner Edward Joseph Hansom. Dunn returned to Newcastle and established a practice in 1854, undertaking numerous commissions for the Catholic Church. His father was instrumental in securing the contract to design Neville Hall for the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, an important secular commission. In 1871 Dunn invited E.J. Hansom, the son of his mentor, to join him in partnership. In 1872 they completed the tower and spire of St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral, Newcastle, a building which had been designed by Pugin. Dunn was among the

architects who founded the Northern Architectural Association in 1858, and read a paper on Continental Architecture the following year. He later published a book entitled *Notes and Sketches of an Architect, A Collection of Sketches Made in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain etc. and also in Eastern Countries* (1886). Dunn acted as Treasurer of the Northern Architectural Association when Thomas Austin had to give up the role due to ill health. He served as President in 1896. He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle from 1856 and a supporter of architectural charities. Dunn and Hansom opened a London office at 2 Westminster Gardens in 1880. Dunn's son, Archibald Manuel Dunn, joined the firm in 1887. Dunn retired from active involvement with the practice in 1893. During his retirement, he produced a Gothic design for Westminster R.C. Cathedral, but Cardinal Vaughan instead asked J.F Bentley to design the building. Dunn's design was illustrated in the *Building News*, vol.90, 6 April 1906, p493. Dunn had no professional qualifications, but became an Honorary Associate of the RIBA in 1910. He married Sara Armstrong in 1862 and they travelled in Europe, America and the Far East. His wife published *The World's Highway; With Some First Impressions Whilst Journeying Along It* (1894). Dunn was a J.P. for County Durham. He held a commission in the Newcastle Rifle Volunteers from 1860. In 1901 he moved to Wood House, Branksome Park, Bournemouth, but continued to own Castle Hill, Wylam. He died in Bournemouth on 17 January 1917, leaving an estate valued at £36,820.

Publications

'Notes on Continental Architecture', Paper to Northern Architectural Association, c.1880.

Notes and Sketches of an Architect: A Collection of Sketches made in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain etc., and also in Eastern Countries. London: B.T. Batsford.

Edward Joseph Hansom, FRIBA [1842-1900]

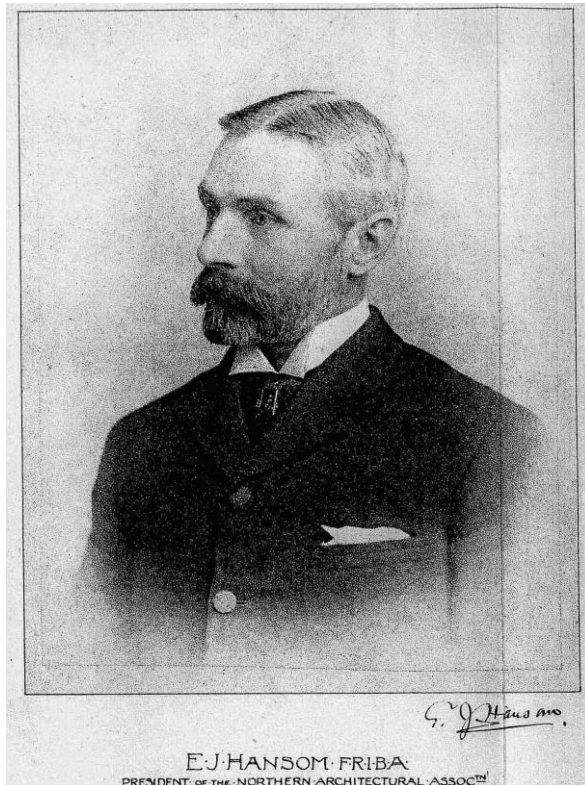


Figure 4 E.J. Hansom. (*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326).

Edward Joseph Hansom was born in Coventry on 22 October 1842 and received architectural training in his father's office from 1859 to 1865. He was a member of an architectural dynasty analogous to the Pugins; his uncle Joseph Aloysius Hansom was an architect, inventor of the Hansom Cab and founder of *The Builder*. His two cousins, J. Stanislaus and Henry Hansom were both architects. In 1866 he worked in the London office Alfred Waterhouse, before joining his father's practice. He moved to Newcastle in 1871 to commence partnership with A.M. Dunn. As a former schoolmate of Bernard Ullathrone, Bishop of Birmingham, Hansom was able to secure several commissions in the Midlands. Dunn's son, Archibald Manuel Dunn, entered the firm in 1887 and his friend W. Ellison Fenwicke joined in 1894, after the retirement of the senior partner. During this period some work was shared with Frederick Bligh Bond of Bristol, who went into partnership with Hansom's father in 1888. Hansom became ARIBA on 28 January 1867 on the nomination of Alfred Waterhouse, J.H. Hirst and C.F. Hansom. He became FRIBA on 3 January 1881, having been proposed by Waterhouse,

Hansom and R.J. Johnson. He served as President of the Northern Architectural Association from 1889-90 and was the first President to serve on the Council of the RIBA, where he campaigned for the registration of architects. He lived in Tynemouth. In 1900 he began to suffer from headaches and insomnia, which kept him from working. On 27 May 1900 he shot himself in his office at 23 Eldon Square, leaving a widow and family. The inquest concluded that his suicide was due to depression at being unable to work. His son Theodore practised as an engineer.

Archibald Manuel Dunn [b.1864]

Archibald Manuel Dunn was born in 1864 and educated at Beaumont and Stonyhurst. He was articled to his father and stayed with the firm throughout his career, becoming a partner in 1887. His involvement may account for the firm's focus on School Board commissions during the 1890s. He withdrew from the profession of architecture in May 1903, leaving W.E. Fenwicke to continue the practice with Watson and H.S. Curry. A. Manuel Dunn was the author of several books, none of them on architecture. He wrote *Bridge And How To Play It*, the first book published on the game, and two others on the same subject.

W. Ellison Fenwicke

W. Ellison Fenwicke practised in Newcastle from 1887. In 1894 he joined the firm because he was a friend of Archibald Manuel Dunn. As student members of the Northern Architectural Association they took part in student exhibitions and organised musical concerts. When the younger Dunn left the firm, Fenwicke took on new partners, whereupon the firm became Fenwicke, Watson and Curry. Fenwicke practised under the style of Fenwicke, Watson and Curry from 1906 to September 1908 and as Fenwicke and Watson from 1909 to 1914. Subsequently, the name reverted to Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke, with Fenwicke as senior partner. He was buried in Jesmond Cemetery.

Buildings

A.M. Dunn, 1854-1871

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1854-7 | Consett, St. Mary's R.C. Church, Blackhill
[Pevsner, N. (1983) <i>The Buildings of England: County Durham</i> , p132] |
| 1855 | Newcastle, High Level Bridge Approaches (plan submitted) |

[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 December 1855, p4]

- 1855 Newcastle, College of Practical Mining and Manufacture (not built)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p164]
- 1855-8 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Cemetery, Chapels and Lodges
[*Builder*, vol.13, 12 May 1855, p225; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p517]
- 1856 Redway Hill, R.C. Chapel
[Fordyce, W. (1856) *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol.2, p703]
- 1856-7 Leadgate, School and Master's House, Brooms
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p159]
- 1856-7 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Schools, Bath Lane Terrace
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *Newcastle Journal*, 14 March 1856, p1]
- 1856-8 Willington Quay, Stephenson Memorial Schools, Reading Room and House
[*Newcastle Journal*, 16 July 1858, p1]
- 1857 Gateshead, Villa and Stables, Belle Vue
[*Newcastle Journal*, 3 April 1857, p1]
- 1857-9 Gateshead, St. Joseph's R.C. Church, West Street
[*Newcastle Journal*, 11 September 1857, p1]
- 1858-9 Blyth, Our Lady and St. Wilfred's R.C. School and House, Market Place
[*Newcastle Journal*, 6 May 1859, p1]
- 1858-9 Hexham, St. Andrew's Cemetery Chapels and Lodges, West Road
[*Newcastle Journal*, 19 March 1858, p1]
- 1859 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Cathedral (Thomas Ions Memorial window)
[*Newcastle Journal*, 11 June 1859, p5; *Builder*, vol.18, 13 October 1860, p662]
- 1859-60 Newcastle, St. Anthony's R.C. Church, Byker Street, Walker
[*Newcastle Journal*, 23 September 1859, p8; *Newcastle Courant*, 21 September 1860]
- 1859-61 Tynemouth, Bath Assembly Rooms with Arcade and Shops, Front Street
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *Newcastle Journal*, 27 May and 18 November 1859, p1]
- 1860-1 Shotley Bridge, Cemetery, Durham Road, Blackhill
[*Newcastle Journal*, 30 November 1860, p1]
- 1861-2 Newcastle, Central Drill Hall, Louvaine Place
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 27 September 1861, p1]
- 1861 Blyth, Our Lady and St. Wilfred's R.C. Church, Waterloo Road
[Northumberland Record Office, RCP/10; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, pp193-4; *Builder*, vol.20, 15 November 1862]
- 1863 Gateshead, Town Hall (entrant in competition)

- [*Builder*, vol.25, 1863, p493]
- 1863 Whitley Bay, Hartley Memorial, Earsdon Churchyard
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1863 Tynemouth Priory (restoration of Lady Chapel)
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1863 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral (tomb of Bishop Riddell)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1863 Washington, St. Joseph and St. Aloysius's R.C. School Chapel
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 10 April 1862, p8]
- 1863 West Hartlepool, St. Joseph's R.C. Church (not built until 1893)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p164]
- 1863-4 Jarrow, Mechanics' Institute and Public Hall, Ellison Street
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 1 May 1863, p5]
- 1864 Gateshead, St. Joseph's R.C. School
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1865 Sunderland, St. Benet's R.C. School
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p162]
- 1865 Minsteracres, R.C. Chapel
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1866 Whitley Bay, Prudhoe Convalescent Home (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.24, 1866, p175]
- 1867 Wolverhampton, St. Michael's R.C. Church
[Pevsner, N. (1974) *The Buildings of England: Staffordshire*, p301]
- 1868-9 Lemington, St. George's R.C. Church and Presbytery, Bells Close
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p373]
- 1868-70 Prudhoe Hall and Chapel
[Thompson, R. (2004) *Thunder Underground: Northumberland mining disasters, 1815-1865*, p125]
- 1869 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Presbytery (additions)
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p426]
- 1869-73 Newcastle, St. Dominic's R.C. Church, New Bridge Street
[Little, B. (1966) *Catholic Churches*, p123; *Architect*, vol.2, 18 September 1869, p147; *Architect*, vol.10, 20 September 1873, pp150, 186 and plate]
- 1870 Barnard Castle, St. Mary's R.C. Church, Ware Street (Lady Altar)
[*Northern Catholic History*, vol.36, 1995, p49]
- 1870-2 Newcastle, Wood Memorial Hall
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *Durham Chronicle*, 5 July 1872, p7]
- 1870-2 Newcastle, Mining Institute, Neville Hall

[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p491]

- c. 1872 Prudhoe, Prudhoe Hall (east and west lodges)
[Thompson, R. (2004) *Thunder Underground: Northumberland mining disasters, 1815-1865*, p125]

C.F. and E.J. Hansom, 1860-71

- 1861-3 Bath, St. John's R.C. Church, South Parade
[Pevsner, N. (1958) *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol*, p106]
- n.d. Bristol, Clifton College
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Malvern, College
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Tavistock, Kelly College
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Bristol, St. Paul's Church, Clifton
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Wroxeter, Franciscan Convent
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]

Dunn and Hansom, 1871-1887

- 1872 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral (tower and spire)
[*Building News*, vol.20, September 1872]
- 1872-99 Downside Abbey (additions)
[Pevsner, N. (1958) *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol*, pp182-3]
- 1873 Newcastle, St. Michael's R.C. School Chapel, Clumber Street
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *British Architect*, vol.3, 1 January 1875, p7]
- 1873 Newcastle, St. Dominic's R.C. School
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1873 Solihull, St. Bernard's Seminary
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1873 Atherstone, St. Scholastica's Priory (additions)
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1874 Newcastle, Club House (entrant in competition)
[*British Architect*, vol.1, 24 April 1874, p265 and plate]
- 1874 County Durham, Norwood House
[*British Architect*, vol.2, 23 October 1874, plate]
- 1874 Ravensworth Castle (lodge)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p390]
- 1874 Gateshead, Ravenshill House
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]

- 1875 London, St. James' R.C. Church, Spanish Place (entrant in competition)
[Little, B. (1966) *Catholic Churches*, pp145-6]
- 1875 Birmingham, St. Catherine of Siena R.C. Church, Horsefair
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire*, p137]
- 1875-7 West Bromwich, St. Michael and Holy Angels' R.C. Church, High Street
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1876 Chichester, St. Peter's Church of England, West Street (west end)
[*Architect*, vol.16, 14 October 1876, p236]
- 1876 Prudhoe, St. Matthew's R.C. School, South Road
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1876 Gateshead, St. Joseph's Presbytery
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1876 Byermoor, Sacred Heart R.C. Church
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1876 Canterbury, St. Benedict's Priory (not built)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p165]
- 1877 Weybridge, St. George's College (not built)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p165]
- 1877 Prudhoe, St. Matthew's R.C. School (master's house)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p161]
- 1877 Birmingham, St. Mary's R.C. Church, Harborne
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire*, p185]
- 1877-8 Knowle, Poor Clare's Convent (additions)
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1877-8 Washington, Our Blessed Lady Immaculate R.C. Church, Village Lane
[*Builder*, vol.35, 22 September 1877, p966; *Building News*, 10 August 1877, p141] A.M. Dunn
- 1877-81 Whittingham, St. Mary's R.C. Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p628]
- 1877-83 Manchester, St. Bede's College, Alexandra Park
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1877-89 Stonyhurst College (south block and boys' chapel)
[*Builder*, vol.54, 26 May 1888, p379 and plate; Pevsner, N. (1979) *The Buildings of England: North Lancashire*]
- 1878 Felling, St. John and St. Patrick's R.C. Church (not built)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p165]
- 1878 Addlestone, Woburn Park (possible additions)
[Pevsner, N. and Nairn, I. (1962) *The Buildings of England: Surrey*, p76]

- 1878-9 Wylam, Castle Hill House (own house)
[Brooks, P. (1998) *Wylam Past: a pictorial history of a Northumberland village*, n.p.]
- 1878-81 Newcastle, St. Andrew's R.C. Schools and Master's House, Worswick Street
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1878-81 Sacriston, St. Bede's R.C. Church, Front Street
[*Durham Chronicle*, 10 January 1881, p6; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p395]
- 1878 81 Bath, Our Lady Help of Christians R.C. Church, Julian Road
[Dixon, R. and Muthesius, S. (1978) *Victorian Architecture*, p257; *Builder*, vol.21, 22 March 1879, p180]
- 1879 North Berwick, Our Lady Star of the Sea R.C. Church, Law Road
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; McWilliam, C. (1978) *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian, Except Edinburgh*, pp361-2]
- 1879-81 Eslington, Northumberland, St. Mary Immaculate's R.C. Church
[Dixon, D.D. (1895) *Whittingham Vale, Northumberland: Its History, Traditions, and Folk Lore*, p226]
- 1880 Downside Abbey, Church
[RIBA Drawings, Q15/3 (1-2)]
- 1881 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral (restoration)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1881 Newcastle, St. Andrew's R.C. School
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1882 Newcastle, Grammar School, Bath Lane (conversion and additions)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p161]
- 1882 Jarrow, Royal Albert Hall
[Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950*, p246]
- 1882 Byermoor, Sacred Heart R.C. Church (presbytery)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p161]
- 1882-5 Ushaw College (chapel)
[Gillow, H. (1885) *The Chapels at Ushaw with an historical introduction*, pp61-109; *Durham Chronicle*, 31 July 1885, p8; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p479]
- 1882 Byermoor, Sacred Heart R.C. School
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p161]
- 1883 Newcastle, Royal Jubilee and Day Industrial Schools
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1884 Ushaw College (tomb of Bishop Chadwick)

- [Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p161]
- 1885 London, St. James' R.C. Church, Manchester Square (entrant in competition)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p165]
- 1885 Jarrow, St. Bede's R.C. Church, St. John's Terrace
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p162]
- 1885 Prudhoe, St. Matthew's Public Reading Room
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, 2003, p162]
- 1885-90 Cambridge, Our Lady and English Martyrs' R.C. Church (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.53, 15 July 1887, p82; *Building News*, vol.58, 30 May 1890, p760 and plate; *Building News*, vol.59, 17 October 1890, p558]
- 1886 Gosforth, Ashburton Cemetery (memorial chapel - not built)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p166]
- n.d. Olton, Diocesan Seminary
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Newcastle, 2 Board Schools
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326]
- n.d. Barnard Castle, St. Mary's R.C. Church (Lady Chapel)
[Morris, M and Gooch, L. (2000) *Down Your Aisles: the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, 1850-2000*, p78]

Dunn, Hansom and Dunn, 1887-1894

- 1887 Crawcrook, St. Agnes's R.C. School Chapel, West Burn
[Whellan (1894) *History, Topography, and Directory of the County Palatine of Durham*, p1245]
- 1887-8 Newcastle, St. Dominic's R.C. Priory and Presbytery
[*Building News*, vol.53, 9 September 1887, p421; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p430; Little, B. (1966) *Catholic Churches*, p147]
- 1887-95 Newcastle, Medical School, Northumberland Road
[*Building News*, vol.53, 11 November 1887, p738; *Building News*, vol.54, 20 January 1888, p106 and plate]
- 1888 Bradford, St. Patrick's R.C. Church (Scruton Chantry)
[*Building News*, vol.55, 5 October 1888, p456]
- 1888-9 Sunderland, St. Benet's R.C. Church, The Causeway
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 28 July 1888, p4; *Building News*, vol.55, 17 August 1888, p202 and plate]
- 1888-91 Prudhoe, Our Lady and St. Cuthbert's R.C. Church
[*Building News*, vol.61, 31 July 1891, p167]
- 1889 Crawcrook, St. Agnes's R.C. Infant School

- [Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1888-90 Bristol, University College Medical School and Completion of Tower (for C.F. Hansom with F.B. Bond)
[*Building News*, vol.57, 22 November 1889, p716]
- 1889 Sheffield, Municipal Buildings (entrant in competition with F.B. Bond)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p147]
- 1889 Tynemouth, Our Lady and St. Oswin's R.C. Church
[*Building News*, vol.57, 26 July 1889, p132]
- 1889 Edinburgh, St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral (military memorial)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p162]
- 1889-91 Newcastle, St. Michael's R.C. Church, Westmoreland Road
[*Building News*, vol.62, 13 May 1892, p663 and plate]
- 1890 Kensal Green Cemetery (tomb for H.C. Tuke)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p163]
- 1891 Bishop Auckland, St. Wilfred's R.C. Church (additions and alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.61, 31 July 1891, p144]
- 1891 Prudhoe, Prudhoe Hall (remodelled)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p162]
- 1891 Whittingham, St. Mary's R.C. Church and Presbytery
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p163]
- 1891-3 Carlisle, Our Lady and St. Joseph's R.C. Church, Warwick Square
[*Building News*, vol.60, 8 May 1891, p657]
- 1891-5 Newcastle, Todd's Nook Board School
[*Builder*, vol.60, 17 January 1891, p54; *Building News*, vol.69, 1895, p701 and plate]
- 1892 Crawcrook, St. Agnes's R.C. Chapel
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]
- 1892 Newcastle, Convent of the Good Shepherd, Benton Park Road
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1892 Gateshead, Shipcote Schools (proposed but not commissioned)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p164]
- 1893 Newcastle, St. Joseph's R.C. Church (altar)
[*Building News*, vol.65, 6 October 1893, p439]
- 1893 Manchester, Holy Name R.C. Church (altar of St. Joseph)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p160]

- 1894 Westminster Cathedral (competition design published 1906)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p164]
- 1894-5 Ushaw College (Swell Row and dormitory)
[Information from Graham Potts]

Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke, 1894-1903

- 1894 Stonyhurst College (chapel fittings)
[*Building News*, vol.67, 3 August 1894, p166]
- 1893-5 West Hartlepool, St. Joseph's R.C. Church, Hutton Avenue
[*Building News*, vol.64, 12 May 1893, p635 and plate; *Building News*, vol.68, 8 February 1895, p212]
- 1896-8 Newcastle, Shops and Offices, Benwell Estate
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*; *Builder*, vol.75, 2 July 1898, p14]
- 1896-7 Newcastle, Board School, Elswick Road
[*Building News*, vol.71, 31 July 1896, p166 and plate]
- 1896-9 Newcastle, Royal Jubilee Board School, Westgate Hill
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, p311 and plate; Greg, A. 'Newcastle's Victorian Architecture: Patronage, Prestige and the Public Good' in *Northern Architect*, series 5, Winter 1994-5, p24]
- 1897 Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary (invited entrant - no submission)
[Johnson, M.A. (2003) *The Architecture of Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle*, p166]
- 1897 Ellingham, Our Lady of the Rosary R.C. Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p266]
- 1897 Crook, Our Lady Immaculate R.C. Church (tower)
[Morris, M and Gooch, L. (2000) *Down Your Aisles: the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, 1850-2000*, p119]
- 1898-9 Newcastle, Shops and Public Buildings, Benwell Estate
[*Building News*, vol.74, 24 June 1898, p885]
- 1898-9 Chathill, Ellingham Hall (Oratory chapel)
[*Building News*, vol.75, 1 September 1898, p319 and plate]
- 1899 Darlington, St. Augustine's R.C. Church (chancel roof and furnishings)
[*Builder*, vol.77, 2 December 1899, p516]
- 1900 Tudhoe, St. Mary's R.C. Home for Girls
[*Builder*, vol.80, 5 January 1901, p23]
- 1900 Edinburgh, R.C. Cathedral (memorial to servicemen)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 3 August 1900, p164]
- 1900-3 Dumbarton, St. Patrick's R.C. Church, Strathleven Place
[*Building News*, vol.79, 14 September 1900, p379]
- 1901 Strathaven, Lanarkshire, St. Patrick's R.C. Church
[Welsh, *Biographical Notes*]
- 1902 Newcastle, St. Mary's R.C. Cathedral (baptistery and war memorial)
[*Building News*, vol.83, 29 August 1902, p290]

- 1902 Newcastle, Slipper Factory, Byker Hill
[Manders, F. (1991) *Cinemas of Newcastle: a comprehensive history of the cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp169-70]
- 1903 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church (chancel screen)
[*Building News*, vol.85, 30 October 1903, p583] W.E. Fenwicke
- 1905-6 Newcastle, College of Medicine (Heath Wing)
[*Building News*, vol.90, 18 May 1906, p696 and plate]

Fenwicke, Watson and Curry, 1906-8

- 1906-7 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church, Newgate Street (pulpit)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 4 October 1907, p461 and plate]

Fenwicke and Watson, 1909-1914

- 1910-11 Gateshead, River Police Station
[*Builder*, vol.98, 30 April 1910, p505]
- 1911-14 Blyth, Elementary School, Princess Louise Road (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.106, 27 March 1914, p387 and plate]

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E.J. Hansom

Building News, vol.58, 28 February 1890, p326.

Building News, vol.78, 1 June 1900, p749 and 8 June 1900, p787. Obituary and Inquest Report.

JOHN WILLIAM DYSON, MSA [1855-1916]

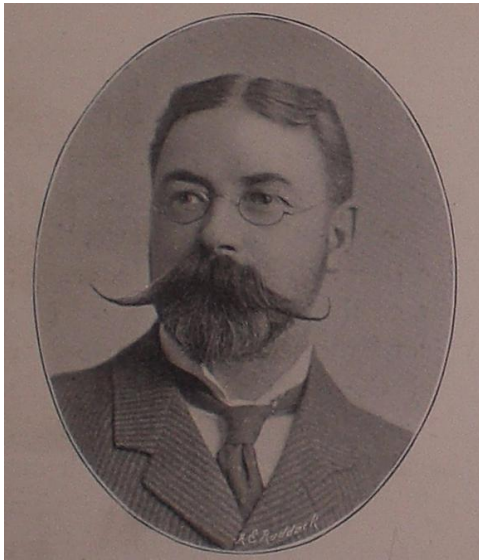


Figure 5 J.W. Dyson (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

John William Dyson was born at Addingham in West Yorkshire on 1 August 1855. He was educated at the Durham Model School and received his architectural training in the office of William Vickers Thompson of Bishop Auckland. Moving to Newcastle, he commenced independent practice in 1884. In the same year, he became a member of the Society of Artists. He maintained an office at 67 Grey Street until 1905. By 1914, he was based at 22 Blackett Street and residing at a house called Erivan on Osborne Road. He joined the Northern Architectural Association and spent five years on the Council; he also served on the Council of the Society of Architects for five years and was Vice President for a year. He became architect to the Lambton Banking Company and designed at least eleven branch banks for the firm. He also designed several works for Sir W.H. Stephenson. Robert Atkinson (1883-1952) was pupil; he designed a row of cottages in Newcastle in 1899 and went on to design the Barber Institute, Birmingham University. Dyson was a founder member of the Bewick Club and the Northumbrian Art Institute. In the latter organisation he served as Honorary Treasurer, Honorary Secretary and Chairman of the committees. A keen photographer, he was President of the Newcastle and Northern Counties Photographic Association. He exhibited regularly in Newcastle until his death. A Freemason, he was P.M. of Lodge 2520, P.Z of Chapter 24, P.P.G. Superintendent of Works, and P.P.G.P.S. of the Province of Northumberland. He married Alice Maud Mason, daughter of William Mason of

Stokesley, in 1877. They had five sons, of whom one, Cyril, followed him into the architectural profession.

Buildings

- 1881 Newcastle, St. Thomas's Church, Barras Bridge (reredos, pulpit and lectern)
[Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) *Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage*, p107]
- 1884 Newcastle, Baths and Washhouse, Byker
[*Builder*, vol.46, 1884, p717]
- 1891-2 Newcastle, Coxlodge Asylum (extensions)
[*Building News*, vol.63, 5 August 1892, p175 and plate; *Builder*, vol.62, 1892, pp143 and 147]
- 1892 Newcastle, Jesmond Club and Assembly Room, Grosvenor Place
[*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 25 April 1902]
- 1893-5 Newcastle, Stephenson Library, Elswick Road
[*Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 26 October 1895; *Building News*, vol.70, 24 January 1896, p129 and plate]
- 1894-5 Newcastle, Wesleyan Methodist Manse, New Benwell
[*Builder*, vol.53, 15 March 1895, p810]
- 1894-5 Newcastle, Burt Hall and Offices, Northumberland Road
[*Building News*, vol.70, 24 January 1896, p129 and plate]
- 1895-7 Hexham, Lambton Bank, Priestpopple
[*Building News*, vol.69, 27 November 1895, p766]
- c. 1896 Newcastle, Lambton Bank, Elswick
[*Building News*, vol.72, 9 April 1897, p543]
- 1896 Chester-le-Street, Lambton Bank
[*Building News*, vol.70, 3 January 1896, pxxx]
- 1897 Newcastle, Infirmary (entrant in competition)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 9 July 1897, p43]
- 1897 Newcastle, Elswick Library
[Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) *Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage*, p242]
- 1897 Newcastle, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 19 November 1897, p744]
- c. 1897 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Hospital Theatre, Salter's Road
[Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950*, p166]
- 1897-1900 Middleton, St. George's Private Lunatic Asylum
[*British Architect*, vol.47, 2 July 1897, p484; *Builder*, vol.78, 14 April 1900, p382]
- 1898-9 Newcastle, Heaton Victoria Library
[*Building News*, vol.77, 28 July 1899, p97 and plate; *Builder*, vol.75, 15 October 1898, p350]

- 1898-9 Newcastle, Bond Memorial Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Adelaide Terrace, New Benwell
[*Benwell Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.1, pp149-53. Newcastle City Library]
- 1899 Newcastle, Lambton Bank, Elswick Road
[*Builder*, vol.77, 1 July 1899, p20]
- 1899-1900 Newcastle, Asylum, Gosforth (superintendent's house)
[*Building News*, vol.77, 27 October 1899, p571]
- 1899-1900 Newcastle, Villa, Benton
[*Builder*, vol.77, 16 September 1899, p270]
- 1900 Newcastle, City Asylum (additions - 1st premium)
[*British Architect*, vol.53, 8 June 1900, p411]
- 1900 Newcastle, 14 Houses, Hotspur Street, Heaton
[*Builder*, vol.78, 7 April 1900, p358]
- 1900 Consett, Lambton Bank and 3 Shops
[*Builder*, vol.79, 1 September 1900, p179]
- 1900-1 Newcastle, St. Thomas's Church (reredos, memorial screen and pulpit)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 5 October 1900, p466; *Building News*, vol.80, 22 March 1901, p401]
- 1900-1 Newcastle, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, New Benwell
[*The Times*, 16 January 1901, p9]
- 1900-3 Newcastle, Northern Counties School of Cookery, Northumberland Road (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 23 November 1900, p735 and plate; *Builder*, vol.84, 18 April 1903, pp418-9]
- 1906-8 Newcastle, Lady Stephenson Library, Welbeck Road, Walker
[*Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, 7 October 1908; *Building News*, vol.95, 9 October 1908, p508]
- 1906-7 Newcastle, Warehouse, High Friar Street
[*Building News*, vol.91, 13 July 1906, p67]
- 1908 Newcastle, Tailor's Premises (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.95, 4 September 1908, p326]
- 1911 Newcastle, Lloyds Bank, Grey Street (alterations and additions)
[*Building News*, vol.101, 18 August 1911, p221]
- 1913-14 Newcastle, City Asylum, Coxlodge (nurses' home; 2 villa blocks; isolation hospital)
[*Building News*, vol.105, 11 July 1913, p47]
- n.d. Allendale, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Harrogate, Business Premises
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Leeds, 'Lyddington-Danebury', Roundhay
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]

- n.d. Newburn, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Newcastle, 'Gwenholme', Jesmond Park
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Ponteland, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Rothbury, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Ryton, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]
- n.d. Wooler, Lambton Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p73]

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CHARLES SEPTIMUS ERRINGTON, FRIBA [1869-1935]

Charles Septimus Errington was educated at Dr. Bruce's Academy in Newcastle. He received architectural training in the office of W.S. Hicks from 1882-7 and worked as an assistant to Hicks and Charlewood from 1888. Commencing independent practice in 1896, he became Architect to the West Jesmond Estate. At this time he was based in Victoria Chambers, 21 Grainger Street West. He was later appointed Surveyor to the Diocese of Newcastle and served from c.1900-1930s. He passed the Qualifying Examination and became ARIBA on 11 March 1895, having been nominated by J.H. Morton, J. Oswald and A.B. Plummer. In 1905 he joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. He acted as Secretary of the Northern Architectural Association from 1907 to 1913. During World War One he served as Vice President of the Association and was President in 1919-20. He became FRIBA on 8 January 1917 on the nomination of R.B. Dick, H.C. Charlewood and J. Oswald. He died on 9 May 1935, aged 66. After his death, the practice was continued by his son Charles H. Errington LRIBA. The practice styled Charles S. Errington was listed in directories until 1974.

Buildings

1894	Newcastle, Rutherford Fountain, Bigg Market [Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p464]
1896	Newcastle, Estate Layout and 400 Houses, West Jesmond [<i>Building News</i> , vol.71, 7 August 1896, p206; <i>Builder</i> , vol.78, 6 January 1900, p21; <i>Builder</i> , vol.84, 3 June 1903, pp22-3]
1898-9	Newcastle, Hedley Soapworks, City Road (renovation) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.75, 30 December 1898, p952]
1899	Ashington, Presbyterian Chapel and Sunday School [<i>Building News</i> , vol.76, 12 May 1899, p637]
1900	Newcastle, Circus Building, Elswick [Manders, F. (1991) <i>Cinemas of Newcastle: a comprehensive history of the cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne</i> , p47]
1900	Barnsley, Vicarage (3 rd premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.78, 2 March 1900, p296]
1900	Bedlington, Trotter Memorial Fountain [<i>Building News</i> , vol.79, 12 October 1900, p500]
1900-1	Newcastle, Infant School, Forsythe Street, West Jesmond Estate [<i>Builder</i> , vol.78, 6 January 1900, p21]
1900-1	Newcastle, St. Wilfred's Mission, Blandford Street [<i>Builder</i> , vol.79, 25 August 1900, p179]

1900	Newcastle, Benwell Grove Estate Layout and 750 Houses, Westgate Road [<i>Builder</i> , vol.78, 6 January 1900, p21; <i>Builder</i> , vol.84, 3 June 1903, p22-3]
1901-2	Corbridge, Parish Hall and Reading Room [<i>Building News</i> , vol.81, 27 September 1901, p417]
1902-3	Newcastle, Board School, Blenheim Street (conversion from Wesleyan Methodist Chapel for Newcastle School Board) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.82, 28 February 1902, p329; <i>Builder</i> , vol.84, 16 May 1903, p518]
1903	Newcastle, Lavatories and Cloakrooms, High Level Bridge (1 st premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.84, 26 June 1903, p913]
1903-4	Seaton Delaval, St. Stephen's Mission Church [<i>Building News</i> , vol.85, 14 August 1903, p205]
1903-4	Newcastle, Board School, Forsythe Road, Jesmond [<i>Building News</i> , vol.85, 14 August 1903, p226]
1904	Stockton, Holy Trinity Church (chancel extension) [<i>Architect</i> , vol.72, 21 October 1904, p8]
1904	Berwick, Council School (assessor) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.87, 12 August 1904, p216]
1904-5	Newcastle, Council School, Forsythe Road, West Jesmond [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 28 July 1905, p112]
1905	Rothbury, Tomlinson's School (3 rd premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 7 July 1905, p13]
1905	Newcastle, Westgate Conservative Club, Swinburne Place [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 24 November 1905, p742]
1905-6	Dinnington Colliery, St. Cuthbert's Mission Church [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 8 September 1905, p322]
1906	Stockton, Holy Trinity Church (chancel) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.91, 5 October 1906, p471]
1906-7	Tunstall, Staffordshire, St. Aidan's Mission Church (with H. Dain of Tunstall) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.91, 28 December 1906, p899]
1906-7	Newcastle, St. Matthew's Church, Summerhill (Parish Hall) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.92, 26 April 1907, p581]
1907	Seghill, Mission Church of the Good Shepherd [<i>Building News</i> , vol.93, 18 October 1907, p527]
1908-9	Rothbury, Parish Hall [<i>Building News</i> , vol.94, 19 June 1908, p904]
1910	Newcastle, Bakery and Confectionery Works [<i>Builder</i> , vol.98, 15 January 1910, p67]
1910-11	Newcastle, Parish Hall, Benwell (extension) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.100, 10 February 1911, p208 and plate]
1910-11	Newcastle, Scott Memorial Hall, Benwell

- [*Building News*, vol.99, 7 October 1910, p509]
- 1910-11 Newcastle, St. John's Day School, Bath Lane (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.100, 17 February 1911, p260]
- 1912 Washington, Dame Margaret House (interior remodelling)
[*Building News*, vol.102, 19 April 1912, p577]
- 1912 Heworth, Parish Hall
[*Building News*, vol.103, 13 December 1912, p827]
- 1912-13 Newcastle, Church Institute, Hood Street (alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.105, 31 October 1913, p638]
- 1913 Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College Extension (invited entrant)
[*Building News*, vol.104, 21 February 1913, p271]
- 1913 Newcastle, St. Monica's Church (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.104, 21 February 1913, p271]
- 1913-14 Ponteland, Guardians' Cottage Homes
[*Building News*, vol.104, 9 May 1913, p664]

Sources

Builder, vol.148, 24 May 1935, p958. Obituary.
 Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, p293.
 Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p69.
RIBA Journal, vol.43, 9 November 1935, p37. Obituary.

ALFRED MOUNTAIN FOWLER, FSI, MICE (1835/6-1914)

A.M. Fowler was born in Leeds, the third son of Charles Fowler, an architect who was surveyor to Leeds Waterworks and to several turnpike trusts. A.M. Fowler practised in Leeds and served as Assistant Borough Surveyor. He was Borough Surveyor in Leeds from 1865-72, with W.H. Thorp as his pupil. He served as Borough Surveyor for Salford from 1872-7. He became Borough Engineer for Newcastle in 1877 and also acted as Property Surveyor. He was appointed Borough Surveyor for Stockport in 1884. This post allowed him to undertake private work and he practised in Manchester. By 1888 Manchester Council was considering whether he should devote himself exclusively to Council projects and this may have led him to become permanent engineer for the bridge in York and to concentrate on his private practice. He was appointed resident engineer for the River Ribble Improvement Works in 1890 at a salary of £500 p.a. During his career he worked for the Tees Conservancy, the Aire and Calder Navigation and the Whitby Harbour Trustees. He was elected President of the Incorporated Association of Municipal and Corporation Engineers in 1894. He died at Ascot in 1914, leaving an estate valued at £7,077. His obituary described him as a former Consulting Engineer to Leeds Council. His son A.M. Fowler (b.1864/5) became an architect.

Buildings

1874-5	Newcastle, Quays on River Tyne [<i>Builder</i> , vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387]
1877	Newcastle, Artisans' Dwellings Improvement Scheme, Elswick Lane/City Road [TWAS, D.NCP/17/1]
1878	Newcastle, New Street, Spital Tongues [TWAS, D.NCP/7/19]
1878	Newcastle, Tramway Routes [Northumberland Record Office, QRUP/142]
1878-80	Newcastle, Fish Market, Quayside [Greg, A. 'Newcastle's Victorian Architecture: Patronage, Prestige and the Public Good' in <i>Northern Architect</i> , series 5, Winter 1994-5, p24; Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) <i>Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage</i> , p192 and plate]
1880	Newcastle, Melbourne Street Extension [TWAS, D.NCP/7/22]
1880-2	Newcastle, Central Library, New Bridge Street

- [Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) *Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage*, p139 and plate]
- 1883 Salford, Magistrates Court, Bexley Square
[Pevsner, N., Hartwell, C. and Hyde, M. (2004) *The Buildings of England: Lancashire, Manchester and South East*, p620]
- 1884 Newcastle, Jesmond Dene Park (layout)
[Green, F. (1995) *A Guide to the Historic Parks and Gardens of Tyne and Wear*, p34]
- 1884 Eton, Barnes Pool Iron Bridge
[Pevsner, N. and Williamson, E. (1994) *The Buildings of England: Buckinghamshire*, p319]
- 1888 Stockport, Public Baths (assessor)
[*Builder*, vol.47, 1884, p641]
- 1888 Stockport, Fever Hospital (extensions)
[*Building News*, vol.55, 10 August 1888, p192]
- 1888-9 York, Lock Castle Mills Bridge
[*Building News*, vol.54, 8 June 1888, p28]
- 1880s Newcastle, Elswick Park (lodges, lake and layout)
[Green, F. (1995) *A Guide to the Historic Parks and Gardens of Tyne and Wear*, p44]
- 1890 Berkhamstead, Sewage Scheme
[*Building News*, vol.59, 28 November 1890, p774]
- 1892 Stockport, Bridge, Chestergate
[*Builder*, vol.62, 5 March 1892, p192]
- 1893 Brighouse and Raistrick, Sewage Scheme
[*Building News*, vol.64, 31 March 1893, p456]
- 1894-5 Stockport, Outfall Sewage Scheme
[*Builder*, vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387]
- 1894 Durham City, Sewage Scheme
[DCRO, Du 3/17/2; *Building News*, vol.67, 7 September 1894, p318]
- 1895 Helmsley, Drainage Scheme
[*Builder*, vol.68, 8 March 1895, p359]
- 1896-7 Brighouse, Sewage Works
[*Building News*, vol.71, 24 July 1896, p135]
- 1909 Northallerton, Reservoir, Oak Dale Beck
[*Building News*, vol.96, 9 April 1909, p562]
- 1912 Brantingham, Sewage Scheme (judge)
[*Building News*, vol.60, 4 October 1912, p489]
- n.d. Leeds, Sewage Outfall Scheme
[*Building News*, vol.60, 23 January 1891, p151]
- n.d. Salford, Tramway System
[*Builder*, vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387]

n.d. Salford, Sewage Works
[*Builder*, vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387]

n.d. Salford, Several Bridges
[*Builder*, vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387]

Sources

Builder, vol.66, 19 May 1894, p387.

Building News, vol.55, 10 August 1888, p194.

Building News, vol.58, 31 January 1890, p189.

Building News, vol.107, 4 September 1914, p328. Report of Probate.

Linstrum, D. (1978) *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture*, p376.

WILLIAM GLOVER, FRIBA [1829-1912]



Figure 6 William Glover. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

William Glover was born in Windsor, the son of the Tapissier in Ordinary to Queen Victoria. He was educated by R. Brown (possibly Richard Brown of Wells Street, London) and in 1850 he studied at the School of Design, Somerset House. His activities over the next thirty years are not known, but Glover moved to Newcastle in 1881 and specialised in housing designs. He was based at 16 Market Street from 1883-1900. In 1881 he joined the Northern Architectural Association and served as President from 1899-1901. He was nominated for FRIBA on 27 March 1899 by the Northern Architectural Association and served on the Council of the RIBA. He retired to Southbourne, Hampshire in 1901 and the practice was taken over by Frederick Marshall Dryden. During his retirement Glover became the first Vice President of the Architects' Benevolent Society and remained in that position until his death in 1912. It is likely that he had private means as he was a benevolent donor to good causes: he gave £2000 to the Northern Architectural Association which permitted the purchase of 3 Higham Place, as well as the establishment of a library for the Association. He also gave £800 to the Laing Art Gallery to buy works by local artists; £2000 to the King Edward Hospital in Windsor to endow two beds; and £300 to the Architects' Benevolent Fund for the relief of applicants from the North East. Glover was particularly concerned with the education of

young architects and the Northern Architectural Association introduced the Glover Travelling Studentship in his honour. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1883. He retired to Windsor in 1901 and died on 18 January 1912 at the age of 82, while visiting a friend in London. He was buried in his family plot at St. Andrew's Church, Clewer, near Windsor. In his will he left more money to his chosen causes.

Buildings

W. Glover

1870-2	Newcastle, National Provincial Bank (clerk of works for J. Gibson) [Information from Graham Potts]
1879	Greenhead, Church (clerk of works on alterations for R.J. Johnson) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.37, 6 September 1879, p1006]
1882	Newcastle, Industrial Exhibition [Greg, A. (1981) <i>Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast</i>]
1883	Newcastle, Offices, Workshops and Road for R.W. Hawthorn, St. Peter's Works [<i>Architect</i> , vol.29, 23 June 1883, p428]
1883	Newcastle, Elswick Building Estate (c. 300 houses) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.45, 23 November 1883, p803]
1884	Newcastle, Beech Grove Housing Estate of 2000 Houses, Scotswood Road [<i>Building News</i> , vol.47, 31 October 1884, p723; <i>Building News</i> , vol.52, 4 February 1887, p181]
1885	Newcastle, 7-13 Pink Lane for H. Angus [<i>Builder</i> , vol.48, 14 March 1885, p401]
1886	Newcastle, Offices and Pattern Shop for Hawthorn Leslie [<i>Builder</i> , vol.50, 8 May 1886, p672]
1887	Newcastle, Royal Jubilee Exhibition Buildings [<i>Builder</i> , vol.50, 8 May 1886, p672]
1887	Newcastle, Beech Grove Estate [Durham County Record Office, D/Br/P129]
1887-8	Blenkinsopp Castle (rebuilding) [Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p193]
1889	Newcastle, Heaton Junction estate Plan [TWAS, DT.SC/249]
1893	New Hirst, Village Layout and Sewage Scheme [<i>Building News</i> , vol.64, 24 February 1893, p291]
1894	Blenkinsopp Castle (tennis court) [Northumberland Record Office, 3331/247]
1895	Wallsend, Atkinson Estate Layout (400 houses) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.68, 22 February 1895, p xv]

- 1896-7 Newcastle, Assembly Rooms and Concert Hall, Maple Street (conversion of
Masonic Hall)
[*Building News*, vol.71, 21 July 1896, p130]
- 1898 Newcastle, Tyneside Flats, Ethel Street, South Benwell
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*]

Sources

Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, pp265 and 351-2.
 Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p69.
 British Architectural Library, Biographical File.
Builder, vol.102, 2 February 1912, p136. Obituary.
Building News, vol.102, 2 February 1912, p156. Obituary
RIBA Journal, vol.19, 10 February 1912, p263. Obituary.

HICKS AND CHARLEWOOD

William Searle Hicks [1849-1902]

W.S. Hicks was born on 6 March 1849 in Dorset. His father was a vicar and was originally from Devon. His mother, Emma, was a niece of Sir Charles Barry. Hicks was originally expected to enter the Royal Navy and he remained interested in engineering all his life. He was educated in the south of England and was articled to R.J. Johnson of Austin and Johnson in Newcastle in 1866. Upon completing his training he stayed with the firm and took charge of their Middlesbrough office. In 1875 he became a partner in Austin, Johnson and Hicks. He established an independent practice in 1882, but took his brother-in-law G.E. Charlewood into partnership in 1888. He was based at 42 Grainger Street for much of his career. He never joined any national architectural bodies, but was active in the Northern Architectural Association from 1886, serving as President from 1891-3. He succeeded R.J. Johnson as Diocesan Surveyor for Newcastle, and his firm maintained this tradition into the 1960s. The practice was largely ecclesiastical and Hicks designed fifteen new churches, as well as parish buildings and much restoration work. He designed the pastoral staff for Bishop Lightfoot of Durham. However, he was also much in demand for commercial and domestic architecture. Among his pupils were H.L. Hicks, Edward Cratney and Charles S. Errington. In 1875 Hicks married Alice Adamson. They had six sons and three daughters, and four of the sons were educated at Durham School: Charles became an engineer; Francis was ordained; George became a banker in Argentina and James worked for an insurance company in Middlesbrough. His son Henry Leicester Hicks joined the practice. Hicks joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1883 and contributed articles on ecclesiastical matters. He developed his practical skills by carving in wood and produced items to his own design for churches, such as the lectern in St. Alban's Church, Heworth. He was a respected draughtsman and had considerable skills in model-making. He wrote poetry and essays. He died on 21 November 1902 at his home, 3 Roseforth Villas, Gosforth, aged 54. The Bishop of Newcastle conducted his funeral at Gosforth Parish Church.

Publications

'Notes on the Chapel of Our Lady at Seaton Delaval', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.12, p229.

'Notes on Recent Discoveries at Kirkwhelpington Parish Church: Illustrated', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.13, p47.

'Plates and Drawings of Easington Church', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 2, vol.17, p290.

Drawing of a Cup and Plate belonging to the Merchants' Company, Newcastle, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, series 2, vol.3, p324.

'Notes on Whalton Church', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, series 2, vol.7, p212.

Quis Separabit? A Collection of Verses, Essays and 13 Original Etchings. Newcastle: W. Scott, 1903.

Henry Clement Charlewood, FRIBA [1857-1943]



Figure 7 H.C. Charlewood. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

H.C. Charlewood was born on 15 March 1857 in the Vicarage of Kinoulton, Nottinghamshire. His father Thomas was the rector. He was educated at Marlborough College and was articled to Joseph Stretch Crowther (1820-1893) in Manchester from 1874-8, after which he travelled in Italy in 1879. He worked for George Tunstall Redmayne and J.W. Alexander until 1880 and commenced independent practice in Manchester. In 1885 he married Louisa Mary Hicks, daughter of the Reverend James Hicks, vicar of Pydeltrenhide, Dorset. They had four sons and one daughter. In 1888 he entered partnership with his brother-in-law W.S. Hicks in Newcastle. Charlewood was one of the first students to pass the Qualifying Examination in 1888 and he became an Associate of the RIBA, having been nominated by J. Holden, T. Worthington and G.T. Redmayne. In 1897 he became a Fellow of the RIBA on the nomination of G.T. Redmayne, A.B. Plummer and Joseph Oswald. He was President of the Northern Architectural Association in 1910-11 and was also Honourary Librarian. He served on the RIBA Council. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1888. He was a member of the Arts Council of Armstrong College of Science. Retiring to Mount Nebo, Somerset in 1916, he lived in a house named Waverley and devoted his time to antiquarian pursuits. He died on 3 August 1943 at Beckenham, Kent.

Henry Leicester Hicks, FRIBA [1883-1947]

H.L. Hicks was born in Newcastle on 5 February 1883, the second son of W.S. Hicks. After schooling at Alnmouth and St. Bee's School, Cumberland, he received architectural training at the Architectural Association School. He attended Newcastle College of Science and Northern Architectural Association classes. He served articles in his father's firm in 1899 and became the junior partner to his uncle in 1908, having passed the RIBA qualifying examination the previous year. He became an Associate of the RIBA on 2 March 1908, on the nomination of H.C. Charlewood, C.S. Errington and A.B. Plummer. He became a Fellow in 1930 and served on the RIBA Council. He joined the Northern Architectural Association in 1900, and won the Glover Studentship in 1907. He served as Secretary from 1913-8 and President from 1930-2. By 1914 he was residing at Killingworth House, Newcastle. After H.C. Charlewood retired in 1916, he became senior partner in the firm with his cousin G.E. Charlewood as his junior. This partnership was dissolved in 1936 as Hicks disapproved of a public house that Charlewood had designed. Hicks left the firm and based his practice in the Diocese of Carlisle. In 1918 he married Eleanor Mary Wentworth Adamson, daughter of Henry Horace Adamson of Newcastle, and they had one daughter, named Margaret Searle Hicks. He joined the Society of Antiquarians in 1911 and was elected to the Council in 1939. He was a valued member of the Bishop's Advisory Committee for the Diocese of Newcastle. He was a keen student of natural history. According to his obituary in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, he and his father were good companions and regularly holidayed together in East Anglia and elsewhere. They studied and measured churches of renown, which H.L. Hicks would 'plot out' on their return: 'And thus the foundation of taste was laid, knowledge of tradition was acquired and culture was nurtured.' In his later years illness reduced his ability to cope with an extended practice, the long journeys and exposure to the elements having particularly adverse affects. He died on 1 December 1947 in Newcastle, aged 65. A memorial service was held in St. Nicholas's Cathedral on 5 December.

Publication

Art in Churches, 1928.

C.H. Hunter Blair and H.L. Hicks, 'Renaissance Monuments in the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 4, vol.16, 1939, pp1-30.

Buildings

W.S. Hicks, 1882-1888

- 1882 Newcastle, Benwell Towers (chapel added to Bishop's Palace)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p515]
- 1882 Bournmoor, St. Barnabas's Church (north aisle)
[Goodhart-Rendel Index]
- 1882-9 Bishop Auckland, St. Peter's Church (reredos and chancel fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1882-1902 South Shields, St. Michael's Church, Westoe (extensions and fittings)
[TWAS, DT.CC/194; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p35]
- 1883 Hucknall Torkard, Nottinghamshire, Church (fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p38]
- 1883-5 Rochdale, St. Michael's Church, Bamford
[Pevsner, N., Hartwell, C. and Hyde, M. (2004) *The Buildings of England: Lancashire, Manchester and South East*, p73] H.C. Charlewood
- 1884 Chorlton on Medlock, St. Ambrose's Church
[Pevsner, N., Hartwell, C. and Hyde, M. (2004) *The Buildings of England: Lancashire, Manchester and South East*, p306] H.C. Charlewood
- 1884 South Shields, Seamen's Mission and Institute
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1884 Skelton in Cleveland, All Saints' Church
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1884-5 Shilbottle, St. James's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p568]
- 1884-6 Newcastle, St. Silas's Church, Byker
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Aspects of Late 19th Century Church Architecture', *Northern Architect*, series 5, Winter 1994-5, p29 and plate]
- 1884 and 1900 Felton, St. Michael's Church (restoration)
[*Builder*, vol.83, 29 November 1902, p508]
- 1884-93 Blyth, St. Cuthbert's Church, Plessey Road
[*Architect*, vol.29, 23 June 1883, p428]
- 1885 Cushendall, County Antrim, Church (chancel)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p38]
- 1885 Stagshaw, St. Aidan's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p575]
- 1885 Holywell, St. Mary's Mission Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p342]

- 1885 Lambley, St. Mary and St. Patrick's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p370]
- 1885 Simonburn, St. Mungo's Church (lychgate)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1885 Pydeltrenhide, Parsonage
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1885 Bamburgh, Grace Darling monument (restoration)
[Usherwood, P. *et al.* (2000) *Public Sculpture in North East England*, p12]
- 1885-6 Killingworth, St. Paul's Mission Church, Dudley
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p321]
- 1885-6 St. John Lee, St. John of Beverley's Church (enlargement)
[TWAS, DT.CC/83/1-4; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p557]
- 1885-92 Earsdon, St. Alban's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1885-96 Newburn, St. Michael's Church (extension and fittings)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p406]
- 1885-1902 Gateshead, St. Cuthbert's Church (refitting)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p284]
- 1886 South Chariton, St. James's Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1886 St. John Lee, Rectory
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p557]
- 1886 Mickley, St. George's Church (remodelling)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p388]
- 1886 Bingfield, St. Mary's Mission Church
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p321]
- 1886 Earsdon, St. John's Mission Church, Backworth
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p321]
- 1886-7 Ashington, Holy Sepulchre
[Kirkup, M. (1993) *The Biggest Mining Village in the World: a social history of Ashington*, p12]
- 1886-7 Newcastle, All Saints' Church (alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.52, 18 March 1887, p420]
- 1886-8 Beadnell, St. Ebba's Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1886-98 Ashington, St. John's Church, Seaton Hirst
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p76]
- 1887 Gateshead, St. Mary's Church (reredos)

- [Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1887 Throckley, St. Mary's Church
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322]
- 1887 Wall, St. Oswald in Lee Church (remodelling)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p558]
- 1887 Newburn, St. Mary's Church, Newburn Road, Throckley
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p406] W.S. Hicks
- 1887-8 Welbury, Yorkshire, St. Leonard's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.54, 6 January 1888, p9]
- 1887-8 Heworth, St. Alban's Church, Windy Nook (enlarged)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1887-9 Newcastle, St. Aidan's Church, Benwell
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Aspects of Late 19th Century Church Architecture', *Northern Architect*, series 5, Winter 1994-5, p28]
- 1887-91 Whitfield, Holy Trinity (windows and reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1887-98 Newcastle, St. Cuthbert's Church (reredos, stalls and fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- c. 1888 Hutton Magna, St. Mary's Parsonage
[Durham County Record Office, EP/HM4/67] W.S. Hicks

H.C. Charlewood, Manchester, 1880-1888

- 1883-5 Birtle cum Bamford, Lancashire, St. Michael's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1884 Manchester, St. Ambrose's Church, Chorlton-in-Medlock
[Hesketh, P.F. (1955) *Murray's Lancashire Architectural Guide*, p160]

Hicks and Charlewood, 1888-1936

- 1888 Bournmoor, St. Barnabas's Church (screen)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p112] W.S. Hicks
- 1888 Longbenton, St. Bartholomew's Church, Station Road (alterations)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p380] W.S. Hicks
- 1888 Mickley, St. George's Church (extensive additions)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/206/36] W.S. Hicks
- 1888 Shiremoor, St. Mark's Mission Church
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322]
- 1888-90 Garrigill, St. John's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.55, 7 September 1888, p303;
www.churchplansonline.org; TWAS, DT.CC/59/1]

- 1888-9 Easington, Yorkshire, All Saints' Church
[Gray, A.S. (1985) *Edwardian Architecture*, p141]
- 1888-91 Brotton, St. Margaret's Church (remodelled)
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p90; Durham County Record Office, D/Ad/1/3/22] W.S. Hicks
- 1888-94 Sunderland, St. Hilda's Church, Westboume Road, Millfield
[*Building News*, vol.58, 7 March 1890, p340 and plate; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 18 May 1892, p3; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1889 Hutton Magna, St. Mary's Church (vestry)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/HM4/68-9]
- 1889 Ormesby, St. Cuthbert's Church (porch and fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p35]
- 1889 Pastoral Staff for Bishop Lightfoot of Durham
[*Building News*, vol.58, 7 February 1890, p202 and plate]
- 1889 Cliddesdon, St. Leonard's Church (alterations and additions)
[TWAS, DT.CC/36/1-46; Pevsner, N. (1967) *The Buildings of England: Hampshire*, p180]
- 1889 Morpeth, St. James's Church (screens for entrance and chancel)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1889 Bywell, Mission Church
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p28]
- 1889 Alnmouth, St. John the Baptist's Church (pulpit and fittings)
[TWAS, DT.CC/14/6; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1889 Newcastle, St. Aidan's Church, Gluehouse Lane
[Pevsner, N. (1957) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p258] W.S. Hicks
- 1889 Guisborough, St. Nicholas's Church (vestries)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p32]
- 1889 North Ormesby, Church (sanctuary)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p32]
- 1889-90 Morpeth, St. Mary's Church (chancel fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1889-93 Bywell, St. Margaret's Church, Hindley
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322] Hicks and Charlewood
- 1889-96 Hutton Magna, Church (chancel improvements)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1890s Shiremoor, St. Mark's Church
[TWAS, DT.SC/61]
- 1890 Longhirst, St. John's Church (chancel alteration - screen carved by Reverend Proctor)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]

- 1890 Stockton, St. Peter's Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1890 Muker, Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1890 Felling, Christ Church (decoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1890 Newcastle, St. Luke's Church (decoration of east end)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1890 Whalton, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.59, 26 December 1890, p908]
- 1890 Newcastle, St. Cuthbert's Church (reredos)
[*Building News*, vol.58, 24 January 1890, p132]
- 1890-1 Silksworth, St. Matthew's Church Institute
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 9 September 1890, p3]
- 1890-2 Wallsend, St. Peter's Church (rebuild)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p605;
www.churchplansonline.org] W.S. Hicks
- 1890-5 Kirkwhelpington, St. Bartholomew's Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1890-5 Haughton-le-Skerne, St. Andrew's Church (restoration, transepts and porch)
[TWAS, DT.CC/74/1-8; *Building News*, vol.68, 31 May 1895, p784; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p156]
- 1890-7 Aldbrough, St. Paul's Church
[*Building News*, vol.59, 17 October 1890, p563] W.S. Hicks
- 1888-91 Shadforth, St. Cuthbert's Church (extension)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1891 Stockton, Holy Trinity (vestry)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p435]
- 1891 New Hartley, St. Michael's Mission Church
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p186]
- 1891 Prudhoe, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (chancel screen)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1891 Warkworth, St. Laurence's Church (reredos)
[TWAS, DT.CC/189/1]
- 1891-2 Knarsdale, St. Jude's Church (chancel and restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1891-2 Hamsterley, St. Michael's Mission Chapel
[*Builder*, vol.61, 19 December 1891, p474]
- 1891-2 Walbottle, Anglican Mission Hall
[*Building News*, vol.60, 12 June 1891, p824]

- 1892 Hartburn, St. Andrew's Church (restoration and reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1892 Meldon, St. John's Church (roof alterations)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1892 Ford, St. Michael's Church (reredos)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p282] W.S. Hicks
- 1892-4 Allenheads, St. Peter's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1892-9 Heworth, St. Mary's Church (alterations)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p271]
- 1892-1901 Stanhope, St. Thomas's Church (chancel fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1892-1906 Crewe, St. John Baptist's Church, Stalbridge Road (1st stage 1896, complete 1906)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 4 June 1892, p448; Pevsner, N. (1971) *The Buildings of England: Cheshire*, p188]
- 1893 Lamesley, St. Andrew's Church (chancel fittings)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p349]
- 1893 Stannington, St. Mary's Church (lychgate)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1893 Newcastle, Church of England Institute, Hood Street (conversion of Salem Chapel)
[*Building News*, vol.65, 27 October 1893, p567]
- 1893-4 Burradon, Mission Church of The Good Shepherd
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322]
- 1893-4 Swalwell, Holy Trinity Mission Church
[*Builder*, vol.66, 24 February 1894, p160; Durham County Record Office, EP/Swa4/1-2]
- 1893-4 Killingworth, Church
[*Building News*, vol.65, 5 November 1893, p596]
- 1893-8 Pitlington, St. Laurence's Church (alterations and screen)
[*Building News*, vol.75, 9 September 1898, p376]
- 1894 Healaugh, Yorkshire, Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p35]
- 1894 Kirkby Ravensworth, Church (fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1894 Woodhorn, St. Mary's Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1894 Guisborough, St. Nicholas's Church (furnishings)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p118]

- 1894 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church (restoration of Trinity Chapel)
[TWAS, DT.CC/130/1-8; *Building News*, vol.66, 8 June 1894, p802; *Building News*, vol.67, 24 August 1894, p271]
- c. 1894 South Shields, St. Michael's Church, Westoe (aisle, porch and vestry)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/SW4/135]
- 1894-5 Alnwick, Presbyterian Chapel, Pottergate
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*; Stell, C. (1994) *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting Houses in the North of England*, p158]
- 1894-5 Easington, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 26 July 1895, p8; *Builder*, vol.66, 28 April 1894, p336]
- 1894-6 Whitley Bay, St. Paul's Church, Park View, Cullercoats (lychgate and reredos)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p625] W.S. Hicks
- 1894-6 Bamburgh, St. Aidan's Church (restoration, reredos and canopy to grave of Grace Darling)
[*Builder*, vol.66, 5 May 1894, p358; *Builder*, vol.70, 4 April 1896, p302-3] W.S. Hicks
- 1894-6 Newcastle, St. Matthew's Church, Summerhill (tower and reredos)
[*Building News*, vol.67, 28 December 1894, p917]
- 1894-6 Durham, St. Hild's College (alterations)
[Durham County Record Office, E/HB1/333-4]
- 1894-7 Grinton in Swaledale, St. Andrew's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1894-8 Winlaton, St. Paul's Church (screen and pulpit)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p507]
- 1894-1901 Crewe, St. John the Baptist's Church, Stalbridge Road
[TWAS, DT/CC/43/1-10; Pevsner, N. (1971) *The Buildings of England: Cheshire*, p188]
- 1894-1902 Newcastle, St. James' Church, Benwell (extensions)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1895 Amble, St. Cuthbert's Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1895 Whitworth, Parish Church (reredos)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1895 Sunderland, St. Paul's Church, Hendon (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1895 Felling, Church (W. Pattinson memorial)
[*Building News*, vol.69, 2 August 1895, p171]
- 1895-7 Wall, St. George's Church
[TWAS, DT.CC/184/1-3; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p600; www.churchplansonline.org; Prins, S. and Massingberd-Mundy, R. (eds.) (1982) *The Newcastle Diocesan Gazetteer: A*

- 1895-7 Seaton, St. John's Mission Church, North Woodhorn
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1895-9 North Creak, Church (restoration and furnishings)
[*Building News*, vol.77, 22 December 1899, p835]
- 1896 Whickham, St. Mary's Church (decoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p502]
- 1896 Caldwell, St. John's Church, Stanwick (fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1896 Alnwick, St. Michael's Church (restoration of tower)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1896 Alnwick, St. Paul's Church (extension)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1896 Cramlington, St. Nicholas's Church (chancel screen and font cover)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p28]
- 1896 Longframlington, St. Mary's Church (restoration and extension)
[TWAS, DT.CC/110/1-7; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p382]
- 1896 Newcastle, Christ Church School and Institute
[*Builder*, vol.70, 28 March 1896, p282]
- 1896 Walker, Parish Hall and Sunday School
[TWAS, DT.CC/183; *Building News*, vol.70, 27 March 1896, p474]
- 1896 Durham, St. Hild's College (chapel; schoolroom; additions to dormitories)
[Lawrence, A. (1958) *St. Hild's College, 1858-1958*, p120]
- 1896 Beadnell, St. Ebba's Church (alterations)
[TWAS, DT.CC/14/7-9]
- 1896 Castle Eden, Castle (alterations with H.T. Gradon)
[Durham County Record Office, D/CE 214]
- 1896-7 Newburn, St. Michael's Church (restoration and additions)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 8 October 1897, p506]
- 1896-8 Ashington, Holy Sepulchre Church (final stage – aisle; tower; vestries)
[TWAS, DT.CC/9/1-16; *Building News*, vol.71, 21 August 1896, pxvi; *Building News*, vol.74, 18 February 1898, p254]
- 1896-1902 Sunderland, St. John's Church (restoration and new interior)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1897 Bishop Auckland, St. Helen's Church (restoration of interior)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1897 Marton-in-Cleveland, Church (lychgate)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p35]
- 1897 Barnsley, Church (reredos)

- [Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1897 Newcastle, St. Thomas's Church (font)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 17 December 1897, p890]
- 1897 Horton, St. Mary's Church (vicarage)
[TWAS, DT.CC/85/1-6]
- 1897-8 Great Snoring, Norfolk, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1897-8 Brinkburn Priory (reredos and altar)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p28]
- 1897-99 Terrington, Norfolk, St. Clement's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.72, 4 June 1897, p833]
- 1897-1900 Greenhead, St. Cuthbert's Church (new chancel and restoration)
[TWAS, DT.CC/68/1-26]
- 1897-1901 Jesmond, Parish Church (choir stalls and repairs)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1897-1903 Blyth, St. Mary's Church, Wanley Streey, Cowpen (extensions)
[TWAS, DT.CC/26/1-12; *Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p440;
www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1897-1904 Thornaby on Tees, St. Luke's Church
[Moorsom, N. (1970) *The Anglican Church in Teesside: An introductory historical survey and directory*, p60; Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p369; www.churchplansonline.org]
W.S. Hicks
- 1897-1904 West Hartlepool, St. Oswald's Church, Brougham Terrace
[*Building News*, vol.85, 28 August 1903, p273 and plate; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p312]
- 1898 Stranton, All Saints' Church (north windows)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1898 Dalton-in-Cleveland, St. James's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p134] W.S. Hicks
- 1898 Haydon Bridge, St. Cuthbert's Church (chancel)
[*Builder*, vol.83, 29 November 1902, p508]
- 1898 Newcastle, St. Mary's Church (reredos)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, plate]
- 1898 West Hartlepool, All Saints' Church (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p312]
- 1898 Medomsley, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (chancel screen)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p363]
- 1898 Hart, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (fittings and repairs)
[TWAS, DT.CC/70/1-4; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1898 Houghton-le-Spring, St. Michael's Church (repairs)

- [Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1898 Cambois, St. Andrew's Mission Church
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322]
- 1898 Newbiggin, St. Bartholomew's Church (restoration)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 29 October 1898, p388] W.S. Hicks
- 1898 Pitlington, St. Laurence's Church (nave restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.88, 23 June 1905, p891]
- 1898-1900 Great Driffield, St. John's Church, Lockwood Street
[TWAS, DT.CC/50/1-11; *Building News*, vol.79, 12 October 1900, p520; Pevsner, N. (1972) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. York and the East Riding*, p441]
- 1898-1900 Thornham, Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1898-1901 Deighton, All Saints' Church (restoration)
[TWAS, DT.CC/47/1-4; *Building News*, vol.79, 31 August 1900, p310; Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p138] W.S. Hicks
- 1898-1901 Beetly, Norfolk, Church (new roofs and additions)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1899 Newcastle, St. Ann's Church (restoration of tower)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1899 Rennington, All Saints' Church (furnishings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1899 Letheringsett, Norfolk, Church
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1899 Southacre, Church (alterations)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1899 Mereworth, Kent, Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1899-1900 Shottesham, All Saints' Church (restoration)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1899-1900 Newcastle, School Board Offices and Pupil Teacher Centre.
[*Building News*, vol.77, 22 December 1899, p835] W.H. Knowles
- 1899-1900 Middlesbrough, St. Matthew's Church, Grangetown
[*Builder*, vol.77, 4 November 1899, p419]
- 1899-1900 Hexham, St. Wilfred's Abbey Institute, Gilesgate Bank
[*Builder*, vol.77, 30 September 1899, p309]
- 1899-1900 Croft, Church (restoration of chancel)
[*Builder*, vol.78, 16 June 1900, p593; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1899-1900 Durham, Durham School Gymnasium and Physics Laboratory

- [*Builder*, vol.78, 10 February 1900, p220; *Durham Directory*, 1901, p24] W.S. Hicks
- 1899-1900 Blaydon, St. Cuthbert's Church, Stella (restoration)
[*Builder*, vol.78, 28 May 1900, p738]
- 1899-1902 Luker, St. Hilda's Church (chancel and fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1899-1904 Thornaby, St. Luke's Church, Acklam Road
[*Building News*, vol.76, 26 May 1899, p733; Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p369]
- 1899-1906 Glandford, St. Martin's Church (rebuild).
[*Building News*, vol.9, 31 August 1906, p288; Pevsner, N. (1962) *The Buildings of England: North East Norfolk and Norwich*, p136]
- 1900 Darlington, St. John's Church (vestries)
[Durham County Record Office, Da/NG2/2542]
- 1900 Baddingham, Suffolk, Church (alterations)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1900 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church (chantry reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1900 Castleside, St. John's Church (chancel screen)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1900 Bellingham, St. Cuthbert's Church (reredos)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p27]
- 1900 Hexham, St. Mary's Church, Lowgate (porch)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1900 Newcastle, Club, West Avenue, Gosforth
[*Builder*, vol.78, 21 April 1900, p406]
- 1900-1 Greenhead, St. Cuthbert's Church (chancel and steeple)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p291; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1900-2 Walker, Christ Church (west window; chancel)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p31]
- 1900-2 Gateshead, St. Chad's Church, Bensham
[*Building News*, vol.83, 29 August 1902, p291 and plate]
- 1900-3 Horton, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[Prins, S. and Massingberd-Mundy, R. (eds.) (1982) *The Newcastle Diocesan Gazetteer: A Guide to the Anglican Church in Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland*, p22]
- 1900-5 Jesmond, St. Hilda's Church and Sunday Schools, Thornleigh Street
[*Building News*, vol.88, 20 January 1905, p97 and plate; 1905; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p509]
- 1900-5 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Church, Gosforth (extension)
[TWAS, DT.CC/67/1-8]

- 1901 Kendal, Church (fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p38]
- 1901 Brotton-in-Cleveland, St. Helen's Church, Carlin How
[*Builder*, vol.81, 9 November 1901, p419] W.S. Hicks
- 1901 Boosbeck, St. Aidan's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p83] W.S. Hicks
- 1901 Tanfield, St. Margaret's Church (fittings)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1901 Newcastle, All Saints' Church, Gosforth (aisle screens)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1901 Haltwhistle, Holy Cross Church (decoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p29]
- 1901 Ossett, Holy Trinity Church (screen)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1901 Wycliffe, Yorkshire, Church (font and memorial cross)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p36]
- 1901 Kelloe, St. Helen's Church (refitting)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p343]
- 1901 Choppington, St. Paul's Church (alterations)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p28]
- 1901 Sunderland, Venerable Bede Church (font and cover)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p34]
- 1901 Jesmond, Parish Church (choir stalls)
[*Building News*, vol.81, 5 July 1901, p31]
- 1901 Wolsingham, St. Mary and St. Stephen's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.81, 6 September 1901, p312]
- 1901 Marley Hill, St. Cuthbert's Church (vestries)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/Ma4/16-17]
- 1901-2 Wymondham Abbey (restoration and reredos)
[TWAS, DT.CC/207/1-2; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37; *Builder*, vol.81, 27 July 1901, p75]
- 1901-2 South Church, St. Andrew Auckland's Church (reredos and restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1901-2 Stanton in Cleveland, St. Peter and St. Paul's Church (restoration)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p266]
- 1901-2 Grangetown, St. Matthew's Church
[Moorsom, N. (1970) *The Anglican Church in Teesside: An introductory historical survey and directory*, p15] W.S. Hicks
- 1901-4 Newcastle, St. Barnabas's Church, Goldspink Lane
[*Builder*, vol.81, 23 November 1901, p468]

- 1901-7 Allendale, St. Paul's Mission Church, Catton
[Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p323] Hicks and Charlewood
- 1902 Newcastle, All Saints' Church, Pilgrim Street (parish buildings)
[*Builder*, vol.83, 18 October 1902, p350]
- 1902 Newcastle, All Saints' Church, Pilgrim Street (restoration of chapel)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p30]
- 1902 Bishop Auckland, St. Anne's Church (restoration of chancel)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1902 Castle Eden, St. James's Church (screen and decoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1902 Consett, Christ Church (alterations and additions)
[TWAS, DT.CC/39/1-4; Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p32]
- 1902 Eppleton, All Saints' Church (chancel screen)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1902 Jarrow, Christ Church (pulpit and lectern)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p33]
- 1902 Ludworth, St. Andrew's Mission Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p357]
- 1902 Blaydon, St. Cuthbert's Church, Stella (pulpit and fittings)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p111]
- 1902 Stainton, Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p35]
- 1902 Castle Donnington, Church (restoration)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p38]
- 1902 Sunderland, St. Michael's Church, Bishopwearmouth (repairs to stonework)
[Nicol, P. *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, vol.40, May 1988, p19]
- 1902 Sunderland, St. Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth (extension)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/Mo.SP 205-6]
- 1902 Newcastle, St. James's Church, Benwell (alterations and additions)
[*Benwell Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.1, p128, Newcastle City Library]
- 1902 Berwick, Holy Trinity Church (improvements)
[*Building News*, vol.82, 9 May 1902, p663]
- 1902 Darlington, New Church, Hummersknott (not built)
[TWAS, DT.CC/45/1-2]
- 1902-3 Bingham Abbey, Norfolk (new roof)
[Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*, p37]
- 1902-3 Washington, Holy Trinity Church (chancel)
[*Builder*, vol.83, 26 July 1902, p84]
- 1902-3 Horton, St. Mary's Church (restoration)

- [Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p344] W.S. Hicks
- 1902-3 Preston on Tees, All Saints' Mission Church, Eaglescliffe
[Durham County Record Office, EP/P74/68-9; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p262]
- 1902-3 Nenthead, Vicarage
[*Building News*, vol.83, 12 December 1902, p853]
- 1902-4 Byker, St. Mark's Church
[*Building News*, 1904]
- n.d. Audley's Wood House, Hampshire
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Berwick, Holy Trinity Church (remodelling)
[*Builder*, vol.83, 29 November 1902, p508]
- n.d. Blagdon, Blagdon House
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Castle Eden, The Castle
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Hexham, The Hermitage
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Hexham, The Leazes
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Hexham, St. Wilfred's Priory (new house)
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Newcastle, St. Aidan's Church, Benton Park (completion of church)
[TWAS, DT.CC/129]
- n.d. Newcastle, St. Mary's Church (reredos)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, plate]
- n.d. Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Church, Gosforth (mission room)
[TWAS, DT.CC/67/16]
- n.d. Northern Architectural Association, President's Chain and Pendant
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3]
- n.d. Sedbergh, Victoria Memorial Cross
[*Builder*, vol.83, 29 November 1902, p508]
- Death of W.S. Hicks.
- 1903 Skelton in Cleveland, All Saints' Church (restoration - not executed)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p253]
- 1903 Blyth, St. Mary's Church, Waterloo Road (north aisle)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p440]
- 1903 Usworth, Holy Trinity Church (chancel)
[Goodhart-Rendel Index]

- 1903-4 Thornham, Norfolk, All Saints' Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1903-4 Gateshead, St. Hilda's Mission Hall, Lobley Hill Road
[TWAS, DT.CC/18/1-2; *Builder*, vol.85, 17 October 1903, p391]
- 1903-4 Newcastle, St. Matthew's Church (aisles)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1903-4 Toronto, Mission Church
[*Building News*, vol.85, 9 October 1903, p477]
- 1903-4 Houghton-le-Spring, St. Michael's Church (internal additions)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 1 April 1904, p500]
- 1903-5 Newcastle, St. Hilda's Church, Thornleigh Road, Jesmond
[*Builder*, vol.85, 5 December 1903, p586]
- 1904 Sunderland, St. Hilda's Vicarage
[Durham County Record Office, EP/MS.SH4/74-6]
- 1904 Shiremoor, St. Mark's Church
[TWAS, DT.SC/61/29-30]
- 1904 Usworth Colliery, Mission Chapel
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 2 May 1904, p3] H.C. Charlewood
- 1904 Gateshead, Durham School Mission Hall, Westfield Terrace
[Dinnick, A.W. (1994) *Anglican Churches in County Durham since 1901*, n.p.]
- 1904-5 Pitlington, St. Laurence's Church (chancel restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.88, 23 June 1905, p891]
- 1904-6 Newcastle, St. Mark's Church, Long Row, Byker Hill
[*Building News*, vol.87, 16 December 1904, p865 and plate]
- 1904-6 Seaton Hirst, St. John's Church (extension)
[TWAS, DT.CC/157; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1904-6 Usworth, St. John's Church (chancel and vestry)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1905-6 Ormesby, Church (chancel stalls and tower)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1905-7 Nenthead, St. John's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org; Pevsner, N. (1967) *The Buildings of England: Cumbria and Westmoreland*, p169]
- 1906 Felling, St. Oswald's Mission Hall, Coldwell Lane
[*Building News*, vol.91, 13 July 1906, p44]
- 1906 Whittingham, St. Bartholomew's Church (fittings)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p628]
- 1906 Jesmond, Clayton Memorial Church (baptistery)
[TWAS, DT.CC/92/6]
- 1906-7 Woodburn, All Saints' Church, West Woodburn (rebuild)

[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p631;
www.churchplansonline.org; *Building News*, vol.91, 31 August 1906, p288]

- 1906-7 Darlington, Temporary Presbyterian Chapel, Thompson Street
[Durham County Record Office, Da/NG2/3328]
- 1906-9 Newcastle, St. Augustine's Church, Brighton Grove (completion of chancel)
[*Newcastle Diocesan Gazette*, vol.1, 1907, p96; www.churchplansonline.org]
- H.L. Hicks became partner.
- 1906-8 Newcastle, St. Laurence's Church, Walker Road, Byker
[TWAS, DT.CC/29/1; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1907 Alnwick, Barclays Bank (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 1 March 1907, p331]
- 1908 Newcastle, Holy Trinity Church, Jesmond Road (chancel)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p508]
- 1908 Newcastle, 6 Trinity House (restoration of chapel)
[TWAS, DT.CC/138/1-2]
- 1908 Thorpe Thewles, St. James's Church (reredos and panelling)
[*Building News*, vol.94, 26 June 1908, p921]
- 1908 Newcastle, St. James's Church, Benwell (pulpit)
[*Building News*, vol.95, 14 August 1908, p242]
- 1908 Whalton, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.95, 18 September 1908, p398]
- 1908 Newcastle, Christ Church, Walker (chancel screen)
[*Building News*, vol.95, 23 October 1908, p581]
- 1909 Bury St. Edmunds, St. Mary's Church (restoration and alterations)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*] H.L. Hicks
- 1909 South Shields, St. Michael's Church (campanile)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p417]
- 1909 Wallsend, Church, The Green
[*Building News*, vol.96, 26 March 1909, p466 and plate]
- 1909-10 Gateshead, St. Chad's Church, Bensham (parish buildings extension)
[*Building News*, vol.98, 4 February 1910, p185]
- 1909-10 Gateshead, Christ Church, Parish Buildings, Gladstone Street
[*Builder*, vol.98, 12 February 1910, p180]
- 1911 Newcastle, St. Ann's Church, City Road (reredos)
[*Building News*, vol.101, 1 September 1911, p316]
- 1911 Doddington, St. Mary and St. Michael's Church (restoration of baptistery)
[TWAS, DT.CC/49/4-8]
- 1911 Whalton, St. Mary's Church (reredos)
[TWAS, DT.CC/196/2; *Building News*, vol.100, 21 April 1911, p556 and plate]
- 1911-12 Ingram, St. Michael's Church (fittings)

- [Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p358]
- 1911-13 North Sunderland, St. Paul's Church (reseating)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1912 Gosforth, St. Nicholas's Church (additions)
[Harbottle, G. (1968) *Gosforth Parish Church: An historical account of the life of the church*, p20-2 and plate; *Builder*, vol.102, 26 January 1912, p104]
- 1912-13 Sedburgh School, Cricket Pavilion
[*Building News*, vol.103, 5 August 1912, p182]
- 1912-25 Blanchland, St. Mary's Church (fittings and repairs)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1913 Carlisle, Elementary School, Newtown (H.C. Charlewood - judge)
[*Building News*, vol.104, 21 February 1913, p271]
- 1913 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Church, Gosforth (extension)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p501] H.L. Hicks
- 1913 Longhirst, St. John's Church (chancel screen)
[*Building News*, vol.105, 12 December 1913, p851]
- 1913-14 Newbiggin by the Sea, St. Bartholomew's Church (north aisle)
[www.churchplansonline.org; Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, p322]

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 Pickering, W.S.F. (ed.) (1981) *A Social History of the Diocese of Newcastle, 1882-1982*, pp179-89 and 321-5.

W.S. Hicks

Archaeologia Aeliana, series 3, vol.10, 1913, pp303-4. Includes list of publications.
Builder, vol.83, 29 November 1902, p508. Obituary.
Building News, vol.83, 28 November 1902, p757. Obituary
 Anon. (1912) *Durham School Register to 1912*, pp363, 388, 397, 416. Details of sons.
RIBA Journal, vol.10, 20 December 1902, pp141-3. Obituary.
 Anon. (1903) *William Searle Hicks, Architect*. In Memoriam Volume.

H.C. Charlewood

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 Pike, W.T. (1905) *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*, p202.
RIBA Journal, vol.51, November 1943, p17. Obituary.
 Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p47.

H.L. Hicks

Archaeologia Aeliana, series 4, vol.26, 1948, pp205-7

Builder, vol.173, 5 December 1947, p641. Obituary.

RIBA Journal, vol.55, January 1948, p129. Obituary.

ROBERT JAMES JOHNSON, FRIBA, FSA [1832-1892]

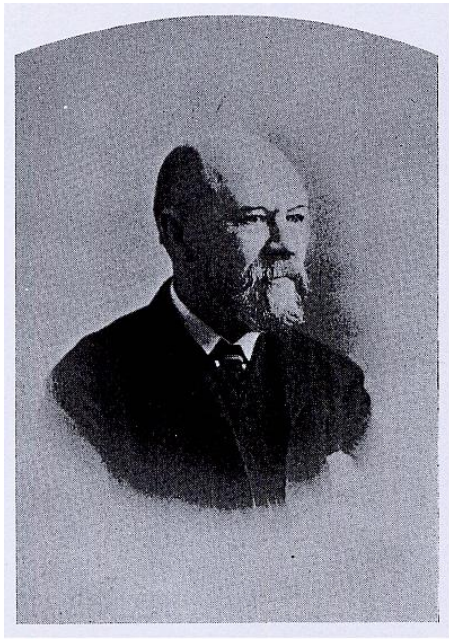


Figure 8 R.J. Johnson. (*Building News*)

Robert James Johnson was born in Stokesley, North Yorkshire in 1832. His father was a Primitive Methodist minister. He showed an aptitude for architecture from an early age and received training in the office of a civil engineer. He was articled to John Middleton of Darlington (d.1885) from 1846-53, in whose office he met F.R.N. Haswell. After completing his articles, he attempted to establish a practice in Newcastle, but this proved unsuccessful. He joined the office of George Gilbert Scott in London in 1849, working as an assistant from 1853-8. During this time he worked on drawings for Scott's Gothic design for the Foreign Office. He resided at 10 Belgrave Street, South Pimlico. Johnson gained invaluable experience in the office, where he was one of Scott's favourite pupils. He also encountered architects who would become eminent in the profession including E.R. Robson, J.J. Stevenson and C. Hodgson Fowler, each of whom had connections with the North East. Along with G.F. Bodley, Thomas Austin, E.R. Robson, J.J. Stevenson and E.G. Paley, Johnson travelled in France and this experience formed the basis of a book of drawings of medieval French churches. The plates provide accurate views of the churches and details of mouldings, vaulting and windows. Nevertheless, Johnson presented a paper to the Leeds Architectural Society in 1889 in which he argued that Continental models should not be followed. Throughout his career he had a considerable reputation as a draughtsman.

He returned to Newcastle in 1858 and formed a partnership with F.R.N. Haswell. In 1862 he joined with Thomas Austin and this partnership lasted until Austin's death in 1867. Austin and Johnson purchased the practice of the late John Dobson. W.S. Hicks joined the firm as a pupil in 1866, worked as an assistant and became a full partner in 1875. Hicks took over the firm's Middlesbrough office. After Hicks went into independent practice, Johnson continued as the sole practitioner, though M.H. Graham worked as an assistant for several years. In his later years failing health caused him to work in partnership with A.B. Gibson (1890-1) and A. Crawford-Hick (1891-2). Johnson suffered a stroke in 1890 and moved to York where he opened an office. Crawford-Hick maintained the Newcastle office and continued the practice with Johnson's executor, L.A. Johnson, until all the joint projects were completed in 1893.

Johnson was elected ARIBA on 18 March 1861 on the nomination of G.G. Scott, Matthew Digby Wyatt and William Burges. He proceeded to FRIBA on 28 May 1865. A member of the Northern Architectural Association, he served as Treasurer from 1852-9 and was on the Council of RIBA from 1869-71. Ecclesiastical work formed the mainstay of his practice, including extensive work in the restoration and extension of existing churches. He earned a high reputation for his scholarly recreation of medieval precedents, though he did use High Victorian polychromatic brickwork at St. Barnabas's Church, Burnmoor in County Durham. Johnson was an early campaigner for minimal intervention and the preservation of existing features. From 1868 to 1881 he served as Honorary Secretary to the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, which opposed the excessive restoration of medieval buildings. He acted as lecturer and guide when members visited places of interest. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1866 and restored the Black Gate in Newcastle, which became the base for the Society. He made numerous contributions to the Society's journal, *Archaeologia Aeliana*. He regularly exhibited his ecclesiastical designs at the Royal Academy between 1862 and 1887. He was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 1 July 1886. In 1871 he was appointed Surveyor to the Archdeaconry of Durham and to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, but he resigned these posts in April 1891 due to failing health. His most admired new church was St. Matthew's Church, Summerhill, although the tower had to be completed by Hicks. However, Johnson

was able to design fluently in a number of styles. He undertook secular commissions and used Classical and Renaissance styles at Hodgkin's Bank, Newcastle and Woods' Bank in Fawcett Street, Sunderland, which was intended to be part of a larger development.

Johnson's Ingham Infirmary in South Shields and Dame Allan's School in Newcastle were among the first buildings in the region to utilise the Queen Anne style. With Thomas Oliver and F.R.N. Haswell he was joint architect to Newcastle School Board.

Much of the firm's output can be attributed to Johnson, since Austin suffered from poor health and Hicks was occupied with the Middlesbrough office. Johnson's contemporaries regarded him as the pre-eminent architect in the North East and *The Builder* commented that he was among the most talented architects to have worked exclusively in the provinces. He was less reliant on mundane commissions and less active in entering competitions than other local firms. Johnson died on Easter Monday, 18 April 1892, while on holiday at Rock Villa, Tunbridge Wells. During his time in Scott's office he had married Lucy Allison of London. She survived her husband until 23 September 1903. They had no children.

Publications

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'St. Peter's, Monkwearmouth', *Ecclesiologist*, vol.27, 1866, pp361-4.

Buildings

Haswell and Johnson

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 1854 | Doncaster, Cemetery Chapels, Lodges and Gateway (1 st premium)
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.12, 1854, pp557 and 621] |
| 1855 | Newcastle, St. John's Cemetery (2 nd premium)
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.13, 1855, pp286 and 298] |
| 1856 | Scarborough, Cemetery (2 nd premium)
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.14, 1856, p318] |
| 1856 | Newcastle, Infant School and House, Arthur's Hill
[<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> , 19 September 1856, p1; Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p3, no.1] |
| 1856-7 | Sedgefield, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, West End
[Richmond, T. (1868) <i>The Local Records of Stockton and the Neighbourhood</i> , p232; Latimer, J. (1857) <i>Local Records</i> , p390] |
| 1857-8 | Wallsend, Zion Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Station Road
[RIBA Papers, 1872; <i>RIBA Journal</i> , 1913; Richardson, W. (1923) <i>History of the Parish of Wallsend: the ancient townships of Wallsend and Willington</i> , p166 and plate] |
| 1857-9 | South Shields, Zion Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Laygate Lane
[RIBA Papers, 1872; <i>RIBA Journal</i> , 1913] |
| 1858 | Melsonby, near Darlington, Wesleyan Methodist Day School and Teacher's House |

[RIBA Papers, 1872]

- 1858 Edinburgh, Trinity Church (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.16, 1858, pp146, 162 and 483]
- 1859-61 Gateshead, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, High West Street
[*Builder*, vol.19, 2 March 1861, p147; RIBA Papers, 1872]
- 1861 London, Presbyterian Chapel, Camden
[RIBA Drawings, Dove Brothers Collection, PA1880/1(1-96)] – may not be designs
- 1861 London, 1 High Street, Hampstead
[RIBA Drawings, Dove Brothers Collection, PA1880/1(1-96)] – may not be designs

Austin and Johnson

- 1863 Newcastle, St. James's Church, Benwell (restoration)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1863-6 Billingham, St. John's Church, Haverton Hill
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1864 Horton, Northumberland, St. Mary's Church (restored)
[Biographical File, British Architectural Library]
- 1864 Staindrop, Raby Castle (staircase)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p385]
- 1864 Richmond, Holy Trinity (restored)
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p292]
- 1864 Sherburn Hospital (chapel restored)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 8 January 1869, p8] Thomas Austin
- 1864 Blyth, St. Mary's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p193]
- 1864-5 Gateshead, St. James the Less Church, Park Road
[*Builder*, vol.23, 22 July 1865, p527-8]
- 1865 Bellingham, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration)
[*Builder*, vol.23, 24 June 1865, p453]
- 1865-6 Bishop Auckland, St. Helen's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1865-8 Cramlington, St. Nicholas's Church
[*Builder*, vol.26, 6 June 1868, p417]
- 1866 Sadberge, School House
[*Durham Chronicle*, 26 January 1866, p5]
- 1866 St. Helen Auckland, Church restoration
[*Durham Chronicle*, 9 March 1866, p5]
- 1866 Felling, Christ Church

- [Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p270]
- 1866-8 Sunderland, St. Barnabas's Church, Hendon
[*Sunderland Herald*, 10 August 1866, p5]
- 1866-8 Newcastle, St. Stephen's Church, Scotswood Road
[*Builder*, vol.26, 21 March 1868, p218] R.J. Johnson
- 1867 Richmond, School (extensions)
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p293]
- 1867 Gateshead, Town Hall (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.25, 1867, pp514 and 736]
- 1867 Sherburn Hospital (rebuilding)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p406;
Durham Chronicle, 8 January 1869, p8] R.J. Johnson
- 1867-8 Whitburn, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*Sunderland Herald*, 1 February 1867, p5; *Durham Chronicle*, 8 February 1867, p5]
- 1867-8 Burnmoor, St. Barnabas's Church and Vicarage
[*Builder*, vol.26, 21 March 1868, p218] R.J. Johnson
- 1867-8 Sunderland, St. Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth (restoration)
[*Sunderland Herald*, 13 December 1867, p7] R.J. Johnson
- 1867-9 Cleadon, All Saints' Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p129] R.J. Johnson
- 1868 Jarrow, Christ Church (construction supervised by John Henderson)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 8 October 1869, p7] Johnson and Hicks
- 1868 Newcastle, St. Anthony of Egypt's Church, Belmont Street, Walker
[Pevsner, N. (1957) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p260] Austin and Johnson
- 1868 Warden, St. Michael's Church (restoration)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p9, no.16]
- 1868-9 Newcastle, Northern Counties Orphan Asylum, Abbot Memorial Building
[*Builder*, vol.25, 14 December 1867, p911]
- 1868-9 Tynemouth, National Schools
[*Builder*, vol.26, 22 August 1868, p632] Austin and Johnson
- 1868-71 Middlesbrough, St. Paul's Church, Newport Road
[*Builder*, vol.28, 29 July 1870, p553; Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p249]
- 1869 Sherburn Hospital, Gasworks
[Durham County Local History Society, *Bulletin*, vol.29, December 1982, p33]
- 1869 Slingsby, All Saints' Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p346]

- 1869 Hexham, Abbey (restoration of transepts)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p5]
- 1869-70 Morpeth, Town Hall (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p397] R.J. Johnson
- 1869-70 Amble, St. Cuthbert's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org] Austin and Johnson
- 1869-71 Milburne, Holy Saviour Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p389] R.J. Johnson
- 1870 Newburn, Almshouses, High Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p407] R.J. Johnson
- 1870 Belmont, School
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p93]
- 1870 Haltwhistle, Holy Cross (restoration)
[*Architect*, vol.3, 2 April 1870, p168] R.J. Johnson
- 1870 Woolbeding, Sussex, All Hallows Church (chancel) and House
[*Building News*, vol.58, 23 May 1890, p720]
- c. 1870 Staindrop, Raby Castle (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p383]
- 1871 Stannington, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*Illustrated London News*, vol.59, 18 November 1871, p471] R.J. Johnson
- 1871-3 South Shields, Ingham Infirmary
[Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*, p55; *Durham Chronicle*, 6 June 1873, p8]
- 1871-6 Brandon, St. John the Evangelist's Church
[*Durham Chronicle*, 21 March 1873, p4; www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1872 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church, Gosforth (hall/church)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1872 Bywell, St. Peter's Church
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p9, no.16]
- 1872 Sherburn, St. Mary's Church (designed in 1865; delayed due to subsidence)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 31 May 1872, p8; *Architect*, vol.7, 8 June 1872, p307]
R.J. Johnson
- c. 1872 Newcastle, Shop, Grainger Street West
[*Architect*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p258]
- 1872-3 Burnmoor, Church School and Master's House
[*Durham Chronicle*, 14 June 1872, p5]
- 1872-5 Newcastle, Board School, Snow Street, Arthur's Hill
[*Building News*, vol.26, 5 January 1875, p20]

- 1872-5 Allendale, St. Cuthbert's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org] Austin and Johnson
- 1872-5 Bishop Auckland, St. Peter's Church, Princess Street
[*British Architect*, vol.3, 30 April 1875, p248; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p101; www.churchplansonline.org] R.J. Johnson
- 1873-4 Durham, St. Giles's Schools
[*Durham Chronicle*, 21 November 1873, p5; *Durham Chronicle*, 30 October 1874, p8] R.J. Johnson
- 1873-5 Longbenton, St. Bartholomew's Church, Station Road (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p380] R.J. Johnson
- 1873-6 Durham, St. Giles's Church (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p220]
- 1874 Sunderland, St. Paul's Church, Hendon (renovations)
[*Sunderland Times*, 23 October 1874, p2] R.J. Johnson
- 1874 Newcastle, Jesmond Parish Church (porch)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p508] R.J. Johnson
- 1874 Newcastle, St. Peter's Church (restoration)
[*British Architect*, vol.2, 25 September 1874, p205] R.J. Johnson
- 1874 Earsdon, St. Alban's Church (restoration)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1874 Allendale, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1874 Acklam, St. John's Church (rebuilt)
[RIBA Drawings, R.J. Johnson Drawings Collection, Vol. III, p69, VOS/146]
- 1874 Ormesby, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration and enlargement)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p217]
- 1874-5 Howden on Tyne, Church
[*British Architect*, vol.1, 6 March 1874, p158]
- 1874-5 Gateshead, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*British Architect*, vol.4, 3 December 1875, p314]
- 1874-6 Willington Quay, St. Mary's Church
[Goodhart-Rendel Index; Pevsner, N. (1957) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p324]
- 1874-9 Mitford, St. Mary Magdalene's Church (extension)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, pp390-1; Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', pp5-6] R.J. Johnson

Austin, Johnson and Hicks

- 1875 Mitford, St. Michael's Church (chancel screen and seating)

- [RIBA Drawing, R.J. Johnson Drawings Collection, Vol. III, p67, VOS/146] – may be an error in the church name
- 1875 Monkton, Devon, Church (decoration)
[Hicks, W.S. 'Remarks on the late Robert J. Johnson, FSA' in *Proceedings of the Northern Architectural Association*, 1892, p38]
- 1875 Ormesby, St. Cuthbert's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p276] Hicks and Johnson
- 1875 Sunderland, Woods's Bank, Fawcett Street
[*Sunderland Times*, 17 December 1875, p8] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1875 Newcastle, Tyne Shipping Company Offices, 25 King Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p473] R.J. Johnson
- 1875-6 Sunderland, St. Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth (rebuilding)
[*Architect*, vol.13, 29 May 1875, p325] R.J. Johnson
- 1875-6 South Shields, St. Thomas's Church, Fowler Street
[*British Architect*, vol.4, 15 October, p218] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1875-7 Simonburn, St. Mungo's Church (extension)
[*Builder*, vol.35, 20 October 1877, p1064] R.J. Johnson
- 1875-8 Castle Howard, Restoration of Chapel
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p6]
- 1875-80 Escomb, St. John's Church (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p267]
- 1876 Sunderland, Hotel, Fawcett Street (not built)
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 15 February 1876, p2] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1876 Durham, St. Giles's Church (rebuilt)
[*Builder*, vol.34, 15 April 1876, p324] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1876 Gateshead, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*Builder*, vol.34, 22 April 1876, p394]
- 1876 Wolviston, St. Peter's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p513] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1876 Haughton Castle, North Tyne (west wing)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353]
- 1877 Newcastle, St. Matthew's Church, Summerhill Street (completed in 1896 by W.S. Hicks)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, pp428-9] R.J. Johnson
- 1877 Wakefield, Town Hall (3rd premium)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p6]
- 1877-8 Medomsley, St. Mary Magdalen's Church (rebuilding)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p362] Austin, Johnson and Hicks

- 1878 St. Oswald in Lee, St. Oswald's Church (Gothicised)
[Betjeman, J. and Kerr, N. (1993) *Sir John Betjeman's Guide to English Parish Churches*, p430] R.J. Johnson
- 1878 Tanfield, St. Margaret's Church (restoration)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 3 May 1878, p6] R.J. Johnson
- 1878 Hutton Magna, St. Mary's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p199] Johnson and Hicks
- 1878 Sunderland, Subscription Library, Fawcett Street
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 3 March 1876, p2] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1878 Newcastle, Northern Assurance Offices, 2 Collingwood Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p492] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1878 Newcastle, Baptist Chapel, Bath Lane
[Information from Graham Potts] R.J. Johnson
- 1878-9 Sunderland, St. Stephen's Church, Ayres Quay
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 29 January 1879, p2]
- 1878-9 South Shields, Holy Trinity Church (chancel and transepts)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 20 September 1879, p1063] R.J. Johnson
- 1878-9 Newcastle, Board School, Byker
[*Builder*, vol.37, 22 November 1879, p1299]
- 1879 Greenhead, Church (restoration and alteration)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 6 September 1879, p1006] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1879 Buttercrambe, St. John's Church (restoration)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p28]
- 1879 Harraton, St. George's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p492] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1879-80 South Shields, St. Simon's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p417] R.J. Johnson
- 1879-80 Sunderland, Workingmen's Building Society, Fawcett Street
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 15 July 1879, p3] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1879-80 West Pelton, St. Paul's Church
[Goodhart-Rendel Index] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1881 Monkton, Venerable Bede Church
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p366] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1881 Newcastle, Board School, Mitford Street
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p6]
- 1881 Sunderland, Holy Trinity Rectory, Church Street
[*Durham Chronicle*, 4 November 1881, p8]

- 1881-2 South Shields, St. Michael's Church, Westoe
[*Shields Gazette*, 9 May 1881] Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1882 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Cathedral (reredos, choir stalls and screen)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p421;
Building News, vol.53, 11 November 1887, p718 and plate] R.J. Johnson
- 1882 Newcastle, Dame Allan's School, College Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p453] R.J. Johnson
- 1882 Aycliffe, Vicarage (repairs)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/Ay4/220]
- 1882 Newcastle, Tyne Commissioners' Offices (with J.J. Stevenson)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353]
- 1882-3 Sunderland, St. Thomas's Church, John Street (renovations)
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 15 July 1882, p3] R.J. Johnson
- 1882-3 Washington, Holy Trinity Church (extensions)
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p487]
- 1882-3 Newcastle, Board School, Scotswood Road
[*Architect*, vol.3, 13 January 1883, p37]
- 1882-4 Barnard Castle, North East County School (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.43, 1882, p411; *Durham Chronicle*, 9 November 1883, p7]
- R.J. Johnson**
- 1883 Low Dinsdale, St. John's Church (reredos)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/D 14/5]
- 1883-4 Newcastle, Black Gate (restoration and conversion to museum for Society of Antiquarians)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p6;
Faulkner, T.E. (1996) *Northumbrian Panorama*, p132]
- 1883-4 East Harlsey, St. Oswald's Church (restoration and north aisle)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p32]
- 1884 Newcastle, Bewick House, Bewick Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p480]
- 1884 Newcastle, St. Nicholas's Church, Gosforth (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p501]
- 1884 East Rounton, St. Laurence's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p151]
- 1884 Skelton in Cleveland, All Saints' Church
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p32]
- 1884-8 Whitby, St. Hilda's Church, West Cliff
[*Building News*, vol.23 October 1885, plate]
- 1885 Grindon, Staffordshire, All Saints' Church (restoration)

- [Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1885 Stagshaw, St. Aidan's Church
[*Durham Chronicle*, 10 July 1885, p8]
- 1885 Newcastle, Pendower House, West Road (additions)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p514] R.J. Johnson
- 1885 Newcastle, Victoria Jubilee Board School, Union Road, Byker
[TWAS, T67/1]
- c. 1885 Leeds, All Souls' Church (parsonage and schools)
[*Building News*, vol.50, 11 June 1886, p945]
- 1885-6 Seaham, St. John's Church (chancel enlarged and improvements)
[*Building News*, vol.50, 15 January 1886, p118]
- 1885-7 Newcastle, All Saints' Church, West Avenue, Gosforth
[*Building News*, vol.53, 7 October 1887, p543 and plate]
- 1886 Newcastle, St. Silas's Church, Byker
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p497] R.J. Johnson
- 1886 Wylam, St. Oswin's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p636] R.J. Johnson
- 1886 Simonburn, St. Mungo's Church (restoration)
[Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*]
- 1886-7 Eppleton, All Saints' Church
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 3 November 1886, p3; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 19 December 1887, p3] R.J. Johnson
- 1886-7 Thorpe Thewles, St. James's Church, Grindon
[Page, W. (ed.) (1928) *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, vol.3, p253] R.J. Johnson
- 1887 South Shields, Wouldhave Memorial (assessor to competition)
[*Shields Gazette*, 30 August 1887]
- 1887-8 Eastgate, All Saints' Church
[*Building News*, vol.53, 28 October 1887, p671]
- 1887-8 Newcastle, Armstrong College of Science, Barras Bridge
[*Monthly Chronicle*, December 1888, p574; *Building News*, vol.51, 8 October 1886, plan] R.J. Johnson
- 1888 Burnmoor, St. Barnabas's Church (reredos and fittings)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1888-9 Henshaw, Northumberland, All Saints' Church
[*Building News*, vol.55, 6 July 1888, p28]
- 1888-90 Whitworth Church (floors and furnishings)
[Information from Graham Potts]

- 1890 Chester-le-Street, Urpeth Lodge (additions)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p6]
- 1890 Newcastle, Jesmond Parish Church (reredos and fittings)
[*Building News*, vol.58, 6 June 1890, p796]
- 1890 Denton-le-Dale, St. Andrew's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.59, 26 September 1890, p452]
- 1890-2 Newcastle, St. Augustine's Church, Brighton Grove
[*Building News*, vol.59, 11 July 1890, p6; www.churchplansonline.org]
Johnson and Gibson
- 1891 Newcastle, Hodgkin's Bank, 9-17 Collingwood Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p492] R.J. Johnson
- 1891-2 Brignall Church (restoration with A.C. Hick)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 4 June 1892, pp445-6]
- 1891-4 Leeds, St. Aidan's Church, Roundhay Road
[Pevsner, N. (1967) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The West Riding*, p322] Johnson and Hicks
- 1892 West Pelton, St. Paul's Church (chancel screen with A.C. Hick)
[Stephenson, C.S. (1980) *St. Paul's Church, West Pelton, 1870-1980*, p7]
- 1892-3 Hexham, Convalescent Home, Hextol Terrace (with A.C. Hick)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 19 March 1892, p235; *Building News*, vol.65, 29 September 1893, p430]
- 1892 Walsall, Council House (3rd premium)
[Cunningham, C. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, pp248-9]
Austin, Johnson and Hicks
- 1892 Newcastle, Durham College of Science (extension, completed by F.W. Rich)
[*Building News*, vol.63, 23 September 1892, p443]
- 1893-7 Chilton Moor, St. Andrew's Church (chancel and vestry, executed to designs of 1876 by G.G. Scott Junior)
[Stamp, G. (2002) *Architect of Promise*, p394]
- 1894 Newcastle, Masonic Temple, 54-6 Pilgrim Street (completed by J.M.W. Lowery)
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, no.25]
- 1904-6 Stockton, Parish Church (chancel rebuilt, executed by A.C. Hick)
[Page, W. (ed.) (1928) *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, vol.3, p362]
- n.d. Tynemouth, Old House (additions)
[Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', p9, no.16]
- n.d. Upsall Hall
[*RIBA Journal*, 27 July 1912, p652]
- n.d. Kirklevington House
[*RIBA Journal*, 27 July 1912, p652]

- n.d. Hawick, Provost Watson's House
[*Builder*, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353]
- n.d. Stockton, All Saints' Church
[*Building News*, vol.58, 1890, p720]
- n.d. Blindburn Hall
[*Building News*, vol.58, 1890, p720]
- n.d. Newcastle, Tyne Steam Shipping Company Offices
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, p309]
- n.d. Darlington, Grange House (alterations)
[Drawing in RIBA Collection]
- n.d. Newcastle, Benwell Tower (bishop's chapel)
[*Benwell Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.1, p114]
- n.d. Newcastle, St. Stephen's Church, Scotswood Road (extension)
[*Elswick Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.1, p23]

A. Crawford Hick

- 1893 Ryton, Parish Hall, Station Bank
[*Building News*, vol.65, 21 July 1893, p93; *Building News*, vol.64, 22 December 1893, p843]
- 1894 Jarrow, Christ Church (chancel screen and fittings)
[*Building News*, vol.68, 31 May 1894, p786]
- 1894-7 Whittonstall, St. Philip and St. James's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1895 West Pelton, St. Paul's Church (lectern platform)
[Stephenson, C.S. (1980) *St. Paul's Church, West Pelton, 1870-1980*, p9]
- 1906 Gosforth, All Saints' Church (font)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p499]
- 1910 Ebchester, St. Ebba's Church (tower, with T.H. Murray of Consett)
[*Building News*, vol.99, 9 September 1910, p381]

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 Austin, G. 'Notes about R.J. Johnson' in *Architectural Review*, vol.17, 1905, pp221-4. Memoir by George Austin, Rector of Whitby.
Athenaeum, no.3365, 23 April 1892. Obituary.
Builder, vol.62, 25 April 1892, p343. Obituary.
Builder, vol.62, 7 May 1892, p353. Obituary
Building News, vol.58, 23 May 1890, pp720 and 724.
Building News, vol.62, 22 April 1892, p584. Obituary.
 Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, pp504-5.
 Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*.
 Faulkner, T.E. 'Robert James Johnson, Architect and Antiquary', *Durham University Journal*, vol.56, no.1, January 1995, pp3-11.
 Girouard, M. (1977) *Sweetness and Light*.
 Hall, M. (1982) *The Artists of Northumbria*, pp101-2.
 Hicks, W.S. 'Remarks on the late Robert J. Johnson, FSA' in *Proceedings of the Northern Architectural Association*, 1892.

Matthews, A.D. (1983) *The Ecclesiastical Works of Robert James Johnson, FSA*.
Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp71-2.
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, vol.5, 1892, p159-60. Obituary by
J.T. Micklethwaite.
Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 25 April 1892. Obituary.
Newcastle Daily Journal, 22 April 1892. Obituary.
RIBA Proceedings, new series, vol.8, 1892, pp290-1. Obituary by Thomas Oliver.

JOHN JOHNSTONE [1814-1884]

John Johnstone was born in Kilmamock, Strathclyde, the son of a building contractor. He gained practical experience in construction before commencing architectural training. Moving to London in the late 1840s, he worked as Clerk of Works to William Bonython Moffatt and George Gilbert Scott. He worked on important projects including the first industrial dwellings erected in London. Several of his designs of this period were executed. He moved to Newcastle to manage the office of Mr. Gibson, but joined W.H. Knowles in 1855. Soon afterwards he went into independent practice in the town, operating from 6 Clayton Street. Johnstone made his reputation by winning a number of architectural competitions. He worked extensively in the North East and beyond. Hudson Reah was one of his pupils and went on to become Borough Surveyor in Darlington. Johnstone acquired no professional qualifications, but served as President of the Northern Architectural Association in 1875, giving a paper on working class housing as his inaugural address. While superintending the construction of the East and West Schools in Low Walker he died suddenly on 29 September 1884. He left a widow, three daughters and a son.

George T. Howell, MSA [d. 1913]

After Johnstone's death the practice was continued by George T. Howell in 1885. He was in partnership with Hart in 1887. Howell had trained in London and worked throughout the country during his career. He became a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in February 1895, and by this time he was based at 68 John Street, Sunderland. He died in South Norwood in August 1913.

Buildings

Johnstone and Knowles

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1856-7 | Newcastle, St. John's Cemetery, Elswick Road
[<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> , 14 March 1856, p1; Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p514] |
| 1856-7 | Newcastle, 3 Cottages, St. John's Cemetery
[<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> , 25 April 1856, p1] |
| 1856-7 | Berwick, Corn Exchange (1 st premium)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) <i>Victorian Architectural Competitions</i> , p11] |

J. Johnstone

- 1855 Newcastle, High Level Bridge Approaches (plan submitted)
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 21 December 1855, p4]
- 1856 Newcastle, Building Sites, Scotswood
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 September 1856, p1]
- 1857-8 North Shields, Mechanics' Institute, Saville Street
[*Illustrated London News*, vol.30, 30 May 1857, pp527-8]
- 1858-63 Newcastle, Town Hall (1st premium with W.H. Knowles – modified by R. Wallace)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p465]
- 1859 Manchester, Assize Courts (entrant in competition)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p116]
- 1860 Newcastle, Savings Bank (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.18, 1860, p826]
- 1860 Newcastle, 6 Houses, Summerhill Grove
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 2 March 1860, p1]
- 1860-2 Bishop Auckland, Town Hall and Markets (executed Jones's design)
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 4 May 1860, p1; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p107]
- 1863 Gateshead, Town Hall (1st premium – not built)
[*Builder*, vol.21, 1863, pp375, 469; Lovie, D.B. and Taylor, S. (2004) *Gateshead: architecture in a changing English urban landscape*, pp14-17 and plate]
- 1864 Gateshead, Hawkes Memorial Fountain, Windmill Hill (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.22, 1864, pp281, 313 and 422]
- 1865-6 Hexham, Town Hall and Corn Exchange
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 30 December 1860, p1; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p328]
- 1866 Whitley Bay, Prudhoe Convalescent Home (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.24, 1866, p173]
- c. 1866 Newcastle, Carlisle Public House, Westgate Road
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p71]
- 1867 Gateshead, Town Hall (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.25, 1867, pp514, 736]
- 1868 Newcastle, St. Sepulchre's Church, Scotswood Road
[*Gateshead Observer*, 22 February 1868]
- 1868-70 Gateshead, Town Hall, West Street
[*Builder*, vol.28, 12 February 1870, p134; Lovie, D.B. and Taylor, S. (2004) *Gateshead: architecture in a changing English urban landscape*, p14-17 and plate]
- 1869 South Shields, Town Hall (1st premium – not built)
[*Builder*, vol.27, 11 September 1869, p733]
- 1869 Newcastle, Industrial Dwellings, Clayton Street (1st premium)

- [*Builder*, vol.27, 1869, p631]
- c. 1870 Newcastle, 73-5 Grainger Street for J.G. Youll
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p58]
- 1870-1 Newcastle, Masonic Hall, Maple Street
[*Builder*, vol.28, 2 October 1870, p853]
- 1871-2 West Layton, Layton Manor
[Pevsner, N. (1966) *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire. The North Riding*, p226]
- 1872 Hebburn, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Chapel and Schools, Ellison Street
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p320]
- 1872 Gateshead, United Presbyterian Chapel, Berwick Street (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.30, 1872, p341]
- c. 1872 Newcastle, Burdon Buildings, Grainger Street West
[*Builder*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p258]
- 1873-4 Chester-le-Street, Red Lion Inn (rebuilding)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 13 June 1873]
- 1874 Newcastle, County Hotel, Grainger Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p491]
- 1874 Sunderland, Town Hall (1st premium for site 1)
[*Architect*, vol.11, 20 June 1874, p348]
- 1875-6 Hartford Hall (enlargement)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1876 Wallsend, Buddle School and Houses
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p606]
- 1877-8 Newcastle, Industrial Dwellings, Tower Street (100 units)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 4 January 1879, p26]
- 1878 Howden, Bewicke School
[Atkinson (1989) *Victorian Britain: The North East*, p234]
- 1880 Newcastle, Synagogue, Leazes Park Road
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p431]
- 1880 Glasgow, City Chambers (1st premium – not built)
[Cunningham, C. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, p241]
- c. 1882 Newcastle, Royal Court Yard and 11-15 Bigg Market
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p53-4]
- 1882-5 Gateshead, Free Library, Swinburne Street
[Lovie, D.B. and Taylor, S. (2004) *Gateshead: architecture in a changing English urban landscape*, p27-9 and plate]
- 1884 Newcastle, East and West Board Schools, Low Walker
[*Local Biographies*, vol.1, p290]

- 1884-6 Newcastle, Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company Offices, 30 Grainger Street West
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p455; Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p60]
- n.d. Hertford Hall
[*Building News*, vol.47, 3 October 1884, p537-8]
- n.d. Carliop Hall
[*Building News*, vol.47, 3 October 1884, pp537-8]
- n.d. Newcastle, Offices opposite High Level Buildings
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]

G.T. Howell

- 1898 Sunderland, Bijou Variety Theatre
[*Builder*, vol.74, 11 June 1898]

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J. Johnstone

- Architect*, vol.15, 12 February 1876, p102. Northern Architectural Association Presidential Address.
- Building News*, vol.47, 3 October 1884, p536-7. Obituary
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- Local Biographies*, vol.1, p290. Newcastle City Library.
- 'Old Newcastle Architects and Surveyors, Part II', *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 8 January 1887.
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G.T. Howell

- Building News*, vol.105, 8 August 1913, p184. Obituary

WILLIAM HENRY KNOWLES, FRIBA, FSA, FSAScot. [1857-1943]



Figure 9 W.H. Knowles. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

W.H. Knowles was born in Newcastle on 14 May 1857 to W. Pety Knowles of Yorkshire. After a private education he was articled to W.L. Newcombe from 1872-6. He served as an assistant to M.G. Cornell and Joseph Hall Morton (1850-1923) before rejoining Newcombe as a managing assistant. He commenced independent practice in Gateshead in 1884; then operated in partnership with Newcombe from 1885-6. A partnership with John Lamb and Charles F. Armstrong lasted from 1889 to 1893. The firm continued as Armstrong and Knowles from 1894-9. In 1914 he was joined by N.E. Leeson and George Dale Oliver, practising as Knowles, Oliver and Leeson. R. Burns Dick and William Tweedy were assistants in the firm at various times. Knowles was proposed for FRIBA on 2 March 1891 by E.J. Hansom, J.H. Morton and E. Shewbrooks. After the death of R.J. Johnson, Knowles was appointed to complete Armstrong College in 1903. He served on the Arts Council of the College. He also served on the Council of the Northern Architectural Association. He produced illustrated publications, including *Vestiges of Old Newcastle and Gateshead* (1890); he also exhibited drawings in Newcastle and at the Royal Academy.

In 1890 he married Jessie Benson (d.1925), daughter of Councillor John Benson, and they had one son. A freemason, he served as Master of the Northumberland Lodge and Provincial Grand Warden in 1913. He was a churchwarden at St. Gabriel's Church, Heaton.

He was a keen sportsman. He was an officer in the First Northumberland Volunteer Artillery and during World War I he served in the Northumberland Artillery until 1916. Probably better known for his antiquarian activities than for his architecture, Knowles excavated Roman remains and medieval buildings. His most important excavations were Corbridge (1907-14), Tynemouth Priory, Alnwick Castle, Sockburn and Castle Rushen, Isle of Man. He was elected a member of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries on 29 October 1884. He served on the Council from 1891-1913 and was Vice President in 1913. At his suggestion the upper room in the Black Gate was used as the Society's library and he provided the cases and furniture at his own expense. By the time of his death he was regarded as the 'father' of the society. He also joined the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland. As a Committee member of the Victoria County History of Northumberland, he produced plans and architectural descriptions of medieval buildings such as Belsay Castle. He was also involved with the Central Council for the Care of Churches. He was elected FSA in 1899 and FSAScot in 1906. He was active in many national archaeological organisations. He was a Corresponding Member of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Beauty and was also involved with the Royal Archaeological Institute. He retired to Wells Close, Lansdown Parade, Cheltenham in 1922 and became Chairman of Cheltenham Civic Society. He later moved to a house named Chesfield in Malvern and devoted his time to antiquarian pursuits, supervising excavations on Roman sites at Bath and Gloucester. He joined the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society and served as Chairman in 1928 and President in 1930. He was a member of the Bishop of Worcestershire's Advisory Committee for the care of churches. He died at Malvern on 18 January 1943, aged 86.

Publications

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'Priory Church of Saints Mary and Oswin, Tynemouth' in *Archaeological Journal*, vol.67, 1910, pp7-12.

Numerous articles in local and national journals.

C.F. Armstrong

C.F. Armstrong was educated at King's College, London from 1867-70. After serving articles with George Corson of Leeds from 1870-4, he moved to Newcastle and worked as an improver for Dunn and Hansom from 1874-8. He entered partnership with John Lamb in 1878 and W.H. Knowles joined the practice in 1889. Armstrong operated from St. John's Chambers, 38 Grainger Street West from 1891-1900. He was elected FRIBA on 2 March 1891, having been nominated by E.J. Hansom, E. Shewbrooks and J.H. Morton. In 1900 Armstrong left the partnership with Knowles and Lamb to join with Wright. This partnership lasted until Armstrong retired in 1912. Wright continued with Henry Chapman under the old style. In his later years Armstrong lived at Brisco Hill, Cumbria. He died on 2 December 1922.

John Lamb

John Lamb was Surveyor to Newcastle Corporation for 10 years. He joined in partnership with Armstrong in 1878. W.H. Knowles joined the partnership in 1889, but left in 1893 to practise on his own account. With his experience of municipal building Lamb was well known as a valuer and was much used in arbitration cases.

Buildings

Newcombe and Knowles, 1885-6

1883-5 Newcastle, Fenwick Shop Fronts, 37-9 Northumberland Street
[Pound, R. (1972) *The Fenwick Story*, pp18-19]

1886 Gateshead, Workhouse (1st premium with J.H. Morton)
[*British Architect*, vol.25, 12 March 1886, p244]

Lamb and Armstrong

1878 Birtley, St. John's Church (renovation)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 25 January 1879, p109]

1880 Jarrow, St. Peter's Church

[Binney, M. and Burman, P. (1977) *Chapels & churches - who cares: an independent report*, p265]

- 1881 Newcastle, Bentinck School
[*Architect*, vol.25, 22 January 1881, p61]
- 1883 Newburn, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel and Institute
[*Architect*, vol.29, 13 January 1883, p38]
- 1883-5 Newcastle, Oxford Music Hall, Cloth Market (alterations)
[Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950*, p165]
- 1886 Newcastle, Charlton Bonded Warehouse, Waterloo Street
[*British Architect*, vol.26, 17 September 1886, p418]
- 1886 Jarrow, St. Peter's Church (reseating)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1887 Newcastle, Grainger Estate Plan, Low Elswick
[TWAS, D.NCP/18/13]
- 1887-90 Chester-le-Street, St. Mary's Rectory
[Durham County Record Office, EP/CS4/114-116]
- c. 1890 Newcastle, Northumberland Arms, Stowell Street (rebuilding)
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p85]

Lamb, Armstrong and Knowles, 1889-93

- 1889-90 Walker, Mills's Brass Foundry
[*Building News*, vol.59, 1 August 1890, p168]
- 1889-91 Newcastle, Grand Hotel and Assembly Room, Barras Bridge
[*Building News*, vol.57, 13 December 1889, p823; *Building News*, vol.61, 13 November 1891, p680 and plate]
- c. 1890 Newcastle, Blackie Boy Inn, Groat Market
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, no.129]
- 1890 Newcastle, Volunteer's Headquarters, Barrack Road (remodelled Garden Engine Works)
[*Building News*, vol.59, 15 August 1890, p214]
- 1891-3 Consett, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Middle Street (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.60, 18 April 1891, p312; Durham County Record Office, M/Co.138]
- 1891 Newcastle, Dale, Young and Nelson Bank, Grey Street
[*Building News*, vol.61, 2 October 1891, p487]
- 1892 Easington, Hospital (heating system)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 11 June 1892, p466]
- 1892 Newcastle, Hotel Metropole, Clayton Street
[*Building News*, vol.63, 18 November 1892, p723]
- 1893-6 Jarrow, St. Mark's Church, Salem Street
[www.churchplansonline.org; *Building News*, vol.69, 27 September 1895, p464]

Armstrong and Knowles, 1894-99

- 1894 Newcastle, Water Company Offices (2nd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.66, 26 January 1894, p137]
- 1894 Ashington, Guyzance Hall (alterations and additions)
[*Building News*, vol.71, 25 September 1896, p447 and plate] W.H. Knowles
- 1894 Newcastle, Bainbridge Store, Grey Street (extension)
[*Builder*, vol.66, 28 April 1894, p333]
- 1894 Newcastle, 28-30 Mosley Street
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p43]
- 1894 Newcastle, Allan Chambers, 88 Westgate Road
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, no.76]
- 1894 Newcastle, National Telephone Offices, 160 Pilgrim Street
[*Building News*, vol.69, 20 September 1895, p407 and plate; *Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, pp308-9 and plate]
- c. 1895 Newcastle, YMCA Blackett Street (2nd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.71, 10 July 1896, p43 and plate]
- 1895 Newcastle, Board School, Prospect Place
[*Building News*, vol.68, 8 March 1895, p354]
- 1896 Consett, Wesleyan Methodist Lecture Hall and Sunday School
[*Building News*, vol.71, 17 July 1896, p97]
- 1896 Sunderland, New Albion House, High Street West (with G.T. Brown)
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 21 February 1896, p3]
- 1897 Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary (entrant in competition)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 9 July 1897, p43]
- 1897 Newcastle, Adam of Jesmond's Camera, Heaton Park (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p507] W.H. Knowles
- 1897-8 Blyth, Hodgkin's Bank
[*Building News*, vol.75, 16 September 1898, p387-8]
- 1898 Newcastle, Guildhall (alterations)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 10 September 1898, p235]
- 1899 Edinburgh, Midlothian County Council Buildings (entrant in competition)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p48]
- 1899 Newcastle, Board School
[Information from Graham Potts] W.H. Knowles
- 1899 Stocksfield, Broomley Grange
[*Building News*, vol.77, 3 November 1899, p585 and plate]
- 1899-1900 Gateshead, Literary Institute
[*Building News*, vol.76, 20 January 1899, p111]
- n.d. Newcastle, Board School, Sandyford Road
[Roberts, A.R. (1988) *The Quadrangle, University of Newcastle upon Tyne: An Architectural History, 1887-1958*, p57]

- n.d. Newcastle, Board School, Sandyford Road
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, plate]
- n.d. Newcastle, Business Premises, Westgate Road
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, plate]
- n.d. Newcastle, Coates's Store, Northumberland Street
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898, p310]

W.H. Knowles

- 1899-1900 North Shields, Rising Sun Inn
[*Builder*, vol.77, 30 September 1899, p312]
- 1900 Newcastle, School of Cookery (2nd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 3 August 1900, p143]
- 1900-1 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, St. George's Terrace, West Jesmond
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1899-1901 Newcastle, School Board Offices and Pupil Teacher Centre, Granger Street
[*Building News*, vol.79, 7 September 1900, p323 and plate] original design by Armstrong and Knowles
- 1901 Hexham, Temporley Memorial Fountain, Market Place
[Usherwood, P. *et al.* (2000) *Public Sculpture in North East England*, pp92-3]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Premises for Browne, Carloli Street
[*Builder*, vol.84, 3 January 1903, pp22-3]
- 1902-3 West Jesmond, Schoolroom
[*Building News*, vol.83, 3 October 1902, p492]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Deuchar's Premises, Grey Street
[*Building News*, vol.83, 31 October 1902, p639]
- 1902-4 Newcastle, Gas Lamps, Grey Street/Hood Street (with T.R. Milburn)
[Ayriss, I. and Linsley, S.M. (1994) *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Tyne and Wear*, p34]
- 1902-16 Alnmouth, Lint Close
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p130]
- 1903 Newcastle, School Board Offices, Northumberland Road
[*Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p441]
- 1903-4 Whitley Bay, Board School (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 25 April 1903, p434]
- 1904 Newcastle, 104-8 Grey Street (with T.R. Milburn)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, pp489-90]
- 1904 Hexham, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Fair Field, West End (entrant)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 19 February 1904, p271]
- 1904-5 Newcastle, Royal Exchange Restaurant, Grey Street (with W. and T.R. Milburn)

- [*Building News*, vol.88, 26 May 1905, p772]
- 1904-5 Wallsend, Schools, West View (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 25 March 1904, p445; *Architect*, vol.72, 14 October 1904, p59]
- 1904-5 Whitley Bay, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel (rebuilt after fire)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 24 June 1904, pp903-4]
- 1904-5 Whitley Bay, Council Schools (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.88, 12 May 1905, p675]
- 1904-6 Newcastle, Armstrong College, West Front and Kings Hall, Queen Victoria Road
[*Building News*, vol.86, 6 May 1904, p652; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p451]
- 1905 Rochester, Technical Institute (3rd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.89, 15 September 1905, p363]
- 1905-6 Newcastle, Black Gate (restoration and extension)
[*Building News*, vol.89, 22 September 1905, p419]
- 1905-6 Newcastle, Council School, Bolam Street, Byker
[*Building News*, vol.89, 6 October 1905, p471]
- 1905-6 Newcastle, Council School, Welbeck Road
[*Building News*, vol.89, 20 October 1905, p566]
- 1906 Newcastle, Own Office, Mosley Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p485]
- 1906 Newcastle, Armstrong Monument, Barras Bridge (with Hamo Thornycroft)
[Usherwood, P. et al. (2000) *Public Sculpture in North East England*, pp92-3]
- 1906 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel and Sunday School, Sandyford Road
[*Building News*, vol.90, 11 May 1906, p688]
- 1906-7 Newcastle, Proctor's Premises, Side (rebuilt)
[*Building News*, vol.95, 25 September 1908, p437 and plate]
- 1906-8 Consett, Council School (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.91, 2 November 1906, p615]
- 1907 Wallsend, Western Council School (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.93, 4 October 1907, p456]
- 1907-8 Chester-le-Street, School
[*Building News*, vol.93, 20 December 1907, pxiv]
- 1908 Newcastle, Apollo Cinema, Prudhoe Street
[Manders, F. (1991) *Cinemas of Newcastle: a comprehensive history of the cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p26]
- 1909 Wallsend, Holy Cross, Valley Gardens (restoration of ruins)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p605]
- 1909 Whitley Bay, School (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.96, 11 June 1909, p891]

- 1909 Newcastle, North Cottage, Lindisfarne Road
[*Building News*, vol.97, 19 November 1909, p754 and plate]
- 1910-11 Newcastle, Armstrong College, School of Art and Gateway
[*Building News*, vol.99, 23 December 1910, p898; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p451]
- 1912 Alnwick, Parochial Buildings, Painter's Hill
[*Builder*, vol.102, 24 May 1912, p611]
- 1912 York, Knavesmire Elementary School (entrant)
[*Building News*, vol.102, 17 May 1912, p702]
- 1913 Newcastle, Armstrong College, School of Agriculture
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p452]
- 1913-14 Whittonstall, Chapel (with Lamb)
[*Building News*, vol.105, 31 October 1913, p68]
- 1913-14 Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College (extension, 1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.105, 19 December 1913, p863]
- 1915 Newcastle, Royal Grammar School (rifle range)
[*Building News*, vol.107, 20 November 1914, p648]
- n.d. Alnwick, North Eastern Banking Co., Bank
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture* p132]
- n.d. Beamish Park (alterations)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. 'Beauclere' (alterations)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Chipchase Castle (restoration)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Corbridge, Restoration of Ancient Buildings
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Elswick, Business Premises for Armstrong, Whitworth Ltd.
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Brinkburn and Jesmond, Houses
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Muggleswick, Restoration of Medieval Priory Retreat
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Newcastle, Business Premises for George Angus and Co.
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Newcastle, Church, Jesmond
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Prudhoe Castle (restoration)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]
- n.d. Sockburn, All Saints' Church (restoration of ruins)

[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]

n.d. Wallington Hall (alterations)
[Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p132]

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NEWCOMBE AND NEWCOMBE

William Lister Newcombe, FRIBA [1848-1929]



Figure 10 W.L. Newcombe. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

W.L. Newcombe was born in Gateshead on 7 May 1848. His parents were Ann and Frederick Newcombe, a businessman of Newcastle. He was raised in Newcastle and educated at Dr. Bruce's Academy. Details of Newcombe's architectural training are unclear, but he was elected FRIBA on 12 January 1880, having been proposed by Thomas Oliver, R.J. Johnson and John Ross. He was operating from 2 Higham Place in 1880 and from 89 Pilgrim Street in 1914. He joined the Northern Architectural Association and served as Treasurer from 1879-87. He commenced independent practise in 1873 and was in partnership with W.H. Knowles, who had been his pupil, from 1885-6. He then operated independently until his son Charles joined the practice in 1902. He also trained Robert Burns Dick. His second son, Philip Clive, became a partner in 1908 and after Newcombe retired in 1926 the two sons continued the practice. He resided at Erlsmead in Gosforth, a house which he had designed. Newcombe died in 1929 and was buried in St. Andrew's Cemetery in Newgate Street. His grave was marked by a large Classical monument. His brother Frederick William Newcombe JP, MD, who was a doctor in Gateshead, and his parents lie nearby.

Charles Frederick Newcombe, ARIBA [c. 1874-1947]

Charles F. Newcombe attended Rutherford College and Newcastle College of Science in 1889. He travelled in Italy, Germany, Russia, Norway and Sweden. He was trained in his father's office and passed the RIBA qualifying examination. He became a partner in his father's firm in 1902 and remained with the firm throughout his career. The firm operated a general practice throughout the North East. He was elected ARIBA in 1902. He retired in 1938 and left his brother to continue the practice. He died on 11 April 1947.

Philip Clive Newcombe, FRIBA, FSA [1881-1956]

Philip Clive Newcombe spent his whole career in the family practice, becoming a partner in 1908. He maintained the style of Newcombe and Newcombe after his brother retired and the firm was continued by his son, also called Philip Clive, after his death until c. 1976. He was President of the Northern Architectural Association from 1950-2.

Buildings

1873	Newcastle, Locomotive Inn, Westmoreland Road [Royal Commission of Historic Monuments (1990) <i>An Architectural Survey of Urban Development Corporation areas: Tyne and Wear</i> , p30]
1876	Wark, Presbyterian Chapel and Manse [<i>Durham Chronicle</i> , 21 July 1876, p8]
1877-8	Houghton-le-Spring, Presbyterian Chapel [<i>Durham Chronicle</i> , 28 September 1877, p7]
1878-9	Blackhill, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Chapel and School [<i>Architect</i> , 6 July 1878, p16]
1879	Hexham, Hydro Hotel, Allendale Road [<i>Building News</i> , vol.58, 24 January 1890, p125-6 and plans; <i>Hexham Historian</i> , vol.11, June 2001, p39]
1879	Lanchester, Union Workhouse (additions) [<i>Durham Chronicle</i> , 13 June 1879, p5]
1880	Newcastle, 31-33 The Side (Crown Posada) [Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) <i>Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage</i> , p193 and plate]
1881	Loftus, North East Bank [<i>Architect</i> , vol.25, 19 March 1881, p52]
1881	Newcastle, Tyneside Echo Print Works, Denton Chare [<i>Architect</i> , vol.25, 19 March 1881, p52]
1881	Gateshead, Union Workhouse Extension (1 st premium - not built) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.41, 6 August 1881, p189]

- 1881 Jarrow, North Eastern Bank
[*Builder*, vol.41, 6 August 1881, p193]
- 1881 Gosforth, Villas, The Grove
[Cox, T.A. (1977) *Gosforth High Street*, Appendix 5]
- 1881 Darlington, Turk's Head Hotel (stables)
[Durham County Record Office, Da/NG2/I 141]
- 1882-3 Bellingham, Presbyterian Chapel
[Stell, C. (1994) *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting Houses in the North of England*, p159]
- 1882-4 Consett, Town Hall (1st premium)
[*British Architect*, vol.18, 7 July 1882, p317; *Durham Chronicle*, 6 June 1884, p7]
- 1883 Harrogate, Presbyterian Chapel (1st premium)
[*Architect*, vol.29, 16 June 1883, p412]
- 1883 Pelton, Co-operative Store (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.44, 1883, p861]
- 1883-5 Newcastle, Fenwick Shop Front, 37-9 Northumberland Street (and Knowles)
[Pound, R. (1972) *The Fenwick Story*, pp18-19]
- 1884 Sunderland, St. Peter's Presbyterian Chapel, Millfield (2nd premium)
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 14 February 1884, p3]
- 1886 Newcastle and Gateshead, 3 Halls for Friendly and Trade Societies
[*Building News*, vol.50, 18 June 1886, p985] with Knowles, without fee
- 1886 Gateshead, Drill Hall
[*Building News*, vol.52, 4 February 1887, p181]
- 1886 Gateshead, Workhouse, Bensham Road (with Morton and Knowles)
[Northumberland Record Office, SANT/BEQ/21/4/1/8; *Building News*, vol.50, 12 March 1886, p439 and 19 March 1886, p480]
- 1887 Newcastle, Drill Hall, Bath Road
[*Building News*, vol.52, 4 February 1887, p181]
- 1887 Newcastle, St George's Drill Hall
[*Building News*, vol.52, 4 February 1887, p181]
- 1887 West Pelton, Co-operative Stores (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.52, 4 February 1887, p181]
- 1887 Newcastle, 2 Warehouses and Shops, Blackett Street
[*Building News*, vol.52, 6 May 1887, p697]
- 1887 Gateshead, St. Edmund's Mission Hall (with Knowles)
[*Building News*, vol.2, 7 January 1887, p11]
- 1888 Newcastle, Presbyterian Chapel, Burdon Terrace, Jesmond
[*Monthly Chronicle*, 1888, pp479-80 and illustration] Newcombe and Knowles
- 1888 Gateshead, High School for Girls
[*Monthly Chronicle*, December 1888, p576]

- 1888-9 Castle Ward, Union Workhouse
[*Building News*, vol.54, 3 February 1888, p206]
- 1889 Hartlepool, St. Hilda's Hospital (extensions)
[Hartlepool Museum Service (1984) *Bricks and Mortar: A Celebration of Architecture in Hartlepool 1834-1984*, p13]
- 1889-90 Newcastle, English Presbyterian Chapel and Sunday School, Arthur's Hill
[*Building News*, vol.57, 19 July 1889, p95]
- 1890 Sunderland, Union Congregational Chapel, The Royalty
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 13 July 1890, p3]
- 1890 Newcastle, 27 Mosley Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p486]
- c. 1890 Newcastle, Martin's Bank, 18-26 Grey Street (adaptation)
[Allsopp, B. (1967) *Historic Architecture of Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne*, p75]
- 1890-1 Gosforth, 2 Villas, Elmfield Road
[*Building News*, vol.58, 28 March 1890, p470]
- 1890-7 Newcastle, Labs and Warehouse for Brady and Martin, Northumberland Road
[*Building News*, vol.59, 1 August 1890, p144 and plate]
- 1891 Newcastle, Theatre Royal (alterations and decorations)
[*Building News*, vol.61, 7 August 1891, p206]
- 1891 Newcastle, Coxlodge Asylum (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 1891, pp143 and 189]
- 1891 Newcastle, Presbyterian Chapel, Heaton Road (ancillary buildings)
[*Builder*, vol.61, 24 October 1891, p316]
- 1891-2 Sunderland, John Black Memorial Presbyterian Chapel, North Bridge Street
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 22 April 1891, p3]
- 1892 Ponteland, Workhouse (additions)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 30 April 1892, p346]
- 1893 Darlington, House, Skinnergate for Dr. Newcombe
[Durham County Record Office, Da/NG2/1745]
- 1893 Newcastle, North Eastern Banking Co., Westgate Hill/Elswick Road
[*Building News*, vol.64, 28 August 1893, p589]
- 1893-4 Newcastle, Deaf and Dumb Institute (alterations and additions)
[*Building News*, vol.65, 1 September 1893, p291]
- 1893-4 Newcastle, John Knox Presbyterian Sunday School and Hall, Elswick Road
[*Elswick Miscellaneous Articles*, vol.2, p42]
- 1894 Newcastle, Water Company Offices (3rd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.66, 26 January 1894, p137]
- 1894 Newcastle, Slaughter House, Shields Road, Byker
[*Building News*, vol.66, 11 May 1894, p636]

- 1894-6 Newcastle, John Knox Presbyterian Chapel, Elswick Road
[*Building News*, vol.67, 30 November 1894, plate; *Builder*, vol.70, 11 April 1896, p325]
- 1894 Newcastle, Estate of 68 Semi-Detached Houses, Windsor Gardens
[*Building News*, vol.65, 6 October 1893, p461; *Building News*, vol.66, 30 March 1894, p430]
- 1895 Newcastle, Theatre Royal (reconstruction with Walter Emden)
[*Builder*, vol.68, 23 February 1895, plate]
- 1895 Alnwick, St. James's Presbyterian Chapel
[*Building News*, vol.69, 6 December 1895, p832]
- 1895-6 Newcastle, Presbyterian Chapel, Heaton Road
[*Builder*, vol.70, 13 June 1896, p518]
- 1895-7 Newcastle, Board School, Raby Road, South Byker
[*Building News*, vol.68, 24 May 1895, p752; *Building News*, vol.73, 12 November 1897, p686]
- 1895-9 Ipswich, Workhouse (1st premium with Percy Adams)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1896 Newcastle, North East Bank, Scotswood Road
[*Building News*, vol.72, 1 January 1897, p46]
- 1896-7 Newcastle, Royal Victoria School for the Blind (recreation room)
[*Building News*, vol.70, 12 June 1896, p881]
- 1896-7 Newcastle, St. Laurence's R.C. Church, Bamborough Street (rebuilding of Dobson's Trinity Presbyterian Chapel)
[*Northern Catholic History*, vol.36, 1995, pp58-65]
- 1896-7 Newcastle, Brady and Martin Warehouse, Northumberland Road
[Ayris, I. and Linsley, S.M. (1994) *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Tyne and Wear*, p30]
- 1897 Newcastle, Demolition of 50-2 Northumberland Street
[*Architect*, vol.57, 23 April 1897, p89]
- 1898 Warkworth, Shortridge Hall
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p619]
- 1898 Newcastle, 1 Detached House, Gosforth
[*Building News*, vol.74, 18 February 1898, p254]
- 1898 Haltwhistle, Presbyterian Chapel and Hall
[Northumberland Record Office, UR/P13/4/3/1; *Building News*, vol.75, 2 September 1898, p318]
- 1898-9 Newcastle, Laundry and Dyeworks, Heaton
[*Building News*, vol.75, 7 October 1898, p496]
- 1898-1901 Shotley Bridge, Cottage Homes for Gateshead Union (appointed in place of C.A. Sharpe who won the competition)
[*Building News*, vol.75, 1 July 1898, p36; *Gateshead Notes*, vol.3, p95. Gateshead Public Library]

- 1899 Newcastle, Board School, Spital Tongues (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.76, 20 January 1899, p114]
- 1900 Newcastle, Worswick House and Chambers, Pilgrim Street
[Usherwood, P. *et al.* (2000) *Public Sculpture in North East England*, pp133-4]
- 1900 Newcastle, Laundry, Rothbury Terrace, Heaton
[*Newcastle Journal*, 2 February 1900]
- c. 1900 Newcastle, Workhouse, Westgate Hill (alterations and additions)
[*Builder*, vol.78, 6 January 1900, p21]
- 1900-1 Chollerton, Presbyterian Chapel
[*Building News*, vol.79, 27 July 1900, p131]
- 1900-2 West Hartlepool, St. George's Congregational Chapel, Park Road/York Road
[*Building News*, vol.83, 26 September 1902, p432]
- 1900-6 Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary (1st premium with Percy Adams)
[*Building News*, vol.7, 4 August 1899, pp125-6; *Building News*, vol.80, 22 March 1901, p403 and plate; Faulkner, T.E., Beacock, P. and Jones, P. (2006) *Newcastle & Gateshead: architecture and heritage*, pp228-9 and plate]

Newcombe and Newcombe

- 1902 Newcastle, North East Bank, Shields Road, Byker
[*Building News*, vol.83, 22 November 1902, p482]
- 1902 Newcastle, Hospital (alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.83, 4 July 1902, p35]
- 1902-3 Falstone, Presbyterian Chapel (alterations)
[Northumberland Record Office, UR/P 11/4/3/1-2]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Workhouse (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.83, 5 September 1902, p325]
- 1902-3 Liverpool, Workhouse (infirmary ward)
[*Building News*, vol.85, 9 October 1903, p479]
- 1902-5 Lanchester, Workhouse (Lee Hill cottage homes)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 17 January 1903, p76; *Building News*, vol.88, 10 March 1905, p368]
- 1903 Lanchester, Workhouse (outbuildings)
[*Building News*, vol.84, 10 January 1903, p108]
- 1904 Newcastle, Gem Chambers, 23-7 Blackett Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p483]
- 1904-5 Lanchester, Workhouse (cottage homes)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 29 January 1904, p184]
- 1904-5 Lanchester, Workhouse (board room)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 24 June 1904, p928]
- 1905 Newcastle, Workhouse (remodel)
[*Building News*, vol.89, 21 July 1905, p96]

1905-6	Gateshead, Workhouse (alterations) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 27 October 1905, p603]
1905-6	Gateshead, Workhouse Hospital (extension) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.89, 15 December 1905, p852]
1906	Newcastle, Market Street Extension (advisor with Leeson and Cackett) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.91, 31 August 1906, p289]
1907	Sunderland, Children's Hospital, Durham Road (judge) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.92, 22 March 1907, p417]
1908	Newcastle, Kenton Lodge, Grandstand Road [Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p502]
1908-9	Newcastle, Workhouse Isolation Wards [<i>Building News</i> , vol.94, 26 June 1908, p944]
1908-10	Newcastle, Alliance Assurance Offices, Pilgrim Street/Mosley Street [<i>Building News</i> , vol.99, 1 July 1910, p15 and plate]
1910-11	Shotley Bridge, 4 Cottage Homes for Gateshead Union [<i>Builder</i> , vol.98, 21 May 1910, p594]
1910-12	Shotley Bridge, Whinney House Tuberculosis Hospital [<i>Building News</i> , vol.98, 1 April 1910, p464]
1911-19	Newcastle, Crippled Children's Home, Gosforth (alterations to house - without fee) [TWAS, DX 956/3/1-4 and 4/1; <i>Building News</i> , vol.100, 26 May 1911, p731]
1913	Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College Extension (invited entrant) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.104, 21 February 1913, p271]
1913	Newcastle, Bamboro Electric Theatre, Union Road, Byker [merciacmema.org.uk]
1914	Durham, Workhouse Hospital (invited entrant) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.107, 21 August 1914, p196]

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W.L. Newcombe

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RIBA Journal, vol.54, June 1947, p442. Obituary.

P.C. Newcombe

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OLIVER AND LEESON

Thomas Oliver Junior, FMBA [1824-1902]

Thomas Oliver was born in Newcastle on 8 September 1824. He was the third son of Thomas Oliver (1791-1857), the well-known Newcastle architect and surveyor. It is not known where Oliver was schooled, but he was trained by his father and worked in the office of John Dobson. Rather than joining his father's practice he worked in York as a railway surveyor, before commencing independent practice in Sunderland in 1847. In these early years he designed mainly in the Classical style and produced one of his most effective buildings in the Londonderry Institute, Seaham Harbour (1853-5), a very pure Classical composition. After his father's death in 1857 he returned to Newcastle to take over the practice. At various times he specialised in public baths and washhouses, Congregational chapels and schools. It seems that he had a planned strategy to obtain work in areas where building activity was plentiful. In 1853 the English Congregational Chapel Building Society invited architects to submit plans that could be used in some 50 chapels over the next five years. Oliver produced a model chapel which was selected as one of five designs by four architects. He designed at least twenty three Congregational chapels, which suggests that he was connected with the denomination, though no evidence of Oliver's religious affiliations has come to light. Robert Lamb joined him in partnership from 1857-1861. Oliver was elected FRIBA on 26 March 1866 on the nomination of J. Boulton, R.J. Johnson and J.P. Pritchett. He applied for the post of Northumberland County Architect and was among the final three candidates, but was not appointed. Oliver moved into school design after the Elementary Education Act of 1870 forced many towns to greatly increase school accommodation. Many commissions were gained by competition. In 1871 Oliver was appointed Architect to the South Shields School Board and Joint Architect to Newcastle School Board, along with R.J. Johnson and F.R.N. Haswell. He was involved with at least 28 public educational institutions as a designer, competitor or assessor. For part of his career he operated from Bank Chambers, Mosley Street, Newcastle.

Oliver joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1857 and was a founder member of the Northern Architectural Association in 1858. He served as Secretary from 1859-69, 1872-6 and in 1883, and was President in 1870 and 1877-9. This was the longest

period of service to the Association in the nineteenth century. In the 1860s he became a councillor for the St. Andrew's and All Saints' Wards in Newcastle, where he argued for sanitary reform and better housing for workers. The Corporation utilised his professional skills in plans to extend Grainger Street and he supported plans to develop the Quayside.

In 1879 Oliver entered partnership with Richard John Leeson. W.H. Wood became a partner in 1898 and the firm continued as Oliver, Leeson and Wood. Oliver died in 1902, but the firm continued until 1911, when R.J. Leeson retired and Wood commenced independent practice. The partnership was taken over by George Dale Oliver (1851-1928) and N.E. Leeson. W.H. Knowles became senior partner c. 1914 and continued the firm until his death. The firm was one of the most important and extensive in the North East. A number of architects were trained in the firm or worked as assistants. Robert Lamb was a pupil and became an assistant and partner. F. Clark and W.J. Moscrop both trained in the firm before working together in Darlington. J.J. Lish became Oliver's senior assistant before commencing independent practice. J.W. Taylor, K. Glover; A.P. Farthing and M.H. Graham all worked in the firm before practising in Newcastle. Oliver was married twice and outlived both wives. He had five daughters and a son, George Dale, who practised as an architect in Carlisle before taking over the firm on the retirement of R.J. Leeson. Oliver died on 24 April 1902 at his home, Ennerdale, Fernwood Road, Jesmond and was buried in Jesmond Cemetery.

Publications

Baths and Wash-houses: their intention, construction and cost. Illustrated with plans, elevations, sections & c., 1851.

A Series of 20 designs for New Chapels in the Gothic, Italian, Byzantine and Norman Styles of Architecture, erected in various Counties in England and Scotland and suitable for Towns, Suburbs and Villages, 1856.

Ventilation, 1864.

Designs for Proposed New Congregational Church, Newcastle upon Tyne, July 1881.

Robert Lamb, FRIBA

Robert Lamb was a pupil of Thomas Oliver from 1848-53. He subsequently worked in London as an assistant to Arthur Shean Newman (1828-73) from 1853-5, then returned to Newcastle and joined Oliver as assistant from 1855-8 and as a full partner from 1858-61. After leaving the firm he served as Assistant Engineer to the Rhymney Railway from 1862-6. He then worked as managing assistant for John Ross in Darlington from 1866-70 and then as a partner. He was nominated for ARIBA on 29 November 1869 on the nomination of T. Oliver, R.J. Johnson and A.S. Newman and for FRIBA on 2 December 1872 by Oliver, Johnson and John Ross. He was a founder member of the Northern Architectural Association. As a Presbyterian, he served as an Elder and Sunday School Superintendent at North Road Chapel, Darlington. He resided at Feethams, Darlington from 1869-78. In 1879 he moved to New Zealand due to ill health and the Northern Architectural Association made him a presentation when he emigrated.

Buildings

1856	London, De Beauvoir Presbyterian Chapel, London Wall (3 rd premium) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.15, 1856, p501]
1856	South Shields, Cemetery (1 st premium) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.14, 1856, p56, 295 and 451]
1861-2	Blyth, United Presbyterian Chapel [<i>Builder</i> , vol.19, 26 October 1861, p739]
1863	Gateshead, Town Hall (entrant in competition) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.21, 1863, pp375, 469]
1873	Northallerton, Town Hall [<i>Architect</i> , vol.4, 10, 30 August 1873, p111] Ross and Lamb
1876	Newcastle, Assize Courts (initial plan) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.34, 6 May 1876, p444]
1877	Gateshead, Drill Hall [<i>British Architect</i> , vol.4, 27 July 1877, p48] T. and R. Lamb
1892-1907	Napier, New Zealand, St. Patrick's Church [Information from Graham Potts]

Richard John Leeson [d. 1914]

R.J. Leeson was born in Norwich and initially practiced there, but joined in partnership with Thomas Oliver in 1879. He later worked in partnership with W.H. Wood until he retired in 1911. He often acted as a professional assessor in architectural competitions. He joined the Northern Architectural Association, but does not seem to have been associated with the RIBA or any other national professional body. It is difficult to assess his contribution to the practice because the obituaries of both Oliver and Leeson list the same commissions. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquarians in 1899. He was an Officer in the Cullercoats Volunteer Life Brigade. He of Northumberland County Council and of the Tyne Salmon Conservancy Board. In 1912 he was operating from 90 Pilgrim Street, Newcastle. He lived in Cullercoats but retired to Lacock in Wiltshire, where he died and was buried on 10 January 1914. Two sons, Noel and Richard, entered the firm and practised under the style of Oliver, Leeson and Sons, but the partnership was dissolved in October 1913.

Richard John Hugh Leeson [b.1882]

Richard John Hugh Leeson was educated at Durham School from 1897-1900, where he achieved success as a sportsman. He was articled to his father's firm and was a full partner until 1913, when Knowles came in as senior partner. He was also a special constable. He retired to Harrogate in 1924.

Noel Ernest Leeson [b.1884]

Noel Leeson was educated at Durham School from 1898-1901. He joined the firm and served in the Royal Engineers as an NCO. He lived in Hexham.

William Henry Wood

W.H. Wood received architectural training in the office of C. Hodgson Fowler of Durham from 1874-9. This was predominantly an ecclesiastical practice and Gothic was the main style. Wood worked as Fowler's assistant from 1879-1885. In 1885 he became Head Assistant in the firm of Oliver and Leeson and became a full partner in 1898. He was operating from 28 Eldon Square in 1906 and from Milburn House in 1908. Wood was negotiating a partnership

C.H. Fowler when the latter died in 1910. Wood took over his practice and completed a number of commissions that were in hand at the time of Fowler's death. He relocated to Newcastle in 1912 and formed a partnership with Edwin Fewster Waugh Liddle (b.1869). He was elected FRIBA on 11 June 1906, having been nominated by Joseph Oswald, C.H. Fowler and F.W. Rich. He took Edmund Oakley into partnership in 1927, but retired to Wark, Northumberland c. 1933.

Buildings

Thomas Oliver Junior, 1847-1856

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1848 | Sunderland, Temperance Hall (1 st premium)
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 25 August 1848] |
| 1849 | Sunderland, St. George's Presbyterian Day Schools
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 21 September 1849, p5] |
| 1849-50 | Berwick, Congregational Chapel
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.8, 5 January 1850, pp8-9; Latimer, J. (1857) <i>Local Records</i> , p260] |
| 1849-50 | Sunderland, Schools, Bethel Congregational Chapel, Villiers Street
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 25 January 1850] |
| 1850 | Sunderland, Schools, Flag Lane Chapel
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 28 December 1849, p5] |
| 1850 | Sunderland, 1 House, North Bridge Street, Monkwearmouth
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 10 May 1850, p1] |
| 1850 | Sunderland, Estate Plan for R. Fenwick, Borough Road/Crowtree Road
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 16 August 1850, p1] |
| 1850 | Monument to Sir Robert Peel (design shown - not built)
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 6 December 1850, p4] |
| 1851 | Sunderland, Public Baths and Wash-houses, Hendon Road
[Fordyce, T. (1876) <i>Local Records</i> , p266; <i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 11 April 1851, pp5; <i>Builder</i> , vol.8, 8 June 1851, p274 and 15 June 1851, p284] |
| 1851 | Sunderland, 1 House, Tunstall Road
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 31 January 1851, p1] |
| 1851-2 | Sunderland, Ebenezer Congregational Chapel, Fawcett Street (attributed to Reverend R.W. McAll)
[Fordyce, W. (1856) <i>The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham</i> , vol.2, pp447-8] |
| 1851-3 | South Shields, Public Baths and Washhouses, Commercial Road
[<i>Sunderland Herald</i> , 7 November 1851, p4; <i>Builder</i> , vol.11, 3 September 1853, p561] |
| 1852 | West Boldon, 1 House
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 30 January 1852, p1] |

- 1852 Sunderland, Plan for Villas
[*Sunderland Herald*, 22 October 1852, p4]
- 1852 Sunderland, Estate Plan for William Hill, Ryhope Lane/Tunstall Lane
[*Sunderland Herald*, 17 September 1852, p4]
- 1852 West Boldon, Estate Plan
[*Gateshead Observer*, 10 April 1852, p5]
- 1852-3 Seaham Harbour, 4 Shops and Houses
[*Sunderland Herald*, 17 September 1852, p4]
- 1853 Grantham, Public Baths and Washhouses
[*Builder*, vol.11, 1 October 1853, p618]
- 1853-5 Seaham Harbour, Londonderry Literary Institute
[Fordyce, W. (1856) *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol.2, p593; *Builder*, vol.11, 26 February 1853, p139]
- 1854 Sunderland, 1 House, Ryhope Road
[*Sunderland Herald*, 1854]
- 1854 South Shields, House and Office, Frederick Road
[*Sunderland Herald*, 5 May 1854, p4]
- 1854 South Shields, Baths and Washhouses, John Streey
[Latimer, J. (1857) *Local Records*, p247]
- 1854 Sunderland, Corner House and Office, Dock Street
[*Sunderland Herald*, 2 June 1854, p4]
- 1854 East Boldon, Estate Plan, near Cleadon Road Station
[*Sunderland Herald*, 11 August 1854, p4]
- 1854-5 Seaham Harbour, 1 House
[*Sunderland Herald*, 2 September 1854, p4]
- 1855 South Shields, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel
[*Sunderland Herald*, 5 January 1855, p4]
- 1855 Lynn, Public Baths
[*Sunderland Herald*, 20 July 1855, p4]
- 1855 Sunderland, Estate Plan, Ryhope Road (near Ashburn House)
[*Sunderland Herald*, 31 August 1855, p4]
- 1855 West Hartlepool, Covered Market (1st premium, not built - design by R. Murray used)
[Wood, R. (1967) *West Hartlepool: the rise and development of a Victorian new town*, p92]
- 1855-6 West Hartlepool, Congregational Chapel
[Latimer, J. (1857) *Local Records*, p360; *Builder*, vol.20, 6 September 1862, p642]
- 1855-6 Seaham Harbour, Congregational Chapel, Tempest Place
[Fordyce, W. (1856) *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 2, p592; *Newcastle Chronicle*, 16 March 1855, p1]
- 1855-6 Manchester, Congregational Chapel, Higher Broughton (1st premium)

- [*Builder*, vol.13, 1855, p345; *Builder*, vol.14, 1856, p671 and plate]
- 1855-6 Nottingham, Albion Congregational Chapel, Sneinton
[*Congregational Year Book*, 1857, p198]
- 1855-6 Sunderland, Mere Knolls Cemetery, Monkwearmouth (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.13, 1855, p203; Wade, S.J. (1869) *Stranger's Guide to Sunderland and Neighbourhood*, p16]
- 1856 Gateshead, Ravensworth Vale, Estate Plan
[*Sunderland Herald*, 26 February 1856, p4]
- 1856 Middlesbrough, St. George's Congregational Chapel and School, East Street
(1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.14, 1856, p46; *Congregational Year Book*, 1857, p199]
- 1856 Hartlepool, Independent Chapel, Tower Street
[Hartlepool Museum Service (1984) *Bricks and Mortar: A Celebration of Architecture in Hartlepool 1834-1984*, p13]
- 1856-7 Newcastle, United Presbyterian Chapel, Elswick Terrace
[*Newcastle Courant*, 30 June 1857, p1]
- 1857 Derby, Baths and Washhouse (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.15, 1857, p261]
- 1857 Redcar, Congregational Chapel
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 10 August 1855, p8]
- 1857 Scarborough, Congregational Chapel (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.15, 1857, p15]
- 1857-8 South Shields, United Presbyterian Chapel and School, Mile End Road
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 30 January 1857, p8]
- 1857-8 Blackburn, Congregational Chapel, Grimshaw Park
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 14 November 1856, p8 and 12 March 1858, p8]
- 1858 North Yorkshire, Congregational Chapel
[Information from Graham Potts]

Oliver and Lamb, 1857-1861

- 1858 Scarborough, Infirmary (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.16, 1858, pp838 and 877]
- 1858 Edinburgh, Trinity Church (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.16, 1858, pp146, 162 and 483]
- 1858 Newcastle, Gallowgate Baths
[*Sunderland Herald*, 16 April 1858, p1; *Illustrated London News*, vol.35, 13 August 1859, pp159-60 and 162]
- 1858-9 Stockton, Baths and Washhouses, Portrack Lane
[*Newcastle Courant*, 7 May 1858, p1]
- 1859 Sunderland, Havelock Monument (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.17, 1859, pp204 and 261]
- 1859 Newcastle, St. James's Congregational Chapel, Blackett Street

[Bruce, J.C. (1863) *A Handbook to Newcastle*, p130]

- 1859-61 Liverpool, Welsh Presbyterian Chapel, Chatham Street (1st premium)
[Pevsner, N., Hartwell, C. and Hyde, M. (2004) *The Buildings of England: Lancashire, Manchester and South East*, p202; *Builder*, vol.17, 1859, p541; *Builder*, vol.19, 19 October 1861]
- 1859-62 South Shields, 17 Additional Master Mariners' Cottages, Broughton Road
[*Newcastle Courant*, 31 August 1860, p8]
- 1860 Skinningrove, North Riding Infirmary (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.18, 1860, p479]
- 1860 Newcastle, Savings Bank (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.18, 1860, p823]
- 1860 Shotley Bridge, Town Hall
[Cunningham, C. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, p267]
- 1860-1 Newcastle, Gospel Diffusion Chapel, Bath Lane
[Bruce, J.C. (1863) *A Handbook to Newcastle*, p131]
- 1860-1 Tynemouth, Clock Tower (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.18, 1860, p688; Pevsner, N. (1957) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p300]
- 1860-4 Filey, Congregational Chapel (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.18, 1860, p688]
- 1861 Newcastle, 2 Storey Cottages, Spital Tongues
[*Newcastle Courant*, 17 May 1861, p1]
- 1861 Newcastle, Congregational Chapel, Bath Lane
[*Builder*, vol.19, 12 January 1861, p29]
- 1861-3 Bolton, Congregational Chapel, St. George's Road
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, 27 September 1861, p1; Pevsner, N., Hartwell, C. and Hyde, M. (2004) *The Buildings of England: Lancashire, Manchester and South East*, p80]
- 1862-3 Egremont, United Presbyterian Chapel
[*Newcastle Courant*, 18 April 1862, p1]
- 1863 Newcastle, Mechanics' Institute (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.21, 1863, p619]

Thomas Oliver, 1862-1879

- 1863 Newcastle, Leazes Park Plan (not executed)
[Green, F. (1995) *A Guide to the Historic Parks and Gardens of Tyne and Wear*, p34]
- 1863-4 Hexham, United Presbyterian Chapel
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1863-5 Crediton, Congregational Chapel, High Street
[Stell, C. (1991) *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in South-West England*, p71 and plate]
- 1863-8 Newcastle, Mechanics Institute, New Bridge Street (1st premium)

[*Builder*, vol.21, 1863, p619; *Illustrated London News*, vol.46, 29 April 1865, pp405-6; *Builder*, vol.26, 15 February 1868, p121]

- 1864 Newcastle, Monument to W.T. Carr, St. Andrew's Church
[*Newcastle Courant*, 8 January 1864]
- 1865 South Shields, Theatre (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.23, 29 April 1865, p302]
- 1865 Peasley Cross, St. Helen's Congregational Chapel
[*Builder*, vol.23, 23 December 1865, p913]
- 1865 Tow Law, United Presbyterian Chapel, Bridge Street
[*Durham Chronicle*, 1 December 1865, p5]
- 1865-6 Newcastle, United Presbyterian Chapel, Walker
[*Builder*, vol.23, 25 November 1865, p840]
- 1866 Willington Quay, United Presbyterian Chapel
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1866 Newcastle, Congregational School and Orphanage, Bath Lane
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1866-7 Tynemouth, Congregational Chapel
[*Builder*, vol.24, 1866, p174 and plate; *Builder*, vol.25, 23 February 1867, p138]
- 1866-7 Newcastle, St. Andrew's Church (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p426; *Builder*, vol.25, 2 February 1867, p86]
- 1866-9 Whitley Bay, Prudhoe Convalescent Home (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.24, 1866, p173; *Builder*, vol.25, 15 June 1867, p433; *Building News*, vol.17, 24 September 1869, p245; *Illustrated London News*, vol.55, 9 October 1869, p357 and 368]
- 1867 Gateshead, Town Hall (1st premium, not built)
[*Builder*, vol.25, 1867, pp514; 736]
- 1867-8 Newcastle, Ragged and Industrial Schools, Carlton Street (Brunel Wing)
[*Builder*, vol.25, 19 October 1867, p771; *Builder*, vol.26, 23 May 1868, p379]
- 1867-8 Gateshead, Albert Memorial Schools, Catherine Terrace (1st premium with A.E. Swan)
[*Builder*, vol.25, 27 April 1867, p296]
- 1867-8 Gateshead, Masonic Hall
[*Durham Chronicle*, 22 November 1867, p7]
- 1868 Alston, Church (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.26, 1868, p433]
- 1868-9 Cullercoats, Primitive Methodist Chapel
[*Building News*, vol.17, 6 August 1869, p114; *Builder*, vol.26, 1868, p950]
- 1868-70 Sunderland, Trinity United Presbyterian Chapel, Toward Road
[*Builder*, vol.28, 16 April 1870, p310]
- 1869 Cullercoats, Hotel on Bay

- [*Building News*, vol.16, 30 April 1869, p397; *Architect*, vol.1, 8 May 1869, p251]
- 1869 Newcastle, Abattoir
[*Architect*, vol.1, 29 May 1869, p287; *Builder*, vol. 27, 11 December 1869, p991]
- 1869 Newcastle, Mission Chapel and House
[*Architect*, vol.1, 29 May 1869, p267]
- 1869 Newcastle, Jesmond Towers, Bermersyde Drive (new wing)
[McGuire, D.F. (1988) *Charles Mitchell*, p26 and plate]
- 1869 Liverpool, Congregational Chapel, Toxteth Park (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.27, 22 May 1869, p412]
- 1869 Newcastle, Rutherford Schools, Locke Street
[*Architect*, vol.2, 27 November 1869, p267]
- 1869-70 Newcastle, Chapel School, Lake Street
[*Architect*, vol.2, 27 November 1869, p267]
- 1869-70 Newcastle, Drill Hall and Gymnasium, Locke Street
[*Builder*, vol.28, 15 January 1870, p44]
- 1870-1 Newcastle, Church Schools, Bath Lane
[*Builder*, vol.28, 23 July 1870, p591; *Architect*, vol.6, 9 December 1871, p295]
- 1870-2 Saltburn, Convalescent Home (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.30, 21 December 1872, pp1003-1004; Fordyce, T. (1876) *Local Records*, p50]
- 1871 Gateshead, Board Schools (1st in 4 competitions)
[*Architect*, vol.6, 25 November 1871, p268]
- 1871-2 Newcastle, United Presbyterian Chapel, Westmoreland Road
[*Builder*, vol.30, 15 June 1872, p473, *Architect*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p263]
- 1872 Sunderland, Workman's Dwellings for Corporation (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.22, 16 February 1872, p139]
- 1872 Sunderland, Board School, James William Street (3rd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.23, 4 October 1872, p269]
- 1872 Gateshead, United Presbyterian Chapel, Berwick Road (entrant in competition)
[*Builder*, vol.30, 1872, p341]
- 1873-5 Newcastle, Board School, Bell Terrace
[*British Architect*, vol.4, 8 January 1875, p20]
- 1874 Gateshead, Board School, Prior Street
[*British Architect*, vol.1, 2 January 1874, p13]
- 1874 South Shields, Board Schools, Ocean Road
[*Builder*, vol.42, 7 August 1874, p92; *Architect*, vol.12, 8 August 1874, p73]
- 1874 Gateshead, Board School, Newsham
[*Architect*, vol.12, 8 August 1874, p74]

- 1874-5 South Shields, Board Schools, Cone Street
[*British Architect*, vol.1, 30 January 1874, p77]
- 1874-5 Byker, Bainbridge Memorial Wesleyan Methodist Chapel
[*Builder*, vol.44, 20 August 1875, p105]
- 1874-5 Durham, Miner's Hall, North Road
[*Durham Chronicle*, 30 June 1874, p4; Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p250]
- 1874-6 Blyth, Board School, Cowpen Quay
[*Architect*, vol.12, 8 August 1874, p74; *Builder*, vol.34, 19 August 1876, p818]
- 1874-6 Blyth, English Presbyterian Chapel, Waterloo Road
[*Builder*, vol.28, 22 January 1870, p73; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p194]
- 1875-6 Newcastle, Sailors' Bethel, Horatio Street
[*British Architect*, vol.4, 6 August 1875, p77]
- 1876 Nottingham, University (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.34, 1876, pp1101-2; *Architect*, vol.17, 1877, pp144, 178 and illustration]
- 1877 Gateshead, Board School, Sheriff Hill
[*Builder*, vol.35, 10 March 1877, p248]
- 1877 Westwood, Board Schools (3rd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.35, 1877, p919]
- 1877 Medomsley, Board Schools (3rd premium)
[*British Architect*, vol.8, 7 September 1877, p131]
- 1877 Gateshead, Board Schools, Askew Road
[*British Architect*, vol.8, 23 November 1877, p252; *British Architect*, vol.8, 22 December 1877, p1283]
- 1877-8 Newcastle, School of Science and Art
[*British Architect*, vol.8, 30 November 1877, p263]
- 1877-8 Bill Quay, Board School
[*Architect*, vol.20, 16 November 1878, p276; *Builder*, vol.37, 18 January 1879, p81]
- 1877-8 High Felling, Board School
[*Architect*, vol.20, 14 September 1878, p145; *Builder*, vol.37, 18 January 1879, p81]
- 1878 Low Fell, Board School
[*Architect*, vol.20, 14 September 1878, p146]
- 1878 Private Chapel for Earl of Zetland
[*Architect*, vol.20, 26 October 1878, p228]

Oliver and Leeson, 1879-1897

- 1878-80 Gateshead, Day Industrial School, Windmill Hill
[*Builder*, vol.37, 11 January 1879, p60; Lovie, D.B. and Taylor, S. (2004) *Gateshead: architecture in a changing English urban landscape*, p22 and plate]

- 1879 Gateshead, Infant School
[*Builder*, vol.37, 11 January 1879, p60]
- 1879 Newcastle, Board School, Westmorland Road (extensions)
[*Architect*, vol.21, 21 June 1879, p374]
- 1879 Hexham, Improvements to Schools for School Board
[*Builder*, vol.37, 12 July 1879, p787]
- 1879 Southport, Convalescent Home (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 1879, pp1034, 1075 and 1257]
- 1879 Newcastle, Schools, Corporation Street (Art and Science rooms)
[*Builder*, vol.37, 25 October 1879, p1183]
- 1879 City of London School, Victoria Embankment (entrant in competition)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p101]
- 1879-80 South Shields, Infant School, Laygate Lane
[*Builder*, vol.37, 5 April 1879, p387]
- 1879-80 Newcastle, Memorial to Charles Larkin, Elswick Cemetery
[Newcastle City Library, *Local Biography*, vol.1, p304]
- 1880-2 Newcastle, Congregational Chapel, Heaton Road
[*British Architect*, vol.17, 19 May 1882, p237; *Builder*, vol.42, 17 June 1882, p753]
- 1881 Gateshead, Board School, Durham Road
[*Architect*, vol.25, 15 January 1881, p51]
- 1881 Gateshead, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Durham Road
[*Architect*, vol.25, 16 April 1881, p272]
- 1881 Newcastle, St. James's Congregational Chapel (entrant in limited competition)
[Binfield, J.C.G. 'The Building of a Town Centre Church: St. James's Congregational Church, Newcastle upon Tyne', *Northern History*, vol.18, 1982, p154]
- 1882 Gateshead, Higher Grade School, Durham Road (1st premium)
[*British Architect*, vol.17, 6 January 1882, p4; *Monthly Chronicle*, October 1890, p449]
- 1882 Gateshead, Board School
[*British Architect*, vol.18, 28 July 1882, p356]
- 1882 Richmond, Coffee Tavern, King Street
[*British Architect*, vol.17, 30 June 1882, p311]
- 1882-3 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel
[*British Architect*, vol.17, 19 May 1882, p237]
- 1883 South Shields, School, Laygate Lane
[*Architect*, vol.29, 24 March 1883, p200]
- 1883 Heworth, Board School, Windy Nook
[*Architect*, vol.29, 26 May 1883, p362]

- 1883 South Shields, Westoe School (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.44, 1883, p552]
- 1884 Crook, St. Catherine's Church (chancel - initial plan by Thomas Walton)
[www.churchplansonline.org; *Durham Chronicle*, 11 July 1884, p5]
- 1884-5 South Shields, High School for Boys
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 31 May 1884, p4]
- 1884-5 Gateshead, Venerable Bede and Parish Hall, Sunderland Road (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.46, 25 January 1884, p149]
- 1884-6 Sunnybrow, St. John's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1885 Gateshead, St. Paul's Church, Askew Road Low Team (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.46, 25 January 1884, p125]
- 1885 Consett, St. Aidan's Church, Blackhill
[*Durham Chronicle*, 24 April 1885, p8]
- 1885-6 Newbottle, St. Matthew's Church
[*Sunderland Daily Echo*, 23 June 1886, p3]
- 1885-6 Dipton, St. John the Evangelist's Church
[*Durham Chronicle*, 3 July 1885, p7; Durham County Record Office, EP/Dip4/12-14]
- 1885-7 Wallsend, St. Luke's Church, Station Road (nave and aisles)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1885-92 Norwich, Norwich and Ely Diocesan Teacher Training College (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.48, 1885, p320; *Builder*, vol.63, 19 November 1892 and plate]
- 1886 Gateshead, Workhouse Extensions (entrant)
[*Building News*, vol.50, 26 February 1886, p337]
- 1886 Tynemouth, Congregational Chapel (lecture hall and school)
[*Building News*, vol.50, 12 March 1886, p438]
- 1886-8 Sunderland, Board Schools, Hylton Road (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.51, 29 October 1886, p645; *Building News*, vol.55, 14 September 1888, p357]
- 1886-98 Newcastle, St. Luke's Church, Claremont Road
[TWAS, DT.WO/8/282-90 and 293-8; *Architect*, vol.21, 28 June 1879, p388]
- 1887 Gilling, Low Lodge (stables)
[Hatcher, C.J. (1990) *Richmondshire Architecture*, p100]
- 1887 Ashe House (conversion of stable to chapel)
[Hatcher, C.J. (1990) *Richmondshire Architecture*, p8]
- 1887 Newcastle, Model Dwellings, Jubilee Exhibition, Park Terrace
[*Monthly Chronicle*, 1887, p112] R.J. Leeson
- 1887 Dulwich, Alleyn's School (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.53, 25 November 1887, p812]
- 1887 Newcastle, Model Housing for Jubilee Exhibition

- [*Building News*, vol.53, 23 September 1887, p492] R.J. Leeson
- 1887-8 Newcastle, Technical and Training College, Bath lane (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.54, 23 March 1888, p424 and plate]
- 1888 Bangor, Friars' School (2nd premium)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p7; *Builder*, vol.56, 27 April 1889 and plates]
- 1888-9 Hexham, Prospect House (alterations)
[Northumberland Record Office, ZLK/ Maps/13]
- 1888-90 Sunderland, Higher Grade School (1st premium)
[*Building News*, vol.54, 15 June 1888, p861; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 28 April 1890, p3]
- 1888-92 Ryton, St. Hilda's Church, Hedgefield
[TWAS, DT.WO/8/354-62; Ruscoe, J.E. (1994) *The Churches of the Diocese of Durham: a pictorial guide*, p84]
- 1888-94 Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College, Bath Lane
[TWAS, DT.WO/8/240-2; *Building News*, vol.54, 3 February 1888, p202; *Builder*, vol.66, 14 April 1894, p295]
- 1889-90 Newcastle, Girls' High School, Tankerville Terrace, Jesmond
[TWAS, DT.WO/8/241-6; *Monthly Chronicle*, June 1890, p257; *Building News*, vol.56, 31 May 1889, p778]
- 1890 Newcastle, Flour Mills, Mosley Street
[*British Architect*, vol.32, 8 November 1889, pvii]
- 1890 Newcastle, Empire Theatre
[*Builder*, vol.59, 6 December 1890; Mellor, G. (1970) *The Northern Music Hall: A century of popular entertainment*, p123]
- 1890-1 Dunston, Co-operative Wholesale Society Mills (with John Thompson CE)
[*Building News*, vol.60, 24 April 1891, p590]
- 1890-6 Staincross, Yorkshire, St. John the Divine's Church
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1891 Newcastle, Town Hall Scheme (not built)
[*Builder*, vol.60, 17 January 1891, p53]
- 1891-2 Broomhill, Co-operative Stores
[*Builder*, vol.60, 21 February 1891, p156; *Builder*, vol.62, 30 January 1892, p87]
- 1891-3 Newcastle, Tyne Theatre (saloon and adjoining shops and offices)
[*Builder*, vol.65, 16 December 1893]
- 1891-4 Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church, Calton Road (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.61, 1891, p103; *Building News*, vol.63, 11 November 1892, p665 and plate]
- 1892 Newcastle, St. Luke's Church, Claremont Road, Spital Tongues
[Prins, S. and Massingberd-Mundy, R. (eds.) (1982) *The Newcastle Diocesan Gazetteer: A Guide to the Anglican Church in Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland*, p60] W.H. Wood

- 1892 Newcastle, Art Gallery Theatre (with George Connell)
[Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950*, p279]
- 1892 Sacriston, St. Peter's Church (north aisle and porch)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1893 Newcastle, Olympia Hall, Northumberland Street (with T.R. Milburn)
[*Building News*, vol.64, 23 June 1893, p856]
- 1893 Cullercoats, Bay Hotel (extension and remodelling)
[*Building News*, vol.64, 19 May 1893, p692]
- 1893 Newcastle, Chillingham Road Board School
[Newcastle School Board, *Eighth Triennial Report*, 1892-4, p11]
- c. 1893 Newcastle, Pape's Building, Pink Lane
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p66]
- 1893-4 Newcastle, Eldon Buildings, 29-33 Blackett Street
[*Builder*, vol.66, 5 May 1894, p355; Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p21]
- 1893-4 Hexham, Henry King Memorial Almshouses, Hallstile Bank
[*Building News*, vol.66, 16 February 1894, p217 and plate]
- 1893-5 Sunderland, Board School, Chester Road (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452]
- 1894 Newcastle, Water Company Offices (invited entrant in competition)
[*Building News*, vol.66, 26 January 1894, p137]
- 1894 Hartlepool, Board School, Hart Road (R.J. Leeson - judge)
[Hartlepool Museum Service (1984) *Bricks and Mortar: A Celebration of Architecture in Hartlepool 1834-1984*, p4]
- 1894 West Hartlepool, Technical School and Public Hall (T. Oliver - judge)
[*Building News*, vol.66, 9 March 1894, p325]
- 1894 Sunderland, Board School, Hudson Road (3rd premium)
[*Building News*, vol.66, 1 June 1894, p745]
- 1894 Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church (extension)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1894-5 Gateshead, Board School, Brighton Avenue
[*Builder*, vol.66, 24 February 1894, p162]
- 1894-5 Gateshead, St. Paul's Mission Room
[*Builder*, vol.66, 26 May 1894, p414]
- 1894-6 Newcastle, Restoration of Cathedral Tower and Crown Steeple
[*Builder*, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452] R.J. Leeson
- 1895 Newcastle, Police Courts (improvements)
[*Building News*, vol.68, 4 January 1895, p48]
- 1895 Whitley Bay, Hotel and Estate Layout (conversion of Whitley Hall)
[*Building News*, vol.68, 22 February 1895, p290]

- 1895 Newcastle, St. Luke's Vicarage
[TWAS, DT.WO/8/291-2]
- 1895-6 Newcastle, Newcastle Chronicle Building, Clayton Street/Bewick Street
[*Building News*, vol.68, 7 June 1895, p801 and plate; *Building News*, vol.70, 22 May 1896, p766]
- 1896 South Shields, Ingham Infirmary Competition (conditions set by R.J. Leeson)
[*Builder*, vol.70, 13 June 1896, p515]
- 1896 Low Fell, Board School
[*Building News*, vol.70, 3 April 1896, p513]
- 1896 Cullercoats, Lifeboat House
[*Building News*, vol.14 August 1896, p249]
- 1896-7 Rochdale, St. Mary's Day and Sunday Schools, Wardlesworth
[*Builder*, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
- 1896-8 Newcastle, Clarendon Temperance Hotel and Shops, Clayton Street West
[*Building News*, vol.74, 24 June 1898, p908]
- 1896-1904 Mitcham, St. Mark's Church (with R.M. Chant of Reading)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1897 Newcastle, Royal Victoria Infirmary (entrant in competition)
[*Building News*, vol.73, 9 July 1897, p43]
- 1897 Newcastle, 44-8 Cloth Market (conversion to coffee rooms)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p465; Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p49]
- 1897 Sacriston, St. Peter's Church (south aisle)
[*Architect*, vol.57, 14 May 1897, p59]
- 1897-9 Newcastle, Collingwood Buildings, 28-62 Collingwood Street (completed by Cackett and Burns Dick)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p492]

Oliver, Leeson and Wood, 1897-1911

- 1897-8 Hexham Grammar School
[*Building News*, vol.72, 30 April 1897, p629]
- 1897-8 Newcastle, Premises, Gresham Place
[*Building News*, vol.72, 4 June 1897, p832]
- 1897-8 Gateshead, School, Nun Lane
[*Building News*, vol.73, 3 September 1897, p352]
- 1898 Low Fell, Provincial Laundry
[*Builder*, vol.75, 6 August 1898, p130]
- 1898 Gateshead, Venerable Bede Parish Hall, Sunderland Road
[*Builder*, vol.75, 29 October 1898, p390]
- 1898 Gateshead, St. Paul's Church Institute, Low Teams
[*Builder*, vol.75, 5 November 1898, p415]
- 1898-9 Felling, 92 Houses (alterations)

- [*Building News*, vol.75, 18 November 1898, pxiii]
- 1898-9 Mundesley, Norfolk, Church (with G.M. Sibley)
[*Building News*, vol.75, 25 November 1898, p751 and plate]
- 1898-9 Newcastle, Shops and Offices, 1-15 Gallowgate
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p461]
- 1898-9 Newcastle, Conference Hall, Blandford Street
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898 and plans]
- 1898-1900 Newcastle, Girls' High School, Jesmond (alterations and additions)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 24 December 1898, p589; *Builder*, vol.78, 21 April 1900, p406]
- 1899 Burnley, Higher Grade Schools (assessor)
[*Builder*, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452]
- 1899 Newcastle, Co-operative Building, West Blandford Street
[*Builder*, vol.74, 27 April 1898; *Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898 and plans]
- 1899 Newcastle, Nurses' Home, Fleming Memorial Hospital
[*Builder*, vol.77, 4 November 1899, p416]
- 1899-1900 Newcastle, Greyhound Inn, Pitt Street (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.76, 9 June 1899, p799]
- 1899-1900 Newcastle, Tram Sheds for 90 Electric Trams, Byker Hill
[*Building News*, vol.77, 22 September 1899, p388]
- 1899-1901 Durham, Johnston Technical Institute, South Street
[*Builder*, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452; *Durham Directory*, 1900, p29; *Durham Directory*, 1902, p24]
- 1900 Gateshead, Durham Road Board Schools (enlargement)
[Batten, J. (1993) *Collingwood House*]
- 1900 Gateshead, Kells Lane Schools, Low Fell
[Batten, J. (1993) *Collingwood House*]
- 1900 Newcastle, Ord Arms, Scotswood (rebuilding)
[*Builder*, vol.78, 19 May 1900, p502]
- 1900 Hexham, Sele Infant School (alterations)
[Northumberland Record Office, ZLK/Maps/15]
- 1901 Newcastle, Warehouse and Offices, 12-14 Dean Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p486]
- 1900-1 Newcastle, Tram shed and Workshops, Walker
[*Building News*, vol.78, 18 February 1900, p229]
- 1900-1 Newcastle, Cathedral Buildings, Dean Street
[*Builder*, vol.78, 3 February 1900, p115]
- 1901-2 Ponteland, Union Cottage Homes, Smallbourne Farm
[*Builder*, vol.80, 23 June 1901, p612]
- 1902 Newcastle, Blackgate House, Side (conducted survey)
[TWAS, DX908/3]

- 1902 Newcastle, Academy of Arts, Blackett Street
[*Builder*, vol.84, 3 January 1903, pp22-3]
- 1902 Longbenton, Westmoor Board School (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.82, 10 January 1902, p78]
- 1902 Longbenton, Benton Square Board School (alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.82, 10 January 1902, p78]
- 1902 Blyth, Co-op Stores, Croft Road
[*Building News*, vol.82, 7 March 1902, p365]
- 1902 Gosforth, House, Culzean Park
[Cox, T.A. (1977) *Gosforth High Street*, Appendix 5]
- c. 1902 Newcastle, 46-70 St. Andrew's Street
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p84]
- 1902-3 Crook, St. Catherine's Institute and Schools
[*Building News*, vol.82, 16 May 1902, p721]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Elswick Grange (extensions for Poor Law Guardians)
[*Building News*, vol.83, 4 July 1902, p35]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Children's Hospital, City Road
[*Building News*, vol.83, 18 July 1902, p99]
- 1902-4 Newcastle, Sun, Fire and Life Office, 23-29 Collingwood Street
[W.H. Wood, FRIBA Papers, British Architectural Library, Biographical File; Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p36]
- 1903 Firtree, St. Mary's Church (alterations)
[Goodhart-Rendel Index]
- 1903 Stockton, Queen Victoria High School (R.J. Leeson - assessor of competition)
[*Builder*, vol.84, 13 June 1903, p613]
- 1903 Blaydon, Blocks of Cottages, Horse Crofts
[*Building News*, vol.84, 30 January 1903, p179]
- 1903 Ferryhill, St. Luke's Church (bell turret, possibly by C.H. Fowler)
[*Building News*, vol.84, 27 March 1903, p464]
- 1903-4 Holystone, Northumberland, School
[*Builder*, vol.84, 20 June 1903, p638]
- 1903-5 Newcastle, Milburn Buildings, Dean Street (with Marshall and Tweedy)
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*, pp11-12; *Builder*, vol.84, 6 June 1903, p596; *Building News*, vol.90, 12 January 1906, p66 and plate]
- 1903-7 Consett, St. Aidan's Church, Blackhill (tower and spire)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/B172-5]
- 1903-9 Newcastle, St. Nicholas' Cathedral (Lady Chapel Altar reredos)
[*Builder*, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
- 1904 Chilton, St. Luke's Iron Mission Church, Windlestone

[Emery, N. *Durham University Journal*, vol.6, 1990, p70; Durham County Record Office, EP/Ch4/I]

- 1904 Middlesbrough, Schools (W.H. Wood - assessor)
[*Building News*, vol.87, 8 July 1904, p42]
- 1904-5 Cullercoats, Marine Laboratory (rebuilt after fire)
[*Building News*, vol.86, 24 June 1904, p924]
- 1905 Seaton Hirst, St. Andrew's Church
[TWAS, DT.SC/61/25]
- 1905 Newcastle, St. Luke's Church (pulpit and screen)
[*Building News*, vol.89, 1905, p543 and plate]
- 1906 Newcastle, Advisor to Market Street/New Bridge Street Improvement Scheme
(with Cackett and Newcombe)
[*Building News*, vol.91, 31 August 1906, p289] R.J. Leeson
- 1906 Gateshead, St. Peter's Church (screen and chancel decoration)
[*Building News*, vol.90, 20 April 1906, p565 and plate]
- 1906 Newcastle Cathedral (churchyard improvements)
[*Building News*, vol.90, 25 May 1906, p737]
- c. 1906 Gateshead, St. Paul's Church, Low Teams (alterations and additions)
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/21/6-14]
- 1906-7 Swalwell, Church
[*Building News*, vol.90, 25 May 1906, p737 and plate]
- 1906-7 Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church, Calton Road (tower)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 24 May 1907, p719 and plate]
- 1906-7 Wallsend, St. Luke's Church, Station Road (tower, spire, chancel and Lady Chapel)
[*Builder*, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p605]
- 1906-7 Swalwell, Parsonage
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/39/54-55]
- 1907 Northumberland, Mansion
[*Building News*, vol.98, 13 November 1910, p653 and plate]
- 1907 Cramlington, Council School (R.J. Leeson - judge)
[*Building News*, vol.93, 4 October 1907, p457]
- 1907-8 Durham, Durham Johnston Technical School, South Street (addition)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 31 May 1907, p773 and plate]
- 1907-8 Northumberland, Country House (enlarged)
[*Building News*, vol.92, 14 June 1907, p821 and plate]
- 1908-9 Newcastle, Memorial to Bishop Lloyd, Newcastle Cathedral
[*Building News*, vol.94, 29 May 1908, p777 and plate; *Building News*, vol.97, 16 July 1909, p81 and plate]

1908-9	Gateshead, St. Mary's Church (repairs) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.96, 16 April 1909, p571]
1909	Newcastle, St. Paul's Church, Havelock Street (fittings) [TWAS, DT.WO/8/3 39-44]
1909	Newburn, Council Offices (Leeson - judge) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.97, 24 September 1909, p474]
1909	Whitby, Secondary School (3 rd premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.97, 1 October 1909, p511]
1909	Newcastle Cathedral (altar in Lady Chapel) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.97, 5 November 1909, p679 and plate]
1909-10	Hexham, Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Bog Acres Farm [<i>Builder</i> , vol.97, 26 February 1910 and plate; Northumberland Record Office, ZLK/GS/27 and 45]
1909-10	Newcastle, Rutherford College, Technical Subjects Annexe [<i>Building News</i> , vol.99, 30 September 1910, p471]
1909-11	Mitcham, St. Mark's Church (chancel, transept and vestries) [www.churchplansonline.org]
1910	Middlesbrough, Linthorpe School (Leeson - assessor) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.98, 11 February 1910, p200]
1910	Newcastle, St. Luke's Church (figures on chancel screen) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.98, 11 February 1910, p224]
1910	Northumberland, Mansion (extensions) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.98, 13 May 1910, p653 and plate]
1910	Earsdon, St. Alban's Church (alterations) [TWAS, DT.WO/5]
1910	Newcastle, Memorial to Bishop Wilberforce [<i>Building News</i> , vol.99, 25 November 1910, p757]
1911	Consett, Technical Institute (assembly hall and art rooms) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
1911	Whitley Bay, Cemetery Buildings (2 nd premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.101, 22 September 1911, p402; <i>Building News</i> , vol.102, 24 May 1912, p739 and plate]
n.d.	Newcastle, Co-operative Stores [W.H. Wood, FRIBA Papers, British Architectural Library, Biographical File]
n.d.	Newcastle, Dial House and Business Premises, Northumberland Street [after 1901 - R.J. Leeson's obituary in <i>Builder</i> , vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
n.d.	Newcastle, St. Luke's Church (pulpit and screen) [after 1901 - R.J. Leeson's obituary in <i>Builder</i> , vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
n.d.	Newcastle, School, Airedale Terrace [W.H. Wood, FRIBA Papers, British Architectural Library, Biographical File]
n.d.	Newcastle, Seamen's Bethel Sunday School

[Ayris, I. and Linsley, S.M. (1994) *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Tyne and Wear*, p25]

- n.d. Newcastle, Warehouse for Spiller and Baker, The Close
[after 1901 - R.J. Leeson's obituary in *Builder*, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
- n.d. Newcastle, Warehouses, Croft Street
[after 1901 - R.J. Leeson's obituary in *Builder*, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85]
- n.d. Newcastle, YMCA
[Newcastle Public Library, *Local Biography*, vol.4, p351]

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T. Oliver Junior

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Builder, vol.11, 3 December 1853, p733.
Builder, vol.82, 3 May 1902, p452. Obituary.
Building News, vol.82, 2 May 1902, p625. Obituary
Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, p675.
Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) *The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950*, p279.
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Newcastle City Library, *Local Biography*, vol.4, p351.
Northern Architectural Association Annual Report, 1903, p4. Obituary.
Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p73.
RIBA Journal, vol.9, 10 May 1902, p345. Obituary.
Sunderland Herald, 12 November 1852, p8.

R. Lamb

Architect, vol.21, 1 February 1879, p67.
Builder, vol.37, 1 February 1879, p134.
Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, p539.

R.J. Leeson

Builder, vol.106, 16 January 1914, p85. Obituary.
Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, p553.
Burbidge, T.H. (1940) *Durham School Register to December 1939*, p400 and 403. R.J.H. Leeson and N.E. Leeson.

W.H. Wood

Architect and Building News, vol.166, 9 May 1941, p82.
Builder, vol.160, 25 April 1941, p404.
British Architectural Library, Biographical File.
Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, p1017.
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Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p73.

OSWALD AND SONS

Septimus Oswald [1823-1894]

Septimus Oswald was born on 18 October 1823. He was the seventh son of Joseph Oswald, a worsted manufacturer of Cannon Street, Gateshead. Originally from Cockermouth, the Oswald family moved to Tyneside in 1766, establishing a woolcombing business in Gateshead. They had relocated to Newcastle by 1787. The business prospered and was able to purchase a steam engine from George Stephenson in 1821 for £300. The wool trade shifted to Yorkshire, however, and by 1839 the family had abandoned manufacture, operating solely as dealers. Septimus Oswald was articled to Andrew Oliver in Newcastle, before working as an assistant to Oliver and to Henry Welsh, County Surveyor for Northumberland. Oswald commenced independent practice on 1 January 1855. In 1876 he took his only son, Joseph, into partnership. Oswald took no professional qualifications, but he was a founding member of the Northern Architectural Association and served as President in 1880. He was a member of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries from 1876-94 and some of his articles were published in their *Proceedings*. As a devoted churchman, he was also a founder and trustee of the Newcastle Church of England Institute. He died on 26 November 1894.

Publications

'On the Church of the Holy Cross, Wallsend', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol.1, p21.

'Articles Existing about 1372 in the Reliquary or Museum of the Church of Durham', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol.2, p125.

'On the Bridge at Bywell', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, 5, p68.

'On the tombstone of Abigail Tyzack (dated 1679) in the Armstrong Park, Newcastle', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle*, vol.6, p23.

Joseph Oswald, FRIBA [1851-1930]

Joseph Oswald was born in Mountain's Court, Pilgrim Street, Newcastle on 19 March 1851, the only son of Septimus Oswald. He was educated at the Royal Grammar School in Newcastle and was articled to his father from 1863-8. He travelled in France and worked as an assistant to his father from 1869-76 and then became a partner. As a student member of the Northern Architectural Association he won a prize for a measured drawing of Lanercost Priory, which was judged by William Burges. He was elected FRIBA on 2 March 1891 on the nomination of W.L. Newcombe, Thomas Oliver and E.J. Hansom. In the same year his father retired due to ill-health. He joined the Northern Architectural Association in 1876 and served on the Council almost continuously. He was Treasurer from 1887-92 and President in 1894-5. He wrote a history of the Association, which was published in the *Annual Report* of 1924-5. He also served on the Council of the RIBA. For many years he was a member of the Board of Examiners in Architecture. He was involved with the development of over 100 public houses in the region. He married Mary Dodds Stephenson, daughter of Charles Stephenson who died in 1922, and they had two sons and two daughters. His son Harold joined the practice in 1899. Joseph Oswald was operating from 33 Mosley Street in 1900. He travelled extensively in Italy, Greece, Russia, Portugal and Morocco, and was well-read. He inherited his father's interest in archaeology and ecclesiology and joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1894. He held various positions including Librarian from 1900-3 and Secretary from 1913-24. He resigned from this position due to ill health. He made several contributions to the *Proceedings* of the Society and to its journal, *Archaeologia Aeliana*. In a similar vein, he was a committee member of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland. Long illness kept him bedridden in his closing years. Joseph Oswald died on 14 January 1930 at his home, 97 Osborne Road.

Publications

'Ecclesiastical Architecture in Newcastle and Gateshead' in Richardson, G.B. and Tomlinson, W.W. (1916) *The Official Handbook to Newcastle and District*. Newcastle: British Association, pp32-8.

'The Northern Architectural Association: a History' in *Northern Architectural Association Annual Report*, 1924-5.

Harold Oswald, FRIBA, JP [1874-1938]

Harold Oswald was the son of Joseph Oswald. He was educated at the Rutherford School of Science and Art in Newcastle and received architectural training in the family firm. After travelling in Europe, he joined the partnership in 1899. He was elected FRIBA and served as President of the Northern Architectural Association from 1934-6. He acted as an arbitrator in cases involving mining subsidence. He acted as an independent surveyor in the dispute over compensation for St. Michael's Church in Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland from Wearmouth Colliery. He continued the family tradition of undertaking public house commissions, but also became known as a designer of racecourses. Like his father and grandfather, Harold Oswald was active in the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries. He served as a Justice of the Peace for Newcastle from 1930-8 and as a Commissioner for Income Tax from 1932-8. A keen musician, he served as Organist and Choirmaster at St. Andrew's Church, Newgate Street from 1902-38 and as conductor of Newcastle Operatic society from 1916. He was based at 2 Worswick Street in 1914 and was residing at Brightside, Granville Road. He died in Scarborough on 28 April 1938, aged 64, and the practice was taken over by his brother Gilbert Oswald.

Publication

The Theatres Royal of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle, 1936.

Gilbert Oswald [d. 1945]

Gilbert Oswald was the brother of Harold and continued the firm after his death. No details of his education or career have come to light. After Gilbert's death in 1945 the firm of J. Oswald and Son was continued by non family members until 1969, making it one of the longest lived practices in the North East.

Buildings

Septimus Oswald, 1855-1876

- 1857 Newcastle, Public Park, Castle Leazes (not executed)
[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol.10, 1913, p284-5]
- 1861 Newcastle, Building Sites, Byker Lane
[*Newcastle Courant*, 15 March 1861]
- 1862 Jarrow, Inn for H. Barrasford
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p92]
- 1867-8 Newcastle, Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Garden Street/Snow Street
[*Builder*, vol.25, 8 June 1867, p416]
- 1869-72 Newcastle, Workhouse Infirmary
[*Builder*, vol.29, 9 January 1869, p52; *Architect*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p258]
- 1870 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Byker Lane
[*Architect*, vol.3, 25 June 1870, p322]
- 1871 Sunderland, Workman's Dwellings (entrant in competition)
[TWAS, 234/4849-50]
- c. 1871 Gateshead, School, Prior Street, Dunston
[TWAS, Drawings]
- 1872 Newcastle, Old Black Bull, Westgate Road
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p70]
- 1872-3 Gateshead, Powell Almshouses (1st premium)
[*Architect*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p258; *British Architect*, vol.2, 16 October 1874, plate]
- 1875 Newcastle, Houses, Hawthorn Street, Elswick
[TWAS, Drawings]
- 1875 Newcastle, Shop Fronts, Blackett Street
[TWAS, Drawings]
- 1875-7 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, West Avenue, Gosforth Park
[*British Architect*, vol.4, 16 July 1875, p40]
- 1877 Westwood, Board School (2nd premium)
[*Architect*, vol.18, 18 September 1877, p136]
- 1877 Medomsley, Board School (2nd premium)
[*British Architect*, vol.8, 7 September 1877, p131]
- 1877 Newcastle, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Bulman Village
[*Architect*, vol.18, 15 September 1877, p150]
- n.d. Jarrow, Building Estate for W.C. James
[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol.10, 1913, pp284-5]
- n.d. Gateshead, Building Estate for W.C. James
[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol.10, 1913, pp284-5]
- n.d. Newcastle, Building Estate, St. Anthony's Parish, for W.C. James

[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol.10, 1913, pp284-5]

n.d. Byker, Building Estate for Edward Collingwood
[*Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol.10, 1913, pp284-5]

S. Oswald and Son, 1876-1899

- 1876-7 Dipton, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Front Street
[*Builder*, vol.35, 16 June 1877, p619]
- 1877 Westwood, Board School (2nd premium)
[*Builder*, vol.35, 1877, p919]
- 1878 Usworth, Board School
[*Architect*, vol.20, 21 September 1878, p160]
- 1881-2 Newcastle, High Gosforth Racecourse (lay out and stands)
[*British Architect*, vol.18, 14 July 1882, p333]
- 1883-5 Morpeth, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Manchester Street
[*Building News*, vol.46, 18 April 1884, p611]
- 1884 Newcastle, YMCA, Blakett Street (conversion of Baptist Chapel)
[*Building News*, vol.46, 25 April 1884, p652; *Building News*, vol.47, 12 December 1884, p962]
- 1885-7 Chester-le-Street, Co-operative Store (extensions - 1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.50, 19 June 1886, p901; *Building News*, vol.50, 28 May 1886, p835]
- 1885 Aydon House (extensions)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p149]
- 1885-6 Newcastle, Bainbridge Memorial Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Heaton Road
[*Builder*, vol.50, 10 April 1886, p527 and plate]
- 1887-8 Newcastle, Business Premises, Bridge Street
[*Building News*, vol.53, 16 September 1887, p455]
- 1887-8 Bolam, 'Gallowhill' for Perkins
[*Building News*, vol.53, 16 September 1887, p455]
- 1888 Gateshead, Holy Trinity Church
[*Building News*, vol.54, 6 April 1888, p494]
- 1890 Hexham, Steeplechase Course (laid out)
[*RIBA Journal*, vol.37, 7 June 1930, p568]
- 1890 and 96 Newcastle, Addison Arms, Heaton
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp95-6]
- 1891 and 1900 North Shields, Berwick Arms, Coach Lane
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp111-3]
- 1891 Newcastle, Duke of Argyle, Argyle Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp94-5]

- 1892 Wheatley Green, Inn
[*BUILDER*, vol.62, 14 May 1892, p388]
- 1892 North Shields, Albion Inn, Albion Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p93]
- 1893 North Shields, Cumberland Grill, East Holborn
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p95]
- 1894 Morpeth, Grey Bull Inn, Oldgate
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p95]
- 1894 Heddon on the Wall, Close House (cricket pavilion)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p311]
- 1894 and 1908 Durham, Half Moon Inn, New Elvet
[Durham County Record Office, ND/Du/13/85, 119, 127; Pearson, L. (1989) Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp101-2]
- 1894-1910 North Shields, Railway Inn
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p101]
- 1895 Byker, Free Trade Inn, St. Laurence's Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p35]
- 1896 Gateshead, Royal Hotel, Prince Consort Road
[*Building News*, vol.71, 25 December 1896, p915]
- 1896-1901 Newcastle, Newcastle Brewery Offices, Haymarket
[*Building News*, vol.83, 14 November 1902, p687 and plate]
- 1897 North Shields, Blyth and Tyne Hotel, Charlotte Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p95]
- 1897-8 Sunderland, Wheatsheaf Inn, Monkwearmouth
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp98-9]
- 1898 Howdon on Tyne, Black Bull Inn (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.74, 18 March 1898, p401]
- 1898 Corbridge, 'Howden Dene' (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.74, 22 April 1898, pxiv]
- 1898 Durham, Victoria Inn, Hallgarth Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p122]
- 1898-9 Blaydon, Stella Staithe Hotel, (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.74, 3 June 1898, p802]
- 1901-2 Chopwell, Board School
[*Building News*, vol.81, 6 September 1901, p338]

J. Oswald and Son, 1899-1969

- 1899-1900 Chopwell, Board School
[*Building News*, vol.77, 6 October 1899, p463]

- 1900 Birtley, 3 Hotels (rebuilding)
[*Building News*, vol.78, 2 March 1900, p319]
- 1900-1 Sunderland, Blue Bell Hotel, Roker Avenue
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p98]
- 1900-1 Annfield Plain, Queen's Head Inn (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.79, 7 September 1900, p345]
- 1901 Sunderland, The Foundry Inn
[TWAS, 234/485, 1-55]
- 1901-2 Seaton Sluice, Astley Arms (rebuild)
[*Building News*, vol.81, 26 July 1901, p127]
- 1901-8 Newcastle, Vine Inn, Bigg Market (interior redesigned)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp20-2]
- 1902 Newcastle, Beehive Inn, 54 Cloth Market
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp23-6]
- 1902 North Shields, Phoenix Inn, Duke Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp50-1]
- 1902 South Shields, Neptune Hotel, Commercial Road
[*Building News*, vol.82, 14 February 1902, p257]
- 1902-3 Newcastle, Newcastle Arms, St. Andrew's Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p23;
Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p84]
- 1903-4 Seaton Sluice, Melton Constable Hotel
[*Building News*, vol.85, 9 October 1903, p501]
- 1904 Byker, Old Hawk Inn
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p137]
- 1904-5 North Shields, Chain Locker Inn, Duke Street
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp47-50]
- 1906 Newcastle, Central Arcade
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p490;
Building News, vol.90, 25 May 1906, p756]
- 1907 Low Felling, Wheatsheaf Inn, Carlisle Street (attributed)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp67-8]

Sources

- Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p74.
Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp92-103.

Septimus Oswald

Archaeologia Aeliana, series 3, vol.10, 1913, pp284-5.

Joseph Oswald

Dendy, F.W. 'A Memoir of the Late Joseph Oswald', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 4, vol.7, 1930, pp179-83.

RIBA Journal, vol.37, 7 June 1930, p568. Obituary.

Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p168.

ARTHUR BENJAMIN PLUMMER, JP, FRIBA, FRSI, MREAS [1855-1925]



Figure 11 A.B. Plummer (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*. Brighton: W.T. Pike & Co).

A.B. Plummer was born on 16 December 1855 in Queen Square, Newcastle. His father, Alderman Benjamin Plummer JP, was a plumber and brass founder, as well as Chairman of Newcastle Water Company. After education at Durham School from 1871-2, he attended classes at the Royal Academy, the RIBA and the London Architectural Society, where he won a prize for a measured drawing of Waltham Abbey, which was published in *The Builder*, 1879, p1153. He took additional classes at the Royal Academy, before travelling in Europe. Returning to Newcastle, he was articled to Matthew Thompson, FRIBA from 1873-7 and then worked as an improver for James Edmeston (1823/4-1898) from 1877-8 and as an assistant to H.L. Hammack and Thomas John Lambert in London from 1879-82. He settled in Newcastle in March 1882 and commenced independent practice. His work was mainly ecclesiastical in character and he was a member of the Ecclesiastical Surveyors Association. In 1892 he was appointed Diocesan Surveyor for the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne. Plummer became ARIBA on 3 January 1881 on the nomination of J. Edmeston, Charles Barry and T.L. Donaldson. He was elected FRIBA on 3 June 1889 by Edmeston, Barry and E.J. Hansom. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1888. Joining the Northern Architectural Association, he served as Secretary from 1893-1907 and as President from 1907-8, during which time he also served on the RIBA Council. He published several papers on architectural subjects. He was in partnership with J.G. Burrell from 1892 to 1900. He travelled in Belgium,

Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Holland and France. He married Emily, daughter of Canon Barker, Rural Dean of Hexham, and they had two sons, both of whom attended Durham School and went into the Army. He was involved with numerous Church bodies, including the Dilapidations Committee, the Insurance of Churches Committee and the York House of Laymen. In the North East, he was active in the Newcastle City Mission and various Temperance groups. A keen sportsman, he was a committee member of several cricket, football and cycling clubs, including Heaton Temperance Cycling Club and Tynemouth Cricket Club. He lived at Prior's Terrace, Tynemouth and became active in local government there; he was elected to Tynemouth Council in 1907 and became an Alderman in 1922. He also served as President of the Tynemouth YMCA and the Tynemouth Debating Society. He served on the Tynemouth Town Planning Committee and was Chairman of the Education Committee. From 1907 he was a Justice of the Peace. Plummer died on 22 November 1925 and was buried in Preston cemetery, North Shields.

Publications

'Zinc and Zinc Roofing', Paper to Northern Architectural Association, *Building News*, vol.66, 9 March 1894, pp345-6 and 16 March 1894, p356-8.

W.H. Knowles and A.B. Plummer, 'Church of St. John the Baptist, Edlingham, Northumberland', *Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society*, vol.5, 1907.

Buildings

A.B. Plummer

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1883-4 | Birtley, North Tyndale, St. Giles's Church (rebuilding)
[<i>Architect</i> , vol.29, 23 June 1883, p428; <i>Building News</i> , vol.53, 23 September 1887, p466 and plate] |
| 1885 | Newcastle, Coxlodge Asylum (additions)
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.48, 28 March 1885, p465] |
| 1886-90 | Newcastle, St. Jude's Church, Barker Street, Shieldfield
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.51, 20 November 1886, p754; <i>Monthly Chronicle</i> , August 1890, p383; www.churchplansonline.org] |
| 1887 | Newcastle, Mission Hall, St. Peter's Quay
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.52, 11 March 1887, p374] |

- 1892 Chester-le-Street, Lewcock's Jam Factory (extension)
[*Building News*, vol.62, 17 June 1892, p853]
- 1898 Newcastle, Workingmen's Social Club, Grafton Street, Byker (converted from chapel)
[*Builder*, vol.75, 10 December 1898, p537]
- 1898 Newcastle, Workingmen's Social Club, Brinkburn Street, Byker
[*Building News*, vol.75, 9 December 1898, p842]
- 1902 Edlingham, St. John's Church (restoration)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p262; *Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society*, vol.5, 1896-9, pp37-48]
- 1903 Tynemouth, Boer War Memorial
[*Builder*, vol.84, 30 May 1903, p571]
- 1903 Washington, Dame Margaret Home (cottage)
[*Builder*, vol.85, 19 September 1903, p299]
- 1903 Rothbury, All Saints' Church (pulpit and rood screen)
[Drawings in Billiard Room, Cragside]
- 1903-4 Allendale, 'Ashleigh' (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.84, 5 June 1903, p810]
- 1903-4 Halewood, Rectory (additions)
[*Building News*, vol.84, 5 June 1903, p810]
- 1904 Wooler, St. Mary's Church (reredos)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/33/62]
- 1905 Duddo, Schoolmaster's House
[*Building News*, vol.88, 2 June 1905, p808]
- 1905-6 Chevington, New Church
[*Building News*, vol.88, 2 June 1905, p808]
- 1905-6 Bedlington, St. John's Church, Sleekburn
[www.churchplansonline.org; *Building News*, vol.88, 26 May 1905, p772]
- 1906 Allendale, 'Ashleigh' (cottages and stables)
[*Building News*, vol.90, 9 February 1906, p227]
- 1906 West Boldon, St. Nicholas's Church (restoration after fire)
[*Building News*, vol.90, 9 February 1906, p227]
- 1906 Newcastle, St. Jude's Church, Parish Buildings
[*Building News*, vol.91, 13 July 1906, p68]
- 1907 Whorlton, St. Mary's Church (improvements)
[*Building News*, vol.93, 19 July 1907, p71]
- 1907 Slaley, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org; *Building News*, vol.93, 20 December 1907, p872]

- 1908-9 Gateshead, Durham School Mission Church, Hall and Institute, Westfield Terrace
[*Building News*, vol.94, 3 January 1908, p5]
- 1908-11 Bedlington, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration and addition of north aisle)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/39/191-2; *Builder*, vol.98, 26 February 1910, p239]
- 1910 Whitley near Slaley, St. Helen's Church (restoration)
[*Building News*, vol.98, 4 February 1910, p167]
- 1910 Bedlington, St. John's Vicarage, Sleekburn
[*Builder*, vol.98, 19 February 1910, p210]
- 1910 Newcastle, St. Barnabas's Church Hall, Goldspink Lane, Jesmond
[*Building News*, vol.98, 13 May 1910, p653]
- 1910 Gateshead, St. Andrew's Mission Church (not built)
[Dinnick, A.W. (1994) *Anglican Churches in County Durham since 1901*, n.p.]
- 1910-11 Byker, St. Mark's Church (parish buildings)
[*Building News*, vol.99, 1 July 1910, p12; *Builder*, vol.98, 28 August 1910, p626]
- 1910-12 Wooler, St. Mary's Church (chancel and vestries)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/33/45-67; *Builder*, vol.102, 5 April 1912, p404]
- 1911 Morpeth, St. James's Church (reseating)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/28/144]
- 1912-13 Tynemouth, Holy Saviour Church (enlargement)
[*Building News*, vol.103, 1 November 1912, p636]
- 1913-14 North Shields, YMCA
[*Building News*, vol.105, 5 December 1913, p818]
- 1914-15 Newcastle, YWCA (additions)
[*Builder*, vol.107, 31 July 1914, p146]
- 1914-15 Newcastle, St. Paul's Church, Havelock Street (parish buildings)
[*Building News*, vol.107, 10 July 1914, p42]

Plummer and Burrell

- 1890 Chester-le-Street, Lewcock's Jam Factory (alterations)
[*Building News*, vol.59, 31 October 1890, p636]
- 1890 Durham, Villa
[*Building News*, vol.58, 30 May 1890, p788]
- 1891-2 Falstone, St. Peter's Church (rebuilt)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 4 June 1892, p446; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p275]
- 1892 Newcastle, Jesmond Parochial Buildings
[*Builder*, vol.62, 18 June 1892, p386]
- 1892 Washington, Dame Margaret Home (additions)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 18 June 1892, p490]

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1894 | Newcastle, Water Company Offices (invited entrant in competition)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.66, 26 January 1894, p137] |
| 1895 | Newcastle, Board School, Portland Road
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.65, 8 March 1895, p335 and plate] |
| 1895-6 | Durham, St. John's Church, Neville's Cross
[<i>Durham Chronicle</i> , 10 April 1896, p8] |
| 1896 | Newcastle, Board School, Shieldfield
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.70, 18 April 1896, p345] |
| 1897 | Durham, Primitive Methodist Chapel (additions)
[<i>Architect</i> , vol.57, 7 May 1897, p10] |
| 1897 | Sleetburn, Primitive Methodist Chapel (additions)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.72, 7 May 1897, p690] |
| 1898-9 | Durham, St. Cuthbert's Mission Room, Diamond Terrace
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.75, 29 October 1898, p390] |
| 1899 | Chopwell, Shop and House
[<i>Builder</i> , vol.77, 12 August 1899, p165] |

Sources

Builder, vol.129, 18 December 1925, p875. Obituary.
 Felstead, A. *et al.* (1993) *RIBA Directory of British Architects, 1834-1900*, pp725 and p141.
 Burbidge, T.H. (1940) *Durham School Register to December 1939*, p251-2.
 Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p74.
 Pike, W.T. (1905) *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*, p207.
RIBA Journal, vol.33, 1926, p120. Obituary.
 Anon. (1914) *Who's Who in Architecture*, p177.

FRANK WEST RICH, FRIBA [1840-1929]



Figure 12 F.W. Rich. (Pike, W.T. [1905] *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*, p207).

Frank West Rich was born in Darfield, South Yorkshire on 14 August 1840, the son of Henry Rich of Mattersea, Nottinghamshire. After education at Whitwell School in Derbyshire, he entered the architectural profession in 1863, training with William Parnell of Newcastle from 1869-70. He commenced independent practice at 42 Mosley Street in 1872. Frederick Clark was employed as an assistant until he established his own practice in Darlington. Rich obtained commissions from leading local individuals and companies. He acted as Consulting Architect to Lord Armstrong from c. 1880 and to the Duke of Northumberland. He developed a reputation as an authority on planning, the building of roads and drainage issues and he advised Newcastle Council on these matters. In 1875 Rich joined the Northern Architectural Association. He served as President in 1883 and 1897-8 and as Secretary from 1884-93. Rich revitalised the Association after a period of inactivity; he set up the library, initiated prizes for students and frequently offered his offices as a venue for meetings. On the nomination of the Northern Architectural Association he was elected FRIBA on 11 July 1872 during his second term as President, which was unusually late for such a respected figure. He joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1886. He was based at 1 Eldon Square from 1898-1914. In 1903 he moved to Dues Hill, Holystone, near Rothbury in Northumberland. He married Mary Elliott, the eldest daughter of E. Elliot of Spital House. Two of their sons, Roland (d.1875) and Edmund (1867-1930), became architects. Rich was avidly interested in

the arts and it is possible that he practised as an artist in the early 1860s under the name of Frederick Rich. He retired in 1928 and died on 25 February 1929. His son Roland Rich, LRI BA continued to practise until after World War II.

Publications

'The Architecture of Newcastle', *Builder's Journal and Architect's Record*, 6 July 1898, pp383-

4. Presidential Address to Northern Architectural Association.

Buildings

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 1875 | Gosforth, 8 Houses, Hawthorn Road
[Rutherford, R. (1996) <i>Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect</i>] |
| 1877 | Gosforth, 6 Houses and 1 Shop, Causey Street
[Rutherford, R. (1996) <i>Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect</i>] |
| 1877-9 | Cullercoats, Life Brigade Watch House, Victoria Crescent
[Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p251] |
| 1879 | Prudhoe, St. Mary Magdalene (not built)
[www.churchplansonline.org] |
| 1884 | Newcastle, Estate Plan, Heaton
[Rutherford, R. (1996) <i>Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect</i>] |
| 1886 | Elswick, Armstrong Works
[Rutherford, R. (1996) <i>Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect</i>] |
| 1888 | Newcastle, Turnbull's Warehouse, Queens Lane
[Royal Commission of Historic Monuments (1990) <i>An Architectural Survey of Urban Development Corporation areas: Tyne and Wear</i> , p21] |
| 1889 and 1893 | Newcastle, Robinson's Warehouses, Hanover Square
[Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , pp468-9] |
| 1890 | Newcastle, Robinson's Printing Works, Clavering Place
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.58, 31 January 1890, p189] |
| 1890-4 | Newcastle University (Jubilee Tower and extensions executed for R.J. Johnson)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.63, 23 September 1892, p443; <i>Building News</i> , vol.67, 12 October 1894, p519-20] |
| 1891-3 | Newcastle, Ouseburn School, Albion Row
[Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p453] |
| 1893 | Newcastle, Literary and Philosophical Society (restoration and glass dome roof)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p492] |
| 1894 | Newcastle, Water Company Offices (invited entrant in competition)
[<i>Building News</i> , vol.66, 26 January 1894, p137] |

- 1895 Chesters, Northumberland (additions)
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]
- 1895 Newcastle, Jesmond Dene House (porch and racquet court)
[*Architect*, vol.53, 14 June 1895, pp392 and 408; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p512]
- 1895-6 Newcastle, Bank, Westgate Road/Cottingham Street
[*Building News*, vol.71, 13 November 1896, p720]
- c. 1895 Newcastle, Co-operative Wholesale Society Printing Works, Bath Lane
[Ayriss, I. and Linsley, S.M. (1994) *A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Tyne and Wear*, p30]
- 1895 Newcastle, 87 Newgate Street (refaced)
[Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, no.200]
- 1895-8 Elswick, Armstrong Works (workshops and offices)
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]
- 1896 Newcastle, Children's Hospital (outpatients' department)
[*Builder*, vol.70, 30 May 1896, p474]
- 1896-7 Newcastle, Black Dene House (extensions)
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]
- 1897 Holystone, Dues Hill Grange (extensions for own use)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p341]
- 1898 Newcastle, Turnbull's Warehouse, Queen's Lane (extension and tower)
[Royal Commission of Historic Monuments (1990) *An Architectural Survey of Urban Development Corporation areas: Tyne and Wear*, p21]
- 1898 Newcastle, Hancock Museum (repairs)
[*Building News*, vol.75, 12 August 1898, p230]
- 1898 Newcastle, Estate of 600 Houses, North Heaton
[*Building News*, vol.75, 22 July 1898, p122]
- 1898-1905 Newcastle, St. Gabriel's Church, Heaton Road
[www.churchplansonline.org; Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p505]
- 1904 Otterburn, Tower (extensions)
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p537]
- 1904 Wooler, Bank of Scotland, Norfolk Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p635]
- 1905 Rothbury, Tomlinson's School (judge)
[*Building News*, vol.89, 7 July 1905, p13]
- 1907-9 Newcastle, Bolbec Hall
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p492]
- 1908 Newcastle, Offices, Pilgrim Street
[*Builder*, 1908, p303]
- n.d. Holystone, Woodhouses Bastle (alterations)

[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p342;
Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]

- n.d. Newcastle, Business Premises, Pilgrim Street
[*Builder*, vol.75, 8 October 1898 and plate]
- n.d. Tynemouth, 3 Front Street
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]
- n.d. Tynemouth, Shop, Percy Street/Percy Park Road
[Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*]

Sources

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Journal and Northern Star, 1 March 1929, p12. Obituary.
Pearson, L.F. (1996) *Northern City: An Architectural History of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p74.
Pike, W.T. (1905) *Contemporary Biographies: Northumberland*, p208.
Robinson, B.C. (1992) *F.W. Rich and St. Gabriel, Heaton*.
Rutherford, R. (1996) *Frank West Rich FRIBA, Newcastle Architect*.
Builder, vol.151, 4 September 1936, p439. Obituary of Edmond Rich.

SIMPSON, LAWSON AND RAYNE

Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, FRIBA [d.1940]

Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson was articled to John Edward Watson in Newcastle from 1874-9. After working as an assistant to Karslake and Mortimer from 1879-80, Drury and Lovejoy from 1880-5 and Arthur B. Gibson from 1885-6, he entered partnership with Edward Shewbrooks in 1886. He practised independently from 1888. Amongst his pupils was C.A. Clayton Greene of Sunderland. In 1899 he was joined in partnership by his nephew Sydney H. Lawson. T.V. Rayne, who had been managing assistant since 1898, became a partner in 1904. Rayne left the practice in 1909. Simpson retired c. 1910 and the firm was continued by Lawson. Public houses in ornate Baroque and Art Nouveau styles formed the mainstay of the practice. The clients were local brewers. Simpson never joined the Northern Architectural Association, but he became FRIBA on 8 January 1894 on the nomination of Edward Dru Drury, J.H. Morton and Edward Shewbrooks. The practice moved into Emerson Chambers in 1905, but Simpson moved to Hurworth in the same year. He eventually retired to Eastbourne and died in the first week of February 1940 after several years of illness. Sidney H. Lawson had retired by 1963, but the practice continued into recent years as Simpson Lawson Associates.

Thomas Vincent Rayne [1871-1936]

T.V. Rayne entered the architectural profession in 1888 and became Simpson's Managing Assistant in 1898. He became a full partner in 1904 and left the practice in 1909. He was residing at 5 Armstrong Avenue, Newcastle in 1914.

Buildings

B.F. Simpson

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1889 | Newcastle, Hydraulic Crane Inn, Scotswood Road
[Royal Commission of Historic Monuments (1990) <i>An Architectural Survey of Urban Development Corporation areas: Tyne and Wear</i> , p32] |
| 1891 | Byker, Golden Lion Inn, City Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) <i>The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History</i> , pp36-7] |
| 1891 | Newcastle, Tenement Flats (alterations) |

- [Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p124]
- 1891 South Shields, Neville Hotel (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p124]
- 1892 Jarrow, Alnwick Castle Hotel, Grange Road (alterations)
[Gettings, L. 'Benjamin Simpson, FRIBA: Part 1', *Northern Architect*, 12 April 1977, pp28-31]
- 1892 Gateshead, Fleece Inn (alterations)
[*Builder*, vol.62, 16 April 1892, p314]
- 1892 Newcastle, Lord Chancellor Inn, 31 Groat Market
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p123]
- 1892-3 Middlesbrough, Princess Alice Hotel, Newport Road (alterations)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1892-3 Newcastle, Shops and Houses, Walker Road
[*Builder*, vol.62, 18 June 1892, p488]
- 1893 Newcastle, Villa Victoria
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p137-8]
- 1893 South Shields, Cookson Arms, Tyne Dock (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p125]
- 1893 Gateshead, Claxton Farm Estate (survey)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p125]
- 1893-4 Ashington, Grand Hotel, New Hirst
[*Builder*, vol.80, 27 April 1901, p423; Gettings, L. 'Benjamin Simpson, FRIBA: Part 1', *Northern Architect*, 12 April 1977, pp28-31]
- 1895 Newcastle, Half Moon Inn, Bigg Market (redesign, not built)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p18]
- 1895 Gosforth, Earl Grey Inn (additions)
[Cox, T.A. (1977) *Gosforth High Street*, Appendix 5]
- 1895-6 Newcastle, Black Bull Inn, Waterloo Street (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p125]
- 1896 Byker, Lord Clyde Inn, Shields Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p62]
- 1897 Hebburn, Grand Theatre
[*Builder*, vol.72, 20 February 1897]
- 1897 Newcastle, Grabham and Co., Clayton Street West
[*British Architect*, vol.48, 1 October 1897, p249]
- 1897 Wallsend, Co-op Store and Bakery, North Road/Lisle Street
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p126]
- 1897-8 Gateshead, Bond Inn, High Street (extension)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p126]
- 1898 Hebburn, Ellison Hotel, Theatre and Shops (survey)

- [Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p126]
- 1898 Byker, Cumberland Arms (not built)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp32-4]
- 1898 Felling, Portland Arms, High Street (attributed)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p62]
- 1898 Gosforth, Queen Victoria Inn (rebuilding)
[Cox, T.A. (1977) *Gosforth High Street*, Appendix 5]
- 1898 Felling, Shakespeare Inn (attributed)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p64]
- 1898 Willington, Commercial Hotel (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p127]
- 1898 Survey and Valuation of all Arrol and Son's Properties
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p127]
- 1898 Willington Quay, Constitutional Club, Berwick Street
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p127]
- 1898-9 Consett, Black Horse Hotel (additions and alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p127]
- 1898-9 Wallsend, Richardson Dees Board School
[*Building News*, vol.75, 26 August 1898, pxiii]
- 1899 Felling, Royal Turf Inn, Sunderland Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp66-7]
- 1899 Newcastle, Offices for Wilkinson and Marshall, 1 Mosley Street
[Gettings, L. 'Benjamin Simpson, FRIBA: Part 1', *Northern Architect*, 12 April 1977, pp28-31]
- 1899 North Seaton, North Seaton Hotel
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*]
- 1899 Crawcrook, Lamb's Arms Inn
[Greg, A. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast*]
- 1899 Newcastle, 5 Victoria Square (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p128]
- 1899 Newcastle, 27 Newgate Street (alterations)
[TWAS, DT.SC/391/1]
- 1899 Newcastle, 23 Dean Street (alterations)
[TWAS, DT.SC/391/2]
- 1899-1900 Wallsend, Shops and Houses
[*Building News*, vol.77, 7 July 1899, p31]
- 1899-1900 Felling, Beeswing Inn, High Street
[*British Architect*, vol. 54, 6 July 1900, p18]
- 1899-1900 Gateshead, 2 Houses in Flats, Claxton Farm Estate
[*Builder*, vol.77, 9 September 1899, p251]

1899-1900	North Seaton, 20 Cottages and Business Premises [<i>Building News</i> , vol.77, 7 July 1899, p31]
c. 1900	Wallsend, Estate Design and Houses, Richardson Dees Estate [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , pp132-3]
1900	Newcastle, Hydraulic Crane Inn, Scotswood Road (alterations) [Pearson, L.F. (1989) <i>The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History</i> , p123]
1900	Byker, Police Station, Headlam Street (3 rd premium) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.79, 1900, p212]
1900-1	Newcastle, Power Station and Offices, Electric Tramways Company, Melbourne Street [<i>Building News</i> , vol.78, 16 February 1900, p229; Greg, A. (1981) <i>Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast</i>]
1900-1	Newcastle, Stables, Diana Street for Arrol [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p128]
1900-1	Newcastle, Shops and Flats, Scotswood Road, Benwell [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p129]
1900-1	Newcastle, Presbyterian Chapel, Blackett Street (alterations) [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p129]
1900-1	Sunderland, Dun Cow Hotel, High Street West (rebuild) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.79, 21 December 1900, p900]
1901	Newcastle, Survey of Howden Building Estate [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p130]
1901	South Shields, Sailors' Home, Salmon Street (entrant in competition) [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p130]
1901	Low Felling, Bay Horse Inn, High Street (rebuilding) [Pearson, L.F. (1989) <i>The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History</i> , p62]
1901	Newcastle, Conversion of Presbyterian Chapel to Business Premises [<i>Building News</i> , vol.80, 22 February 1901, p286]
1901-2	North Shields, European Hotel, Railway Street (alterations) [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p131]
1902	North Shields, Borough Theatre (conversion of circus) [Earl, J. and Sell, M. (2000) <i>The Theatres Trust Guide to British Theatres, 1750-1950</i> , p252]
1902	Newcastle, City Arms, Mill Lane (alterations) [Gettings, L. (1976) <i>Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910</i> , p132]
1902	Newcastle, 50 Dean Street [Pevsner, N. (1992) <i>The Buildings of England: Northumberland</i> , p486]
1902-3	Wallsend, Methodist New Connection Allen Memorial Chapel and School, North Road (1 st premium) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.84, 20 June 1903, p637]
1902-4	Newcastle, Half Moon Inn and Chambers, 14 Bigg Market

- [Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp17-20]
- 1903 Sunderland, Grey Horse Inn, High Street East
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, pp137-8]
- 1903 Sunderland, Half Moon Inn, High Street East
[Plans – Sunderland Museum]
- 1903-4 Wallsend, St. Peter's Church Hall, Durham Street (without fee)
[*Builder*, vol.85, 19 September 1903, p300]
- n.d. Birtley, Traveller's Rest Inn (rebuilding)
[Gettings, L. 'Benjamin Simpson, FRIBA: Part 1', *Northern Architect*, 12 April 1977, pp28-31;]
- n.d. Newcastle, County Hotel, Walker Road
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p114]

Simpson and Lawson

- 1902-4 Newcastle, Emerson Chambers, Blackett Street
[Allsopp, B. (1967) *Historic Architecture of Northumberland and Newcastle upon Tyne*, p92]
- 1903 Jarrow, Tynemouth Castle Inn, Ormond Street
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p133]
- 1903 Newcastle, Estate Layout, Scotswood Villa Ground
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p133]
- 1903-4 Newcastle, Tramway Hotel, Regent Terrace (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p135]
- 1903-4 Wallsend, School, Elton Street/West Street (1st premium)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p135]
- 1904 Newcastle, Northumberland War Memorial (entrant in competition)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p135]
- 1904 Newcastle, Bonded Store, Sandyford Brewery
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p135]
- 1904 Newcastle, Property in Low Friar Street (rebuilding)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p136]
- 1904 Wallsend, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Buddle Street (entrant in competition)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p136]
- 1905 Newcastle, Butchers' Arms, City Road (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p136]
- 1906 Wallsend, Semi-Detached Villas, Kings Road
[TWAS, DT.JHM/265]
- 1907 Ashington, Grand Hotel, Low Hirst (alterations)
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p137]
- 1907 Wallsend, Ship Inn (rebuilding)

- [Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p137]
- 1907 Newcastle, St. Joseph's Home for the Aged Poor, Elswick
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p137]
- 1909 Keswick, Royal Oak Hotel
[Gettings, L. (1976) *Benjamin Ferdinand Simpson, 1890-1910*, p138]
- 1910 Wallsend, Concert Hall
[*Builder*, vol.98, 14 May 1910, p566]
- 1910 Wallsend, Skating Rink
[*Builder*, vol.99, 10 December 1910, p729]
- S.H. Lawson**
- 1911 Gateshead, Palladium Cinema, Saltwell Road
[Manders, F. (1991) *Cinemas of Newcastle: a comprehensive history of the cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne*, p50]
- 1912 Wallsend, Duffy Memorial Drinking Fountain
[*Building News*, vol.102, 12 January 1912, p74]
- 1913 Gosforth, Gosforth Hotel (refaced)
[Pearson, L.F. (1989) *The Northumbrian Pub: An Architectural History*, p115]
- 1913-14 Berwick, Playhouse, Sandgate
[*Building News*, vol.107, 10 July 1914, p45 and plate]
- 1914 Ashington, Picture House
[Northumberland County Record Office, Building Plans]
- 1914 Newcastle, Rose and Crown Inn, Newgate Street (refaced)
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T.V. Rayne

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THOMPSON AND DUNN

Matthew Thompson, FRIBA [c.1822-1878]

Matthew Thompson was born in Newcastle where his mother was a shopkeeper. It is not clear how he was trained in architecture. His obituary in *The Builder* says he served in the office of George Gilbert Scott and W.B. Moffat and worked as a manager for Scott from 1846-8, after which he commenced independent practice. However, in his dissertation on Thomas Oliver Senior, Giddings states that Thompson was the only non-family member that Oliver took on as pupil. This is verified by a letter from John Oliver to the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 10 January 1887. It is likely that Thompson went to Scott after his time with Oliver. After winning a competition in Durham, he practised on his own account from 1851. In c. 1860 he was appointed Architect to the Duke of Northumberland's Estates and this gave him a secure income. He continued his private practice and opened an additional office in Sunderland in the late 1850s. He operated from an office in Mosley Street, but was based at 5 Eldon Square in 1868. W.H. Dunn joined the firm in 1873. Thompson was elected FRIBA on 2 December 1872, having been nominated by J. Edmeston, Alfred Waterhouse and T.H. Wyatt. A member of the Northern Architectural Association, he was President from 1872-4 and read a paper entitled 'Concrete Architecture'. He served as Treasurer from 1876-8. He trained a number of young architects, including J.H. Morton, T.C. Nicholson and J.H. Robinson, all of whom stayed on as assistants, as well as A.B. Plummer and J.G. Burrell. He had a reputation as a shrewd businessman. He lived in Gateshead, but was elected as a Councillor in Newcastle. His brother, Christopher, was the first Borough Surveyor to South Shields, but died in a fall at his home in 1857. When Thompson died on 17 May 1878, Dunn continued the firm under the old style.

William Henry Dunn, JP [1842-1905]

William Henry Dunn was born in Newcastle in 1842. He came from a family of Northumberland tenant farmers who worked on the estates of the Duke of Northumberland. Leaving school at the age of twelve, he worked as a joiner, but took night classes at the School of Art at the Elswick Institute where he was taught drawing by William Bell Scott. He

received architectural training from Thomas Prosser, who was Architect to the North Eastern Railway. He remained in the company for 17 years, carrying out much valuation work, and eventually became Chief Assistant. The partnership of Thompson and Dunn was established in December 1873 and Dunn continued the practice after Thompson's death. The firm carried out work on several landed and building estates in the North East. A member of the Northern Architectural Association, Dunn served as Treasurer from 1873-6, Secretary from 1876-83 and President in 1884-5, giving several papers on professional matters. He was appointed architect to Newcastle Board of Guardians in the 1890s.

Marrying in 1867, he moved to Gateshead, where he became a Liberal Councillor in 1879. He served as Mayor in 1893-5 and 1905. He was a member of the Town Improvement Committee and Chairman of the Cemetery Committee, where his professional knowledge was frequently called into service. Dunn was a member of Durham Road Baptist Chapel, where he superintended the Sunday School for many years. He was actively involved in the Gateshead Sunday School Union. Dunn died at his home in Belle Vue Terrace on 25 May 1905, leaving a widow, three sons and one daughter.

Publication

'Possibilities of the Future of Gateshead', Paper to the Society of Architects, 1881, reprinted in *Gateshead Guardian*, 13 July 1895.

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Matthew Thompson

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1849-50 | Durham, County Hospital (1 st and 2 nd premiums with Johnstone)
[<i>Architect and Building Operative</i> , vol.1, 1849, pp88-9] |
| 1851 | Gateshead, Saltwell Cottage Estate Design
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 3 January 1851, p5] |
| 1851 | Newcastle, Chapel of the Hospital of the Virgin Mary (submitted plan)
[<i>Newcastle Journal</i> , 6 September 1851, p8] |
| 1852 | Newcastle, House and Offices
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 20 February 1852, p1] |
| 1852 | Newcastle, Drainage Scheme, Shieldfield
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 28 May 1852, p1] |
| 1852-3 | Newcastle, House, Stable and Lodge, Benwell Towers (with B. Green)
[<i>Newcastle Courant</i> , 10 December 1852, p1] |

- 1853 Newcastle, Public Buildings, St. Nicholas's Square (plan exhibited)
[*Newcastle Courant*, 18 February 1853]
- 1854 Gateshead, Mission (alterations and additions)
[*Newcastle Courant*, 14 April 1854, p1]
- 1854 Gateshead, Shops and Houses, Half Moon Lane
[*Newcastle Courant*, 14 April 1854, p1]
- 1854-5 Sunderland, 4 Houses, Roker Terrace
[*Sunderland Herald*, 11 August 1854, p4]
- 1855 South Shields, Public House
[*Newcastle Courant*, 2 March 1855, p1]
- 1855-6 Jarrow, Public House
[*Newcastle Courant*, 16 November 1855, p1]
- 1855-6 Chester-le-Street, Workhouse
[*Newcastle Courant*, 6 April 1855, p1]
- 1855-6 Gateshead, Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Mount Pleasant
[*Newcastle Courant*, 24 August 1855, p5]
- 1855-61 South Shields, 1-7 Wood Terrace, Westoe
[Pevsner, N. (1983) *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, p424]
- 1856 North Shields, Villa, Stables and Offices
[*Newcastle Courant*, 8 February 1856, p1]
- 1856-7 Newcastle, United Presbyterian Chapel, Blackett Street
[Latimer, J. (1857) *Local Records*, p379]
- 1858 Sunderland, Cemetery, Ryhope Road (1st premium)
[*Sunderland Herald*, 7 May 1858, p7]
- 1858 Riding Mill, St. James's Church
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p548;
Latimer, J. (1857) *Local Records*, p341]
- 1858-60 Morpeth, Presbyterian Chapel, Bridge Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p396;
Newcastle Courant, 23 July 1858, p1]
- 1859-61 Great Lumley, Christ Church
[www.churchplansonline.org; *Builder*, vol.19, 30 November 1861, p828]
- 1860 Gateshead, Parochial Institute
[*Gateshead Notes*, vol.4, p18. Gateshead Public Library]
- 1860 Hartlepool, Union Workhouse
[Hartlepool Museum Service (1984) *Bricks and Mortar: A Celebration of Architecture in Hartlepool 1834-1984*, p32]
- 1861 Low Fell, Demolition and Re-erection of Houses for Mark Gardner
[*Newcastle Courant*, 31 May 1861, p1]
- 1862 Gateshead, Houses for James Batey
[*Newcastle Journal*, 4 March 1862, p1]

- 1862 Chester-le-Street, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/CS4/76-84; *Builder*, vol.20, 1862, p915]
- 1863 Gateshead, Town Hall (entrant)
[Harper, R. H. (1983) *Victorian Architectural Competitions*, p53]
- 1863 Gateshead, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[*Newcastle Journal*, 13 March 1863, p2]
- 1865 Newcastle, Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Park Road, Scotswood
[*Builder*, vol.23, 10 June 1865, p418]
- 1866-7 Stanhope, Weardale Union Workhouse
[*Durham Chronicle*, 12 October 1866, p4]
- 1867 Durham, 2 Large Houses
[*Durham Chronicle*, 8 February 1867, p4]
- 1867-8 Newcastle, Exchange New Buildings, Side
[*Builder*, vol.25, 27 April 1867, p296]
- 1868 Gateshead, Building Sites, Cramer Dykes
[TWAS, DT.SC/241]
- c. 1868 Stannington, St. Mary's Church (restoration)
[Northumberland Record Office, EP/10/43]
- 1869 Chester-le-Street, Workhouse
[*Durham Chronicle*, 11 June 1869, p5]
- 1869-70 Lanchester, Workhouse (additions)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 11 June 1869, p5]
- 1869-70 Newcastle, Primitive Methodist Chapel, Maple Street
[*Durham Chronicle*, 21 May 1869, p7]
- 1871 Newcastle, 23 Queen Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p472]
- 1871-3 Newcastle, St. Anne's Church (restoration)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1872 Newcastle, North Eastern Bank (strongroom)
[*Builder*, vol.30, 5 October 1872, p792]
- 1872 Tynemouth, Estate Plan and Crescent, Sea Front
[*Architect*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p257]
- n.d. Birtley, Church
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Bothal, Rectory
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Dipton, Mansion
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Gainesley, Church
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]

- n.d. Grinkle Park for C.H. Patner MP
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Houghton-le-Spring, Breweries for Robinson
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Lanchester, Workhouse
[*Newcastle Chronicle*, January 1887]
- n.d. Newcastle, Business Premises, Grainger Street West
[*Builder*, vol.7, 18 May 1872, p258]
- n.d. Newcastle, Church, St. Thomas's Place
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Newcastle, Stabling, Newgate Street for Robinson
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Stagshaw, Mansion
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- n.d. Tynemouth, Improvements Scheme
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Thompson and Dunn

- 1874 Newcastle, Victoria Building, Grainger Street
[Pevsner, N. (1992) *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*, p491; Lovie, D. (1997) *The Buildings of Grainger Town*, p59]
- 1874-6 Alnmouth, St. John the Evangelist's Church
[*Builder*, vol.36, 25 May 1878, p543]
- 1876-7 Houghton-le-Spring, Workhouse (extension)
[*Durham Chronicle*, 30 June 1876, p4]
- 1877-8 Gateshead, Baptist Chapel, Durham Road
[*British Architect*, vol.8, 21 September 1877, p144]
- 1878 Newburgh, Town Hall
[Cunningham, C. (1981) *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, pp278-9]
- 1880-1 South Shields, Baptist Chapel, Westoe Road
[*South Shields Gazette*, 6 July 1880]
- 1881 South Shields, Commercial Hotel and Shops (rebuilding)
[*Architect*, vol.25, 15 January 1881, p51]
- 1882 Newcastle, Union Offices and Workhouse (1st premium)
[*Builder*, vol.42, 1882, p177]
- 1882 Gateshead, Chariton Memorial Primitive Methodist Chapel, Durham Road
[*Builder*, vol.42, 29 April 1882, p534]
- 1882 Gateshead, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Durham Road
[*Gateshead Observer*, 15 April 1882, p2]

1884	Newcastle, Baptist Chapel, Berwick Street (3 rd premium) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.46, 3 October 1884, p488]
1886	Gateshead, Workhouse (2 nd premium) [<i>British Architect</i> , vol.25, 12 March 1886, p244]
1887	Gateshead, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel and School, Cuthbert Road/Marion Street [<i>Building News</i> , vol.52, 15 April 1887, p592]
1887	Gateshead, Royal Jubilee Children's Hospital, Durham Road (1 st premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.52, 11 February 1887, p216; <i>Building News</i> , vol.53, 9 December 1887, p860 and plate]
1887-8	Gateshead, Board Schools, Victoria Road, Teams (1 st premium) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.53, 15 July 1887, p86]
1891	Gateshead, Higher Grade Schools, Whitehall Road [<i>Builder</i> , vol.61, 12 December 1891, p451]
1891	Newcastle, Workhouse Swimming Pool [<i>Building News</i> , vol.61, 6 November 1891, p644]
1891	Gateshead, Half Moon Hotel [<i>Building News</i> , vol.61, 20 November 1891, p744]
1892	Newcastle, Temperance Hotel, 144-6 Westgate Road [Lovie, D. (1997) <i>The Buildings of Grainger Town</i> , p71]
1894-1900	Gateshead, Board School, Rose Street [<i>Builder</i> , vol.66, 2 June 1894, p434]
1895	Gateshead, Bank Chambers, High Street/Swinburne Street [<i>Building News</i> , vol.68, 27 June 1895, p933]
1896-9	Newcastle, Heaton Baptist Chapel and Sunday School [<i>Building News</i> , vol.71, 18 September 1896, p408; <i>Heaton Miscellaneous Articles</i> , vol.1, pp67-9]
1897-8	Newcastle, Workhouse (extend and remodel) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.72, 14 May 1897, p700]
1897-8	Hutton Castle (west entrance gateway) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.73, 13 August 1897, p240]
1900	Gateshead, Board School, Rose Street [<i>Building News</i> , vol.79, 14 September 1900, p356]
1900-2	Gateshead, Victoria Road Junior School, Teams [<i>Building News</i> , vol.78, 4 May 1900, p636; <i>Building News</i> , vol.80, 1 March 1901, p317]
1901	Swalwell, 2 Cottages, Bates Houses [<i>Building News</i> , vol.10, May 1901, p648]
1902	Newcastle, 'Spa Well' (entrance lodge) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.84, 20 March 1903, p429]
n.d.	Gateshead, Two Board Schools [<i>Architect</i> , vol.53, 14 June 1895, p380]

- n.d. Gateshead, Building Estates, West of Waterworks
[*Gateshead Snaps*, vol.4, pp52-3. Gateshead Public Library]
- n.d. Gateshead, Premises for Messrs. Snowball
[*Gateshead Snaps*, vol.4, pp52-3. Gateshead Public Library]
- n.d. Gateshead, United Methodist Free Church, Chapel, Cuthbert Street
[*Gateshead Snaps*, vol.4, pp52-3. Gateshead Public Library]
- n.d. Newcastle, 5 St. Nicholas's Buildings
[TWAS, DT.SC293/1-2]

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W.H. Dunn

Architect, vol.53, 14 June 1895, p380.

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Gateshead Snaps, vol.4, pp52-3 and 225. In Gateshead Public Library.

WILLIAM HENRY WOOD, FRIBA [1861-1941]

William Henry Wood received architectural training in the office of Charles Hodgson Fowler of Durham from 1874-9, working mainly on ecclesiastical commissions in the Gothic mode. He worked as an assistant to Fowler from 1879-85, before taking up the post of Head Assistant to Oliver and Leeson in 1885. He became a full partner in the firm in 1898. R.J. Leeson retired in 1911 and Wood took over the practice of C.H. Fowler after the latter's death. He was initially based in North Bailey, Durham but also opened an office at 20 Collingwood Street, Newcastle and this gradually became the centre of the practice. Wood carried out several commissions that were in hand at the time of Fowler's death. Like his former principal, he specialised in church commissions. Wood joined the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries in 1899. He became FRIBA in 1906, having been nominated by Joseph Oswald of Newcastle. He was in partnership with E.F.W. Liddle up to World War I. From 1927 he practised from 9 Eldon Square in partnership with Edmund Oakley. He retired to Wark, Northumberland c. 1933, and died there in 1941. The firm was continued by Edmund Oakley until World War II. Wood had two sons, both of whom remained in Durham, but neither followed him into the architectural profession.

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'A Description of the Tower and Spire of St. Nicholas's Cathedral, Newcastle, *RIBA Journal*, 1905.

Buildings

1894-1915	Newcastle, St. Monica's Church, Wingrove Road [TWAS, DT.WO/8/326-31; TWAS, 52/1/66]
1896-1925	Winterton, Humberside All Saints' Church (restoration completed for Fowler) [TWAS, 52/1/40; Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/2/3/1-39]
1907-12	Quarrington, Lincolnshire, Church (completed for Fowler) [Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/2/1-64]
1908-13	Sedgfield, St. Edmund's Church (alterations and additions - completed for Fowler) [Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/31/9-64]
1909-11	Bishop Auckland, St. Peter's Church (vestries - completed for Fowler) [Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/1/3-26]

1909-16	Belvedere, Kent, St. Augustine's Church [<i>Building News</i> , vol.1916; TWAS, DT.WO/4/38-9]
1910	Newcastle, Flats, Osborne Gardens (not built) [Greg, A. (1981) <i>Victorian and Edwardian Architecture in the Northeast</i> ; TWAS, 52/1/41]
1910	Workington, Technical and Secondary School (judge of competition) [<i>Builder</i> , vol.98, 1 January 1910, p19]
1911	Cockfield, St. Mary's Church (reredos, pulpit and lectern) [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (452) 1-8]
1911	South Shields, St. Mary's Church, Tyne Dock (completed for C.H. Fowler) [TWAS, 52/1/17; DT.WO/8/446-454]
1911	Sunderland, St. Aidan's Church, Grangetown (completed for C.H. Fowler) [<i>Sunderland Daily Echo</i> , 29 September 1911, p5; TWAS, 52/1/42]
1911	North Malton, St. Peter's Church (upper section of tower) [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (457)]
1911	Harrogate, Woodard Girls' School (chapel) [<i>Building News</i> , vol.100, 17 February 1911, p264]
1911-12	Doncaster, St. Mary's Church, Woodland [<i>Building News</i> , vol.101, 17 November 1911, p688]
1911-12	Filey, St. Oswald's Church (reredos) [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (455) 1-2; TWAS, DT.WO/4/70]
1911-12	West Hartlepool, St. Paul's Church (reredos, desk and panelling) [Information from Graham Potts]
1911-12	Gateshead, St. Paul's Church (reredos and woodwork) [Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/21/47-55]
1911-12	Sleaford, Church [<i>Building News</i> , vol.101, 15 December 1911, p833]
1911-13	Sunderland, Venerable Bede Church (alterations to chancel) [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (456) 1-5; TWAS, 52/1/67 4- DT.WO/8/435]
1911-20	Haxby, St. Mary's Church (enlarged) [Drewery, G.R. (1994) <i>Victorian Church Building in Cleveland</i> , vol.2, p36; TWAS, DT.WO/4/3]
1911-20	Shindcliffe, St. Mary's Church (reseating and fittings) [Durham County Record Office, D/HF/137/1; RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (479); Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/9-55]
1911-20	Dunholme, Lincolnshire, St. Chad's Church [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (468) 1-3; TWAS, DT.WO/4/59]
1911-22	Durham, St. Cuthbert's Church (restoration-completed for C.H. Fowler) [RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (461) 1-16; Durham County Record Office, D/HF/57/1-5]

- 1911-31 Stanley, St. Andrew's Church (extensions including concrete tower)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/143/2-68]
- 1912 Coxwold, St. Michael's Church (refitting)
[Drewery, G.R. (1994) *Victorian Church Building in Cleveland*, vol.2, p36]
- 1912 Dawdon, St. Hild and St. Helen's Church, Mount Street (completed for C.H. Fowler)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/35/1-30; *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 12 February 1912, p3]
- 1912 Newcastle, St. Mary's Parish Institute
[*Builder*, vol.102, 7 June 1912, p674]
- 1912 Ferryhill Station, St. Oswald's Church High Street/Chilton Lane
[Dinnick, A.W. (1994) *Anglican Churches in County Durham since 1901*, n.p., Durham County Record Office, D/HF/22/1-30]
- 1912 Doncaster, St. Mary's Church, Woodland (reredos and chancel furnishings)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/168/1]
- 1912 Nidd Hall (oratory)
[RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (459)]
- 1912 Howden-le-Wear, St. Mary's Church (unspecified work)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1912 Bedale, St. Gregory's Church (altar, reredos and panelling)
[*Building News*, vol.103, 22 November 1912, p720]
- 1912-13 Hett, Mission Chapel
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/95/1-23; TWAS, DT.WO/4/73]
- 1912-13 Durham, St. Margaret's Parish Hall, Crossgate
[*Durham Directory*, 1912, pp59-60; Durham County Record Office, D/HF/40/47-8; Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/14/1-65]
- 1912-14 Woodlands, All Saints' Church
[Pevsner, N. (1967) *The Buildings of England: West Riding*, p557; *Building News*, vol.105, 7 November 1913, p649 and plate]
- 1912-14 Newcastle, Tyne Commissioners' Office (two extra storeys added)
[*Building News*, 1914; TWAS, DT.WO/7/2-3]
- 1912-15 Dulwich, St. Barnabas's Church (rood screen and panelling)
[RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (462) 1-2; TWAS, DT.WO/4/60-7]
- 1912-23 East Boldon, St. George's Church
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/16/2-92]
- 1913 Newcastle, Rutherford Technical College (extension - invited entrant)
[TWAS, 52/1/43; *Building News*, vol.104, 21 February 1913, p271]
- 1913-15 Newcastle, St. Wilfred's Mission, Blandford Street (alterations and fittings)
[TWAS, 52/1/44; DT.WO/4/123 and DT.WO/8/345-52]
- 1913-15 Sedgefield, St. Edmund's Church (transept restored)

- [Durham County Record Office, D/HF/130/2; RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (471) 1-10]
- 1913-16 Durham, St. Oswald's Church (morning chapel and rood screen)
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/15/1-12]
- 1913-19 Ferryhill, St. Cuthbert's Church, Dean Bank (fittings and decoration)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/82/1-6]
- 1914 Bilsby, Holy Trinity Church (unspecified work)
[www.churchplansonline.org]
- 1914 Collierley, St. Thomas's Church, Harelaw (vestry and alterations)
[Durham County Record Office, EP/Col57-62 and D/HF/99/2; Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/9/1-15]
- 1914 Hedworth, Church (reredos)
[RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (474) 1-2]
- 1914 Ushaw Moor, St. Luke's Church (completed for C.H. Fowler)
[Goodhart-Rendel Index; Durham County Record Office, D/HF/80/1]
- 1914 Durham, Chorister School (alterations)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/49/1-4]
- 1914 Durham School, Langley House
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/48/2-64 and ND/DU/13/167; *Building News*, vol.107, 13 November 1914, p619]
- 1914 Gateshead, St. Paul's Church (tower and south aisle)
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/21/15-22]
- 1914 Gateshead, St. Mary's School, Ellison Place (additions and alterations)
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/20/41-44]
- 1914 Shiney Row, St. Oswald's Church (enlarged)
[Durham University Library Archives and Special Collections, WOD/1/34/111-115]
- 1914-16 London, Bexley, St. Augustine's Church
[RIBA Drawings Collection, BOW (476) 1-10]
- 1914-21 Craghead, St. Thomas's Church (parish hall)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/77/4 and 17-20]
- 1914-21 Gateshead, St. Paul's Church (pulpit, war memorial and screen)
[Information from Graham Potts]
- 1914-27 Annfield Plain, New Church (not built)
[Durham County Record Office, D/HF/99/1]

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