

THE ARCHITECTURE OF WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD 1814-1900

By J. P. H. House

WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD's building spanned the three broad periods of Victorian Architecture, the *Early Victorian* (1837-c. 1850), the *High Victorian* (c. 1850-c. 1870), and the *Late Victorian* (c. 1870-1900). He was one of the pioneers of the Tractarian revival in church architecture in the 1840's, and was a leader of the revolt of the 1850's against pure imitation. He was not influenced by the reaction of the 1870's against robust High Victorian originality, and his last buildings are in much the same vein as those of his middle period.

A. W. N. Pugin was the prophet of the revival of Ecclesiastical Art. He believed that the true principles of Christian Art could only be revived in the Catholic Church, and became a Roman Catholic. Pugin's outraged attacks on contemporary church architecture aroused feelings already latent in the Anglican Church, and in 1839 the Cambridge Camden Society was founded, under the leadership of two undergraduates, J. M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, to "promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains". The society started a magazine, the *Ecclesiologist*, in 1841, which published articles on all aspects of church building and furnishing, and included notices of new churches: these notices cover most of the major churches built between 1841 and the magazine's end in 1868, and are of the greatest importance. In the 1840's, the Ecclesiologists' ideal was an exact reproduction of a fully developed mediaeval parish church of the mid-Decorated style of about 1320. Early English was thought immature, and Perpendicular debased: so Decorated it had to be, and style was a matter of great importance. The churches of R. C. Carpenter, notably St. Mary Magdalene, Munster Square, St. Marylebone, and St. Paul, Brighton, are good examples of this.

Butterfield's first work, after being in training as a builder from the age of seventeen, was St. Andrew, Wilmcote, Warwickshire

(1841), built to Tractarian principles, and an early centre of the revivalists. His next work, however, if noticed at the time, must have caused much consternation among the Ecclesiologists. This was Highbury Congregational Chapel, Bristol, (1842-3), built in the Perpendicular style, which seems to have been his only lapse from his chosen course; from 1843 onwards he was closely linked with the Ecclesiologists. The obituary of Butterfield in the *R.I.B.A. Journal*¹ records some notes in the third person made by Butterfield himself "in the event of any professional facts being inquired after by any qualified persons (which is unlikely)". He says: "At the close of his (Butterfield's) articles, he spent a considerable time in laboriously visiting old buildings and especially churches throughout many parts of England. . . . This method of working led naturally to a very warm sympathy and intercourse with the Cambridge Camden Society, which was then coming vigorously into existence. With many of its founders he formed friendships of an intimate and enduring character which moulded his professional practice and eminently suited his own special temperament."

In 1843 the Ecclesiologists asked Butterfield to prepare a text-book of church fittings,² published under the name of "*Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*", and in 1844 his only other published work came out, an illustrated account of the fourteenth-century church of St. John the Baptist, Shottesbrooke, Berkshire.³ Butterfield's next church, St. Saviour, Coalpit Heath, Gloucestershire (1844), is of orthodox Ecclesiological design: the stone lych gate comes directly from "*Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*".

Butterfield received his first large commission in 1845. One of the leading Ecclesiologists, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, described as "the Nestor of Ecclesiology", had bought the ruins of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in 1843, for reconstruction as a missionary college, and Butterfield was asked to design the new buildings (1845-50). The adaptation of the mediaeval buildings for new purposes presented many problems, and the *Ecclesiologist* gave high praise to his solutions⁴. The main new buildings are the

¹ Vol. VII (1900) p. 241.

² *Ecclesiologist*, Apr. 1843, pp. 117, 126, Sept. 1844, p. 161.

³ Reviewed *Ecclesiologist*, May 1845, p. 135.

⁴ *Ecclesiologist*, Aug. 1848, pp. 1 ff.

Library on the old Refectory undercroft, the Chapel and undercroft, and the Cloister range. The tall, heavy timber roof and heavy, stained wood book-bays in the library have recently been replaced by light wood substitutes, which are very unsuitable. The library staircase, under a separate gable, is tall and spaciouly proportioned, and resembles the staircase Butterfield designed thirty years later for the Hall and Library at Keble College, Oxford, (1875). The Chapel and its furnishings are in the early Decorated style, well proportioned with clear-cut outlines and none of the superficial prettiness of decoration of much work of the 1840's. But the wood stalls are curiously unsatisfactory, and look like a stone design executed in wood: this criticism applies to much of Butterfield's woodwork, especially to the chancel screen that used to stand in St. John, Hammersmith (1856-9); the now-destroyed stalls in Balliol College Chapel, Oxford (1857-60); and the pulpit in Rugby Parish Church (1877). Externally, the east facade of the Chapel is grandly designed, anticipating the later facades of Balliol Chapel, Keble Chapel and Rugby Church.

The cloister (Fig. 6) is a long low range with an unbroken roof ridge, again a feature which Butterfield used much in later buildings (St. Alban, Holborn (1859-63), St. Augustine, Queens' Gate (1865-76), All Saints, Babbacombe (1868-74), Keble Chapel, St. Clement, City Road (1875—destroyed) and Rugby Church). The bay treatment is uniform, but broken by doors and two turrets asymmetrically placed, which gives the design the variation it needs to avoid monotony.

Until 1850, Butterfield's buildings adhered to the Ecclesiological ideals: St. Cuthbert, Sessay, Yorkshire, is a good example. But in 1850 three churches were begun in which he reacted strongly against these principles: a rich town church, All Saints, Margaret Street, St. Marylebone; a poor suburban church, St. Matthias, Stoke Newington; and a country church, St. Mary Magdalene, West Lavington, Sussex.

All Saints, Margaret Street, was designed in 1849 as the Ecclesiologists' model church, and was largely financed by Beresford Hope: but it was soon seen to be of very unorthodox design, and even before its consecration in 1859 its peculiarities

were much imitated. It was designed in the early Decorated style, but this was almost its only concession to tradition. For it was built of polychromatic brick externally, red with black patterning. The Ecclesiologists had previously condemned the use of brick as mean and unworthy of the revived church. Fourteenth-century architects had used stone, and so should Ecclesiological architects. Butterfield's defiant use of brick where he had abundant resources to use stone¹ had far-reaching effects. Brick was the universal material of the age, and the use of brick in the revived church showed that the revival was not just a movement seeking refuge in the past, but had some visible link with the industrial age: from 1860 onwards almost all town churches were built of brick. The spire of All Saints was also unusual: (Fig. 1) tall, Germanic and unornamented. It was this sort of design, and not the pinnacled elaborate spire of a fourteenth-century country church, that suited London.

The church had to be built on a very limited site, and Butterfield, instead of allowing his design to be dictated by traditional Gothic scaling, which would have demanded a small and ordinary church, used Gothic forms in his own way to produce an entirely original series of proportions (Fig. 2). The nave is wide for the overall length of the church, but narrow for the scale of the three huge bays of the nave arcade, and there is a strong rhythm in the arcaded clerestory. The chancel arch is set fairly low, and leads the eye to the High Altar. But although the design has great power, it is largely made up of conflicting elements. The cathedral-scaled arcade is combined with aisles and clerestory more suited to a small parish church: the price Butterfield paid for the grandeur of his arcades was the unity of his proportions.

Tradition was also shattered by the internal decoration. The nave walls are covered with geometrical designs in polychromatic inlay of various colours of marble, stone and tile. This was Butterfield's substitute for mediaeval wall-painting, and it had the advantage of permanency. He may have obtained the idea from Italy, where he is supposed to have travelled. In principle certainly this was a good solution; but often Butterfield's decorative schemes are too elaborate and too stridently coloured. In the cheaper

¹ The Church cost about £70,000.

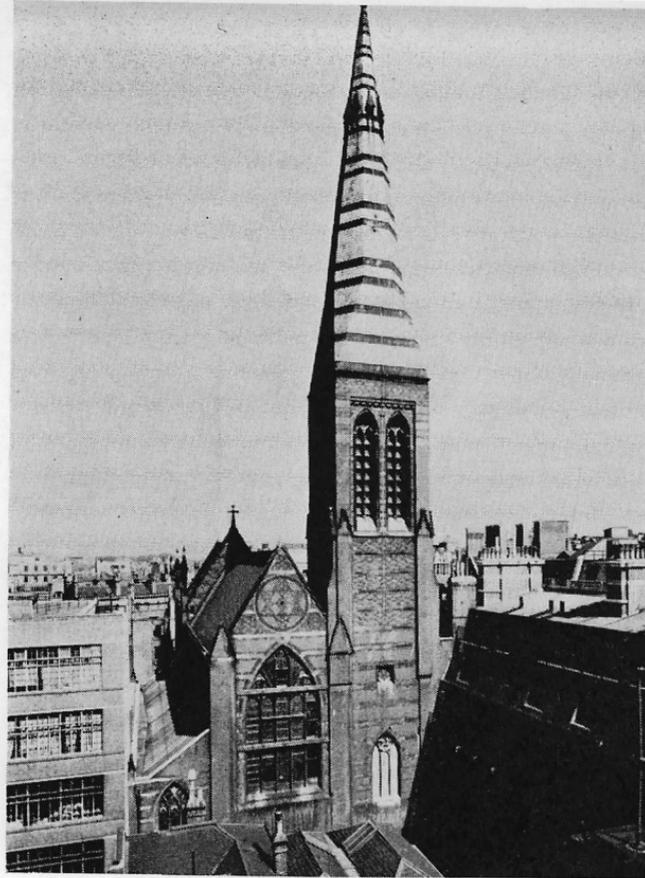


FIG. 1. The slender spire and
polychrome brickwork.



FIG. 2. Interior showing arcades and nave inlay, and the East wall
painted by Dyce.

ALL SAINTS, MARGARET STREET LONDON, 1849-59

churches, brick is used for internal patterning, and the brick harmonies are generally more satisfactory. At All Saints the decorations are a bold attempt, and their general layout is effective, but the stripes and intricate geometrical patterns are too profuse, and there is no harmony in the colours. All the effects are of the same concentrated strength, and they have a tiring uniformity. The effect of the nave decoration is further weakened by the complete lifelessness of the scenes in burnt tile on the west wall and the windowless north aisle wall.

The first bay of the chancel is an arch filled with grandly designed open tracery, surrounded by polychromatic inlay. On a second visit to the church, Gerard Manley Hopkins was disappointed by the monotony of the decorative effects, but concluded that "the rich mobility of the tracery in the open arches of the sanctuary . . . marked his genius to me as before". The rest of the chancel is of very different design: a huge reredos covers the windowless east wall, and is carried round the side walls, with tiered niches containing painted figures by William Dyce. The spirit of this decoration is more in accordance with that of the orthodox Ecclesiological designing of R. C. Carpenter, and is far more directly mediaevalistic than Butterfield's polychrome.

As the most unusual church of its time, All Saints was much discussed by contemporaries. G. E. Street said, "it is not only the most beautiful, but the most vigorous, thoughtful and original of them all", and the influence of All Saints is marked in his *St. James the Less, Westminster* (1857-61).

The *Ecclesiologist* gave the church a long and generally enthusiastic review,¹ but made several valid criticisms. "The foliage of the capitals and string courses is often exaggerated in its coarse but honest originality." A mean between "excessive naturalism" and Butterfield's "outspoken conventionalism" was advocated. Discussing the exterior: "He was the first to show us that red brick is the best building material for London, and to prove to us that its use was compatible with the highest flights of architecture. In the matter of bonding his red brick with black and other colours, we chiefly admire his moderation. His numerous imitators in this popular style of constructional polychrome have often overlooked

¹ *Ecclesiologist*, June 1859, p. 184 ff.

his example of discretion.” The interior gives rise to more criticism “We owe a great deal to the precedent afforded by Mr. Butterfield for the proper use of these materials” (polished granite, native marbles and alabaster, tiles). But “the patterns in the nave, and over the chancel arch, seem to us abrupt, and disproportionate, and ungainly. They are without flow or continuity: and the colouring throughout is fragmentary and crude.” The writer’s verdict is however; “In this impressive church, in spite of smallness of scale, he has approached the sublime in architecture.”

Eastlake, writing in 1872¹, emphasises the modernity of the design, but recognises the immaturity of much of the designing. “There is evidence, even at All Saints, that the secret of knowing where to stop in decorative work had still to be acquired.” Beresford Hope in *The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century*² comments: “If the interior is analysed, the conflict of parochial and minster-like forms will at once be perceived.”

Hope and Butterfield could not agree about the details of the church, and Hope’s reaction to Butterfield’s arrogant self-confidence are recorded in the correspondence between Hope and Benjamin Webb.³ The climax of the quarrel was reached in 1853: “I am profoundly pained to see a man who seems to have such noble qualities so thoroughly abandon himself to the most ignoble feelings.” The interior of the completed church (1859) made Hope “very sad. Butterfield has so parricidally spoilt his own creation with the clown’s dress, so spotty and spidery and flimsy as it looks now that it is all done, and worst of all, the church looks so much smaller than it used to do with nothing but the solemn columns to give scale. Butterfield on his side is honestly fanatical in his colour doctrines, and completely believes that I have marred the world’s greatest work.”

Despite its faults, All Saints wielded a major influence over church building for the next decade.

St. Matthias, Stoke Newington (1850-3), is a large, inexpensive⁴, brick church on an open suburban site. The aisles are carried alongside the central tower, and there are no transepts (Fig. 3),

¹ Gothic Revival, p. 252-3.

² p. 234 ff.

³ *Book of the Beresford Hopes* by H. W. and Irene Law, pp. 175-7.

⁴ It cost £7,000.



FIG. 3. *St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, 1850-3.* Exterior, showing the saddleback and the central buttress of the West front.

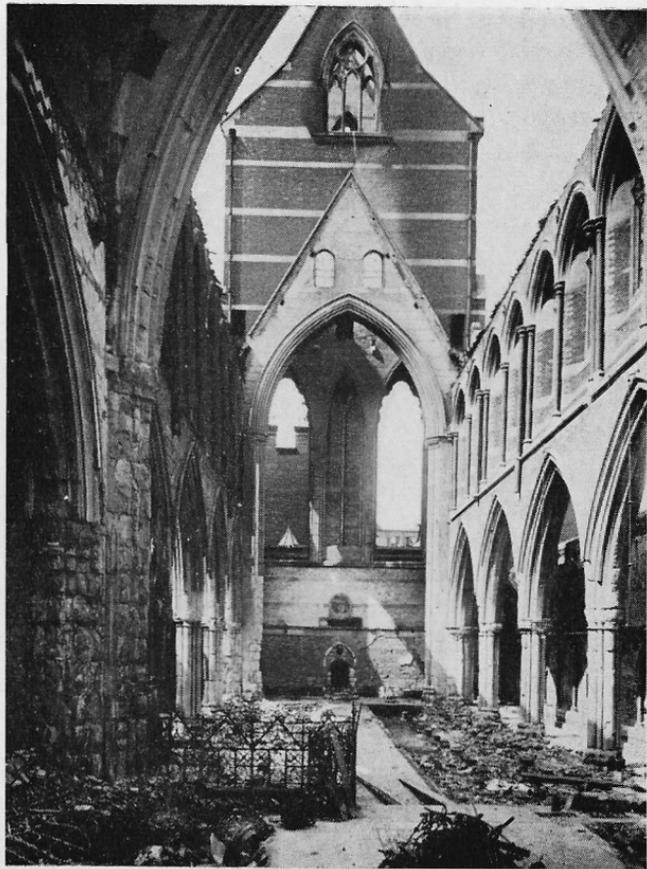


FIG. 4. *St. Alban, Holborn.* Interior looking west.

an arrangement which, though noted at the time, was not Butterfield's own: it occurs in Carpenter's St. Andrew, Monkton Wyld, Dorset (1848). The tower has a proudly-gabled saddleback roof, an un-English idea, but one suited to this type of church. Various other architects soon adopted the saddleback, for instance Henry Jarvis in St. John, Walworth (1859-60), and Basil Champneys in St. Luke, Kentish Town (1867-9). The great west window has a buttress carried up into it from the west door ("by some singular oversight", said the *Ecclesiologist*); Butterfield was at this time restoring Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire, and the fourteenth-century east window there has a central buttress; but at St. Matthias the treatment is not a success, although it has a rather perverse grandeur about it. Inside the church, the long perspective of tall, vigorously moulded arcades in a tall narrow nave, with two strong, low-set crossing arches and a large east window, is very grand, and there is none of the over-ornamentation and conflict by which All Saints is marred. The treatment of the east end is closely echoed by G. F. Bodley's All Saints, Cambridge (1863-4),¹ and the whole interior has much in common with William White's All Saints, Notting Hill (1850-61). The *Ecclesiologist*, after a violent controversy with a Mr. E. A. Freeman, who could see no merit whatsoever in the design, gave the church much praise,² but warned Butterfield against conscious coarseness of design. Freeman's criticisms were however based on the design published in the *Ecclesiologist*,³ which included ornamental pinnacles on the saddleback and a very tame west front.

The planning of St. Mary Magdalene, West Lavington (1850) was fairly orthodox, but its details drew some interesting comments from the *Ecclesiologist*.⁴ "We fancy we observe a tendency to prefer stiff and quaint forms, which show some originality, to more hackneyed architectural expressions. . . . We trust that we may not now be registering the first traces of an excessive reaction from traditionary architectural rules on the part of the eminent architect whose work we are reviewing. . . . In this case we have

¹ Which Butterfield told Bodley was "one of the few churches in which he could worship."

² Aug. 1853, pp. 287 ff.

³ Aug. 1850, p. 142.

⁴ Aug. 1849, pp. 67-8.

an interesting and excellent design deprived of much of its beauty by what we can consider little better than 'crochets' of its author." Hopkins found the church "immature and strange".

Butterfield's design for Perth Cathedral (1851+) was greeted by more frenzied criticism from Mr. Freeman, who said, "it seems to be about as miserable a composition as could well be imagined," and advocated "due chastisement" for its author. Some criticism is justified: for it is not self-confidently a cathedral, and combines too many parochial features: but funds were short. On the other hand, the college and church which Butterfield designed for the Isle of Cumbrae (1851-9) are a success: the church has polychrome decoration, and an ingenious stone triple-arch to act as a rood screen in the chancel arch.

Balliol Chapel, Oxford (1857-60), the earlier and less pretentious of Butterfield's Oxford chapels, has been ruined by complete refurnishing. The exterior survives, with alternating coloured stone courses¹ and a slender bell turret, but the furnishings by Sir Walter Tapper, in insipid neo-Classical taste, are painfully discordant with the Gothic structure. A photograph taken before the alterations shows heavy Gothic stalls and much polychrome tiling.

St. Alban, Holborn (1859-63) was the finest church of Butterfield's early maturity, but the only part of the original design retained after the church was gutted in the war is the western saddleback with central buttress and flanking transepts. This huge and powerful facade dominates the slums in which it stands as the great guardian of the Faith, superbly and justifiably confident. The central buttress has windows beside it and is made the dominant feature of the facade, round which tower and transepts revolve. Its heavy, moulded cap anticipates the Clock Tower in the second quadrangle at Keble, and the chancel roof and tower of Rugby School Chapel (1872).

The interior (Fig. 4) had much strong well-organised brick and tile patterning, a lowish chancel arch with inlaid cross and patterns above, and a tall, windowless east wall, decorated with water-glass paintings by Le Strange. The arcades were strong and orthodox, based perhaps on those of Tintern Abbey. The reredos

¹ Fortunately a recent proposal to reface it in monochrome has been rejected.

was small and tiled, in the same style as at Balliol Chapel¹ and St. James, Waresley, Huntingdonshire (1856-7)². The design had none of the formlessness of some of Butterfield's churches and none of the fussiness of others, and left no doubt that the decoration, although profuse and successful, was subsidiary to the structure of the building.

Holy Saviour, Hitchin (1865), is not one of Butterfield's best designs: the nave arcades are heavy and over-simplified, and the brick diamonds over the chancel arch are too monotonous an overall pattern, and are not part of a coherent design. The chancel which has been whitewashed, does not provide the needed climax.

Only the bones of Butterfield's interior survive at St. Augustine, Queen's Gate, Kensington (1865-76) after disastrous refurnishing by Martin Travers in the Baroque style in 1928. The west front, harsh, handsome and antagonistic, is in brick with stone bands, and Bumpus describes the interior as having banded pillars and mosaic and tile decoration: all is now whitewashed. The design is the first where Butterfield pierced the space above the chancel arch to show a continuous roof internally: he used the same idea in Rugby Church, in the destroyed St. Mary, Edmonton (1883-4) and, in timber, in the destroyed St. Clement, City Road. The treatment at St. Augustine is very effective, and the wide, strongly-moulded arches, similar in nave and chancel, make a grand and unified interior. Much of the design is closely echoed in St. Augustine, Haggerston (1867) by Butterfield's ex-pupil, Henry Woodyer.

Fortunately no restorer has trespassed into All Saints, Babba-combe, Devonshire (1868-74), and Butterfield's polychrome remains intact (Fig. 8). Wide, simple arches stand on banded marble columns. The clerestory is restricted to quatrefoils inserted into the roof, leaving a large decorative space over the arcade, which is divided into diamond shapes, with tiles inset in a red stone filling. This red stone, the primary internal material, is far mellower and more friendly than Butterfield's usual decorative brick and tiles. The diamond patterns are continued over the chancel arch and in the chancel, and the chancel is further enriched

¹ Destroyed.

² Reredos now covered with a curtain.

with mosaic and marble inlay. The figures in the mosaic, and the brightly coloured stained glass, are all stilted and impersonal. The roof line is flattened, and is of the same pitch throughout, with open beams in the nave and richly painted panels in the chancel. This continuity of height and scale between nave and chancel is a great virtue of the design. Many nineteenth-century churches are marred by badly co-ordinated parts (for instance G. E. Street's St. John, Kennington, 1870-4), and Babbacombe, St. Augustine, Queen's Gate, and St. Alban, Holborn, show what unity can achieve. The decorations at Babbacombe also show an understanding of balanced overall design which is far more mature than at Margaret Street, and are perhaps the most successful full polychromatic scheme of Butterfield's career, rich, strong and mellow, with great imagination and a completely fresh eye for effect. The polychrome marble font, with two layers of arcading, and pulpit, with three, "like a church or shrine,¹" show the same vigour.

Unfortunately, not all Butterfield's later designs are of the standard of Babbacombe, and the small whitewashed brick church of St. Barnabas, Rotherhithe (1873) has little distinction. The arcades, without capitals, are of the same type as at Holy Saviour, Hitchin and St. Augustine, Bournemouth (1891-2), Butterfield's last church; brick diamonds show through the whitewash over the chancel arch.

Three of Butterfield's largest and most important buildings date from the 1870's: the chapel and new buildings at Rugby School (1872), Rugby Parish Church (1877), and the complete design for Keble College, Oxford (1870).

Rugby School Chapel was an enlargement of an earlier chapel, and the few features retained from the former building may account for its lack of unity. It has an apse, an unaisled chancel under the tower, a long, wide, three-bay section with tall arcades, and a two-bay clerestoried nave. The designs of the individual parts are strong and convincing, but the relationship of body and chancel is far from satisfactory. There is much polychrome brickwork, and externally there is a curious clumsiness about the detail, especially on the tower.

¹ Hopkins.

Rugby Church on the other hand shows Butterfield at his best. The body of the old church is retained as the North aisle of the new, and externally the contrast between the small mediaeval tower and Butterfield's tall spire (1896) makes the new work seem an over-smart intruder. But there is no such conflict inside. The church is stone-built and the main polychrome effect comes from the combination of pink and grey stone, in simple bands in the nave, and in elaborate diapers in the chancel. The church is tall, long and wide, and there is nothing mean or inconsistent about the scale. The arcades are tall, and strongly and simply moulded, and the roof of nave and chancel is continuous. The chancel arch supports what is really an elaborate stone rood-beam, with a straight top and a cross that reaches the roof-ridge. The face of this strut is decorated with cusped circles, picked out by beautifully controlled combinations of the two stone colours. The low-pitched wood roof with star-patterns in panels echoes that in Babbacombe chancel; similar roofs occur in most of Butterfield's later churches (All Hallows, Tottenham (1875), the destroyed St. Clement, City Road (1875), St. Mary, Ardleigh, Essex (1881), St. Mary Magdalene, Enfield (1883), the chancel of St. Augustine, Bournemouth (1891-2).) The east window and the arcading of the chancel walls continue the decorative use of cusped shapes, and the variations of these, as abstract patterns, are a major part of the design. The reredos is of three pieces, turreted and castellated, the regular type in the late churches (Tottenham, Enfield, Bournemouth). The management of the decorative schemes throughout is restrained and masterly.

It has been said of Keble: "Here Butterfield's opportunity came, but he failed to turn it to account." Keble in fact shows better than any other of his buildings the virtues and the failings of his methods of design. The college was a religious foundation, and the chapel had to be the central feature of the design: but due emphasis had to be laid on the other major buildings of the college, the library, the Hall and the Gatehouse. The chapel is placed at the extreme north end of a very long frontage, and the library and Hall are in one block dividing the two quadrangles. The Gatehouse is near the centre of the main front, and is a badly co-ordinated design, with the same sort of coarseness as the

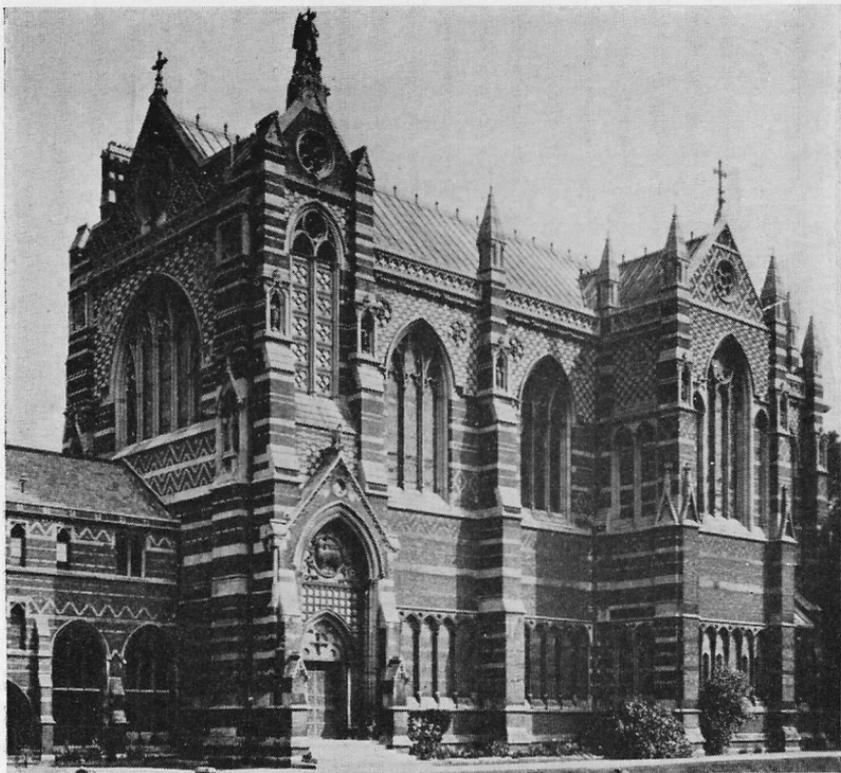


FIG. 5. *Keble College, Oxford, 1870. The chapel.*

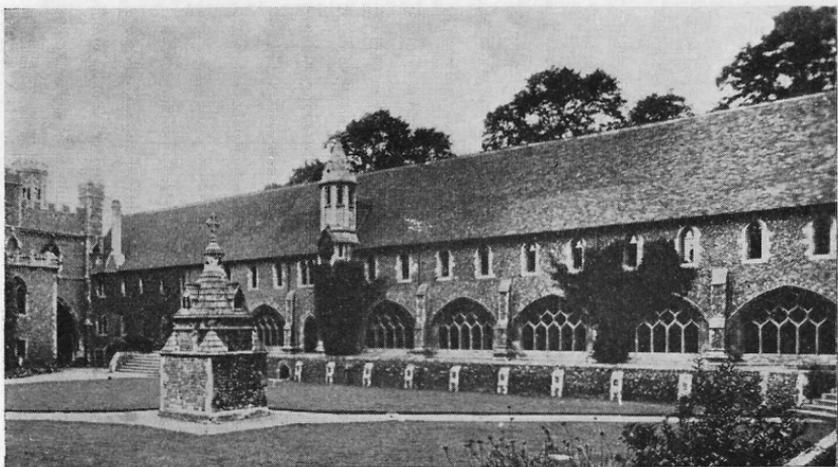


FIG. 6. *St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The cloister range.*

tower of Rugby School Chapel. The placing of the chapel at the extremity of the layout was a bold move, and Butterfield brought it off completely: it might have lost its dominance because of the mass of buildings to its south, or it might by sheer size have dwarfed its surroundings and destroyed the balance of the design. In fact it does neither, and the chapel roof seen from the southern approach up Parks Road rides powerfully over the other buildings, but when seen from nearby its bulk is not out of scale with the rest of the main quadrangle (Fig. 5).

Throughout the college symmetry of design is avoided, and no block has any formal balance. The disposition of staircases, gables and chimneys along the frontages holds the design together, as in the Cloister Range at Canterbury. This balanced asymmetry is only rivalled by G. E. Street's principal facade of the Law Courts in the Strand (1871). At Keble, however, it is perhaps carried too far in the north facade of the chapel.

The chapel is of five bays, tall, broad and unaisled, with a very narrow cross-gabled bay at the west, forming a western transept, as at St. Alban, Holborn. The whole college is of patterned brick, and the patterns on the chapel are of three well-defined types, depending on the function of the wall. At the base, the courses are broad and horizontal, to show downward thrust; over the windows there is horizontal red and white chessboard work, to show static walling; and in the gables there are diamond patterns, to show roof thrust. This sort of scheme is common in Butterfield's brick churches, and, with Keble as its prime example, has led the style to be compared with "streaky bacon".

The proportions of the chapel interior (Fig. 7) are grand and awesome, on a great scale, and the whole design is meant to dwarf the worshipper. The decoration is in three stages: a wall arcade with patterned tiles, an arcade with mosaics, and, at the top, beneath the heavy brick vault, the windows. The acoustics are astonishingly bad, and the colour scheme is a failure. The mosaics are the stumbling block: for they have no strength of design or penetrative colour, and only form a dull, insipid, pink background. The combination of these mosaics with the usual patterned brickwork and marblwork and bright, harsh glass, reduces the interior to a restless, livid monotone. The mosaic

figures have no animation, and are unevocative puppets. Butterfield avoided treatment of the human figure wherever possible, and, where it does occur, it is always depressingly impersonal and unimpressive, as on the west and north walls at Margaret Street. It is this abhorrence of artistic emotion of any sort that is the great disaster of the Keble mosaics, and the great limitation of Butterfield's outlook. It is not surprising to hear that he was a misanthrope and a confirmed bachelor; his attitude to women is shown in a delightful postscript to a letter he wrote to the Rev. T. W. Perry, vicar of Ardleigh Church, Essex, which Butterfield rebuilt (4th August, 1884): "Have you seen Dean Burgon's Sermon last Trinity Sunday preached before the University of Oxford on the subject of this craze about women?"

Another part of this letter shows the religious enthusiasm which lay behind all Butterfield's work: "You have carried out a great work at Ardleigh. I never expected it to be so complete. And your services are on the lines of the Church!! A great thing in these lawless days, and a great satisfaction to me".

St. Mary Magdalene, Enfield (1883) and St. Augustine, Bournemouth (1891-2) are typical, late, Butterfield churches, built of stone. At Enfield the arcades and roof recall Rugby Church, and there is an exaggerated turreted reredos, and some very ingenious marble and tile decoration on the chancel walls. Bumpus calls it "quite an ideal country church". Bournemouth is the last church, and shows little decline. It is not an outstanding design, for the arcades are rather over-heavy, but it has the usual emphatic chancel and reredos, and a typical western bell-turret. It has been whitewashed.

Butterfield's most remarkable late work is the mosaic decoration at St. Mary in the Castle, Dover (1885). The nave patterns have an unfortunate resemblance to bathroom tiles, but the chancel mosaics have great distinction (Fig. 9). The walls are covered with strongly designed formal tree-patterns of great flexibility, and of strangely impersonal elegance. The completely stylised leaves and branches are arranged in bold simple curves, and are far nearer in spirit to the Book of Kells than to the late nineteenth century. It was only at certain isolated moments that nineteenth-century art succeeded in isolating itself from its time, and Butterfield's tree



FIG. 7. *Keble College, Oxford.* The interior of the chapel.



FIG. 8. *All Saints, Babbacombe.* Chancel looking North-East, showing marble inlay, painted roof, and mosaic work.

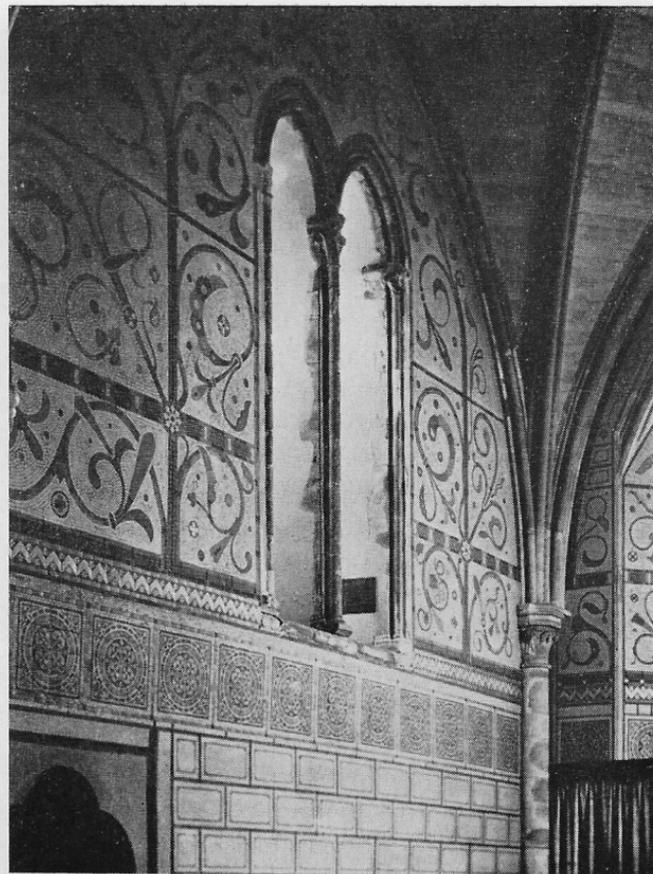


FIG. 9. *St. Mary in the Castle, Dover.* The North wall of the chancel, showing the decorations of 1885.

decoration at Dover is one of these instances; the brick patterning at William White's Holy Saviour, Aberdeen Park, Islington (1859) is perhaps another, and the design of Arthur Hughes's strange Nativity in the City Art Gallery at Birmingham a third.

Final opinions on an artist are based on his masterpieces, but all his works have to be considered to see how he reaches his few outstanding solutions. Butterfield's claim to fame is as the designer of St. Alban, Holborn, All Saints, Babbacombe, Rugby Church and the Dover decorations, and of parts of All Saints, Margaret Street, and Keble. To understand his design we have to look at the other side of his work, the excesses and the over-impersonality and the coarseness. The *Ecclesiologist's* comment on St. Thomas, Leeds (1851), may be used as a general verdict on Butterfield's work: "In spite of its faults, and in its faults, it shows the hand of a master."

A SELECT LIST OF THE WORKS OF WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD 1814-1900

COMPLETE CHURCHES DESIGNED, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

St. Andrew, Wilmcote, Warwickshire	1841
Highbury Congregational Church, Bristol	1842-3
St. Saviour, Coalpit Heath, Gloucestershire	1844
St. John the Baptist, Hellidon, Northamptonshire (mostly rebuilt)	1845-6
St. Mark, Cantley, Yorkshire	1847
St. Cuthbert, Sessay, Yorkshire	1847
St. Mary, Wavendon, Buckinghamshire (mostly rebuilt)	1848-9, 1859
All Saints, Margaret Street, St. Marylebone, London	1849-59
St. Bartholomew, Pinchbeck West, Lincolnshire	1849-50
All Saints, Harrow Weald, Middlesex (nave and chancel fittings)	1849-52
(tower)	1890
St. James, Alington, Devon	1849-52
St. Mary Magdalen, West Lavington, Sussex	1849-50
St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, London	1850-3
St. Bartholomew, Yealmpton, Devonshire	1850
Small church at Epping, Essex	c. 1850
Charlton, near Wantage, Berkshire	c. 1851
St. Thomas, Leylands, Leeds, Yorkshire	1851-4
St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, Scotland	1851+
(tower)	1898
St. Luke, Sheen, Staffordshire (completed)	1852

St. John, Huddersfield, Yorkshire	1852-3
St. Mary, Langley, Kent	1853-5
All Saints, Wykeham, Yorkshire	1853-5
St. John, Pollington, Yorkshire	1854
Holy Trinity, Cowick, Yorkshire	1854
St. Paul, Hensall, Yorkshire	1854
All Saints, Braishfield, Hampshire	1855
St. John the Evangelist, Glenthorne Road, Hammersmith, London	1856-9
(tower)	1881
St. John, Milton, Oxfordshire	1856
St. James, Waresley, Huntingdonshire	1856-7
St. James, Baldersby, Yorkshire	1856-8
St. Mary, Etal, Northumberland	1856-8
St. Mary Magdalen, Belmont, Durham	1857
St. Michael, Gaer Hill, Somerset	1857
St. Andrew, Landford, Wiltshire	1858
St. Matthew, Ashford, Middlesex	1858-65
St. Alban, Brooke Street, Holborn, London	1859-63
St. John the Evangelist, Newbury, Berkshire	1860
St. John the Baptist, Bamford, Derbyshire	1860-1
St. Lawrence, Alvechurch, Worcestershire (mostly rebuilt)	1861
Christ Church, Emery Down, Hampshire	1864
St. Sebastian, Ravenswood, Wokingham, Berkshire	1864-5
Holy Saviour, Radcliffe Road, Hitchin, Hertfordshire	1865
St. Augustine, Penarth, Glamorgan	1865-6
St. Augustine, Queen's Gate, Kensington, London	1865-76
St. Mary, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire	1866
St. Anne, Dropmore, Buckinghamshire	1866
St. Barnabas, Horton-cum-Studley, Oxfordshire	1867
St. Mary, Beech Hill, Berkshire	1867
St. Peter, Highway, Wiltshire	1867
All Saints, Rangemore, Staffordshire	1867
St. Peter, Elerch, Cardiganshire	1868
St. John the Evangelist, Dalton (Topcliffe), Yorkshire	1868
All Saints, Babbacombe, Torquay, Devon	1868-74
St. Michael, Lamplugh, Cumberland (earlier work incorporated)	1870
St. Mary, Stoke, Ipswich, Suffolk (parts of old church)	1870-2
Holy Cross, Clifton, New Road, Openshaw, Manchester	1871-4
St. Margaret, Barley, Hertfordshire (parts of old church)	1872
St. Barnabas, Plough Way, Rotherhithe, London	1873
Bursea, on Spalding Moor, Yorkshire	1873
St. Michael and All Angels, Poulton, Gloucestershire	1873
St. Michael and All Angels, Weybridge, Surrey	1874
St. John the Baptist, Chipping Barnet, Hertfordshire (parts of old church)	1875
All Hallows, Tottenham, Middlesex (parts of old church—Butterfield lies buried in Tottenham Cemetery)	1875
St. Michael, Borgard Road, Woolwich, London	1875-8
St. Clement, City Road, Finsbury, London	1875
St. Mary, Brookfield, Dartmouth Park Hill, Highgate, London (nave only)	1876
St. John the Evangelist, Clevedon, Somerset	1876
St. Mark, Dundela, Belfast, N. Ireland	1876-91
St. James, Christleton, Cheshire	1876-7
St. Andrew, Rugby, Warwickshire (old work incorporated)	1877-85
(tower)	1896
St. Catherine, Netherhampton, Wiltshire (old work remaining)	1877
St. John, Foxham, Wiltshire	1880
St. Mary, Ardleigh, Essex (old work remaining)	1881-3

St. Michael and All Angels, Portsmouth, Hampshire	1882
St. Mary Magdalen, Windmill Hill, Enfield, Middlesex	1883
Holy Innocents, Kingsbury, Middlesex	1883-4
St. Mary, Fore Street, Edmonton, Middlesex	1883-4
St. Augustine, Bournemouth, Hampshire	1891-2

SELECTED RESTORATIONS, ETC.
BY BUTTERFIELD

Details of 110 Churches restored or altered by Butterfield, including all the London churches restored, and a few of the most important provincial restorations.

LONDON:

<i>City</i>	All Hallows, Bread Street	
	St. Clement, Eastcheap	1872, 1889
	St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street	1865-7
	St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street	
	St. Mary, Woolnoth	1875-6
	St. Michael, Paternoster Royal	1866
<i>Westminster</i>	St. Peter-le-Poor	
	St. Barnabas, Pimlico (assisted Lundy as architect)	1846-9
	St. John, Smith Square	
	St. Thomas, Regent Street	
	St. Paul, Covent Garden	1872
	St. John, Broad Court (parish—St. Martin-in-the-Fields)	1855-6
<i>Bermondsey</i>	St. Mark (temporary church, fittings)	1849
	St. Mary, Rotherhithe	1867
	St. Paul, Rotherhithe	1892
<i>Finsbury</i>	St. Paul, Bunhill Row	1882
	St. Philip, Granville Square, Clerkenwell	1860-1
<i>Hackney</i>	St. Philip, Dalston	
<i>Holborn</i>	Christ Church, Endell Street	1874
	Holy Trinity, Gray's Inn Road	
	St. Giles-in-the-Fields	
<i>St. Pancras</i>	Christ Church, Albany Street	1853, 1865-7, 1879
<i>Shoreditch</i>	St. James	
	St. Leonard	1870
	Christ Church, Hoxton	1846-7
<i>Stepney</i>	St. Paul, Shadwell	1848-9

Christ Church, Kildown, Kent (furnishings for Beresford Hope)	c. 1842
St. Dano's Cathedral, Pembrokeshire (restoration north transept and screen)	1846
St. Andrew, Wells Street, St. Marylebone (now at Kingsbury, Middlesex)	
(designed reading desk)	1847
St. Mary, Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire (restoration aided by Woodyer)	1850+
St. Peter and St. Paul, Dorchester, Oxfordshire (restored and des. lychgate)	1852-4
St. Mary, Michael, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire (restored)	1857-8
St. Mary, Bega, St. Bees, Cumberland (iron screen)	1885
(much restored)	1858
St. Mary, Castlegate, York (much restored, new pews)	1870
St. Mary-in-the-Castle, Dover, Kent (mosaic dec. and furnishing)	1885
Merton College Chapel, Oxford (restoration)	1849-53

SELECTED DOMESTIC WORKS BY BUTTERFIELD

St. Augustine's College, Canterbury	1845-50
Horfield Barracks Chapel, Fitton Road, Bristol	1847
St. Saviour's Hospital, Osnaburgh Street, St. Pancras, London	1850-2
St. Dunstan's Abbey (Convent), Plymouth, Devonshire	1850-6
St. Andrew's College, Harrow Weald, Middlesex	1852
College and Church, Isle of Cumbrae, Bute, Scotland	1852-9
Bede Chapel for St. Anne's Bedehouse, Lincoln	1854
Balliol College Chapel, Oxford	1857-60
Winchester College, Hampshire (new block and chapel restoration as Crimean War Memorial)	1857-70
St. Cross Hospital, Winchester (restoration—chapel fully decorated)	1858-65
Ascot Priory, Berkshire (chapel and domestic buildings)	1858-63
(chapel completed)	1885
Sir Walter St. John's School, Battersea, London	1858-9
St. Mary's Convent, Wantage, Berkshire (first chapel and novitiate wing)	1860
Hampshire County Hospital, Winchester	1863
Merton College, Oxford (new block—rebuilt c. 1930)	1863
Fulham Palace Chapel, London	1866-7
Kemble College, Oxford	1870-6
Rugby School, Warwickshire (chapel and school block, etc.)	1872+
St. Michael's Hospital, Axbridge, Somerset	1875+
Heath's Court, Ottery St. Mary, Devon (House for Lord Coleridge)	1883
Gordon Boys' Home, Chobham, Bagshot, Surrey	1885
Guards Chapel, Caterham Barracks, Surrey	1886
Grammar School, Victoria Park Road, Exeter, Devon (and chapel)	1886
Mitton Ernest, Bedfordshire (Manor House)	
St. Columbia's College Chapel, Dublin	
Theological College, Cathedral Close, Salisbury (and chapel)	
King Alfred's Grammar School, Wantage, Berkshire	
Cathedral Choir School, Exeter, Devon	1860's