

Letters from J. F. Bentley to Charles Hadfield – Part II

edited by PETER HOWELL

In Part I (*Architectural History*, xxiii (1980), pp. 95–137) the first forty letters from this collection in the RIBA Library were published, covering the years 1862 to 1870 (See Pl. 24). The remaining letters cover the years 1874 to 1902 (the year of Bentley's death). It is hardly surprising that, as Bentley's professional and domestic commitments increased, he should write less often to his old friend, and the letters are generally briefer and less discursive. However, the importance of Hadfield's friendship to his older colleague is shown by the fact that the correspondence continued even at the most difficult periods of Bentley's life. 1874 was, however, a year in which Bentley was able to send Hadfield some splendid news.

LETTER 41

[HAD. 35]

13 John Street/Adelphi/17. Augst 1874

Dear Chas:

Thanks for the photos of the old Abbey at Whitby. I should have much liked to have paid you a visit while there, but it could not be. Perhaps at some period when you are there again the fates may be more propitious: at least such is my trust.

Your note on the keying of the arches is by no means exceptional though of course the vertical joint at the apex is all but common.

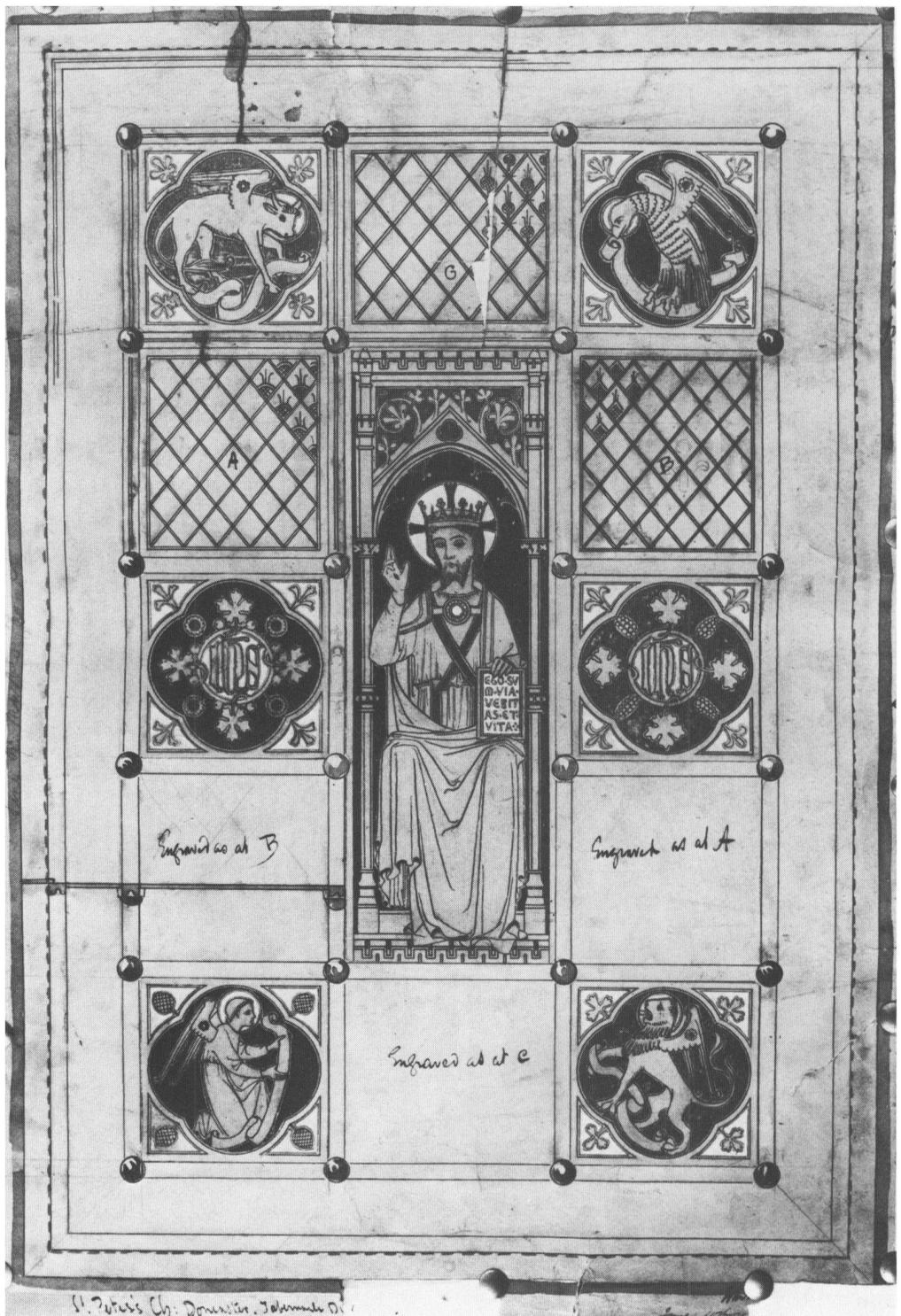
Last week I was at Lord Beaumont's. The work he has had done is a caution. Fancy, the fittings in the best bed rooms are the same as those in the Servant's Offices, stained and varnished, and of the most miserable description. From what I saw I should think it will cost from £12,000 to £15,000 to complete the work which I am commissioned to do.

Now for the news! I!! am!!! engaged!!!! to!!!! be!!!! married!!!!!! Let all good friends know this, and don't write me down an ass.

Thine "marriedly"/ John F. Bentley

'Lord Beaumont's' is Carlton Towers, Yorkshire, where E. W. Pugin had been called in in 1871 to remodel the existing house for Henry, 9th Lord Beaumont. Work began in 1873, but Pugin (who was by now heading irretrievably for final breakdown) had obviously already by this time fallen out with his patron. Bentley was to design some stunning interiors for the house, as well as various other features. The work to which he refers was not, however, Pugin's, but belonged to an earlier remodelling which the 8th Lord Beaumont had carried out to celebrate his success in claiming the dormant barony of Beaumont, sometime after 1840. He probably acted as his own architect.¹

Pl. 24
J. F. Bentley,
design for
tabernacle door
St Peter's,
Doncaster
(see Letter 23
in Part I,
Architectural
History, 23)



Remarkable as the news of Lord Beaumont's commission was, the last piece of news was really astonishing, in view of Bentley's opinions of nine years earlier (see letter 9). According to his daughter, 'at the age of thirty-five Bentley's friends had come to regard him as hopelessly confirmed in bachelorhood'.² She suggests that his mother's death, on 31 January 1874, had 'turned his thoughts more readily towards marriage'. On 20 July he met Margaret Annie Fleuss, youngest daughter of the late Henry J. Fleuss of Dusseldorf, who was staying in Hampstead with Mr and Mrs J. H. Metcalfe: Bentley and T. J. Willson (on whom see Part I, p. 106) were 'in retreat in this healthy suburb, since they were both too busy to take a holiday out of London'. John Henry Metcalfe was a friend of Bentley and of T. C. Lewis, the organ-builder (on whom see Part I, p. 99). He appears to have been an unsuccessful architect: Mrs de l'Hôpital refers to his involvement with the two houses in Sydenham for W. R. Sutton, in 1868-70, and with a chapel at Darwen, Lancashire, in 1884 or 1885 (pp. 474, 472). His family came from Northallerton (p. 551).

Margaret Fleuss was fourteen years younger than Bentley. He proposed about two weeks after meeting her ('it was characteristic of Bentley to take instant decisions', says his daughter). The next letter announces the impending wedding. The novel situation brought out an unexpected streak of coyness in Bentley.

LETTER 42

[HAD. 36]

13 John Street, Adelphi/ 26. Sepr. 1874

Dear Chas:

I have sent your picture to three people, and they all say that nothing can be done to it, but before I return it I will try again.

Thanks for the full size of rail seat back. However much I may be in love, and, consequently, however indistinctly I may see what appertains not to the domain of Cupid's sway, let me tell you that it was your last dimension that settled definitely the total height.

The glass for the dome is in hand, and shortly will be sent off. Are you really ready for it? Let me know, as I have no desire to hurry it, if a little extra time can be allowed. Mind you will have to thank me for giving your building the most original internal feature of modern times.

My sweet little Lady Rita and I are to be married on the 6th of next month. She is writing a poem on our love — she says it is a perfect poem and therefore ought to be commemorated in verse. Some day you may see it.

Love, I mean kindest regards to Dame Emily.

Ever yours/ Jean François

Margaret Fleuss had been received into the Roman Catholic Church on 8 September, and the marriage took place on 6 October 1874, at the church of SS Peter and Edward, Palace Street, Westminster. The officiating priest was the Very Revd Francis J. Kirk.³ The reason for the choice of this church was that it had been the original home of the Oblates of St Charles, an order of secular priests established in Britain by Manning, for whom Bentley had done a great deal of work, especially in the Notting Hill area. He had designed the high altar, a superb side altar, and other fittings for SS Peter and Edward between 1863 and 1867, while Fr Kirk (who had been one of Manning's original band

of Oblates) was Parish Priest.⁴ In 1873 Kirk was elected Superior of the Oblates, and took up residence at their headquarters, St Mary of the Angels, Bayswater.⁵ In 1880 he moved back to SS Peter and Edward, where Bentley built him a new Presbytery.⁶ Kirk, like Bentley, was a convert. His father, Thomas Kirk, and his eldest brother, Joseph Robinson Kirk, were among the best Irish sculptors of their times, and another brother, William Boynton Kirk, was also an artist.⁷

The dome for which Bentley designed the glass lit the General Office of the block of offices which Hadfield built for the Sheffield United Gas Light Company in Commercial Street in 1872–75⁸. The style of this strikingly handsome stone building was described as ‘Early Renaissance of a Venetian type’. The dome is 25 ft in diameter.⁹ Mrs de l’Hôpital gives no details of the glass, except that it ‘cost over £250’.¹⁰ The glass is frosted, with stylized foliage and a Greek key border (Pl. 25a).

The next letter also refers to the Gas Office, as well as to Sheffield Manor. This house, built c. 1510 by the 4th Earl of Shrewsbury, had fallen into ruin and largely disappeared, except for the so-called ‘Lodge’. Pevsner describes it as ‘the Elizabethan Summer House or Standing, called Turret House, to the S of the main building . . . three-storeyed, of stone, with a higher circular angle turret of brick’.¹¹ Matthew Hadfield made a survey of it for the 15th Duke of Norfolk in 1873, as a result of which its restoration was taken in hand. Bentley designed stained glass for the windows of the two rooms on the second floor.^{11a} The glass must have been made by Lavers, Barraud and Westlake (see Part I, p. 124). One window is inscribed ‘This lodge was restored by Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, A.D. mdccclxxiii’ (Pl. 25b).

LETTER 43

[HAD. 37]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 5 Jany. 1875

Dear Chas:

Hunter will give you an account of the persons and their connection with the Manor whose arms are represented in the windows. Attached I send you the description of the arms and the names of the persons with whom they are associated; and also of the Badges. The latter you will not find in Hunter.

It would not be incorrect to carve the arms of the Queen over the Entrance door of the Gas Offices, though I hardly see the connection and more I should not advise you to do it. Why not carve the initials of the Company in the form of a cypher on a fanciful disc? — but not on a shield.

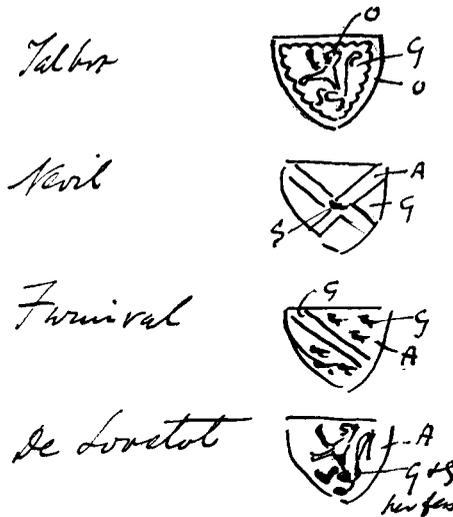
Thank the Guv for the book plates and his good wishes.

In haste/ Ever yours sincerely/ John F. Bentley

Badges

Queen Mary	A hand holding a sword cutting a vine Motto: <i>Virescit Vulnere Virtus</i>
do.	A Liccorice stalk Motto: <i>Dulce meum terra tegit</i>
Fitzalan	A white horse and an oak tree Motto: <i>Virtus laus actio</i>
Howard	A white lion rampant Motto: <i>Sola Virtus invicta</i>

Arms



For description of these
shields see Hunter

'Hunter' is Joseph Hunter, author of *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield*, of which a new edition (by the Revd Alfred Gatty) appeared in 1869.¹² Hadfield presumably needed details of the heraldry for the paper on the restoration which he read to the RIBA on 18 January 1875.¹³ In this he makes no acknowledgement to Bentley (see Part I, pp. 95–96).

Hadfield took Bentley's advice about the Royal Arms. A fanciful cartouche with the letters 'SGC' appears over the main (inner) door of the Gas Office.

His advice was soon asked again, in connection with a project really close to Charles Hadfield's heart — the design of a new house for himself. This was Park Cottage, 84 Norfolk Road.

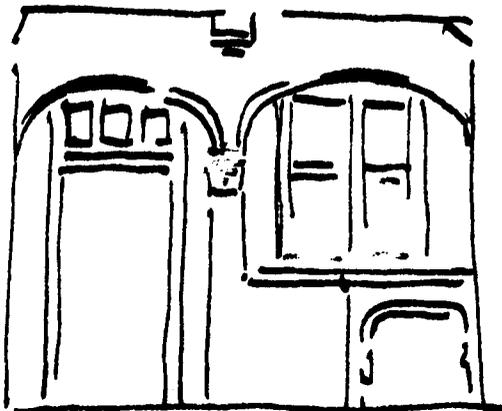
LETTER 44

[HAD. 51]

13 John St. Adelphi/ 3 July 1875

Dear Chas:

Your plan, as I said before, is neither one thing nor the other: either the entrance hall ought to be cut off from the house or it ought to be attached. You certainly ought to open the arches opposite the entrance door and glaze, keeping the centre opening for a door. If you determine to adhere to your plan then I should advise you to modify it slightly, as shown on traced plan No. 2. But if you take my advice you will work out plan No. 3 and, as you say the coldness of your parts necessitates the entrance being cut off from the rest of the house, keep all the doors on the staircase side of the hall. Let the sill of the hall window descend to the shelf of fire place so that they may become one idea, thus:



Try and do a little more to the outside. By omitting the strings that run up chimney stacks on a line with roofs you may I think do it without extra cost. The tracings will show what I mean. The entrance door and hall windows I have sketched out roughly and as in the fireplace and window inside made the two one. Omit the window over bay at any cost. You will see I have put it at the side, to correspond and you can put a cupboard on the other side.

In haste. Love to all/ Thine ever/ John F. Bentley

It is curious that this advice should have been offered on 3 July, for Hadfield had already submitted the plan to the Local Authority on 23 June, and it had been approved two days later.¹⁴ The house has unfortunately been much altered, first Georgianized, and later modernized as the offices of an insurance company, and it is impossible to tell whether Bentley's advice was taken. The 'shield &c' referred to in the next letter has disappeared.

LETTER 45

[HAD. 38]

13. John St Adelphi/ 21. Decr 1875

Dear Chas:

I am glad to hear that the Organ and Case are approved by all. At least I know it is a capital piece of work.

This afternoon were sent off the frets for the sides, by passenger train, so if they do not turn up in due course make enquiries about them.

Purdue has also sent you the drawing of the shield &c for over your door. Tell the carver to incline it thus:



Wishing you all a very Merry Christmas and when it comes a happy New Year.

In haste/ Thine/ JFB

The design of the case for the new organ built for St Marie's, Sheffield, by T. C. Lewis was yet another commission which came through Hadfield, though it is likely enough that it was Bentley who recommended Lewis for the job.¹⁵ The old organ was last used on 7 November 1875, and the new one was installed in time for Christmas. 'The case is elaborately carved in Austrian oak, was designed by Mr John Bentley in consultation with the architects of the church, and the instrument is built to serve as a choir organ, being, in point of fact treated as a screen to the back of the choir stalls.'¹⁶ The carving was by James Erskine Knox (1841–1918), who did so much wood-carving for Bentley.¹⁷ Fortunately, despite the destruction recently wrought in the church, the organ remains unscathed (Pl. 25c).

The next letter gives yet more advice about Hadfield's new house.

LETTER 46

[HAD. 39]

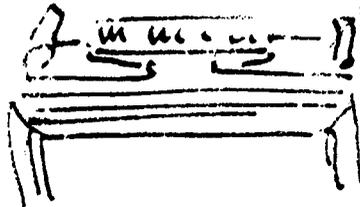
13. John St Adelphi/ 1. March 1876

Dear Chas:

Would you kindly give the enclosed to Mr Barnascone with my compliments and thanks? Thanks to you for getting me the copy of the invoice.

Tell the Guv he can have the chairs whenever he likes. I am delighted to hear that they are becoming young again at Knowle House, and, what is more, I trust they will never grow old.

Lavers charged me £12 for the glass he did for my office. If I were you I should have the staircase window the same as mine and the one in hall simplified. Also were I you I should give up "Salve", painted legends on labels over doors thus



are far more to the point, more seen, and much cheaper; but, if you are determined then I say at the place you marked A in front as you enter. Besides you ought to have a rug in the centre.

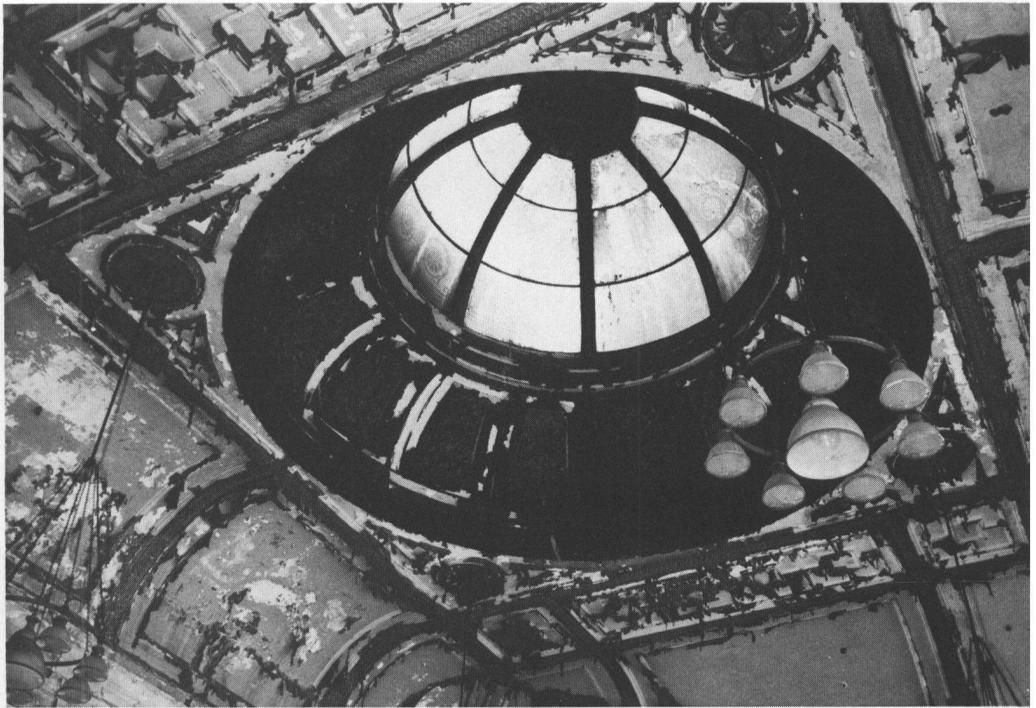
Love to all/Thine ever/John F. Bentley

The glass for Bentley's office consisted of 'four pretty little casements formed of quarries painted alternately with lilies and "Aves"', in the waiting-room. After the office was closed, his widow gave them to the Duke of Norfolk.¹⁸ On Lavers, see Part I, p. 124.

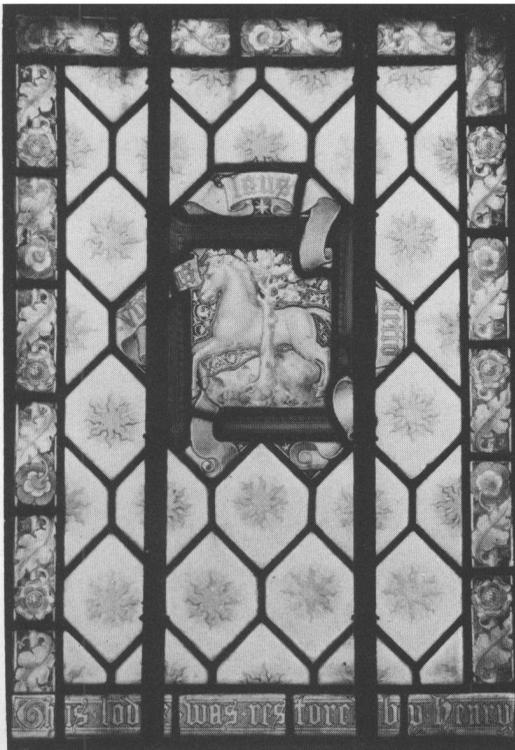
The dealings with 'Mr Barnascone' may conceivably have been connected with a warehouse in York Street, Sheffield, which the Hadfield firm designed for 'H. Barnasconi' in January 1875.¹⁹ It seems to have disappeared.

The next note is undated: a torn-off fragment attached to it bears, as well as the postscript, the words 'Dear Cha . . .', so it was presumably torn off a letter. It has been inserted here since it relates to Hadfield's house.

Pl. 25a
Sheffield,
former Gas
Office, glazed
dome of
General Office



Pl. 25b
Sheffield,
Manor Lodge,
window of
upper room



Pl. 25c
Sheffield,
St Marie's
Church (now
Cathedral)
organ case

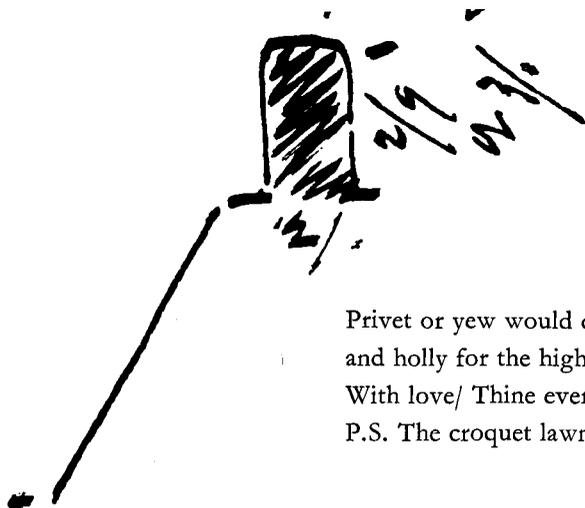


LETTER 47
[HAD. 79]

Re Hadfield Park

If you have a terrace in front of your house 8 ft high, you must erect something on the top — either a fence, hedge or wall — or anybody, if not “somebody”, may hitch over. When it comes in front of the carriage sweep or turn it would be positively dangerous with[out] a protection of some sort.

If you could carry out my idea with hedge work instead of wallwork it would look very well, but it ought to be so set that it will grow very thick, and that on the summit of the terrace should be kept low not more than 3 ft high. Thicker the better. Nothing looks finer than a short stunted thick [h]edge of about this section



Privet or yew would do
and holly for the higher ones.

With love/ Thine ever/ John F. Bentley

P.S. The croquet lawn should be in front of the window

The ground on which Park Cottage is built slopes fairly steeply, and the house stands on an artificial terrace, with a steep bank running along the garden front. The carriage sweep is at the side of the house.²⁰

In his next letter Bentley acknowledges receipt of a pamphlet written by Hadfield.

LETTER 48
[HAD. 33]

13, John Street, Adelphi/ Sep. 21 1878

Dear Chas:

Many thanks for your pamphlet, which from a hurried perusal, seems very interesting. Had I seen it in proof I should have advised you to have erased two faint blots — first the strenuous way you have brought forward a theory, long ago exploded amongst those who have any historical or archaeological knowledge, in order so readily and easily to dismiss it into space, that in the Middle Ages, clerics were the architects or designers of the venerated fanes that throng the land; and, second, the intended compliment you pay to Phyffers in speaking so kindly and favourably of those deplorable statues he had the misfortune to execute for the Cathedral. The dear old fellow's memory I shall always revere and for long years respect his great artistic attainments: but in reviewing the work in question I feel, and felt during its

progress, that it was done under a frightful physical incubus, and therefore it ought in no sense to be credited to the cunning of his hand and brain, or, indeed, to be taken as his work.

Remember me very kindly to Dame Emily.

Ever yours sincerely, / John F. Bentley

Hadfield's pamphlet must have been a copy of his paper 'On the History of the rebuilding of the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral, A.D. 1175', read to the Sheffield Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1877, and printed in *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, xiv (1877-78), pp. 128-49. It is curious that Bentley should rebuke him for even mentioning the cleric-architect theory (which Hadfield roundly denounces as 'fallacious') but he seems to have had something of a fixation about it: see also Letters 56 and 75. He may well have heard or read Wyatt Papworth's paper 'On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages, with especial reference to William of Wykeham'.²¹ Papworth denied that Wykeham was an architect.²² In a letter of 10 February 1910 from W. R. Lethaby to Charles Hadfield (in the RIBA collection), Lethaby remarks 'Quite agree in your view as to Wykeham'. This view is the one generally held nowadays, as by R. A. Brown and H. M. Colvin: 'However competent the king's clerks may have been as administrators, there is no evidence that any of them (Wykeham included) had any technical knowledge of architecture'.²³

At the end of his paper, Hadfield described as an 'act of Vandalism' the replacement of the Norman north-west tower of the Cathedral in 1832 by a copy of the south-west tower, and praised the statues by Phyffers 'erected by the care of the late lamented Dean Alford about seven years ago' on the south-west tower and porch, by comparison with the 'poor and crude carvings and detail' on the north-west tower. He described Phyffers as 'a clever Belgian sculptor, who has resided in England for some years, and who has, I regret to say, recently passed away almost unnoticed, though an artist of acknowledged skill'. The statues represent the Kings of England and the Archbishops from St Augustine's time. Their erection must have marked the culmination of the restoration campaign, chiefly of 1862-65, for which the architects responsible were H. G. Austin, the Cathedral Surveyor, in association with Ewan Christian, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (who had made a substantial grant).²⁴ The statues are certainly not very good. On Phyffers and his sad end, see Part I, p. 136, n. 102.

The following letter is torn, so that the date is uncertain, but it is likely that Hadfield had consulted Bentley about his restoration of the splendid sixteenth-century tombs of the 4th and 6th Earls of Shrewsbury in Sheffield Parish Church (now Cathedral). Hadfield described them in 1910 as 'carefully repaired and cleaned some years ago under my direction', for the Duke of Norfolk.²⁵

LETTER 49

[HAD. 40]

13 John St Adelphi/ 13 Jan'y 188[]

Dear Hadfield,

Your letter of about Xmas tide quite escaped my memory until I received the reminder of your coming to town; and while you were here this afternoon I quite forgot to refer to the question you raised. All ancient effigies in alabaster were polished and a great deal of the carving. I have had figures and foliage so treated and in speaking to Mr Butterfield on the

matter he instanced the carving in All Saints and some angels in Keble College of his own work. Unless the polishing is carefully done woe betide the statue.

Thine ever J.F.B.

'All Saints' is All Saints, Margaret Street, London. The angels at Keble College must be the four which stand on top of shafts in the Chapel reredos.

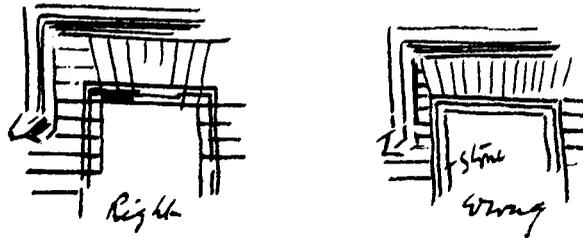
The next letter refers to what must have been Charles Hadfield's secular masterpiece, the Corn Exchange in Sheaf Street, Sheffield. This remarkable building was begun in 1878 and completed in 1882. It consisted of a great quadrangle: in the centre was the actual exchange, with an oak roof supported on stone pillars, while the surrounding ranges contained a hotel, shops, and offices, including the Norfolk Estate Offices, and also those of the Hadfield firm. It was in a rich Tudor style, with a particularly grand 'Gatehouse'. The heraldic carvings on this, and other details, were designed by Bentley (Pl. 26).²⁶

LETTER 50
[HAD. 41]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 5. Aug. 1880

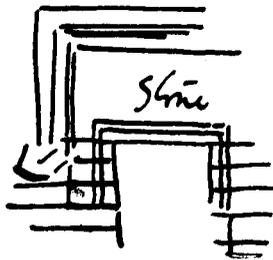
Dear Chas:

From a remark that dropped from Purdue this morning you evidently did not understand my objection to your windowheads at the Corn Exchange: the objection was not that you had placed stone labels over brick lintols, but that you had place[d] a *brick arch* between a *stone head* and a *stone label*



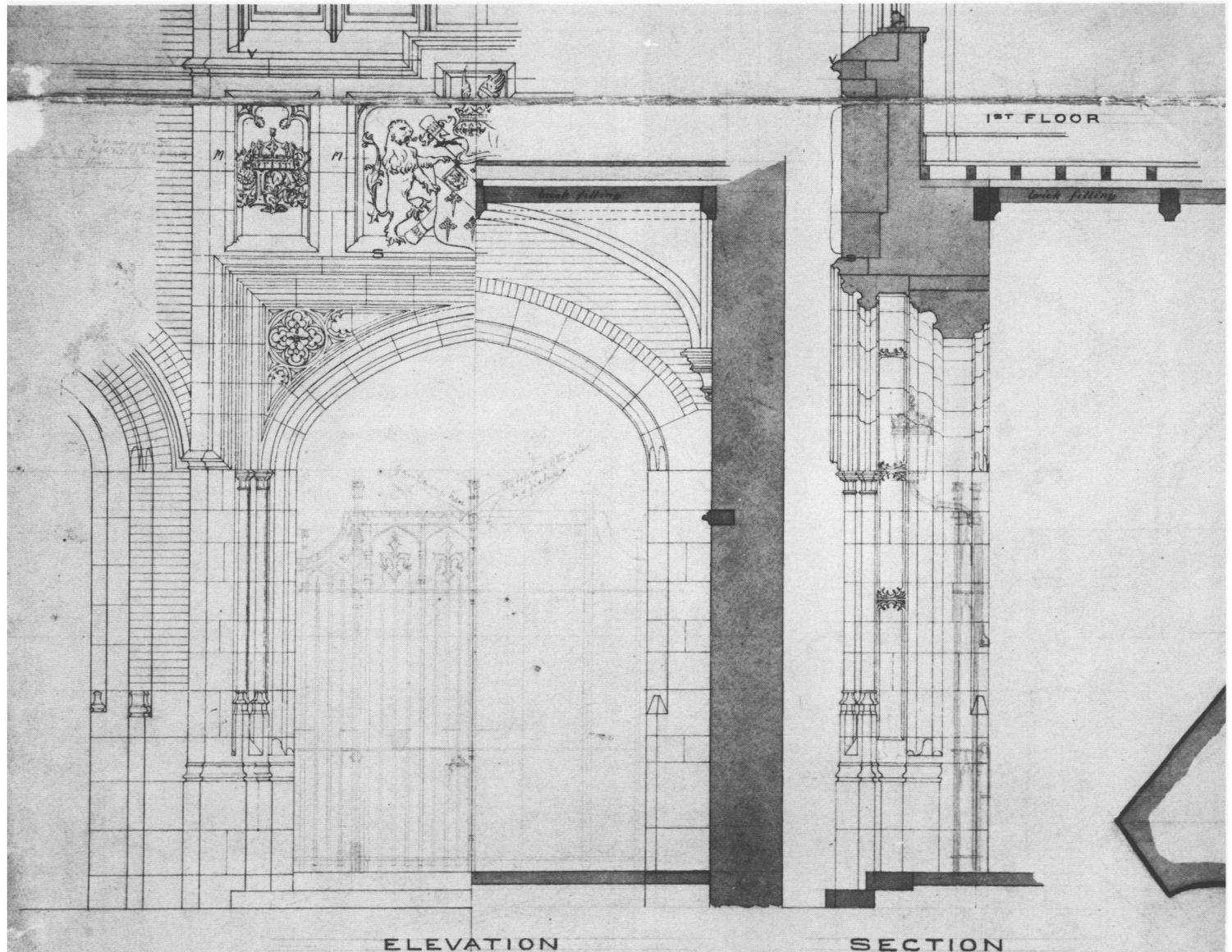
Love to the Guv.

Thine always/ John F. Bentley



P.S. This is in my opinion the best system where you are using stone — in a stone district — conjointly with brick.

[On reverse of last sheet is a pencil sketch of a pinnacle]



Pl. 26 J. F. Bentley, elevation and section of main entrance, Corn Market, Sheffield (Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson collection 123|7|9)

Unfortunately the building was gutted by fire in 1947, and demolished in 1964. No proper photographic record seems to have been made, but from the best available picture (Pl. 27), it appears that Bentley's criticism went unheeded (it may well have arrived too late).

In the following letter, Bentley offers advice on the design of the memorial tablet which Hadfield was designing to commemorate his father in St Marie's Church. Matthew Hadfield had died on 9 March 1885, in his 73rd year.

LETTER 51

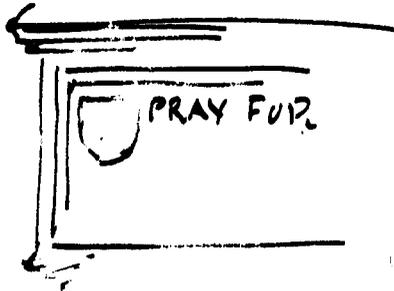
[HAD. 43]

13 St John Adelphi, / 15 Oct: 1886

Dear Hadfield:

You shall have the drawing of Tab: shortly. Just at the moment I am working against time.

You could have wreaths with your father's and mother's initials in the upper spandrel and you might use your father's arms at the beginning of the inscription thus:—



Surely you are not going in for a brass plate let into a panel? I thought you had left the region where such things are done long ago and were miles away.

Ever your sincerely/ John F. Bentley

Hadfield followed this advice (although the inscription does not in fact begin 'Pray for . . .'). The memorial is at the eastern end of the north wall of the north transept, just beside the shrine of Our Lady (Pl. 28a). There is no brass plate: the tablet is entirely of alabaster. It was erected in March 1887, and carved by Frank Tory.²⁷ The figure of Our Lady was 'after a cast sent to him [i.e. Matthew Hadfield] by his old friend, Augustus Welby Pugin, in "Gothic Revival" days'.²⁸

It is not known where the tabernacle was: Bentley designed many fine examples.²⁹

The next letter refers to Bentley's brother Robert, who was an Alderman and several times Mayor of Doncaster.

LETTER 52

[HAD. 42]

13 John St Adelphi/ Sep. 6. 1888

Dear Hadfield:

Since last writing I have been here there, and everywhere or I should have thanked you earlier for the address. It was Round's address that I wanted. On my return from Carlton a few days back, my brother informed me that he had purchased two houses and some land on Hall



Pl. 27 *Sheffield, Corn Market*

Cross Hill at Doncaster and that you have surveyed and inspected them on behalf of the owners. If this be so kindly let me know the condition you found the property in and whether you took plans of same.

You are quite right: Architecture is going to the wall, and one ought to keep an open eye — very wide open too — on future prospects.

Thine ever/ John F. Bentley

P.S. They say Lord B. has married a pot of money.

The houses on Hall Cross Hill are handsome Late Georgian terrace houses. According to Mrs de l'Hôpital, 'Sandholme' was 'thoroughly overhauled and decorated' by Bentley for his brother in 1890.³⁰

Lord Beaumont had married 'a cheerful hunting girl, Violet Wootton Isaacson, with a fortune of £120,000, derived from "Madame Elise", a fashionable dress shop in Regent Street'.³¹ Bentley had no doubt visited Carlton because Lord Beaumont consulted him at this time about the grounds and various improvements to the house.³²

In the next year, Bentley wrote to congratulate Hadfield on his recent book (to which Bentley had subscribed).

LETTER 53

[HAD. 44]

13 John St. Adelphi/ 19. July. 1889

Dear Hadfield:

I have read with much interest and pleasure your History of St Mary's Mission. I am glad you have put pen to paper, for I feel had you not done so many historical facts relating to the Church and people would otherwise have been lost. Those, who from association and affection are attached to the place and its surroundings owe you a deep debt of gratitude which I trust they will remember whenever an opportunity presents itself of putting work in your way. Financially — a most important matter — I trust the work was a success. I only regret that out of respect for your Father's memory the Church was not better illustrated. Charlie ought to have tried his hand in that direction.

With all good wishes/very sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

The full title of the book was *A History of St Marie's Mission and Church, Norfolk Row, Sheffield*. It was published by Pawson and Brailsford, Printers, of Sheffield. It was illustrated with extraordinarily muddy photographs. 'Charlie' is Charles Hadfield's eldest son (see Part I, p. 118), who trained as an architect and became a partner in his father's firm (then called M. E. Hadfield, Son and Garland) in 1897.

The next two letters both concern the Royal Hospital, West Street, Sheffield, which was built to Hadfield's designs from 1892.

LETTER 54

[HAD. 45]

13 John St Adelphi/ 12. Nov. 1890

Dear Hadfield;

When last writing I was firmly under the impression that Barfield had been gathered to his progenitors, but I find I am wrong, much to my delight. His address is 22 Great George St,

Westminster. I believe he is now the proprietor of the Fareham brickfields. I mention this as by allowing him to imagine you contemplate the use of other bricks you may keep down the price. Hope to see you soon.

In haste/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

LETTER 55

[HAD. 46]

13 John S. Adelphi/ 28 Jany 1891

Dear Hadfield:

I have been prevented from replying earlier to your letter, re Suffolk bricks. I enclose some information, but as it is all supplied I must ask you to use your judgement concerning it.

The Bracknell bricks are very good but I know the carriage is an obstruction to your using them.

Everything here is very dull and quiet, but I, with the rest of those who dwell in these parts, am looking forward with hopes that there are better times ahead.

My kind regards to you and yours./ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

'Bracknell bricks' were used by Bentley for the exterior facing of Westminster Cathedral — 'an exceptionally fine thin type of brick, giving five courses to the foot'.³³ In the end Hadfield used 'Skier's spring bricks' for the facing of the principal fronts, and local bricks 'from Robinson's yard in the Park' for the elevations of the courts.³⁴

In 1893 Charles and Emily Hadfield went on a pilgrimage to Rome.

LETTER 56

[HAD. 47]

13 John St. Adelphi/ 1. Apl. 93

Dear Hadfield:

I am very sorry I did not see you and your wife when you passed through town on your return from Rome. But why did you not run over to Clapham?

Certainly you were a bold pair to venture on the pilgrimage, and I am glad to know that you came out of the fray — for I am told fray it was — with clean skins.

In matters affecting work I don't change much. Twenty five years and more ago I came to pretty strong conclusions, and I don't think the moving fashions of the day produce any impression on me now.

St Peter's to me is absolutely brutal — as brutal as the spirit which represented the possessor of Xtian virtues in the form of a monster covered with muscular exaggerations and contortions.

I see you have taken up with the Raphael myth: he did about as much architecture as William of Wykeham.

For eight weeks I was laid up with a complication of bronchitis, congestions of the lungs and influenza, and have only just returned to office and am only allowed to remain a few hours daily.

Wishing you and yours all Easter blessings/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

Clapham was where the Bentleys had lived since 1876, at 43 Old Town, a charming brick house which Mrs de l'Hôpital thought was by Wren.³⁵

Bentley had not yet seen St Peter's, but his opinion of it did not improve when he did (see Letter 58). In referring to the 'monster' he is perhaps thinking of Michelangelo's

figure of Christ in the Sistine Chapel frescoes. Poor Hadfield seems to have fallen into the cleric-architect trap again (see Letter 48), but this time Bentley is the one with egg on his face.

The illness was a harbinger of the gradual collapse of Bentley's health which tragically coincided with the greatest challenge of his career. This was, of course, the commission to design Westminster Cathedral, which he received in mid-July 1894. He wrote to Charles Hadfield at once: the letter is not in the RIBA collection, but it was published by Mrs de l'Hôpital (pp. 23–24).

13, John Street, Adelphi./ 19 July, 1894.

Dear Hadfield,

Just a word to say that, to my surprise, the designing of the new cathedral is to be entrusted to me. Some time ago I was asked if I would take part in a competition, to which I replied emphatically 'No'.

Since I first heard of the scheme I purposely avoided the Cardinal, and when you were in town last, I knew nothing of it, save that a dozen or more architects had written asking to be allowed to enter the lists, and that some of the dozen were individually urging all the powers at their disposal to influence the Cardinal in their favour. I trust you are busy and well. With regards to your wife and children,

Always sincerely yours,/ John F. Bentley.

Cardinal Vaughan had at first intended to choose an architect by means of a competition. Bentley, however, had decided, after entering the competition for a new church at Heigham, Norfolk, and failing to win it, that he would never enter another, and characteristically kept to his resolve.³⁶ Vaughan was well aware of Bentley's merits, for he had been a member of Manning's original band of Oblates of St Charles (see on Letter 42). It was Bentley's 'point-blank refusal' to compete that caused him to think again, and eventually to decide to appoint him directly.³⁷

Mrs de l'Hôpital notes that the visit made by Hadfield to Bentley (at 13 John Street) was on 2 July. She quotes Hadfield's reply, and it is worth reproducing it here in full, especially since it is the only letter of his of which the draft is preserved in the RIBA collection. Mrs de l'Hôpital's version differs in many places from the draft, but whether it was Hadfield himself or she who altered it can only be surmised.

LETTER 57

[HAD. 82]

Old Club Chambers, Norfolk Street, Sheffield, July 20th 1894/ (and 19 and

M. E. Hadfield Son and Garland

20, Baxter Gate, Doncaster)

The New Cathedral

Dear Bentley,

Just a line of congratulation on the glorious news in your letter this morning. The fact of your selection as architect will be a matter of sincerest pleasure to all your old friends, to none more than to myself — I need not say that had my dear Father been living he would have been to the fore in wishing you health, strength and success to carry out the great work, wh: must be a landmark in this wonderful 19th century History.

Everything comes to him who waits. You have had many disappointments but at last the reward has come. I am glad to say I was not among the "touting twelve" — and dont envy their feelings.

The Cardinal's action will satisfy all thinking men who appreciate intellect and true art — I trust it will be "Ring out the False, ring in the True", and Catholic English art should flourish the better for the change.

My wife and Charlie join me in hearty congratulations — he will be down in a few weeks time.

I send you a Sheffield paper. The Duke of Norfolk is to preside over a Towns meeting on Monday to raise further funds for our new Hospital. As usual the newspaper people have made a hash of the illustration — although an electrotype block reduced from a careful pen and ink drawing was given to them.

With best regards from all at Park Cottage/ I am, very sincerely yours/ C. Hadfield
Jn. F. Bentley Esqre

Mrs de l'Hôpital notes, in connection with Hadfield's reference to his father, that 'Bentley had looked upon Mr Matthew Hadfield as a father, his own having died in 1856, within a short time of his son's departure from Doncaster to study in London'.

The newspaper which Hadfield sent was probably the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of 20 July 1894, which contained an article announcing that a public meeting would be held at the Cutlers' Hall on Monday 23 July, to appeal for funds to complete the rebuilding of the Royal Hospital. It was illustrated with a very poor engraving of the complete design. A much better engraving illustrated an article which appeared on 21 July in a newspaper from which there is a cutting (unidentified except as 'The People's Paper') in Sheffield City Library (Pl. 28b).³⁸ The western part of the north front (the part beyond the tower, on the right) was built later to a different design. The Hospital was demolished in 1981.³⁹

The next two letters were sent from Italy. Bentley's earlier foreign expeditions appear to have been confined to his visit to Paris in 1867 (see Part I, p. 115), a second visit about ten years later, and, sometime earlier, a visit to Belgium.⁴⁰ Now the Cathedral commission, and the decision that the style should not be Gothic, seemed to require personal acquaintance with the ecclesiastical architecture of Italy and Constantinople.⁴¹ After careful preparations, he set out on 22 November 1894: his first stop was Milan, and he then went to Pavia, Pisa and Florence. In mid-December he reached Rome, where he soon moved from the Grand Hotel to the Albergo d'Inghilterra, Via Bocca di Leone, a hotel 'much frequented by English travellers of the more intellectually interesting type'. From it he wrote to Hadfield.

LETTER 58

[HAD. 48]

Hôtel d'Angleterre/ Bocca di Leone/ Roma/ XXII.XII.94

Dear Hadfield:

I write really that an old custom of many years standing may not be broken — to wish you and yours all the blessings of Christmas and a truly happy new year which I do with all my heart.

Later I will try and send you a few lines on the impressions produced upon me by the many beautiful things I have seen.

Now I have been in Italy a month and in Rome more than a week. The morning after my arrival, out of devotion, I made straight for St Peter's — that is as straight as the meandering

ways would allow — not looking into any of the many churches I passed on the road, that my first act might be one of veneration to him who is the centre and keystone of Christian unity. I venerate the place more than I can say, and my only regret is that the human part of it is not more worthy of so august a purpose.

Architecturally, I think it is the worst large building I have seen, excepting, perhaps the Duomo at Florence, and I cannot conceive that any architect can sing its praises. Of course the effect is fine, very fine, but produced at the sacrifice of scale.

I have many letters of congratulations to write so pray excuse haste.

Always yours sincerely/ John F. Bentley

Bentley's opinion of St Peter's was predictable (see on Letter 56). It was by no means an exceptional one for a nineteenth century Englishman. Coventry Patmore, for example, criticized St Peter's for its defects of scale in 1864.⁴² Ruskin called it 'nothing more than the pump-room at Leamington built bigger'.⁴³ Pugin hated it so much that (to Newman's horror) he expressed the wish that the dome might collapse.⁴⁴ Bentley's criticism of the 'sacrifice of scale' is all the more interesting in that he himself succeeded in giving Westminster Cathedral such a magnificent effect of scale. It is a telling experience to walk up the nave of St Peter's as far as the inset brass inscription recording the comparative length of Westminster Cathedral: from it the distance to the east end appears trivial. Bentley's low opinion of the Duomo at Florence was no doubt based on the same criterion, as was Ruskin's.⁴⁵

At the end of January 1895 Bentley went to Naples, returning to Rome in the first week of February, en route for Assisi, Perugia, and Ravenna. By 17 February he was at Bologna.

LETTER 59

[HAD. 49]

Cartolina Postale Italiana/ A. C. Hadfield Esqre/ Park Cottage/ Norfolk Road/ Sheffield/
Inghilterra/

Hôtel Brun. Bologna/ XVII. II. 94 [sic]

Many thanks for your letter. In a sense I was pleased to leave Rome and certainly should not have remained so long had I not been compelled. Rome is practically a city dating from the 16th century, and, architecturally, by no means an interesting one. Anything more brainless than this work from that date to the present it is impossible to conceive. Indeed the worst building I have ever seen is St P's outside the walls. Happily the little left of the early Xtian work and the ruins of Imperial Rome more than occupied my attention and thought.

I had a private audience with the H.F. lasting ten minutes, and attended the requiem for Pio IX in the Sistine, having a seat allotted me next the Cardinals. The number of callers during my stay were many indeed too many, all the colleges were open to me, and I had only to express a wish to see the things closed to the public and at once I received an order.

Il vostro J.F.B.

P.S. I am afraid my conclusions will shock you: they vary so much from yours.

Bentley was 'compelled' to stay in Rome 'by Cardinal Vaughan's desire that he should await his arrival'.⁴⁶ His low opinion of S. Paolo fuori le Mura is presumably largely due

to the extensive restorations carried out after the serious fire of 1823. All the same, it is very striking when one remembers that Vaughan and his advisers originally wanted Westminster Cathedral to be 'a basilica church, of the Italian type': Mrs de l'Hôpital (p. 25) records that Bentley 'brought his most powerful arguments to bear against the adoption of a style for which he could feel neither interest nor admiration'. His audience with Pope Leo XIII, and attendance at the annual Requiem for Pius IX, are described by Mrs de l'Hôpital (p. 31).

Hadfield's opinion of Rome may be guessed from the description of the style of the Sheffield Royal Hospital which he supplied to the newspaper referred to above (on Letter 57): 'Mr Hadfield, following the practice of the well-known architects of the 17th and 18th centuries, has studied the best Italian models at the fountain head in Rome, Milan and elsewhere — feeling that they lend themselves to modern constructive problems, and sound sanitary building'. One doubts if Bentley would have been much impressed by the sanitary advantages of Renaissance architecture, but he was by no means wholly blind to its charms: see, for example, the design for a chimney-piece at 70 Eccleston Square illustrated on p. 491 of Mrs de l'Hôpital's book. Even at Westminster Cathedral there are decorative details of obviously Renaissance origin, and Goodhart-Rendel described him as having created 'a nonce-style . . . in which the neo-Renaissance procedure of his time has been, as it were, infused with Byzantine suggestion'.⁴⁷

From Bologna, Bentley went, via Ferrara, to Venice. News of a cholera epidemic prevented him from going on to Constantinople. He returned home by way of Verona, Turin, Dijon, and Paris, and he reached London on 19 March. His letter announcing his return repeated much of what he had said before.

LETTER 60

[HAD. 50]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 26 March 1895

Dear Hadfield:

Scarcely more than a word to say that I am back again, safe and sound, and none the worse for my many journeyings.

During the whole of February I had a very rough time of it, while I was in the Ravenna district — a flat low marshy plain, then covered with snow from 2 to 4 ft deep — but a most interesting part of the country. The man who drove me to S. Apollinare in Classe called a church of the 11th centy modern!

While in Rome I had a private audience of the Holy Father, and attended the Requiem to Pio Nono in the Sistine, at which he assisted. I was "seated next the Cardinals".

My impression of Rome is that it is almost a modern City like Turin, dating from about the middle of the 16th Centy, with a great number of dreadful Churches, mostly filled with accessories and decoration without the least Xtian significance. Certainly I saw little, excepting of course the earlier work of which there are only a few examples left, that made any impression on me.

Trust you are all well,/ In haste,/ Yours ever/ John F. Bentley

P.S. Italian detail is the most thoughtless heartless stuff I have ever seen.

Bentley had returned with his ideas for the Cathedral already maturing, and by May he had produced two tentative plans. Although the final plan was not agreed until the next year, the foundation stone was laid on 29 June 1895, and was a splendid event.⁴⁸

LETTER 61

[HAD. 52]

13, John St Adelphi/ 5 July 1895

Dear Hadfield:

Thanks, many, for your kind letter and enclosure. If I use Hopton Wood stone I will not fail to consider the application.

The function on Saturday last was a huge success and there was no friction in the proceedings from first to last. I cannot say how pleased I am that the "Basilica" and Italian styles were cast aside.

I intend to have few mouldings to the arches, indeed none at all to the great arches that will carry the domes. All the caps and bases will take a new departure, or rather a carrying on of a very old one, and so with all the other details. I am not attempting a new style — that is impossible — but intend, as far as I am able, to develop the first phase of Xtian architecture.

I shall not go to Ushaw this year, if I receive an invitation, which I do not expect. Of course a holiday is out of the question after my recent five months journeyings.

When we get into our new hive Fanny must come up and stay with us. For a long time, owing to overcrowding, we have been unable to take in friends. I am glad she enjoyed her trip to Clapham.

Bede was very pleased with the hospitality and pleasure you afforded him.

Kind regards to your wife and family/ Always yours sincerely/ John F. Bentley

P.S. Can you tell me the name and address of the Leeds builder you have employed for some years.

Bentley did use Hopton Wood stone for various internal features of the Cathedral.⁴⁹ The variety of wonderfully inventive and decorative capitals is one of its great glories.⁵⁰

The 'new hive' was The Sweep, a substantial house dating from about 1815 on the east side of Clapham Common. Bentley's family had outgrown 43 Old Town. The new house was in bad condition, and he 'proceeded practically to gut the interior'. The family moved in in August 1895.⁵¹ The house has now been demolished.

'Bede' was Bentley's second son.

Bentley was perhaps thinking of inviting 'the Leeds builder' to tender for the Cathedral: if his was one of the five firms which did, it was not successful, for the contract went to Messrs Shillitoe and Sons of Bury St Edmunds.⁵²

One of the numerous problems which Bentley had to face consisted in the fact that the row of houses which then stood opposite the Cathedral on the north side of Ashley Place had rights to light and air, which meant that the west front had to be stepped back. Hence the following letters.

LETTER 62

[HAD. 53]

13 John St Adelphi/ 20 March 96

Dear Hadfield

Could you send me the pamphlet on Ancient Lights you spoke about? I should much like to see what your friend the specialist says on the matter. The Cardinal has just been here and I told him that you were going to send me a paper which might help us.

Kind regards to you all/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

LETTER 63

[HAD. 54]

13. John St Adelphi/ 25 March 96

Dear Hadfield:

How very kind of you to send me Mr Holden's lecture on Ancient Lights. I shall shew it to the Cardinal in due course. Mr Holden's conclusion is the same as mine — that the angle of 45° theory is untenable and that the real question in such cases resolves itself into one of unreasonable interference.

I shall see the Diocesan Solicitor now my opinion is confirmed by so good an authority and hear what he has to say.

I was sorry to hear of the death of your old friend Mr Brown. How rapidly the landmarks of one's early days are disappearing. Soon we shall have to take the character of old fogies ourselves!

Many, many thanks/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

The pamphlet concerned was *Easements and Rights of Light* (Manchester, 1885) by John Holden, FRIBA, FSI, President of the Manchester Society of Architects. Holden points out on pp. 25–26 that the 'angle of 45° theory' was once thought to settle everything, but had been overruled many times in court. A drawing in the RIBA Collection (no. 31 in the *Catalogue*) shows Bentley's calculations of light angles. The setting-back of the façade 'considerably affected not to say weakened' the abutment of the westernmost bay of the nave.⁵³ It is ironic that the houses have now been demolished to open up the view of the Cathedral from Victoria Street.

The next letter announced sad news.

LETTER 64

[HAD. 55]

13. John St Adelphi/ 14. Nov. 96

Dear Hadfield:

You will all I am sure be grieved to hear that dear old Purdue passed away this morning at 8.40. Have a Mass said for him, and remember him in your prayers. God rest his soul. I am much cut up.

Yours ever/ John F. Bentley

Purdue (on whom see Part I, p. 105) had caught a chill watching the Lord Mayor's Show, and acute bronchitis set in.⁵⁴

In his reply, Hadfield informed Bentley that his daughter had decided to try her vocation as a nun, like her three aunts.

LETTER 65

[HAD. 56]

13. John St Adelphi/ 23. Nov 1896

Dear Hadfield,

I was glad and sorry to hear that Fanny had left you to try her vocation — glad because of her high and holy aspiration, sorry because you and your wife would lose a companion associated with happy memories. But, brutal as it may seem, I must ask you to accept my best congratulations, coupled with the hope that she may find peace in her new convent home.

Poor, dear old Purdue, I can't tell you how much we miss him, and it makes us more than sad when we think that his bright generous face is to be seen no more. He was a true friend, truer than words can express.

With our best wishes to you all/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

P.S. many thanks for your prayers and Mass on behalf of dear, dear Purdue.

The next letter dates from 18 months later. On the foundation of the diocese of Brooklyn, New York, in 1853, St James's Church, Jay Street (built in 1822), became the cathedral. In 1860 Bishop John Loughlin acquired the whole block between Vanderbilt, Clermont, Lafayette and Greene Avenues as the site (though by no means an impressive one) for a Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, to be the largest in the world. Patrick Charles Keely, of New York, was to be architect. The foundation stone was laid in 1868, the walls were begun, and the Chapel of St John (to be the largest of six) was completed in 1878. The Bishop's House (367 Clermont Avenue) was finished in 1887. However, after the Cathedral walls had reached a height of 12 ft, the project was given up and the funds applied to charitable purposes. Keely died in 1896.⁵⁵

Bishop Loughlin's successor visited London, admired Westminster Cathedral, and met Bentley, whom he invited 'to give advice with regard to a proposed cathedral'.⁵⁶

LETTER 66

[HAD. 57]

13 John St. Adelphi/ 13. May. 1898

Dear Hadfield:

Thanks for your letter and good wishes.

Yes, I am off immediately but the object in hand in no way excites me. It will give me great pleasure to call upon your relations in New York. A letter addressed to Bishop's House, 367. Clermont Avenue Brooklyn, New York will find me.

Best wishes to you all. In haste./ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

Bentley 'received much courtesy and hospitality' in the United States, where he even visited the Niagara Falls, but he was not happy there.

LETTER 67

[HAD. 58]

13. John St Adelphi/ 16. July 98

Dear Hadfield

I returned to England at the beginning of the week. I made use of your letter of introduction to your cousin, Mr Frith, but I was unfortunately much too occupied to take advantage of his kind offers. The Americans are mostly a dreadful people, and I felt it a blessing that the Atlantic is between us.

I was very grieved to hear of Mr Ellison's death. Kindly express my sympathy to his daughters.

With all good wishes to you and yours./ Ever sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

Mrs de l'Hôpital comments: 'It will be readily imagined that the transatlantic temperament and outlook would be antipathetic to the architect's spirit, and his opinion of the

race as a whole was in no wise improved by certain travelling experiences on the Cunarder and in the States’.

The chief problem at Brooklyn concerned the difficulty of securing foundations in the deep alluvial soil. Bentley would not think of using iron (see on letter 79), and, after investigating the availability of suitable stone, brick, etc., returned to England to work out a design. Mrs de l’Hôpital quotes Willson’s description of the project, from the drawings which were almost complete at the time of Bentley’s death (the Bishop proposed to visit England in summer 1902): it was to be in Late Gothic style, 350 ft long, with two western towers, and a bold lantern over the crossing. The drawings were completed after Bentley’s death, and taken back to America by the Bishop, but nothing came of the project. Bentley’s design would presumably have involved sweeping away what Keely had built. This was done in 1931, to clear the site for the Bishop Loughlin Memorial High School. The former Bishop’s Residence (now the Chancery) still stands, a grim and unlovable pile of granite which must have been anathema to Bentley. St James’s (rebuilt in 1903 by George H. Streeton) still serves as the Cathedral. Bentley’s drawings are lost.^{56a}

‘Mr Frith’ was presumably a nephew of Charles Hadfield’s mother (born Sarah Frith). She had died in 1896. ‘Mr Ellison’ must have been a member of Matthew Hadfield’s mother’s family. He may have been her nephew Michael (born 1817), who had succeeded his father (also Michael) as Steward of the Duke of Norfolk’s Sheffield estate. He had two sons, as well as daughters.⁵⁷

Six months later, Bentley again refers to his health.

LETTER 68

[HAD. 59]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 16. Jany. 99

Dear Hadfield:

I regret that I did not see you when you were last in town. Unfortunately I was laid up with one of my bad bilious attacks which are of periodical occurrence, but happily they are soon over.

I was glad that Bede had the opportunity of shewing you over the Cathedral works and that you were pleased with your visit. It is beginning to look very vast now that the great arches are being turned, 60 ft span and 95 ft to the soffit, from which spring the domes. But the model would make everything clear to you. I am starting the Archbishop’s new house. It will be a very big thing and in character with the Cathedral — what that is I know not though I do know it was drawn from what I saw in the East; at the same time I saw nothing like it.

I trust that you all keep well/ With kind regards/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

His health was in fact much more precarious than he admits. He had had peritonitis in 1894, after which he was never the same. The journey to America weakened him, and in November 1898 he suffered ‘a sudden weakness and slight temporary difficulty of speech pointing to a paralytic affection’.⁵⁸ However, he soon resumed his routine.

The ‘model’ to which he refers was made by Messrs Farmer and Brindley, before the design was finalised (it shows a number of small divergences from the completed

building). Made of wood, to a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ in to 1 ft, it measures 8 ft \times 4 ft.⁵⁹ In February 1899 it stood 'in the Clerk of Works' Office in the Cathedral ground: it is lighted by electricity, and gives a perfect idea of the structure as it will be when ready for decoration'.⁶⁰ By June 1899 it was in Archbishop's House.⁶¹ For many years it stood in the Architect's Room at the Cathedral, but since it was repaired in 1976 it has been moved several times.

Bentley was instructed to prepare designs for the Archbishop's House in July 1898, and work began next winter. It has a frontage of 188 ft.⁶² Vaughan insisted on strict economy, requiring 'the plainest possible dwelling': he later complained that it was 'the ugliest in London', but Mrs de l'Hôpital rightly claims that 'there need be no fear that posterity will endorse Cardinal Vaughan's opinion'. Bentley's reference to 'the East' is curious: he must be referring to Ravenna and Venice.

The next letter is an interesting defence of the style of the Cathedral.

LETTER 69

[HAD. 60]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 4 Feby 99

Dear Hadfield:

I was sorry not to see you on Thursday: I worked later than usual, thinking that you might turn in after office hours.

I quite agree with the critics you refer to — that the Cathedral will be un-English, but I do feel that it will be nothing like as un-English as modern Gothic, with its stained and varnished work, and many other abominations. That it will be massive, with a building of such size, goes without saying, but its massiveness will nowhere approach that of St Peter's, nor the Norman work of our own country.

I am getting quite tired of Antiquarian Architecture: as I told Col: Prendergast, some months ago, it is the business of a student to copy and study ancient work, but that business ceases directly he attaches his name to his design, otherwise he is a mere prig and forgets such action would not be tolerated if perpetuated by a literary man, sculptor, painter or musician. Why with Architecture?

The block about Victoria St and Westminster is occasioned by the making of the new Parliament St and will soon pass away.

With best wishes to you all/ Always your sincerely/ John F. Bentley

An amusing example of the type of critic to whom Bentley refers was Edwin de Lisle, who, in his distress that there was 'no pretence to continuity with or development from our glorious old Catholic English Gothic', attacked Westminster Cathedral, whose style he characterized as 'Byzantino-Babylonian, bizarre', as 'a huge indigested mass of unshapely agglomeration, a megalomaniac-hulk in a sea of unsightliness'. He claimed that 'the Pope not long ago expressed his wonder that Mr Bentley had been sent to Bulgaria or Dalmatia to choose his models instead of the vales of Yorkshire, so rich in sacred architectural memories'.⁶³

Bentley's remarks on copying recall what Richard Norman Shaw had written to J. D. Sedding in 1882.⁶⁴

Towards the end of 1898, the Cathedral's structure was near enough to completion for Bentley's mind to turn to the need for a complete scheme for its mosaic decoration, so as to avoid any overlapping. He first thought of the Revd Thomas Bridgett, a Redemptorist and a 'learned historian and controversialist', whose historical works he used to recommend to his children.⁶⁵ Father Bridgett was then on his deathbed in the monastery of St Mary's, Clapham. Cardinal Vaughan consulted him in January 1899, and a long letter written by him, after discussion with Bentley, on 29 January was printed in the *Westminster Cathedral Record*.⁶⁶ He died on 17 February. On the same day Bentley wrote to Hadfield.

LETTER 70

[HAD. 61]

13 John St Adelphi/ 17. Feby 99

Dear Hadfield

An iconographic scheme is wanted for the decoration of the Cathedral. Dear Fr Bridgett (God rest his soul) drew one up for the Lady Chapel, and I another, "by an artist". Fr Bridgett has also made suggestions for that of the nave which I also am busy upon now. If you have any suggestion to make, don't fail to do so. In the Lady Chapel avoid subjects that might come in St Joseph's Chapel. The subjects in the nave are to illustrate the History of the Ch in England from the coming of St Augustine.

In haste Ever yours/ John F. Bentley

The scheme for the Lady Chapel 'by an artist' was printed in the same issue of the *Westminster Cathedral Record*. The idea 'that the nave should tell the history of the Catholic Church in England' had been held by Vaughan 'from the outset'.⁶⁷

Hadfield complied, with a scheme for the Lady Chapel.

LETTER 71

[HAD. 62]

13 John St. Adelphi/ 22. Feby 99

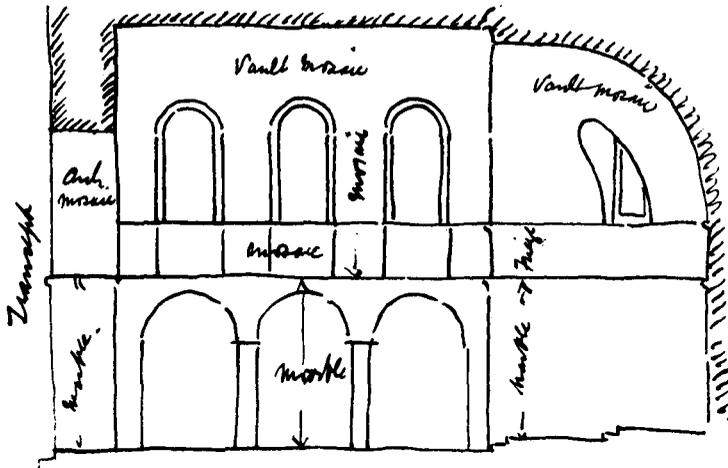
Dear Hadfield:

Many, many thanks for your letter and your scheme of decoration for the Lady Chapel. In drawing up the latter, two very important facts which one has to deal with have escaped your notice. 1. Many of the emblems you give are impossible — i.e. — they can't be represented graphically. 2. that most of the subjects you give would appear in other parts of the church, which, of course, in a grand scheme would be fatal. For example: incidents in Our Lord's life will appear in the Sanctuary and Choir, and other subjects you mention will naturally come in the Chapel of St Joseph.

I am strongly of opinion that Our Lady should not be represented historically in her Chapel, but mystically and theologically. Then again we have nothing like the space for one tenth of the subjects you give.

Do you mind having another try, keeping these points in mind? On the other side, I give a rough diagram of the space at our disposal. Need I say that I shall have great pleasure of taking you over the work some day when you are in town.

John J. F. B. [sic]



Hadfield must have replied defensively.

LETTER 72

[HAD. 63]

13. John St Adelphi/ 1. March 99

Dear Hadfield:

Thanks for your promise, re decoration scheme. I have looked over your list of emblems again, but for my life I cannot see how they can possibly be rendered graphically to be understood by an average mind. Some day you must shew me the old print. It will interest me muchly. In haste Ever yours/ John F. Bentley

I am sorry you could not make it convenient to be present yesterday.

The matter was no doubt discussed when they met in March.

LETTER 73

[HAD. 64]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 16. March 99

Dear Hadfield:

I am sorry I missed you today.

Tomorrow I shall be here at 12 o/c; or, earlier, at the Cathedral at 10.30, where I have an appointment. At either please [sic] I shall be glad to see you.

Always yours/ John F. Bentley

The complex subsequent history of the matter cannot be discussed here.⁶⁸

In November Bentley announced a significant moment in the history of the building.

LETTER 74

[HAD. 65]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 15 Nov: 99

Dear Hadfield:

Mr Hasler has just sent me your letter of introduction. Need I say that I shall be pleased to assist him, if it be in my power? I trust that you well and busy.

The centre of one of the domes is struck; three are turned.
In haste Ever yours/ John F. Bentley

[ROUGH SKETCHES — unrelated]

[Note: Bentley telling me of the striking of centres to the first Dome at the Westminster Cathedral. *CH*]

The eastern dome had been the first to be turned (i.e. concreted): its centring was in position in June 1899.⁶⁹

In December Bentley writes to Hadfield's son Charles, who had fallen into the same trap as his father (see Letters 48 and 56).

LETTER 75

[HAD. 66]

13. John St Adelphi/ 30. Decr. 1899

Dear Charles:

I dont think William of Wykeham had anything more to do with the architecture with which his name has become associated than had the bishop of the day of Charles II with the building of St Paul's. In my opinion he was a great patron of Architecture, and nothing more. Remember in his days there were no books on the Arts, and if such were the case now, there would be few architects. To me the slavish copying of classic caps and mouldings is a proof of this. One would imagine that an Ionic or a Corinthian cap was of Divine Revelation and any change or modification would bring down the chastisement of heaven. Whereas in the days of Athens and Rome such a view could only come from a mummy! — a dead thing. When you can give some proof that a bishop of the past was an Architect, well, then I shall accept it as an exceptional instance, and you know that such an exception would prove my rule.

Express to your Father and Mother my good wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year.
Yours faithfully/ In haste,/ John F. Bentley

The freedom with which Bentley himself treated the orders is abundantly displayed at the Cathedral: for example, he takes great delight in playing all sorts of tricks with Ionic capitals.

The RIBA planned to hold an Architectural Congress from 18–22 June 1900. Bentley, as a non-member, wondered what it was all about.

LETTER 76

[HAD. 67]

13. John St. Adelphi/ 4. June 1900

Dear Hadfield.

What is the meaning of "the general Architectural Congress?" What is its object and purpose? Is it National or International? Some days ago I was asked if I would allow the members to visit the Westminster Cathedral works, of course I consented, not knowing who or what it represented.

Enlighten my darkness if you can./ With kind regards/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

Hadfield himself participated in the Congress. The visit to the Cathedral — the first of the Congress — took place on Wednesday 20 June. Bentley was due to show the party round, but 'when the moment came for him to speak he discovered that his tongue

was powerless, and was obliged to beg Canon Johnson to fill his place'.⁷⁰ This was the second attack of his paralytic illness (actually cancer of the tongue).⁷¹ However, the visit was a success other wise, and at the Annual Dinner of the RIBA, on the 22nd, Sir William Richmond declared that 'he had very rarely been so impressed as when first entering that original and manly structure' two days previously.⁷²

In March of the next year Hadfield again came to London.

LETTER 77

[HAD. 68]

13. John St, Adelphi/ 2. March 1901

Dear Hadfield:

I am glad you are coming to town and that I shall see you on Tuesday.

You are very kind to enquire about my daughter. Her accident was too dreadful and her sufferings were too terrible to think of. She is not out of her pain yet, and I fear it be some time before she is herself again.

No doubt you will interest the members of the Guild, who are looking forward with interest to your lecture.

Give my kind regards to your wife and family.

In much haste/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

The accident which happened to one of Bentley's daughters must have been the one said by Mrs de l'Hôpital (p. 190) to have occurred at the end of October 1900: she was 'severely burned . . . and for a long time was not expected to recover'.

The Guild to which Hadfield was due to lecture was the Guild of St Gregory and St Luke, of which Bentley had been one of the founders in 1879, along with W. H. J. Weale, Edmund Bishop, T. J. Willson, Stuart Knill, and others. It was intended 'for the purpose of promoting the study of Christian antiquities and of propagating the true principles of Christian art'.⁷³ Although Bentley was at first a keen member, and became bursar in 1881, he began to lose sympathy with the way the Guild was developing.⁷⁴ Within a few years he ceased to take an active part. His own last meeting with the Guild took place in 1899 when he showed members over the Cathedral works.⁷⁵

In December 1901 Bentley showed W. R. Lethaby and Richard Norman Shaw round the Cathedral.

LETTER 78

[HAD. 69]

The Sweep/ Clapham Common

Dear Hadfield:

Pardon me for not writing earlier as I should have done had it not been for pressure of work.

I am thankful to say that I am no worse, yet my defective speech is still a great trouble to me.

The Cathedral is making progress, but, as you know, the finishing is always slow procedure.

I met Shaw and Lethaby there a short time ago. Both said and appeared pleased with all they saw.

The Cardinal, I am pleased to say, has given in to the marble pavement.

I trust that you continue busy. At times I am tempted to wish for a long rest. For some time I feel that I have been at straining tension. I suppose weak health and years are beginning to tell.

I am glad Bishop Brindle is going to Northampton. Discipline is much wanted there.
With best wishes for all happiness and prosperity to you and yours for the New Year.

Always yours/ John F. Bentley

Dec. 29. 1901

Lethaby's admiration was expressed in an article in the *Architectural Review* of January 1902, and later in the introduction which he wrote for Mrs de l'Hôpital's book. Shaw paid his tribute in the same journal.⁷⁶

The 'marble pavement' was one of Bentley's sorest disappointments: the victory here recorded was short-lived. He had designed a magnificent pavement of coloured marbles to cover the whole of the nave and aisles: 'swimming in a sea of wave-like cipollino were to be seen, in tints of rose and pearl, fish typifying all the varieties promised to St Peter's net'.⁷⁷ The Cardinal's initial reaction, in October 1901, was enthusiastic, but when the estimate (for £15,000) was received, he changed his mind and backed up his decision (in an article in the *Westminster Cathedral Record* of June 1902) by other arguments based on health and noise.⁷⁸ It is ironic that the same issue of the *Record* contains Vaughan's obituary of Bentley, and his plea 'Let us maintain the main idea and the unity of Bentley's work to the end'.

Robert Brindle became Bishop of Nottingham (not Northampton) in 1901. Bentley would have known him since, in 1898, because of Vaughan's failing health, he had been appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster. He had previously been an army chaplain, and so may well have been strong on discipline.

In his next letter Bentley comments on the article by Lethaby referred to above.

LETTER 79

[HAD. 70]

13. John St Adelphi/ 13. Jany: 1902

Dear Hadfield:

Many thanks for your kind letter and good wishes. I am not all-right yet, but I am thankful that I am as well as I am.

Lethaby, I think, took up with the mere practical phase of the Cathedral too much, but I feel that the old principle of construction is carried on, and the curse of modern construction and decay — the use of iron — has been avoided, against the consensus of opinion expressed by the engineers. This much I am proud of for I feel that a service to building has been effected, and that I have broken the backbone of that terrible superstition, that iron is necessary to large spans has been disproved of.

I agree with you about the Builder illustration — it is a brute: — I did not know, until it appeared, that it had been done.

I shall be glad to see you when you come to town. I hear that you are busy and I hope that the New Year will bring you abundance of work to keep you happy.

The same and all other good wishes to your wife and family.

Ever sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

The second paragraph (from 'I feel that . . .') is quoted by Charles Hadfield in his article on the Cathedral and by Mrs de l'Hôpital.⁷⁹ Bentley avoided iron because 'wherever there is iron there will be some expansion under heat'.⁸⁰ However, it is not true

(*pace* some writers) that no iron or steel was used in the construction: in the counterforts which divide the transepts, rolled steel ties were inserted below the springing of the arches and above the crown of the arches.⁸¹

The illustration to which Bentley refers must be the large perspective, showing the exterior from the (liturgical) north-east, which appeared in the *Builder* of 4 January.⁸² It was by W. Curtis Green, and certainly was surprisingly unsympathetic for so skilled an artist (Pl. 29a).

Not long after the Congress visit to the Cathedral (see above on Letter 76), a deputation from the RIBA called on Bentley to ask if he would accept the Gold Medal for 1901, but owing to Queen Victoria's death no medal was awarded that year. However, in February 1902 it was announced that he would receive that year's medal.

LETTER 80

[HAD. 71]

The Sweep,/ Clapham Common/ 13. Feby: 1902

My dear Hadfield.

Thanks many for your kind congratulations. I appreciate the Gold Medal, coming, really as it does, from my confrères whose opinion I value and to whose judgement I attach the utmost importance; especially the men of thought, and those who are endeavouring to make Architecture a living, not a dead, Art.

I am glad I shall soon see you in town and very pleased to see you. Kindly thank Charly, too, for his congratulations.

You are quite right: 40 years make a difference in one's thoughts and aspirations; besides it fully makes known the shortness of a long life.

With kindest regards to you all/ Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

Mrs de l'Hôpital quotes from a second letter in which Bentley replied to congratulations, from 'another': 'I of course, value the token accorded to me as an expression of goodwill and approval of my confrères, which for years it has been my object to gain, but, simply as a trophy, I view it very differently'.⁸³

A fortnight later Bentley was looking forward to a visit from Hadfield.

LETTER 81

[HAD. 72]

13. John St Adelphi/ 28 Feby: 1902

Dear Hadfield:

I am glad to hear that you are now in town, and I shall be pleased to see you tomorrow.

Come down to the Sweep to luncheon on Sunday and stay the day.

The frost stopped all building here for about 3 weeks, or the brickwork of the Campanile would have been completed.

The Stalls are not bad — German of about 1480.

But more when we meet.

Always sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley

[Note: Bentley's last letter. *RIP.*]

The stalls referred to were probably those from the Cistercian monastery of St Urban, near Lucerne, which had been bought in 1866 by the Earl of Kinnoull, and taken to

Dupplin. The Earl died in 1897, and the stalls were put up for sale. A benefactor bought them and gave them to the Cardinal, but when Bentley saw them he found that they were unsuitable in style and size.⁸⁴ He therefore designed stalls himself, but these were not carried out: the present ones were designed by L. H. Shattock.

Hadfield visited Bentley at his office the next day. He described his visit to Mrs de l'Hôpital (pp. 677–78): 'On March 1st I saw him for the last time, standing at his drawing-board, full of enthusiasm, and his mind as alert as ever. He talked cheerfully of old times, showed me his drawing of the great hanging Cross and his noble designs for the marble pavement of the Cathedral, observing that he hoped "to outrival the pavement of St Mark's". We parted, after arranging to spend the following day together at his home at Clapham'. However, that evening Bentley had a paralytic seizure, and he died the next morning.

The nomination for the RIBA Gold Medal was due to be confirmed the day after he died. 'Enquiries were made from the Royal Household . . . but the decision was given that the medal could not be awarded posthumously, and it was then awarded to Thomas Edward Collcutt instead.'⁸⁵ However, on the 50th anniversary of Bentley's death, the RIBA Council decided that his name should be carved on the wall adjoining the panel recording the names of Gold Medallists.⁸⁶

Charles Hadfield died, after being for some time in failing health, on 22 March 1916, at the age of 76 (Pl. 29b).

APPENDIX

The following two letters are in the collection of Edmund Bishop (1846–1917), the great liturgical scholar and historian, in the Library of Downside Abbey. They are reproduced by kind permission of the Abbot of Downside.

The first was sent to Bishop after a visit to Downside made by the Guild of St Gregory and St Luke (see above on Letter 77), for their annual Gaudy, on 28–30 June 1887, at the invitation of the Prior.

13 John St Adelphi/ 9. July 1887

My dear Bishop,

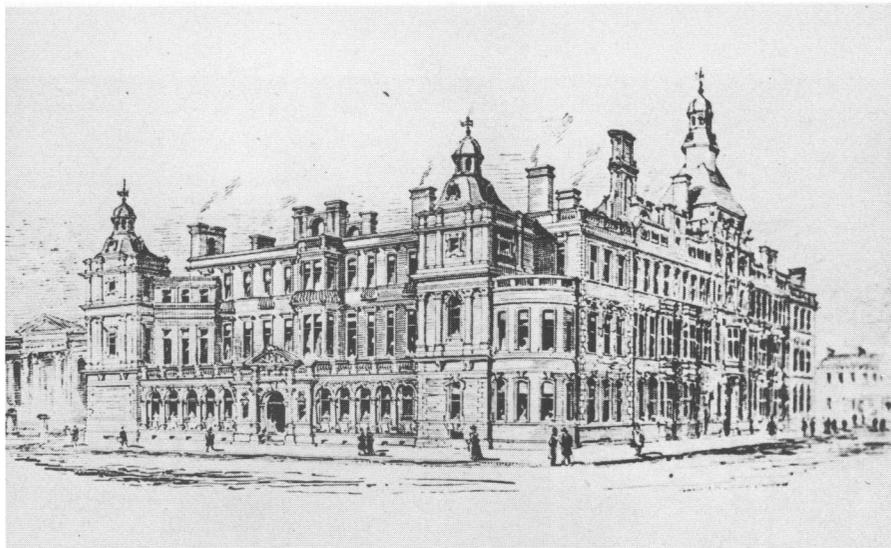
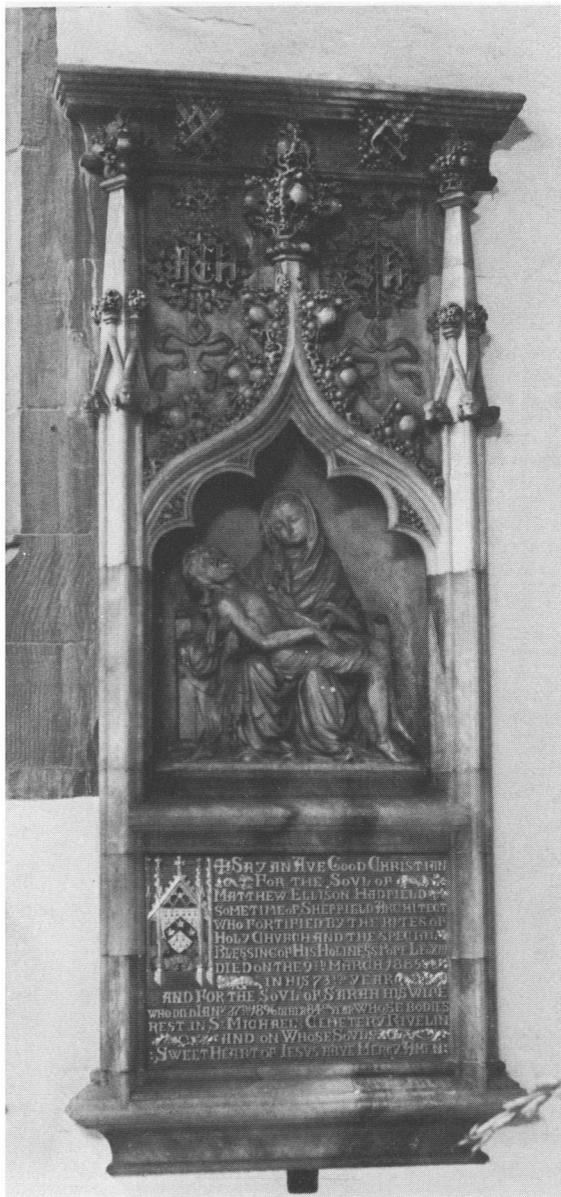
When I left Downside I felt keenly not wishing you a parting adieu but I hope soon again to see you.

Private

I was very much troubled during my visit: only think, the Gild was invited and only five brothers turned up, four of whom are architects. What must the Prior and the good Fathers have thought of us — that perhaps we were a set of touts? When I realized the fact I told Willson that I longed to return, and but for some persuasion on his part I should have done so.

Since my return I have been into Yorkshire to visit an old friend, a most interesting man who feels that his ancestors who passed away on the field of Bosworth are now personally tangible! He is a delightful fellow and lives surrounded with past happy and pleasant memories. Green I have not seen yet. Willson called yesterday and like me was interested and delighted with our outing.

Believe me/ my dear Bishop/ Ever sincerely yours/ John F. Bentley



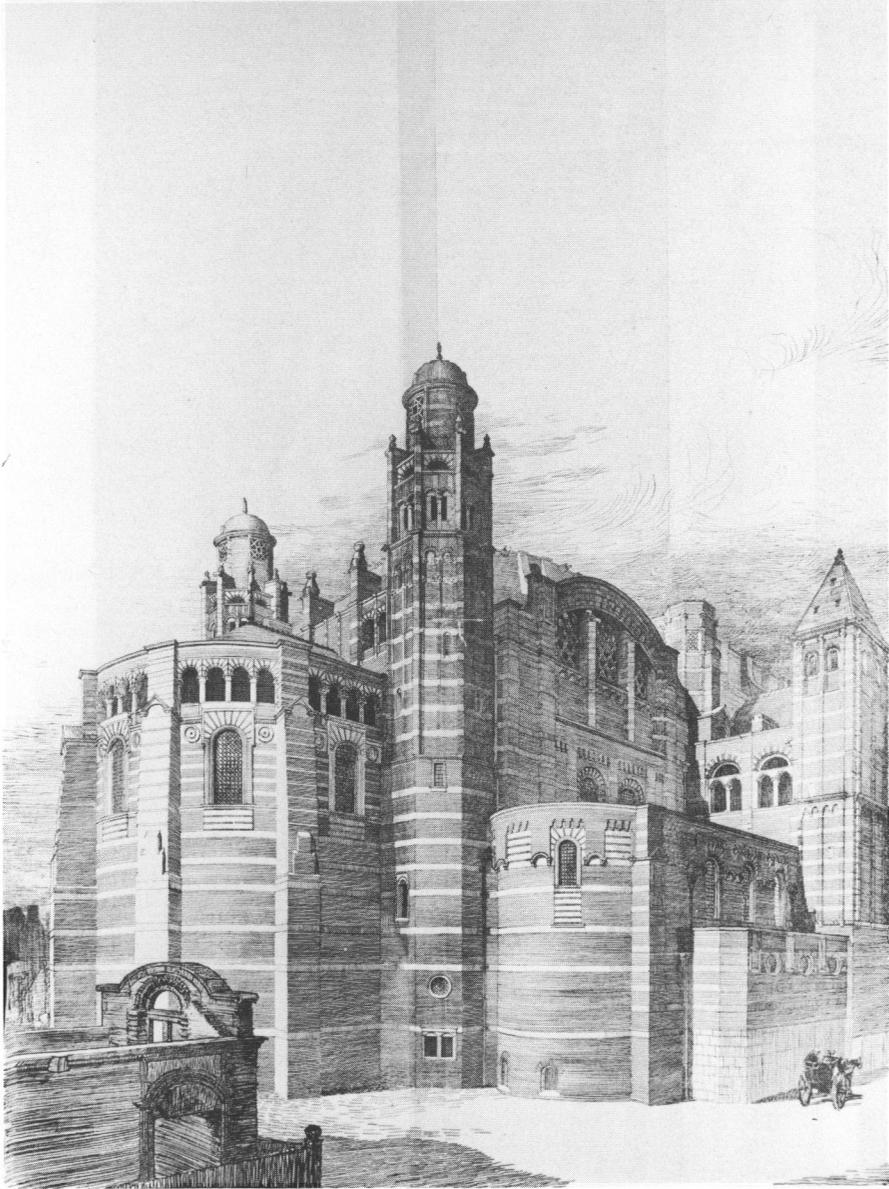
Pl. 28a *Sheffield, St Marie's Church
(now Cathedral),
memorial to Matthew Hadfield*

Pl. 28b *Sheffield, Royal Hospital,
engraving from an unidentified newspaper*

OPPOSITE

Pl. 29a *Westminster Cathedral,
engraving after W. Curtis Green,
from The Builder, LXXXII (1902), p. 14*

Pl. 29b *Charles Hadfield, photograph from
Sheffield and District Who's Who (1905)*



The visit is described in the *Downside Review* of July 1887.⁸⁷ Bentley's scruples are characteristic of his unshakeable integrity.

'Green' was Everard Green (1844–1926), Somerset Herald, and (like his friend Bishop) a Catholic convert. Green and Bishop had been introduced to each other by T. J. Willson. Green was already a friend of Bentley: Mrs de l'Hôpital suggests that it was either he or General de Havilland who introduced him to Lord Beaumont in 1874, and he was best man at Bentley's wedding in the same year. By 1887 he was an active member of the Guild.⁸⁸

The second letter is addressed to Green.⁸⁹

13 John St. Adelphi/ 23 Oct. 1895

My dear Green:

Many, many thanks for your idea of the plan of Westminster Cathedral. It is similar to a plan sent to me sometime ago by Mr de Lisle. My original idea was to place the Church diagonally on the ground, but I had to give it up on the score of waste of land, hiding the building largely from the two main streets, and putting the great entrance in the most out of the way corner on the site. The additional land occupied by your scheme over mine would, if sold, be worth some £50,000.

Of course a tower with a 60ft nave is out of the question, and I feel sure a narthex and a cloister on the ground floor level would have been considered frightful extravagances by the 19th century men, had they to pay about £2 per foot superficial for the land.

I am 98ft between the clerestory windows!

Again, many thanks/ Always yours/ John F. Bentley

P.S. Further, a large — long and wide — nave is a sine qua non with the Cardinal.

'Mr de Lisle' must be Edwin Joseph Lisle de Lisle, FSA, DL (1852–1920), the seventh son of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle (who had died in 1878). He was MP for Mid-Leicestershire from 1886 to 1892. It was he who completed E. S. Purcell's *Life* of his father, to which he added the scathing comments on the Cathedral quoted above (on letter 69). One suspects that his animosity may have been due at least in part to pique at the rejection of his advice.

The site available for the Cathedral consisted of the whole block between Ashley Place, Ambrosden Avenue, Francis Street, and Morpeth Terrace — nearly 4 acres, measuring 566 ft × 360 ft at its greatest length and width. This allowed a good deal of scope in siting the building. Correct orientation was not considered essential. Vaughan was particularly anxious to ensure a permanent endowment for the Cathedral, and this is the main reason why Bentley sited it on the eastern half of the site, leaving the western half free so that it could be let on a building lease, presumably for the erection of blocks of flats like those on the east and west. The decision gave rise to considerable criticism. As it happens, nothing has ever been built on the site except a small school. When Mrs de l'Hôpital wrote, it had been on the market for some years, but no suitable offer had been received (perhaps because of the Great War).⁹⁰ This has had an unfortunate effect on the Cathedral's finances, though visually it is a great gain. It is impossible, however, to regret Bentley's choice of site, not only because the west front has now

been opened up to Victoria Street, but also because the sheer east flank of the Cathedral along Ambrosden Avenue is so impressive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Once again thanks are due to Bentley's grand-daughter, Mrs Brigid King, for allowing the letters to be published; to the Librarian (Mr David Dean) and to Mrs Angela Mace of the RIBA Library; to Mr G. R. Adams, senior partner in the firm of Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson and Partners, for allowing drawings in the firm's collection (on loan to the Sheffield Central Library) to be used and published, and for other generous assistance; to the staff of the Sheffield Central Library, and especially Miss Ruth Harman; to Mrs M. Welsh, for permitting use of the notes compiled by the late Professor S. Welsh (held in the RIBA Library); and to Mr Edward Diestelkamp; Mr Denis Evinson; Dr John Martin Robinson; Mr Andrew Saint; and Dr Helen Smith.

For an account of the source-material employed in editing these letters, see Part I. The book by Winefride de l'Hôpital (Bentley's daughter) to which reference is made is *Westminster Cathedral and its Architect* (1919). Unidentified quotations come from this source, and can be located from the nearest reference.

NOTES

1 See J. M. Robinson, 'A Catalogue of the Architectural Drawings at Carlton Towers, Yorkshire', *Architectural History*, xxii (1979), p. 117. He quotes a description of the State Bedrooms as being reminiscent of the 'most up-to-date lodging houses'. On Carlton Towers, see also M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, second edition (1979), pp. 346-54.

2 De l'Hôpital, pp. 654-55.

3 *Tablet*, 10 October 1874, p. 474.

4 De l'Hôpital, pp. 378-79.

5 F. J. Kirk, *Reminiscences of an Oblate of St Charles* (1905), p. 40.

6 De l'Hôpital, pp. 495-96.

7 For Kirk's career, see F. J. Kirk, *Some Notable Conversions in the County of Wexford* (1901), as well as the work cited in note 5. Bentley's letter of 1 October 1874, asking Kirk to marry him, is printed on p. 56 of the latter. J. R. Kirk, although at first 'furious' at his brother's conversion, eventually also joined the Roman Church (*Conversions*, p. 44). F. J. Kirk presented a marble group of Our Lady and St John, shown by J. R. Kirk at the Royal Academy in 1862, to St Mary of the Angels.

8 See D. E. Roberts, *The Sheffield Gas Undertaking 1818-1949*, p. 25. According to Miss Ruth Harman, the drawings are in the possession of the East Midlands Gas Board, Leicester, but do not show the dome.

9 *Builder*, xxxiii (1875), pp. 488-89; *Building News*, xxviii (1875) p. 557. The building is now a Disco, but the dome survives intact.

10 De l'Hôpital, p. 537.

11 N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding* (1967), p. 467.

11a De l'Hôpital, p. 537.

12 His account of the Manor is on p. 335. He gives a list of the armorial ornaments formerly in the great gallery, as preserved in a Dugdale MS at the College of Arms.

13 Published in *Transactions of the RIBA* (1874-75), pp. 109-18.

14 *Sheffield City Register of Deposited plans*, Sheffield City Library C. A. 205/2b, application no. 3892. The plan itself has been destroyed, but see the 1893 10" O. S. Map.

15 Bentley designed many organ-cases for his friend Lewis: see Part I, note 14.

16 C. Hadfield, *A History of St Marie's Mission and Church* (1889), p. 159.

17 De l'Hôpital, p. 623; on Knox see also pp. 585 and 588. I am indebted to Mr E. R. Robbins for information about Knox, including his dates and correct Christian name.

18 De l'Hôpital, p. 537. Their present whereabouts is unknown.

19 'Henry Barnascone' of 6 Broomhall Road, Sheffield, subscribed to Hadfield's book on St Marie's, as did 'Henry Barnascone, junior'. J. Barnascone, master of ceremonies at St Marie's, died on 25 July

- 1874 (*Tablet*, new series, xii (1874), p. 115). A window on the staircase to the Oratory in St Marie's, designed by Bentley, commemorates Carolina Bernasconi, who died in 1879 aged 16. This is presumably the correct spelling, in which case the family must surely have been related to the well known eighteenth-nineteenth century plasterers.
- 20 See the 1893 10" O.S. Map.
- 21 *Transactions of the RIBA*, first series, x (1859-60), pp. 38-51 (read on 23 January 1860).
- 22 A denial he repeated in a letter in *Proceedings of the RIBA*, new series iii (1887), p. 310. Some, including Street, had disagreed with his 1860 conclusions (see the report of the discussion following his paper). Street later changed his mind (see Hadfield's paper, pp. 129-30).
- 23 *The History of the King's Works*, edited by H. M. Colvin, I (1963), p. 174.
- 24 C. E. Woodruff and W. Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* (1912), p. 366.
- 25 *British Association Handbook and Guide to Sheffield* (1910), p. 69. There is some doubt over the exact date of this operation. The following note was kindly supplied by Miss Ruth Harman: "The parish church was restored and extended between June 1878 and October 1880. The account of the reopening ceremony in the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* (27 October 1880, pp. 2-4) states that the Shrewsbury Chapel and the monuments in it had been thoroughly cleaned and made good by the instructions of the Duke of Norfolk, and there is an entry in the Duke's estate accounts here (Arundel Castle Manuscripts S 190) recording a payment to J. McCulloch in December 1880 for cleaning the Shrewsbury Tombs in the parish church. I think, however, that the Hadfields' restoration was not part of this work as there is a letter from M. E. Hadfield to Michael Ellison dated 31 January 1882 (A. C. M. S 370) headed "Shrewsbury Chapel Parish Church" in which he says that they have begun 'these repairs'. The estate accounts for 1882/3 (A.C.M. S 190) record payments in May 1882 to John Pearson for repairing and restoring the Shrewsbury tomb and in December 1882 to M. E. Hadfield and Son for "superintending the reconstruction of the canopied arch over the 4th Earl's Tomb". J. McCulloch ran a well known firm of architectural sculptors in Lambeth. For J. Pearson, see Part I, pp. 109f.
- 26 De l'Hôpital, p. 498. On the building see *Builder*, xli (1881), p. 615; *Architect*, xxviii (1882), p. 69. The plans were deposited with the Local Authority on 1 August 1878 (Sheffield City Library C. A. 205/3 no. 5270). There are some drawings in the Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson Collection (123/7). One of them (123/7/9) shows the heraldry in detail: the iron gates also look very likely to be by Bentley. There is a watercolour showing the interior among the monuments at Arundel Castle.
- 27 *Builder*, lii (1887), p. 384; *Building News*, lii (1887), p. 379. Frank Tory is described as 'a student at the Lambeth School of Art, now of Sheffield, who has twice gained the national silver medal for modelling from the antique' (*Building News*, *ibid.*). He also carried out the lively carving on Hadfield's splendid Parade Chambers, Church Gates, Sheffield (built for Messrs Pawson and Brailsford — *Builder*, xlvi (1884), p. 281).
- 28 C. Hadfield, *A History of St Marie's Mission and Church* (1889), p. 172.
- 29 See de l'Hôpital, pp. 565-66 etc.
- 30 De l'Hôpital p. 492.
- 31 M. Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, second edition (1979), p. 354. The Dowager Lady Beaumont (her husband had died in 1892) gave £1,000 towards the building of Westminster Cathedral: see *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 3 (July 1896), p. 79 (with photograph).
- 32 De l'Hôpital, pp. 488-89.
- 33 De l'Hôpital, p. 70. They came from Messrs Lawrence and Son's brickfields (*Westminster Cathedral Record*, 2 (April 1896), pp. 64-66).
- 34 *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 20 July 1894.
- 35 De l'Hôpital, p. 657.
- 36 De l'Hôpital, pp. 347-48. The Heigham drawing is reproduced in P. Howell, *Victorian Churches* (1968), pl. 10. The parish priest of St James's, Spanish Place, wanted to appoint Bentley as his architect, but Manning insisted on a competition. This was won by Goldie, but the priest commissioned Bentley to design the furnishings (de l'Hôpital, p. 595). RC competitions were comparatively rare: they included those for St Mary's College, Hammersmith (1850 and 1854); St Aloysius's College, Ushaw (1860); and Brompton Oratory (1879) — see D. Evinson, *Joseph Aloysius Hansom*, London MA thesis (1966), p. 188. For Bentley's attitude towards competitions see also Part I, p. 103, with note 31.
- 37 De l'Hôpital, pp. 21-22.
- 38 *Newspaper Cuttings Relating to Sheffield*, III SF, p. 113.
- 39 The Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson Collection contains drawings for the administration block dated 1897-98 (140/3/1-9), and also drawings for later work.
- 40 De l'Hôpital, p. 670.
- 41 For a detailed account of his travels, see de l'Hôpital, pp. 26-36.
- 42 B. Champneys, *Coventry Patmore* (1900), II, p. 208.

- 43 *Mornings in Florence: The Fourth Morning*, §72 = E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, *The Works of John Ruskin*, xxiii (1906), p. 366.
- 44 *The Letters and Diaries of J. H. Newman*, xii (1962), p. 326.
- 45 *Mornings in Florence: The Fourth Morning*.
- 46 De l'Hôpital, p. 32.
- 47 H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency* (1953), p. 218. There might be more justice in reversing the description.
- 48 Described in de l'Hôpital, pp. 1–7.
- 49 See de l'Hôpital, pp. 132, 143–44, 169. Hadfield had used it, for example, for the staircase of the Sheffield Gas Office (*Builder*, xxxiii (1875), pp. 488–89).
- 50 See de l'Hôpital, pp. 122–23, and pls xxii and xxv.
- 51 De l'Hôpital, pp. 669–70.
- 52 De l'Hôpital, p. 68.
- 53 J. A. Marshall, 'Westminster Cathedral', *Builder's Journal*, xxv (17 April 1907), p. 176.
- 54 De l'Hôpital, p. 672.
- 55 N. White and E. Willensky, *AIA Guide to New York City*, revised edition (1978), pp. 367–68, 413; G. R. Wolfe, *New York: A Guide to the Metropolis* (1975), pp. 395–96. These two accounts are not entirely consistent.
- 56 De l'Hôpital, p. 673.
- 56a Letter from Bishop Mugavero's Secretary, 28 October 1981. The only surviving drawing is one by Keely for the Cathedral façade.
- 57 Information from Miss Ruth Harman.
- 58 De l'Hôpital, p. 675.
- 59 J. A. Marshall, *Builder's Journal*, xxv (1907), p. 176.
- 60 *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 7 (February 1899), p. 4.
- 61 *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 9 (June 1899), p. 7 (with photograph). When Mrs de l'Hôpital wrote, it was in the Librarian's Room (p. 280).
- 62 De l'Hôpital, pp. 273f. See also *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 8 (May 1899), p. 8.
- 63 E. S. Purcell and E. de Lisle, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle* (1900), II, pp. 212–13. On Edwin de Lisle, see the Appendix to this article.
- 64 A. Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (1976), pp. 218–19.
- 65 De l'Hôpital, pp. 225, 659.
- 66 *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 7 (February 1899), pp. 6–7 (quoted by Mrs de l'Hôpital, pp. 225–28).
- 67 De l'Hôpital, p. 225 n. 2.
- 68 See *Westminster Cathedral Record* 8 (May 1899), pp. 5–8; 9 (June 1899), pp. 1–5, 7–8; 10 (December 1900), pp. 2–3; 11 (June 1902), pp. 2–4; de l'Hôpital, pp. 228f.
- 69 De l'Hôpital, p. 91; see also C. Hadfield, *RIBA Journal*, 7 March 1903, p. 260.
- 70 De l'Hôpital, p. 675.
- 71 According to Arnold Bennett, *The Roll-Call* (1918), p. 27. I am indebted to Mr Andrew Saint for this reference.
- 72 *RIBA Journal*, new series, VII (1900), p. 419.
- 73 N. Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (1959), pp. 76 f.
- 74 N. Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (1959), pp. 78–79; 486–87.
- 75 De l'Hôpital, pp. 664–67.
- 76 *Architectural Review*, x (1901), pp. 170–71 (quoted by A. Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (1976), pp. 364–65). On the visit, see de l'Hôpital, pp. 88, 308.
- 77 De l'Hôpital, p. 126. The drawing is in the Cathedral collection.
- 78 *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 11 (June 1902), p. 6. See also de l'Hôpital, pp. 126–29; J. A. Marshall, *Builder's Journal*, xxv (1907), p. 182.
- 79 C. Hadfield, *RIBA Journal*, 7 March 1903, p. 258; de l'Hôpital, p. 88. Hadfield makes slight changes, in which he is followed by Mrs de l'Hôpital.
- 80 De l'Hôpital, p. 88.
- 81 J. A. Marshall, *Builder's Journal*, xxv (1907), pp. 178–79; and see the plate in the Supplement illustrating his article (also reproduced in de l'Hôpital, p. 79).
- 82 *Builder*, LXXXII (1902), p. 14.
- 83 De l'Hôpital, pp. 310, 668–69.
- 84 De l'Hôpital, pp. 142–43; *Westminster Cathedral Record*, 7 (February 1899), p. 2.
- 85 *Building*, April 1952.
- 86 *RIBA Journal*, third series, LXIX (1952), p. 231.

- 87 *Downside Review*, vi (July 1887), pp. 144–48; see also N. Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (1959), p. 124.
- 88 De l'Hôpital, pp. 485, 656; Abercrombie, p. 78.
- 89 Abercrombie (p. 237) mistakenly describes it as addressed to Bishop. Perhaps Green sent it to Bishop for him to see.
- 90 De l'Hôpital, pp. 57–58, 271.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PART I

- p. 97 19 lines from the bottom, for *Kentish say* read *Kentish rag*.
- p. 105 On Arthur Hayball (1822–87), see Arthur E. Beet, 'Arthur Hayball — A Dreamer in Wood', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, vii (1957), pp. 252–55. His office papers are preserved in the Sheffield Central Library.
- pp. 106–07, 115 Some woodwork for Heron's Ghyll (including five doors) was executed by Arthur Hayball: see his *Day Work Book* (4), ff. 145, 155, 166; *Letter Book* (5), ff. 347, 365–66, 373, 382, 385, 389. Hayball submitted a bill for £61 18s. 8d. on 25 March 1867. Bentley cut it down to £60 1s., but Hayball had to write five letters to Patmore before he sent a cheque in September.
- pp. 107–08 The confessional referred to was at St Francis', Pottery Lane, London: see Hayball's *Letter Book* (5), f. 287 (letter to Bentley of 12 October 1865); *Day Work Book* (4), f. 97; *Estimate Book* (1849–68), f. 128 (account settled 3 January 1866).
- p. 112 Mr Denis Evinson suggests that Bentley's visit to Leyton with Willson may be explained by the fact that he, in partnership with S. J. Nicholl, had laid out St Patrick's Cemetery, Leytonstone, and designed its gates, house, chapel, and sacristy c. 1861–62 (*Builder*, xviii (1860), p. 680; xix (1861), p. 827). Possibly Willson wanted Bentley's advice about some further work, or just to show him round.
- p. 129 Mr Andrew Saint points out that this 'Longden' is presumably of the firm of Longden and Co., who had an office at 447 Oxford Street (the same address as Morris and Co.) from 1878 until well into this century, but were also of Phoenix Foundry, Sheffield. In 1886 they were described as 'manufacturers of cooking apparatus, kitchen ranges, stoves, grates, fenders, fire-irons etc'. Obviously they would be much concerned with tiles. Mrs de l'Hôpital describes fenders and grates made by H. Longden, whom she calls 'the metalworker, of Berners Street', to Bentley's designs (pp. 488, 568).