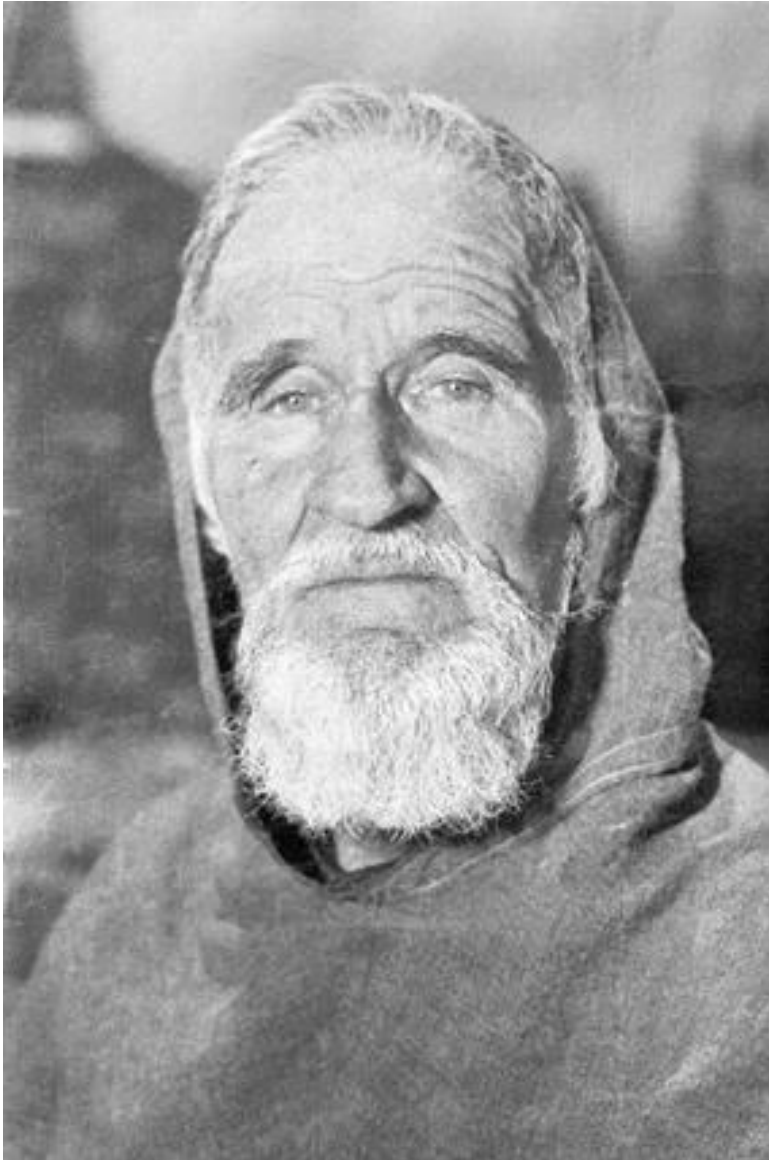


Sui Generis:

**The Design Work of Architect-Priest
Monsignor John Cyril Hawes (1876-1956)**



MA in Conservation Studies (Historic Buildings) Dissertation:

University of York, England
Department of Archaeology
Incorporating the Former Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies

J.J. Taylor

September 2001

Abstract

***Sui Generis* (of its own kind; unique):**

The Design Work of Architect-Priest Monsignor John Cyril Hawes (1876-1956)

MA in Conservation Studies (Historic Buildings) Dissertation by J.J. Taylor

116 pages, 81 figures (51 colour), bibliography and index

John Hawes was born in England, and designed buildings (primarily ecclesiastical) that were constructed in Great Britain, the Bahamas, the United States of America, and Australia. The author previously produced an illustrated manuscript titled *Between Devotion and Design* that chronologically summarizes earlier research on John Hawes' art and architecture. The University of Western Australia Press published this work in 2000. However the guiding forces that shaped Hawes' design skills in Great Britain, and later in other places, have previously been addressed and documented in minor detail.

Within this dissertation, special effort has been made to research and introduce *new* facts and connections with Hawes' work. It differs from and improves previous work by examining early influences, contemporary architects, buildings, events and styles known or thought to have predisposed Hawes' evolution as an architect. The methodology is an extension of previous research, examining documentary evidence, and physical evidence based on inspections of places discussed. Of difference is that in this paper, after examining Hawes' formative years, the most stylistically expressive examples of Hawes' work are selectively taken to illustrate evolving themes.

It is expected that this dissertation will assist in the understanding of Hawes, and contribute to an increased appreciation of the value of his designs, buildings and artworks. The dissertation may contribute to architecture by discussing and comparing the innovative work of John Hawes in its international context, analyzing the factors that influenced his style, and allowing consideration of his own influence on architecture.

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Key to abbreviations used in figure captions and endnotes:

DCAB – Archives of Catholic Diocese of Ballarat, Victoria

DCAG – Archives of Catholic Diocese of Geraldton, Western Australia

DCAN – Archives of Catholic Diocese of Nassau, Bahamas

JSBL – JS Battye Library, Perth, Western Australia

PAAG – Archives of Prinknash Abbey, Gloucester, England

PAMM – Priesthouse Museum, Mullewa, Western Australia

SAMA – Archives of St Augustine's Monastery, Nassau, Bahamas

Cover photograph of John Hawes by William Stapleton, from *Colliers Magazine*, 22 July 1950.

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Preface

Putting this research in context – what has been done before and what is now being attempted:

Since 1993 I have been conducting research into the life and works of architect and priest Monsignor John Cyril Hawes. I have previously produced an illustrated manuscript titled *Between Devotion and Design* that summarizes earlier investigations, and which the University of Western Australia Press published in 2000. As I have formerly been based in Western Australia the research into Hawes' Western Australian buildings had been relatively thorough, and detailed conservation plans have been developed for the majority of them.

However with the limitations of time and distance the guiding forces that shaped Hawes' design skills in Great Britain, and later in other places, have been addressed and documented in much less detail. Within this dissertation, special effort has been made to research and introduce *new* facts and connections with Hawes' work. This paper thus differs from and improves previous work by closely examining early influences, contemporary architects, buildings, events and styles known or thought to have predisposed Hawes' evolution as an architect. This information will also be discussed to establish the context, importance and nature of Hawes' work within the architectural styles and liturgical requirements of his time.

The methodology is an extension of previous research techniques, initially examining documentary evidence, and physical evidence based on inspections of the fabric of places discussed. Of difference is that in this necessarily succinct work, the most stylistically expressive examples of Hawes' work are selectively taken to illustrate evolving themes. Details are researched through all available primary and secondary sources, including material held by government authorities and departments, specialist organisations, libraries, historical societies, archive offices, and individuals. Comparisons can then be made to educational and other influences that led Hawes to design and build in his eclectic fashion.

Introduction

Putting John Hawes in context – what he did, and how it came about:

John Cyril Hawes was born in England, and designed buildings (primarily ecclesiastical) that were constructed in Great Britain, the Bahamas, the United States of America, and Australia. In addition he designed church works for Costa Rica and Canada.¹ Hawes' prolific work as an architect is of importance in an international context, and this paper may assist in establishing that value.

Hawes' deep personal understanding of biblical, liturgical, and other matters so integral to the design of churches and religious orders' accommodation of every kind, ensured that he produced extraordinarily good works in this field. Hawes had a rare combination of skills - being an accomplished architect before he entered into the priesthood. John Hawes was also a very practical and resourceful man, with an ability to 'get things done' which was firmly developed in early experience in Great Britain, and then finely honed in a very isolated and independent period on Long Island in the Bahamas.

Hawes studied the history and development of churches, from both the liturgical and architectural viewpoints. Of course the interweaving of symbolism, significance, and design in churches means that liturgical and architectural aspects are deeply connected. From Hawes' teenage days where he travelled across the English Channel to France to study and sketch churches, he had a deep desire to emulate the feats of the medieval church builders. Hawes wished to achieve some small measure of this incredible building tradition, but realised with his own practicality the limitations that were imposed upon his own work by many factors, particularly the lack of finance and manpower available. This did not prevent him from producing great works, of significant merit and value for their singular artistic conception and imaginative power.

John Hawes was blessed with a decisive, resourceful mind, and a selfless Franciscan spirit. With training in painting, sculpture, and other arts to supplement his architectural skills; an early introduction to and understanding of the hard commercial world in his 'articled' architectural apprenticeship in London; and practical building skills discovered through sheer hard work; Hawes was a rare talent.

Hawes had an incredible and unusual devotion to his architectural work and to his religious calling. However these two loves caused him great personal conflict, as he often felt that he neglected his more important spiritual calling to God for that of his worldly works. Hawes wished to see his passionate religious belief realised in his architecture, and was committed to developing an approach to his architecture that was strongly responsive to location.

We are fortunate with the fact that Hawes' activity is relatively well documented through his own prolific diary and letter writing. He had an extraordinary final chapter of his life in which he retired as a hermit to a lonely hilltop in the Bahamas. In addition to the biographical works that have been produced to discuss his life, there is a complex and fascinating architectural story to be told.²

Chapter One - Formative Years in England 1876-1897:

1.1 Initial Education

John Cyril Hawes was born on 7 September 1876, in the Royal Borough of Richmond. The youngest of three boys, he was raised in the strict conditions of Victorian professional middle class life by a firm, thoughtful father and a loving, gentle mother to whom he was devoted. As part of a strong Church of England family, religious study in the form of daily Bible readings, instruction and prayer was an integral part of his childhood.

As was typical of the upper middle class, Hawes was sent to a small private school in Richmond at the age of six, and thence to a preparatory boarding school in Brighton. Hawes found architectural direction early in his life:

I found my real vocation when on the next birthday [his fifth] a splendid large 'Box of Bricks' was given me - there were blocks and beams of various different lengths, curved arched pieces, round pillars and triangular spandrels: so you could build houses, bridges, harbours, forts and towers. Henceforth I was an architect, engineer and builder. From my earliest years I was very fond of drawing, and I often worried my father for paper and pencils.³

In 1889 Hawes progressed from the school at Brighton to the King's School Canterbury, housed in a cluster of medieval buildings around the cathedral. John was a quiet but effective student:

At 13 I entered the King's School, Canterbury, which had a great influence on my after life. Not so much that it was a good Public School cast in the usual British mould; but that I came under the influence of the past; the great cathedral welcomed and sheltered me under its wings. I drank of the cup of tradition. The very stones of the glorious old temple of God cried out in testimony to its Catholic past. Chemistry and mathematics I detested; the classics were more tolerable, but I revelled in history.⁴



Figure 1: The King's School, Canterbury. Form IV, 1893. Hawes is standing third from right in the middle row. The photograph was taken in front of the 'Norman Staircase'.
Courtesy the King's School archives.

While still in the lower school Hawes won the first prize for drawing, and topped the whole school with his sketch of one of the old gatehouses. At Canterbury, Hawes was fascinated with its Benedictine past, the cathedral, priory, and St Augustine's Abbey outside the walls:

*As a boy I was thus absorbed in the history of the glorious work of the Benedictine Order in building up England's past, and in admiration and love of the monastic ruins. I supposed it was a past gone forever and now but pleasant fairy tales. The old Roman Catholic worship was of course idolatrous and wicked, as we had always been told, but it must have been much nicer, I thought, than the dull drab services we had to put up with now.*⁵

He made friends with two or three boys who were 'high church', and envisaged himself a portion of the Church of England that was 'trying to get back to some of the nice things of old'. He went one Sunday to the 'high celebration' at the small ancient church of St Peter's - we can now see that this mildly adventurous excursion was a part of his growing interest in ritual and decoration in churches.

1.2 Articled Pupil

In 1893 Hawes embarked on a traineeship in architecture at his father's suggestion and based on his already apparent love of drawing. Although Hawes would have liked to be a clergyman, he said nothing and soon embraced the choice of career. He notes that he threw himself into the study of architecture with unbounded enthusiasm. 'Was it not the very essence and substance of those old cathedrals, abbeys and churches that I loved. I soon decided that it was an art and the highest of all the arts, and not a profession.'⁶ This statement by Hawes is important as it reveals his attitude toward a great philosophical debate amongst architects and others that was current in the early 1890s, and this issue will be discussed further in this chapter.

In those times an architect trained in an office where the pupil's parents paid for their offspring to be articled for a set period. Articled pupils could also attend lessons in the evenings, and it is apparent from John Hawes' diary that he endured this comprehensive workload.

Hawes was employed at the offices of his 'masters' James Edmeston (1823 or 4-1898) and Edward Gabriel (d.1928) in Old Broad Street, London. The senior partner Edmeston was sixty-nine, and had long been a pillar of the profession. He was one of the founders of the Architectural Association, and was its President in 1853-54.⁷ Edmeston was well connected in both business and architectural circles. He had been a pupil of Arthur Ashpitel (1807-1869). Edmeston's father James the elder (1791-1867) founded the practice in the early 1800s, and had taken on both Ashpitel and the prolific Victorian architect Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878) as pupils. Edmeston's earlier partner and only son James Stanning Edmeston (d.1887), who died at a relatively early age, had in turn been a pupil of Scott's. James Edmeston is remembered for the design of one of the most famous of Victorian entertainment complexes, the huge circus hall and arena in Kensington known as 'Olympia'.

Edward Gabriel also had a family tradition of architecture. His father Samuel Burleigh Gabriel had been a ‘well-known ecclesiastical architect in Bristol, and carried out many important works including the Grand Hotel’. Edward Gabriel was credited with the St Augustine’s Bridge, The Royal National Nautical School at Portishead, Somerset, and several local schools at Bristol, before moving to London and eventually joining James Edmeston as a partner.⁸ Together Edmeston and Gabriel’s most valuable client at the time of Hawes’ employment from 1893-97 appears to have been the London & South Western Bank, for whom the firm designed a number of branch offices including those at Clerkenwell, Vauxhall, Whitechapel Road, Wimbledon Common, Fenchurch and Gracechurch Streets, and Leadenhall and Gracechurch Streets.⁹

Biographer Tony Evans suggests that Hawes’ friend and one of the leading British architects of the twentieth century, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott (1881-1960) was also articulated to Edmeston and Gabriel.¹⁰ This claim is contradicted by sources recording that Giles Scott was in fact articulated to Temple Lushington Moore (1856-1920).¹¹ To confuse matters, Moore was a pupil of Sir Giles’ father, George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839-1897), son of Sir George Gilbert Scott! It is likely, given the five-year age difference between Hawes and Giles Scott that they became acquainted through later architectural work, and this important relationship will be discussed in chapter four.

1.3 Architectural Association, Central Arts & Crafts School

As his tutelage was with a commercial firm primarily concerned with designing banks, pubs and schools, Hawes had to temporarily lay aside his emerging interest in ecclesiastical architecture, although his artistic bent was nourished by lectures at the London County Council Central Arts and Crafts School. Hawes was in turn absorbing the tenets of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852) with respect to principles of church design and those of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896) with respect to traditional design and construction, through both evening classes and his wide reading of books and periodicals.

Hawes' election to pursue the additional study of Arts and Crafts at evening classes is a key indicator both of his artistic inclination, and perhaps also of his awareness that strictly revived Gothic was declining in popularity, not least among the foremost educators of the day. Professor William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931) was a founder and first principal of the Central Arts and Crafts School, and a major influence on many of the time.¹² Lethaby was a leader in the movement toward rejection of the historicist Gothic Revival in favour of simple 'honest' architecture using natural materials and individual craftsmanship. He outlined 'three ultimate facts behind all architecture, utility, durability, and style'¹³, and his influence on Hawes was so profound that one can even see similarities in their respective drafting styles.¹⁴

Hawes reveals other insights to this period, including the fact that Edward Gabriel arranged for his articled pupil to join the Architectural Association and to attend evening classes there, and also the occasional lectures of The Royal Institute of British Architects. Hawes described that the latter was considered the 'House of Lords' of the profession, but he felt the humbler Association 'bottled up all the fire and steam and the promise of the future'. He recorded that in the upper end of Regent Street across Oxford Circus were located, on opposite sides of the street, the headquarters of two rival institutions - the London Polytechnic and the Central Arts and Crafts School:

*The latter on the east side and the Mecca of the students from the Architectural Association. We looked with disdain on the Polytechnic and also on the South Kensington School of Arts as but amateur and dilettante places.*¹⁵

The Central Arts and Crafts school provided classes with competent instructors for different handicrafts. The students comprised sculptors, masons, metal workers, book binders, house decorators, stained glass and textile workers and many more. Each student had to pursue his own particular handicraft, excepting architectural students who had the privilege of working in any class they pleased. Hawes felt that drawing and clay modelling formed a meeting ground for all the students. He loved the modelling, making accurate copies of casts of panels of floral decorations from wood

carvings; and then a copy of Donatello's 'Laughing Boy' bust, resulting in a speedy promotion to the 'Life Class'. The importance of this training to Hawes' future work is apparent, the skill and confidence it gave allowing crafting of inexpensive liturgical artworks for his buildings when the finance for such items was elusive.



Figure 2: Hawes' copy of Donatello's 'Laughing Boy' made c.1896, PAMM. A postcard of this artwork (marked FIRENZE - Museo Nazionale Busto di fanciullo Donatello) was also left by Hawes in Western Australia.



Figure 3: Hawes' sculpture in St Francis Xavier Cathedral, Geraldton - statue of St Peter in the south aisle. In typical fashion, Hawes kept a postcard at Mullewa (from his time at Beda College) of the great bronze statue inside St Peter's, Rome. Pencil marks on the postcard reveal how Hawes scaled down the size of the original, and then copied the style of the version in Italy.

Of his time at the Central Arts and Crafts School, Hawes mentions a few notable figures. Amongst these are the two directors, William Lethaby and sculptor Sir George Frampton (1860-1928). Edwin Roscoe Mullins (1849-1907), whose sculpture was frequently seen at the annual Royal Academy exhibition from 1873 on, is described in the first prospectus for the school as being in charge of ‘Modelling and Ornament as applied to Architecture and the allied crafts’.¹⁶ In Hawes, Mullins had a keen and enthusiastic student. Biographer Tony Evans records that for a time Hawes considered becoming a sculptor¹⁷, and on future performance he would almost certainly have excelled in this career choice.

*The majority of those working there were of course young sculptors. Thus architects and sculptors made early friendships and got a good understanding of their complementary arts. I also joined the stone-mason class. When the young architect has himself worked with mallet and chisel he will not be prone to design full size details of mouldings on paper that are impossible of execution. I also learnt to hammer out a leaden ‘rain-water-head’. Professor Lethaby took a great interest in these classes for the architects, and I learnt a lot from him. Roscoe Mullins, the sculptor, was our teacher in modelling and the Life Class: an exemplary man of high ideals, full of joyous enthusiasm and bubbling over with poetry and love of nature. ...Frampton was a regular visitor too, almost every night.*¹⁸

Other teachers and lecturers at the Central Arts and Crafts School included Halsey Ralph Ricardo (1854-1928) for architecture and Christopher Whall (1849-1924) for stained glass. Whall’s fine work is mentioned with admiration several times in Hawes’ diary. Ricardo’s deep thought and eloquent prose is echoed in Hawes’ writing, and it is obvious this teacher had a strong influence on his student’s understanding of the origins of nineteenth century architecture in Britain.¹⁹

1.4 Travel in France

Two extensive trips to France – one while at the King’s School and the other two years into his training – were of lasting importance in firing Hawes’ twin enthusiasms. His first interest was the colour and ritual of Catholic worship, and the second the glory and grandeur of medieval Christian architecture. During the 1893 Easter vacation his elder brother Ted took the sixteen year old John with him for a short trip to Normandy. They obtained a couple of ‘Gardens of the Soul’ to help follow the church service of Catholic France, and after all he had heard in England Hawes was surprised to find the prayers of the mass ‘scriptural and evangelical’²⁰, with the wording simple, direct and beautiful’:

*After a rough seasick channel crossing we arrived, via the Ouistreham Canal, in Caen about 11 p.m. The Hotel d’Angleterre was a few doors from St Jean’s Church. I woke up early next morning (my brother being still in bed feeling seasick) and was out in the narrow medieval street. I was in heaven! It was all so different from England. I went into several churches richly dim and mysterious, with twinkling lights of candles glimmering here and there where priests were offering the holy Mass in little side-chapels; no glare of electric daylight; no stiff rows of long pews, but Priou-Dieus and chairs higgeldy piggedly anyhow. ... The very atmosphere moved to worship, to bring one to one’s knees. Truly this was my ‘Father’s House’. And all the churches everywhere were the same, you did not have to worry about exercising care to choose one that wasn’t ‘Low Church’.*²¹

On Palm Sunday in Caen the two English lads attended the packed church of St Etienne, of great interest to them as it was part of the ‘Abbaye aux Hommes’ begun by William the Conqueror. By the courtesy of one of the canons they had met the day before, the two Protestant Anglais sat in the choir-stalls for the High Mass.



Figure 4: Church of St Etienne, part of the 'Abbaye aux Hommes', Caen.
http://www.copi.org/janene/belgium/pictures/images/Caen_France/caen.html August 2001.



Figure 5: The nave, looking toward the chancel, and the Tomb of William the Conqueror in the chancel of St Etienne, Caen.

http://www.copi.org/janene/belgium/pictures/images/Caen_France/caen.html August 2001;
<http://www.findagrave.com/pictures/1948.html> August 2001.

Unfortunately with massive bombing by the Allied forces during the reoccupation of France in the Second World War, the Caen that John Hawes viewed is no more. On fire for eleven days and nearly completely destroyed by air and naval bombardment in June and July 1944, there is very little left of the place that Hawes described as having 'pleasant winding cobbled streets, medieval houses with their overhanging half-timbered gables, leaded casements and steep red-tiled roofs'. Fortunately, the two great abbey churches were not totally destroyed in the conflict and have since been repaired.²²

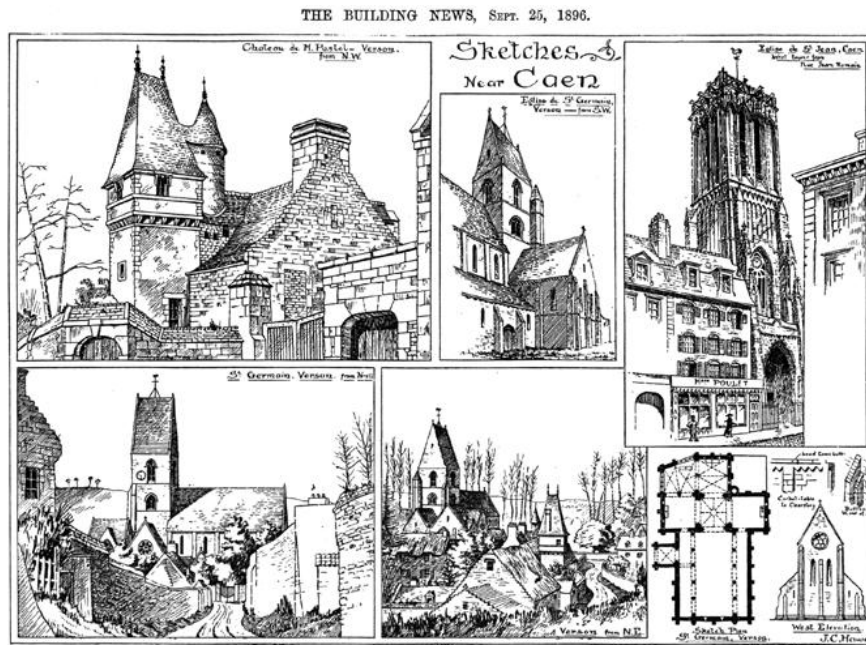


Figure 6: Hawes' 'Sketches Near Caen'. *The Building News*, 25 September 1896.

Two years later as a student architect, again in company with his brother Ted, Hawes made a longer summer tour across France, this time on a tandem bicycle. The itinerary of the tour, with its plethora of fabulous religious buildings, illustrates just how much John regarded this holiday as an extension of his training. Starting from Le Havre they visited Jumieges, Caudebec, Rouen, and Chartres, travelling on through Bourges, Nevers, and eventually as far south as Le Puy.



Figure 7: Chartres Cathedral and Cathedral of Notre Dame, Le Puy
<http://info.pitt.edu/htbin/htimage/~medart/menufrance/chartres> August 2001 .
<http://www.sacredsites.com/final40/259.html> August 2001.

Hawes described Le Puy as the ‘most marvellous and fairy-like of old cities’, and the two brothers attended a great Corpus Christi procession at the cathedral there. From Clermont-Ferrand they travelled by railway back to Paris, Beauvais and Amiens. The unfinished cathedral at Beauvais thrilled Hawes:

*Beauvais Cathedral is the chief of the seven joyous wonders of architecture!
Amiens Cathedral is a finished work of perfect beauty but the incomplete
Beauvais is the gushing forth of genius; its soaring height touches the absolutely
sublime, and sends a cold shower down the spine on first beholding it.*²³

He reveals another one of his later favourites in his diary, noting that the ‘Karnac-like’ harmonious spaciousness of the Duomo at Milan had the same sublime effect on him as did Beauvais. In such cathedrals as at Chartres, Amiens, Beauvais and then Milan he held that architecture reached its highest expression, the summit of perfection, and that this would never again be surpassed or equalled.²⁴

As compared with England, the greater clarity of light so often experienced in the south of France has an uplifting effect on the view of both landscape and buildings, and it is certain that French ecclesiastical architecture made a huge impact upon the impressionable eighteen-year old Englishman.

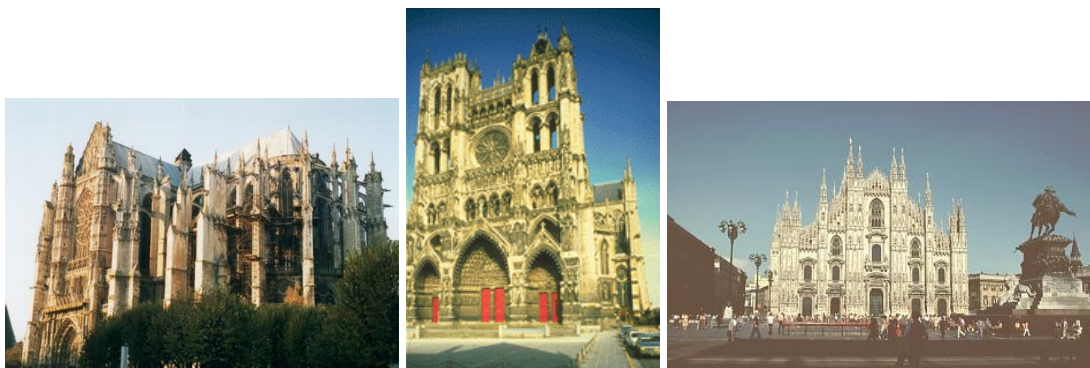


Figure 8: Beauvais, Amiens and Milan Cathedrals. <http://www.curlysairships.com/photos4.html> August 2001; <http://www.unesco.org/whc/sites/162.htm> Update: 22/06/98; and <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/milancath/duomo.html> August 2001.

1.5 London in the late 1890s, Anglo-Catholicism

Hawes recalled that after his daily ‘perfunctory’ work at the office in the city, where Edmeston and Gabriel were finding him a very useful draftsman, he boarded a horse drawn bus travelling westward past the Mansion House, St Paul’s Cathedral and then down Oxford Street. He would obtain his tea at an ‘ABC’ shop, and attend an evening class, two nights at the Architectural Association (AA) and the other three at the Central Arts and Crafts School.

I was a demon for work but what happy times they were! Saturday afternoons I spent exploring London to study its churches; or else if I went home early it was to peg away at one of our monthly competition designs for the Architectural Association, for all my spare hours on Saturday and Sunday. A different architect each month would visit the night class to adjudicate on the designs submitted and to give us a lecture with useful hints on design and construction.²⁵

Hawes’ mention of spending his precious weekend time exploring churches is significant, even when it is considered that a much greater percentage of the population at that time were regular church goers than is the case today. His travel to France had renewed his interest in ‘high church’ ceremony previously stimulated as a schoolboy at Canterbury. In the 1890s the many city churches were always open during busy London’s mid-day luncheon hour, and Hawes’ attendance was part of what was considered at the time to be a quite normal Christian involvement, albeit more Catholic than his parents preferred.

Hawes was drawn to the High Church or Anglo-Catholic Party within the Church of England, an Anglican group that emphasised its Catholic tradition. Of the churches close to his place of employment, the spacious church of St Edmund in Lombard Street ‘took the lead’ and would often be crowded. Prominent church architect William Butterfield (1814-1900) had rearranged this church in 1864.²⁶ The little medieval church of St Ethelburga, Bishopsgate was another pilgrimage place for extreme Anglo-Catholics, and Hawes described it as ‘real spikey’, to use the slang term of the time.²⁷

1.6 Architectural Association Teachers: Leonard Stokes, Edward Prior

As an indication of Hawes' early ritualistic leanings in his design work, he recalled leaving an AA class in London one evening and walking along with architect Leonard Aloysius Stokes (1858-1925). Referring to some designs of Hawes' for church furniture or decoration Stokes remarked: 'You're a Catholic, aren't you?' 'Well, not a Roman Catholic', Hawes replied at the time. Stokes, a Catholic, had designed a good number of churches since forming his own practice in 1880, and had obviously noted the highly developed decorative nature of Hawes' work.

But of all the architects who visited the students at that time, the one Hawes really enjoyed meeting and believed assisted him most of all in getting a sound grasp of the principles of design was Edward Schroeder Prior (1852-1932).²⁸ Years later (1920) when Prior was living at Chichester and was diocesan architect there, Hawes visited his former mentor and had the pleasure of showing plans of both his cathedral at Geraldton - which was under construction, and those proposed for a new cathedral at Perth, also in Western Australia. Hawes recorded that 'We had tea in his pleasant garden and a delightful talk. Back in those days at the Architectural Association his visits, freely given, for love of his profession, were a great encouragement, inspiration and guidance to us young budding architects.'²⁹

1.7 Victorian British Architecture

To understand the period immediately preceding Hawes' initial architectural education, the context of architecture within Victorian society in Britain is important. Although secular influences were predominant in determining the architectural requirements of the age, religious buildings are among its most significant works. For Hawes in later times, the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 in extending religious tolerance had a profound effect. With the writing and church building of great influence by Catholic theorist and designer AWN Pugin, came the concept that the modern church should follow both the principles and precedents of the medieval Catholic Church. In 1836, Pugin published *Contrasts, or a Parallel between the*

Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ..., comparing architecture and life as he saw them in his own time with what he envisaged to be their medieval counterparts, invariably to the detriment of the contemporary.

The Anglican Church, resuscitated by evangelical example and the Oxford Movement controversy of the 1830s³⁰, laboured to meet the needs of its Victorian followers, building lavishly in towns and restoring many neglected country churches, frequently ruthlessly. Work was in accord with the tenets of the Cambridge Camden Society, later called the Ecclesiological Society, whose directives were published in the periodical *The Ecclesiologist*, and adopted many of the principles preached by Pugin.

Wealth, commerce, and technical inventiveness characterise Victorian Britain and were principal architectural influences. However the wealth was not uniformly distributed, and the social disadvantages of industrialism were conspicuous. The basis of society was questioned by and criticised not only by political theorists, but also by art-based writers such as John Ruskin and William Morris. Directly and indirectly these men had considerable influence upon fundamental attitudes to design and society. In 1849 the Protestant Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, like Pugin, attacked contemporary standards. Their theories contributed to a radical stream in architectural thought reflected in the work of many important architects. Pugin, Butterfield, Phillippe (Philip) Speakman Webb (1831-1915), and Lethaby were vital sources of influence for British architects in the latter nineteenth century.

The most striking characteristic of Victorian architecture is its diverse use of historical styles. Major influences were inherited from the eighteenth century in the forms of 'Revivals', in the inspiration drawn from 'Picturesque' values, and in the spirit of eclecticism, which gave taste for exotic architecture. Nineteenth century eclecticism knew few bounds. Examples of styles of almost all periods were brought into service. From the late 1840s concern was expressed over the need for an original style, although it was not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century that a less derivative general architecture appeared.

1.8 End of the Gothic Revival, the Byzantine Style

The high tide of the Gothic Revival itself was in the 1860s. By the 1870s younger architects were questioning the basis for the adoption of this style. The climax may have been reached with the last major public building of the Gothic Revival, the Law Courts (1871-82) London by George Edmund Street (1824-1881). In the 1880s Gothic Revivalists endeavoured to develop the more rational procedure of emulating Gothic principles rather than inventing stylistic adaptations. This produced a characteristic form of the late Victorian phase, a freely interpreted version of Gothic. In churches the nave became the dominating feature by its great height, breadth and a clearly defined bay system. Decoration was much simplified and made subservient to mass, and was often Gothic in name only. Two Anglican cathedrals designed at the end this period indicate the fact that the Gothic style still enjoyed support. Truro (1879-1910) by John Loughborough Pearson (1817-1897), and Liverpool (1903-1980) by Sir Giles Scott, were almost the final manifestations of the Gothic Revival in Britain.



Figure 9: The Anglican cathedral at Liverpool designed by Sir Giles Scott. May 1955.
British Travel and Holidays Association, negative number P1806.

The Catholic cathedral at Westminster (1895-1903) by John Francis Bentley (1839-1902) was unusual in that the architect would have initially preferred a Gothic design.³¹ However Bentley was persuaded that the Byzantine style was ‘best for seeing and hearing, that it was economical, and would not challenge comparison with the neighbouring Westminster Abbey’. Both Westminster and Liverpool had great influence on the design of smaller churches.³²



Figure 10: The Catholic cathedral at Westminster, London, designed by J.F. Bentley.
<http://www.explore-london.co.uk/wesc.html> August 2001.

Hawes would almost certainly have taken the earliest opportunity to examine Bentley's Westminster Cathedral, with its great rood cross perhaps the model for Hawes' many own roods of later years. Following visits to St Mark's Church in Venice in 1914³³, and the Cathedral of St Pierre, Angoulême in 1923³⁴, Byzantine style church design had been more fully absorbed by the observant architect.

It is almost certain, given his passion for ecclesiastical architecture, that Hawes would have viewed the Byzantine domed Church of the Sacré Coeur during one of his visits to Paris.³⁵ Hawes' design for arcades on the drum of the dome of his Geraldton cathedral parallel those of Sacré Coeur, designed by Paul Abadie (1812-1884). Sacré Coeur, begun in 1875, was largely completed by the end of the century, and developed from Abadie's 'restoration' work of 1852-1901 at the twelfth century Cathedral of S. Front, Périgueux. S. Front is itself a free adaptation of the eleventh century St Mark's, Venice.³⁶



Figure 11: Church of the Sacré Coeur. <http://www.paris.org/Monuments/Sacre.Coeur/info.html>
August 2001.

1.9 The Arts and Crafts Movement, William Morris, Philip Webb

The vernacular had become the chief preoccupation of architects working in the 1880s and 1890s, who tried to free their work from historical styles. Many of them joined the new progressive societies and guilds and their architecture came to be called 'Arts and Crafts', after the name given to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in 1888. The work of these architects had certain common features. Plans and elevations became the expression of utility; a building's materials were taken from its locality, being cheaper and in harmony with its surroundings. Details were based on vernacular originals or reinvented in the spirit of old models, but without copying classical or Gothic originals. Arts and Crafts architects had a firm attitude of collaboration in employing plasterers, painters, carvers and sculptors to enrich a building. Their ornamentation was usually based on nature.

In this era of societies and guilds, the first to have a coherent philosophy was the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), founded by William Morris in 1877.³⁷ Initially there were few architect members, however Bentley and Philip Webb were amongst them. SPAB did have, of all the societies and guilds, the most important effect on architecture, 'for it made the younger architects of the 1880s and 1890s aware of the materials and textures of building and the value of old skills and craftsmanship.'³⁸

Possibly even more important than Morris' influence was the accessibility SPAB gave its members to Philip Webb. Webb was reported to have left the office of GE Street in 1858 'because he saw that modern medievalism was an open contradiction'. He therefore 'resolved to try whether it was not possible to make the buildings of our own day pleasant without pretences of style.'³⁹ Webb had a very small office with one or two assistants and did not publish his work or compete for commissions, but was consistently the most respected and imitated architect of the Arts and Crafts Movement.⁴⁰ The 'Red House', Bexleyheath, Kent (1859-60) built by Webb for Morris has remarkable interior decorations and furnishings that foretell the Arts and Crafts Movement of the 1880s.

1.10 Art Workers' Guild; 'Architecture, a Profession or an Art?'

The Art Workers' Guild was founded in 1884 by five architect-pupils from the office of Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912): Gerald Callcott Horsley (1862-1917), Mervyn Edmund Macartney (1853-1932), Ernest Newton (1856-1922), William Lethaby, and Edward Prior. Their aims were to bring together craftsmen in architecture, painting, sculpture and the kindred arts in a practical working association where their respective theories and skills could be exchanged. The formation of the Art Workers' Guild reflected bitter discussion in the 1880s and 1890s as to whether architecture should, as the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) hoped, be put on a professional footing with a central body setting educational standards, or whether it would continue to be taught by a master to his apprentices. The Art Workers' Guild's members gave expression to their views in 1892 with a book of thirteen essays edited by Shaw and Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924) titled *Architecture, A Profession or an Art?* The principle of a closed profession was to be debated for decades before being instituted in 1931.⁴¹

The Century Guild was founded by Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo (1851-1941) in 1882, and was principally a commercial venture. Charles Robert Ashbee (1863-1942) started the Guild of Handicraft in 1888, again a commercial venture, designing woodwork, metalwork, silverware and jewellery. Guilds such as these however can have made very little impact on a young architect such as Hawes in comparison with the evening classes and the rapidly expanding architectural press. The influence of the journals was massive; they were disseminators of styles as well as of news and technical matters. Until the early 1890s the three most influential periodicals were *The Builder*, *The Building News*, and the more avant-garde *British Architect*. Edward William Godwin (1833-1886) and John Dando Sedding (1839-1891) wrote regularly in the *British Architect* in the early years of the 1880s and did much to encourage the vernacular and handicraft. Then came four extremely influential new magazines: *Academy Architecture*, started in 1889, which published most of the designs exhibited at the annual Royal Academy show; the *Studio*, begun in 1893; the *Architectural Review* in 1896, and *Country Life* in 1897.⁴²

1.11 William Butterfield, George Edmund Street, George Frederick Bodley

With his wide-ranging explorations of London churches, and the close proximity of his study places, Hawes must at the very least, have been aware of the fabulous work by William Butterfield at All Saints' Church (1849-59), Margaret Street, London. This building marked a turning point in the Gothic Revival, and demonstrated the latest attitudes to urban church building. The church attracted enormous attention, with sheer red-brick walls enlivened by patterns and polychromatic bands. Internally, multi-coloured marble, tiles and alabaster decorate the walls and pulpit in geometrical patterns. Although All Saints' had its critics, it was a potent source for an entire generation of British architects. Halsey Ricardo made his admiration for Butterfield's work clear when listing him with Pugin, Street, and William Burges (1827-81) as the architect leaders of the Gothic Revival:

*It is a searching testimony of Mr Butterfield's true feeling for his materials and sympathetic prescriptions for their handling that his buildings have a happy smile about them as if they enjoyed being there.*⁴³

Almost equally striking as All Saints' was the Church of St James-the-Less (1859-61), Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, designed by Butterfield's fellow Ecclesiological Society member GE Street. In Britain during the 1850s the Gothic Revival had developed new character as dependence on native Gothic forms was superseded by a strong interest in the medieval architecture of Europe, stimulated by Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851-3) and Street's *Brick and Marble of the Middle Ages* (1855).⁴⁴ George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907) was *not* a member of the Art Workers' Guild, although he did ally himself with Shaw and Jackson as one of the group who signed a manifesto against the rise of professionalism published in *The Times* during 1891.⁴⁵ His office is one of the most important in the Arts and Crafts Movement, both in producing some of its leading architects and for the fact that it was noted not just for its influential church buildings but also for the quality of decoration and handicraft present in those buildings.

From as early as 1861 Bodley had acted as a patron of the applied arts when he gave William Morris' firm its first commission for stained glass and painted decoration at the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Brighton (1859-1861). Hawes would almost certainly have seen this church with his connections to the south coast at Brighton and Bognor Regis, and have viewed Bodley's great 1880s churches that had appeared in print.

1.12 Edmund Evan Scott, James Brooks, George Gilbert Scott Junior

St Bartholomew's Church, Brighton (1872-4) by Edmund Evan Scott (d.1895) is another fine church that Hawes experienced during his explorations of the 1890s. The enormously scaled St Bartholomew's, internally as high as the mighty Amiens cathedral, includes a great baldachino of 1899-1900 by JD Sedding's protégé Henry Wilson (1864-1934).⁴⁶ Wilson's gorgeous Byzantine interior for St Bartholomew's is perhaps his greatest work.⁴⁷



Figure 12: EE Scott's Church of St Bartholomew, Brighton. 2001.

Hawes recalls his admiration for EE Scott's Brighton church, and others in London:

Anglican clergy of the early 'Ritualistic' movement and their architects often got the right idea. Look at St Bartholomew's, Brighton: a great brick barn, 120 feet high, but what a fane of awe and dignity! James Brooks' churches, too – St Columba's and St Chad's, Haggerston, and the Ascension, Lavender Hill, Clapham. When I was an articulated pupil in the early nineties, how I used to love my Saturday afternoons of exploration and discovery of fresh architectural triumphs, such as St Agnes' Kennington (Gilbert Scott the Second), Holy Trinity, Sloane Street (J.D. Sedding) – what a genius!⁴⁸

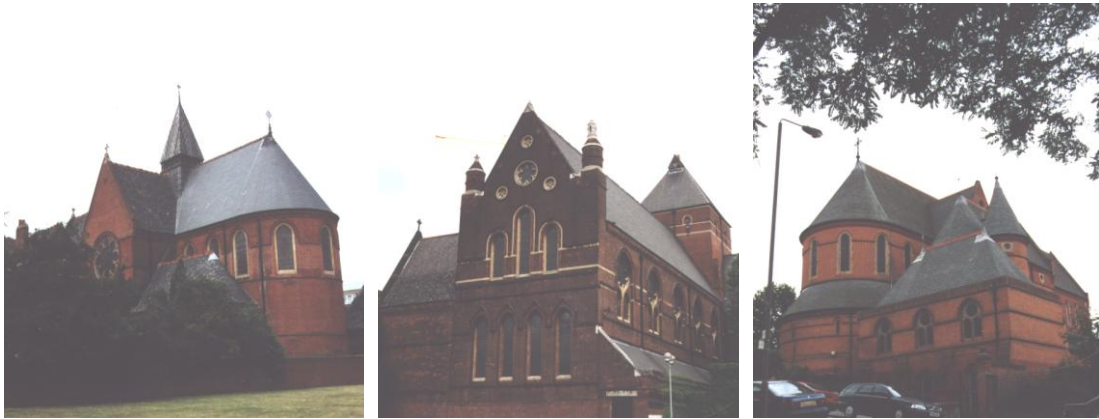


Figure 13: James Brooks' churches of St Chad, Haggerston, St Columba, Haggerston, and The Ascension, Lavender Hill, Clapham, London. 2001.

James Brooks (1825-1901) had designed four new nineteenth century churches in the Borough of Shoreditch. In poor districts, they all had to be built 'on the cheap', but were required to be tall and conspicuous to stand up above the houses, and to remind the whole neighbourhood of their existence. Brooks' London churches are in line with later Gothic Revival churches in that they are characterised by a massive scale to offset the simplicity of the decoration. St Columba, Kingsland Road, Haggerston⁴⁹ and St Chad, Dunloe Street, Haggerston were both completed in 1869. For Hawes the same appeal was to be found in Brooks' design for the Church of the Ascension, begun in 1876 at Lavender Hill, Clapham. Esteemed architectural historian Sir Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983) described the Ascension as 'a noble design of great simplicity, along the lines of Brooks' earlier churches in Hackney'.⁵⁰

St Agnes' Kennington (1875-77) was designed by George Gilbert Scott Junior, and completed by Temple Moore. In keeping with Hawes' favourites, St Agnes' was tall and simple, with nave and chancel under one roof. It was 'in a style rather like Bodley's, late fourteenth century, with unnecessary features eliminated, but richly fitted, with screen, rood loft, rood, altar piece, etc: an ideal setting for sung eucharists and processions.'⁵¹ Hawes followed his outline of favourite Anglican churches with a beautiful and poignant note about the men he saw as key figures in regard to nineteenth century architectural development in Britain:

A.W. Pugin and J.D. Sedding were the morning and evening stars of the Gothic Revival.'

JD Sedding was in agreement with Hawes on the initiating influence of Pugin. Sedding remarked in 1888, regarding some of the leading figures of the preceding decades, that 'we should have had no Morris, no Street, no Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Rossetti, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin.'⁵²

1.13 John Dando Sedding

JD Sedding was possibly Hawes' greatest architectural 'hero', and had a powerful influence on his ecclesiastical work. Sedding died tragically and unexpectedly in 1891, and his practice was taken over by his assistant Henry Wilson.⁵³ A number of Sedding's schemes were completed by members of his former office under Wilson. Of recent churches in London in the 1890s, Hawes had the greatest admiration for Sedding's Holy Trinity, Sloane Street. Hawes considered that it 'took up the Gothic tradition where the Reformation had halted it in the late florid Perpendicular period', and he revelled in the wealth of Arts and Crafts details by many fine artists including Christopher Whall and Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898):

Sedding's work was so fresh and original, not of the 'style-mongering' imitative sort. Renaissance classical detail had been introduced into the Tudor Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey Church for the main altar and Henry VII's tomb. Similarly Sedding blended most charmingly a lot of renaissance into his Gothic

at Sloane Square, note the choir-stalls; and what abandon there is in the glorious sweep of the curves of his wrought iron choir-gates! ... Sedding got the best artists of the day to cooperate with him, sculptors and painters. I doubt if any stained glass today can surpass or equal those lovely windows of Holy Trinity Sloane Square, most of them by Christopher Whall.⁵⁴



Figure 14: Holy Trinity Church, Sloane Street, London, by JD Sedding (and Henry Wilson). West front, and gates to chancel (rebuilt after damage in 1940). 2001.

1.14 Charles Francis Annesley Voysey

In addition to inspiration taken from the work of Sedding, Hawes design work was also strongly influenced by celebrated architect Charles Francis Annesley Voysey (1857-1941). It is of note that Voysey was elected to the Art Workers' Guild in 1884, not long after leaving the office of George Devey (1820-86) and commencing his own practice. His early designs were strongly reminiscent of Devey, of his first master John Pollard Seddon (1827-1906), and of the more romantic buildings of RN Shaw. In later examples Voysey turned away from picturesque, many-gabled elevations, rambling plans and extravagant construction, producing instead compact and economical designs for smaller houses with simple hipped roofs of low pitch and walls of roughcast brickwork.

It is possible that the development of Voysey's new style had something to do with the fact that in 1890 he moved to a house in St John's Wood, next door to his friend Edward Prior.⁵⁵ If Hawes did not already know of the talents of Voysey when he commenced studying architecture, it is certain that Prior would soon have ensured that his student was aware of the emerging architect.

The first indication of a following of Voysey is perhaps given in Hawes' design for a simple cottage dated 19 March 1896, and thus made while still an articulated pupil. Voysey had produced a design for a lodge in a Manchester suburb, and had it published in the *British Architect* in March 1890.⁵⁶ The same design was re-used by Voysey for a Quarto Imperial Club meeting on 'Cottage Architecture' on 31 July 1890. The name of the club had an architectural derivation, as the size of the design sheets was a quarter of the size of a standard imperial sheet.⁵⁷ Hawes' 1896 cottage is drawn on a quarto sheet of paper.



Figure 15: At left CFA Voysey's design for a lodge in a Manchester suburb. First published in the *British Architect*, Vol. XXXIII, March 1890, p.224. As reproduced in Richardson, Margaret 1983, *Architects of the Arts and Crafts movement*. Trefoil Books, London. p.102. At right JC Hawes' design for a simple cottage dated 19 March 1896. Courtesy DCAG.

John Hawes' cottage of 1896 is obviously from the same brief as Voysey's. It is not clear why Hawes should complete a design drawing related to a much earlier exercise. It is possible that the Architectural Association had set a competition for the students in 1896 reusing an earlier brief, perhaps with Prior or even Voysey the teacher involved. Hawes obviously thought his cottage drawing of importance, as it is one of few from his early British period that he later took with him and left in his archive at Western Australia.

1.15 Temple Lushington Moore, Sir John Ninian Comper

Like Sedding, there were other church architects who chose to develop a modern crafted Gothic based not on French prototypes, but on English Perpendicular. This tradition was carried on into the twentieth century by Temple Moore and Sir John Comper (1864-1960) – whose respective masterpieces were St Wilfrid's, Harrogate (1905-14) and St Mary's, Wellingborough (1906-30).⁵⁸ Although it is not apparent that Hawes wrote of Moore, he almost certainly would have known of his work, and perhaps discussed Moore's designs with his friend and Moore pupil Giles Scott.

In common with Hawes, Charles Voysey admired both Pugin and Comper.⁵⁹ Hawes' admiration for Comper's use of skilled craftsmen was recorded in the mid 1940s when he wrote that 'at the present day J.N. Comper is carrying on and developing those same ideas first initiated by Sedding'.⁶⁰ Comper's work *Of the Atmosphere of a Church* was published in 1947, and his ideas for church design had much in common with Hawes' own theories.⁶¹ John Hawes had written a paper on cathedrals by 1927, in which he recorded the importance of *atmosphere* in church design, and he reiterated this theme in a number of subsequent descriptions of his own churches. In 1948 Hawes offered to review Comper's publication for the Prinknash Abbey publication *Pax*, although it is not clear if this actually occurred. Hawes is both complimentary to and critical of Comper in 1948 correspondence to Prinknash, basing his opinion on the evidence of another correspondent:

*All his finishing work is delightful – vide the Lady Chapel at Downside. However he is deserving of some of Goodhart-Rendel's criticism. Peter Anson wrote me last year he was in Aberdeen & went to see the new Anglican Cathedral, all of Comper's. Most fascinating & medieval looking; but Hollywood scenic display rather than real architecture – abhorrent to the shade of AW Pugin. Comper has raised a 15th century dream of beauty, using concealed steel girders & other shams in his Tudor vaulting and arching, just to make a pretty show! Naughty, wicked, and unscrupulous old man! ... I think in restoring to their original completeness, our lovely old churches medieval copyism (when well done as Comper does it) is perfectly justifiable.*⁶²

Chapter Two – John Hawes Architect and Priest 1898-1908:

2.1 The office of Sir Aston Webb or John Hawes Architect?

When Hawes completed his training and qualified as an architect in mid-1897, he rejected the prospect of working in large commercial practices in favour of launching out on his own. His father had offered to use his connections to obtain a position in the office of prominent architect Sir Aston Webb (1849-1930):

... my Father had planned to get me into Sir Aston Webb's office, after the completion in 1897 of my 5 year articles with Edmeston & Gabriel – but my youthful presumption & adventuresomeness thought different & I immediately launched out independently on my own – no more slaving at draughtsman work in any professional firm's office, but the life of a free artist. So I exhibited in the Royal Academy & started practice with some sea-side holiday cottages in Sussex & a church in Northumberland.⁶³

Aston Webb was architect of the Naval College, Dartmouth, the Admiralty Arch, and of a new front for Buckingham Palace. He was not primarily a church architect, although he was involved in some church work.⁶⁴ Hawes' father's unsuccessful attempt to assist his son, by using his influence to obtain a position in Aston Webb's office is noteworthy on two counts. Firstly, by John's rejection of the move, it demonstrates his maturity and the commencement of his own decision making regarding his career, whereas previously his father had directed his activities. It is also perhaps indicative of Hawes' continuing primary love of ecclesiastical architecture, and disinterest in the design of institutional and commercial buildings.

2.2 Royal Academy of Arts Model

When Hawes began his individual career in 1897 (at the age of 21) he was based at his parents' house at Richmond. As one of his first individual career steps, Hawes produced a model of a church for the Royal Academy of Arts summer exhibition of 1898. It was considered a coveted mark of distinction and success for an artist,

whether painter, sculptor or architect, to have work accepted by the Royal Academy (RA) for its fashionable annual exhibition at Burlington House, Piccadilly, opening in May each year. Hawes had observed a model at an earlier RA exhibition:

*In 1897 in the Architectural Room appeared an innovation. All around the walls as usual hung framed pictures big and small of recent buildings or designs, sketches or geometrical elevations: but in the centre on a stand was a realistic looking model of board and gesso, of a large country-house with white walls, green shutters and red tiled roofs; and a sanded drive and garden adorned with clipped box-hedges and little trees cut out of sponge. Numbers of visitors admired it. I was delighted, here was a real progressive step forward, for in a model you could express an idea so much more clearly than in flat drawings. Ambition welled up in my chest, I would have one in myself next year, young as I was!*⁶⁵

In February 1898 Hawes began his own model for the RA exhibition. It was based on a design he had previously made for an AA competition, a village church in Cumberland. Hawes remarked that he had come second in the competition, and of the great deal of work he put into this model of his new design:

*I had a large room for my studio in my parental home at Richmond. I had to fretsaw out the skeleton framework of wood and cover and mould all with gesso-dura. Every little detail inside as well as out was meticulously made to scale, including pulpit, rails and altar with its six minutely carved candlesticks, backed by a painted triptych of the crucifixion. The windows were of talc on which the lead-lights were drawn in India Ink. You could see the interior through the open west doors, above which was a carved crucifixion scene. A Sanctus turret with bell rose above the chancel arch, the chancel roof being higher than that of the nave. The chancel interior showed simple vaulting. Time was flying, exhibits had to be sent in early in April. I was working all day now up to past midnight and, as often I would not leave my work to come downstairs for meals, my dear mother would bring me up my tea or supper on a tray.*⁶⁶

After Hawes had parted with this ‘child’ of his in the receiving yard at Burlington House, there was a long agonising suspense before finally receiving notice from the RA. A large ‘official looking’ envelope arrived, the young architect tremblingly opened it, and then with delighted joy ran downstairs to give it to his mother! Enclosed with the acceptance was an invitation for ‘varnishing-day’, and a free pass ticket for the duration of the exhibition. The model brought Hawes recognition, publicity and praise, and later his first commission to build a church at Gunnerton, Northumberland.⁶⁷

The Builder includes encouraging description of Hawes’ model in a review of work at the RA exhibition of 1898:

*... a model for ‘a Westmoreland church’ by Mr John Hawes, and is, if we remember right, a representation in this form of one of the designs submitted for a prize offered by the Architectural Association a little while since. If so, it shows a very commendable spirit on the part of the author to have worked out his design in this form for exhibition at the Academy. The design is of a very simple, almost rude character, ... The texture and colour of the model indicate very well the character of the rough walling supposed to be used. Altogether this is a very creditable piece of work.*⁶⁸

It is possible that Edward Prior had an influence on Hawes’ production of his RA model. Contemporary photographs of models made by Prior for houses shown at the 1895 and 1899 RA exhibitions exist.⁶⁹ Given Hawes’ later highly favourable report on Prior’s influence, the young protégé would almost certainly have viewed his mentor’s work with enthusiasm. Unfortunately a photograph of Hawes’ own model has not yet been located.⁷⁰ Hawes declined an offer for the purchase of his model after the exhibition⁷¹, and it is possible that it was eventually destroyed. After the death of his parents in the late 1920s, Hawes wrote a letter from Western Australia noting the disposal of family accumulations from their London home:

My brother writes me that he has to pay a lot per annum for warehousing [sic] our old family possessions from their last home at Tanglewood Sutton: & proposes to dispose of them. You may remember that model (wood & plaster) of my first design for Gunnerton Church – which was an RA exhibit – its about 30 inches long – Do you know of any place where they might care to take it (as a gift) – Besford Court or any such place? ...⁷²

My brother writes me that he has to pay a lot per annum for warehousing our old family possessions from their last home at Tanglewood Sutton: & proposes to dispose of them. You may remember that model (wood & plaster) of my first design for Gunnerton Church – which was a R.A. exhibit – its about 30 inches long – Do you know of any place where they might care to take it (as a gift) – Besford Court or any such place? if so, I would you communicate with my brother & I will pay myself for the packing & cartage – & ask him to send it – His address is

*E. B. H.
309/11, Bank Chambers
29 Southampton Buildings
Chancery Lane - WC2*

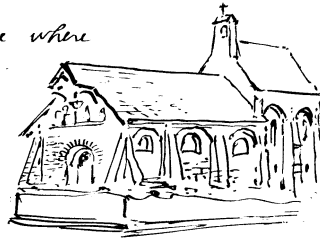


Figure 16: Letter from Hawes to Charles Selby-Hall, 14 November 1933, p.4.

Besford Court, Worcestershire, would have been an appropriate place for the model, with fine work completed there in 1912 by Randall Wells (1877-1942), who had assisted Lethaby and Prior with church works.

Enquiries seeking knowledge of the model from Besford Court and from the Architectural Association have proven unsuccessful. We are fortunate at least in that the letter from Hawes provides us with a sketch of the church model. This allows comparison with his later church design at Gunnerton that resulted from the display of the RA model.

2.3 Bognor Regis and Voysey

Hawes commenced his domestic portfolio of work at the English south coast town of Bognor Regis, designing at least two built cottages, as well as a four-storey house, The White Tower. The buildings were evidently very well received. John Hawes describes his work at Bognor, and states clearly the fact that some of his work there was attributable to Voysey's influence:

*No ordinary and vulgar pretentious villas but a variety of artistic little homes, with every up-to-date comfort and convenience. I had great admiration for the domestic work of Voysey. I loved his long low rough-cut cottages with bow-windows, leaded light casements, and green slated roofs. I emulated some of those and for others adopted a Queen Anne treatment of red sanded bricks and white sash windows and wide dentelled [sic] roof cornices. The builder got them all sold or rented as soon as completed.*⁷³

Two of the houses were located on the corner of Swansea Gardens and Victoria Road, these are as Hawes describes of the so-called 'Queen Anne' style popularised by practitioners such as RN Shaw and others from the 1870s.⁷⁴



Figure 17: *Westholme*, 34 Victoria Road, Bognor Regis, Sussex. Photograph, 1995.

Hawes had designed the innovative house known as The White Tower in late 1897, and it was built in 1898. The block for the building was located on the northern side of the coastal Aldwick Road. This road had a continuous row of two-storey houses on the south side blocking direct views to the sea. To obtain the desirable view of the

nearby pier and marine attractions, Hawes placed the rooms in a vertical stack. This clever and quaint arrangement has been both highly and fondly regarded ever since.

I had a brilliant idea - instead of a long spread out cottage I would stand it up on end - as a tower! So it was built thus, four rooms one above the other in front, with a side turret staircase, and a flat roof on top with a lovely view of the sea. It was named 'The White Tower', and passers-by in the summer all stopped to gaze at it. At the back of the tower was a two storey wing with larger rooms in it and a studio.⁷⁵



Figure 18: *The White Tower*, Aldwick Road, Bognor Regis, Sussex. Photograph, 1995.

Drawings of The White Tower and some of Hawes' other work were later to be published with favourable description in a 1902 edition of *The British Architect*, including sketches of his work and text by T Raffles Davison:

One does not expect to find much architecture at any seaside resort. But Bognor has two or three unusually good bits. The most uncommon is 'The White Tower'. This is a little tower cottage, with one bedroom only on each floor, and one parlour built out behind the tower, above the kitchen and offices. It has a projecting staircase, which, with its little red-tiled gable, completes an effective

*outline of tower, stair and chimney peeping up above the surrounding trees. Mr John Hawes is the architect of this cleverly quaint little house; a sort of building which in its artistic quality and simplicity might be emulated in thousands all over the kingdom.*⁷⁶

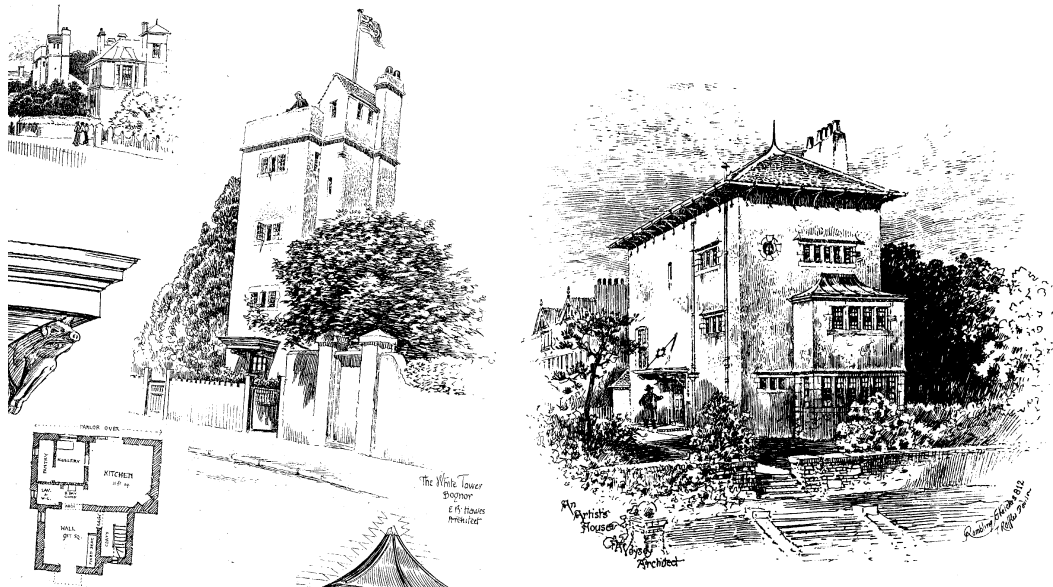


Figure 19: At left sketches of The White Tower, Bognor Regis. At right CFA Voysey's 1891 design for a house at 14 South Parade, Bedford Park, Chiswick. *West Sussex Sketches* by T. Raffles Davison, *The British Architect*, Vol. LVIII, p.112, 15 August 1902; and *Rambling Sketches* 812 by T. Raffles Davison, as reproduced in Simpson, Duncan 1979, *CFA Voysey: an architect of individuality*. p.27.

The lead-light casements Hawes placed within the rendered brickwork of The White Tower ensure that this building is distinctively Voyseyian in character. Interestingly, Voysey had had a tower house design with some similarity to Hawes' White Tower displayed in *The British Architect* in 1889. This was not built. Hawes could possibly have seen the design in the periodical at some later date, as he was only thirteen when it was published. Voysey designed another unrealised tower house, this time for Bognor Regis, in 1903.⁷⁷ The canopy over the entry door to The White Tower (featuring grotesque carvings by Hawes) follows from Voysey's 1891 designs for houses at 14 South Parade, Bedford Park, Chiswick; and at 17 St Dunstan's Road, Hammersmith.⁷⁸

2.4 Church of St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland

Hawes' career took a dramatic turn when he stopped at the Church of St Thomas in Regent Street during a persuasive sermon about the true calling of a Christian life.⁷⁹ He decided the next day to offer himself for training as a missionary to Africa, but was rejected on medical grounds.⁸⁰ Dejected, he was drawn to the simplicity of the life of a Franciscan, but was persuaded to continue with architecture by his later mentor Bishop WB Hornby, for whom he designed his first church in Gunnerton. Hornby had viewed Hawes' model at the Royal Academy exhibition, and was so impressed that he wrote to the young architect, asking him to design a new church at his parish at Chollerton, Northumberland. Hawes remained proud of his efforts at Gunnerton in the 1940s, even after completing over forty more church designs:

In my art, faithful to the teaching of Lethaby and Prior, I abhorred style-mongering and copyism and my village church at Gunnerton, 1899, is as good as anything I have done since. It was different and a good bit simplified from my Academy model. The steep-pitched hipped roof of the chancel sheers up above that of the nave; the wide round-arched windows welcome the southern sunshine while the north wall is a blank. The dark blue-grey tint of the hammer-dressed whinstone from the local quarry give the rough walls an ageless look ... Entering, you would mistake it for a Catholic church, - with its stone altar, tapering tabernacle and six tall candlesticks; its Rood-beam and twin Ambones.⁸¹



Figure 20: Church of St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland. Photograph from the south-west, 1994.

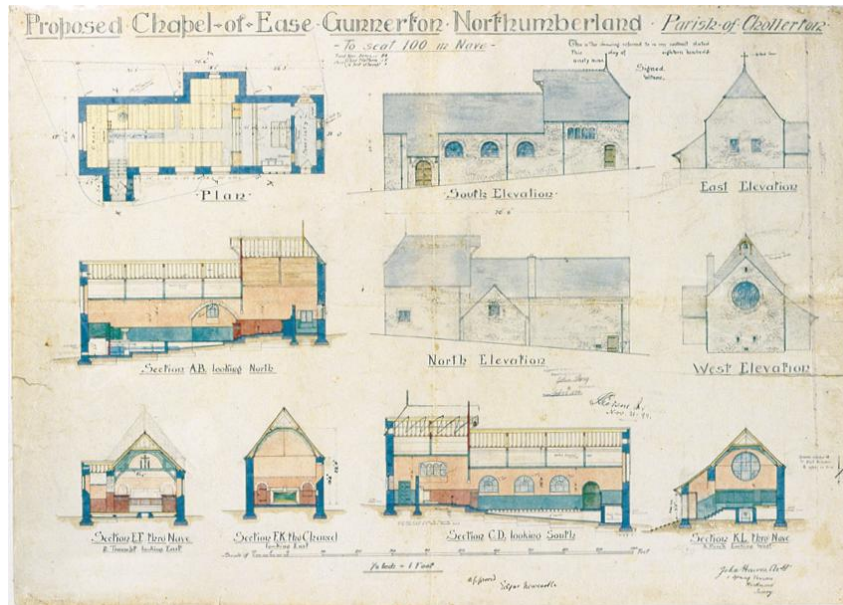


Figure 21: Church of St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland. Working drawing, 1899. Courtesy DCAG.

One can wonder whether Hawes the pupil may in some small way have influenced his former masters. His Gunnerton church, designed in 1899 and completed in 1900, was given excellent coverage in the *British Architect*.⁸² Hawes' church preceded two fine churches by his former Professors. Lethaby's All Saints' Church, Brockhampton (1901) attempted to move the English country church into the twentieth century with features such as a pitched concrete roof covered by thatch. Prior perhaps followed Lethaby's lead with more assurance with the Church of St Andrew at Roker, Sunderland (1905-7) which has transverse concrete internal arches faced in stone, concrete purlins, and fine Arts and Crafts fittings.



Figure 22: WR Lethaby's All Saints' Church, Brockhampton, Herefordshire. Photographs by Martin Charles from church souvenir brochure by Brockhampton Parochial Church Council.

As became his lifelong preference, Hawes actively participated in the realisation of his Gunnerton church design, residing in the vicarage at nearby Chollerton, and making subtle changes as the work proceeded. He arranged the incorporation of features such as delicate wood carved screens, and the reuse of an ancient local baptismal font. As Hawes so masterfully achieved at Gunnerton, Lethaby intended to live on site and oversee the construction of his Brockhampton church, firmly continuing the desired Arts and Crafts ideal of close involvement in both design and construction process, although he eventually left Randall Wells in charge.⁸³



Figure 23: Church of St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland. External sketch and interior perspective. *The British Architect*, 15 March 1901.

While supervising the Gunnerton church, the very pious Hawes was steadily persuaded by Bishop Hornby that he should study for ordination as a priest. In 1901 he entered Lincoln Theological College, and in 1903 was ordained to the Anglican Ministry at St Paul's Cathedral in London. Hawes obtained his first position as a priest at the Church of The Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, in 1903. Hawes would have had an added incentive to be pleased with this appointment, as the architect of the 1887-88 church had been Sedding:

*It was in a severe classical style akin to the Wren tradition and was a masterpiece of J.D. Sedding. It was very devotional within, and had a magnificent baldachino modeled on that of San Spirito, Florence.*⁸⁴

2.5 Church/Chapel of Our Lady and St Bernard, Painsthorpe, Yorkshire

In 1902 Hawes read about an Anglican Benedictine community at Painsthorpe, near Kirby Underdale in Yorkshire. The monastery was located on a property owned by Lord Halifax, and after a weekend visit where he met the charismatic founder of the community, Aelred Carlyle, Hawes designed a combination of both ‘secular’ church and monastery chapel to be added to the existing building.⁸⁵ The Church/Chapel of Our Lady and St Bernard opened in November 1902.⁸⁶

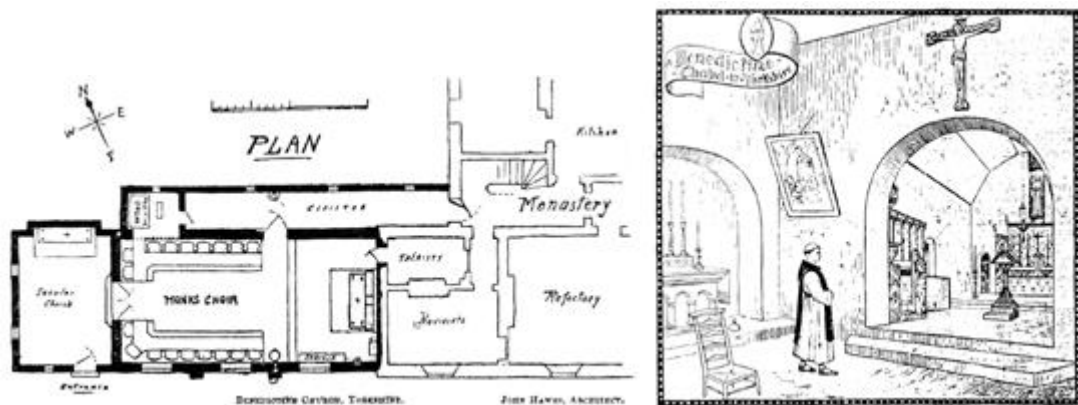


Figure 24: Church/Chapel of Our Lady and St Bernard, Painsthorpe, Yorkshire. Plan and interior sketch. *The British Architect*, 9 January 1903. p.23.



Figure 25: The Monastery at Painsthorpe, incorporating the Church/Chapel of Our Lady and St Bernard. Photograph from the south c.1905. *The Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p.31.



THE MONASTERY CHAPEL, PAINSTHORPE

Figure 26: Church/Chapel of Our Lady and St Bernard, Painsthorpe, Yorkshire. Photograph of the chapel from in the church c.1905. *The Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p.39.

The former monastery still forms a part of the Halifax Estate, and the basic form of the chapel remains readily discernible. The secular church, organ recess and cloister have been removed. The building is now used as a private residence, of which the chapel forms a garage. From Hawes' drawings published in *The British Architect*⁸⁷, evidence remaining on site, and early photographs of the exterior and interior, we can visualise the finished design by Hawes.

The rounded arch forms of the door and window heads are Romanesque⁸⁸, and a circular window is placed in the west end of the chapel (as at Gunnerton), over the former skillion or pent roof room of the secular church on the west end of the building. The Romanesque front of the altar for the secular church, shown in the *British Architect* interior sketch, is the first of a number of Hawes' altars of this type. It is possibly developed with memory of Hawes' cross-channel travels to France in the 1890s, or from 'Norman' examples in England.⁸⁹

2.6 Caldey Island, Wales

Hawes had continued to correspond with the Benedictines at Painsthorpe, and Aelred Carlyle was again to call on Hawes to assist with the accommodation of the community when they made a momentous move to Wales. In July of 1906 Hawes travelled with Carlyle to Tenby, South Wales. From Tenby it is a short ferry ride to Caldey Island, an island with a long history of religious affiliation.⁹⁰

The Island of Caldey having been acquired, I went down there with Abbot Aelred to make a general survey. I drew out plans for the monastery guesthouse to be built first and used as a temporary quarters for the monks. ... I settled down in a little cottage and started a year in advance to get things ready for the arrival of the community from Yorkshire. A wing of the guesthouse with a dozen cells was built first and the little round tower on the cliff converted into a chapel. I got ready the nave of the old priory chapel (up to then in use as a barn) fitting it out with choir stalls and repairing the windows.⁹¹

It seems premature that the arrival of the community from Painsthorpe took place on 18 October 1906, although this may have been due both to financial reasons and the need for additional manpower on Caldey. Initially the brethren occupied the medieval St Illtud's Priory, until Hawes completed the construction of St Philomena's Guest House.



Figure 27: St Philomena's Guest House, Caldey Island, Wales. Photograph, 1994.



Figure 28: Photograph of Hawes and others at Caldey Island, Wales. An accompanying note (by Br Leo OSB) lists ‘outside the temporary gatehouse in the village’ (prior to the arrival of the community in 1906) from L to R: ‘Barnes’, Hawes, Bernard Jenkins, and Bryan Burstall. Hawes is about thirty years old. Courtesy PAAG.

Hawes restored, as an oratory, the ancient watchtower (above the face of the quarry in which St Philomena’s nestles) that maintains a vigil over the body of water between Caldey and Tenby. He then undertook restoration work on the ancient village Church of St David, and further work on the Priory Church of St Illtud. In some ways the St Illtud’s interior work is the most interesting and complete example of Hawes’ work on Caldey. It grows directly out of his chapel at Painsthorpe.



THE GUEST HOUSE, ISLE OF CALDEY.

Figure 29: St Philomena's Guest House and Watchtower Oratory, Caldey Island, Wales. Photograph c.1908. *The Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p.139.

After the arrival from Painsthorpe of the monks, I carried out the restoration of the ancient village church and built a new stone altar in the chancel. I painted (in tempora colours and white of egg) a large Rood with B.V.M. and St John. Later on (under Coates Carter) they whitewashed it over and put an oak beam with a carved crucifix - but the figures are too small - doll like. ... Forgotten now the rood may be discovered under its whitewash as a thirteenth century fresco! Just as I found the twelfth or thirteenth century springing of arch below it.⁹²

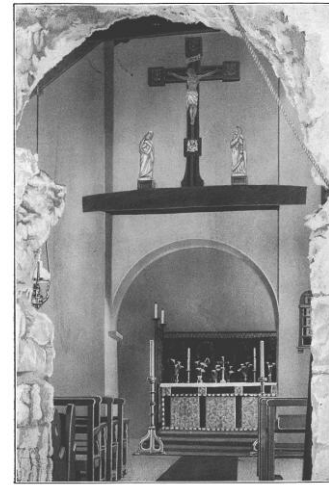


Figure 30: St David's Village Church, Caldey Island, Wales, photograph from the southwest, 1994, and photograph of the chancel c.1908. A Hawes artwork may exist behind the triptych on the beam. *The Benedictines of Caldey Island*, p.114.

As his other work progressed, Hawes' schemes for the Caldey gatehouse (a house of retreat), monastery, and church failed to impress Carlyle, who envisaged buildings on a scale comparable with the grandest abbeys in the rich Benedictine style of medieval times. Hawes was far too practical a man to entertain such ideas. His Franciscan ideals precluded frivolous spending on embellishment, and he probably knew of the precarious financial state of the community under the eternally optimistic Carlyle. As a further and perhaps primary factor Hawes' ideas for ecclesiastical architecture had progressed. His designs for the Caldey Abbey gatehouse, church and monastery are of Romanesque style. There are no crockets, pinnacles and buttresses. The church is austere, with the dominating feature a tower of great height, and the tall nave and choir under one long roof.

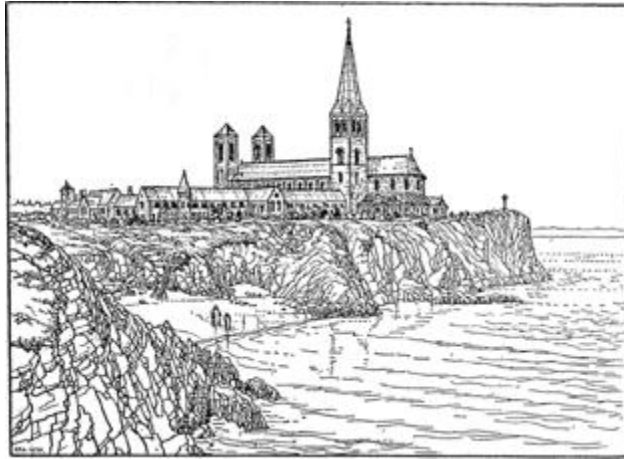


Figure 31: Church and Monastery, Caldey Island, Wales. Sketch by Peter Anson from his book *Building Up The Waste Places*, p.219. It is likely Anson drew over one of Hawes' sketches, as the building linework matches Hawes' sketches of the building published in the *British Architect*. Courtesy Caldey Abbey.

In regard to the church the abbatial imagination was perhaps envisaging something along the lines of the York Minster, whereas Hawes was thinking of the simple detailing of the earlier churches of southern France. It was almost inevitable that the two men would 'fall out' over the Caldey works:

*Abbot Aelred would keep me busy with plans for monastery and church, but when I'd worked out something towards a fairly satisfactory conclusion, simple and austere, he would scrap it for something more grandiose and ambitious.*⁹³

Sadly, Hawes' cardboard model of his dream abbey was destroyed, and the many precious drawings were put aside to be forgotten.⁹⁴ After a period of time he left Caldey and was replaced by another architect, John Coates Carter (1859-1927). The design of the Monastery of Our Lady and St Samson that exists on Caldey Island now is Coates Carter's, and his wonderful efforts to realise his own schemes in the face of Carlyle's unrealistic direction is another valuable study in itself.⁹⁵ Hawes later noted that he thoroughly approved of Coates Carter's work, and wrote that he considered it 'a most original and living work'.⁹⁶

Chapter Three - From Anglican in the Bahamas to Catholic in Rome 1909-15:

3.1 Church of St John the Evangelist, Buckleys, Deadman's Cay, Long Island

John Hawes arrived in the Bahamas in mid-January 1909. He was 32 years old, and Bishop Hornby confirmed the important and daunting task ahead for the relatively young man. Hawes was charged not only with acting as minister for the Anglican churches on Long Island; but also with repairing churches damaged in the hurricane of 1908, and would eventually be responsible for the construction of new churches to expand the parish.



Figure 33: Church of St John the Evangelist, Buckleys, Deadman's Cay, Long Island. Photograph from the south-west, 1995.

Hawes first undertook the reconstruction of, and additions to, the Church of St John at 'Buckleys'. His 1909 work at St John's included his first experiment with what he termed 'rock roofing', using local limestone in simple arched roof forms. This was on the Lady Chapel to the south of the chancel. The south aisle of the chapel taking the thrust of the stone roof has a series of buttresses linked by arches. Hawes explained his adoption of arched roof forms to provide solid construction solutions:

The only hope for any permanent immunity from hurricane damage lay in stone or concrete roofs. The latter was out of the question because the humid salt air soon penetrated through to the metal reinforcement and cracked and disintegrated the concrete. One must get back to the simplicity of primitive building.⁹⁹

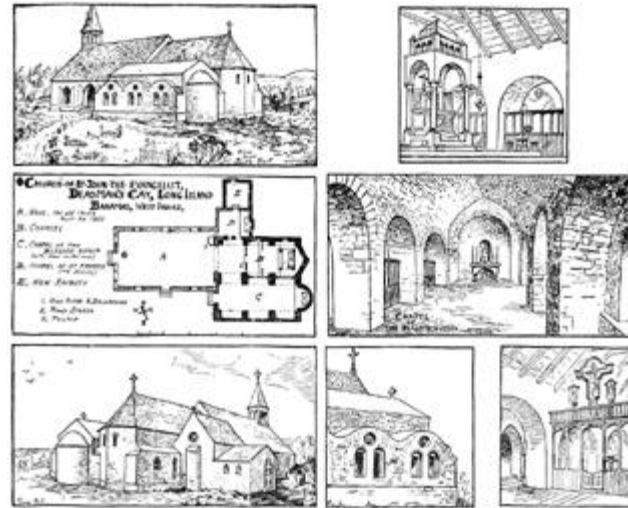


Figure 34: Church of St John the Evangelist, Buckleys, Deadman's Cay, Long Island.
Drawings from *Voice of the Church*, 1910. Courtesy Archbishop Gomez.

At Deadman's Cay, Hawes rebuilt almost the whole church, including a Doric columned baldachino (perhaps following Sedding and Wilson examples), and rood screen with one of his characteristic painted crucifixes above it. Hawes' description of the completion and the internal features of the Church of St John the Evangelist is noteworthy, as it shows his innovation and attention to style, even in circumstances where the available resources are extremely limiting:

... For the altar of the stone vaulted Lady Chapel I received a delightful gift. Abbot Aelred sent me the cast of 'Notre Dame sous Terre' of Chartres Cathedral Crypt that used to grace the altar in the narthex of the monastic choir chapel at Painsthorpe. I erected two other side altars, with statues, one of the Sacred Heart, and one of St Francis of Assisi in a separate side chapel. The chancel had a rood screen with large crucifix and terminated in a two-sided apse with two small windows in stained glass executed in London by Miss Lowndes, sister of the Rector of St Mary's Nassau - The Burning Bush and the Tree of Life beside the Waters - gems of brilliance after Christopher Whall's style. Over the High Altar I constructed a baldachino (before even Comper had started to design one). It had four Doric columns carrying semi-circular arches, a plastered quadripartite intersecting vault, arcaded top and pyramid.¹⁰⁰



Figure 35: Church of St John the Evangelist, Buckleys, Deadman's Cay, Long Island. Photograph of the baldachino, 1994, and of the rood, 1995. It would appear from Hawes' sketches that he intended for the painted rood to be flanked each side by Mary and John - as a triptych.

When I first came out to the Bahamas - in 1909 -
Comper was giving the lead in -
with the so-called "English"
& porter altar.
Having a hearty detestation of Percy Dearmer's
"Parsons handbook" I shunned these - I
always designed "Roman" altars after current use -
So in 1909 I put up two with 'ciboriums' (Baldachinos)
one on Long Island
& the other in
in St. Matthews, Nassau
the oldest (historical)
Church in the colony
a large Queen Anne
style of the edifice.
both are now still the same as I left them.

Figure 36: Drawings of the baldachinos at the Church of St John the Evangelist, Deadman's Cay; and at St Matthew's Church in Nassau, including mention of JN Comper and Percy Dearmer. From letter 15 April 1948 to Dom Michael Hanbury at Prinknash Abbey, Gloucester. Courtesy PAAG.

3.2 Church of St Mary the Virgin, The Bight, Long Island

In 1910, Hawes added a small sacristy, a bell-tower, and an apsidal sanctuary to the remnants of the Church of St Mary the Virgin at The Bight on Long Island. The roof was replaced, and the total length of the church increased. With regard to the church rebuilding program on Long Island, Hawes was very much his own master during this very isolated and independent period. Thus with his work at The Bight, the addition of an apse, characteristic of the Roman basilican plan, is an early indicator of his preferred historicist approach to church planning, amplified in later examples.

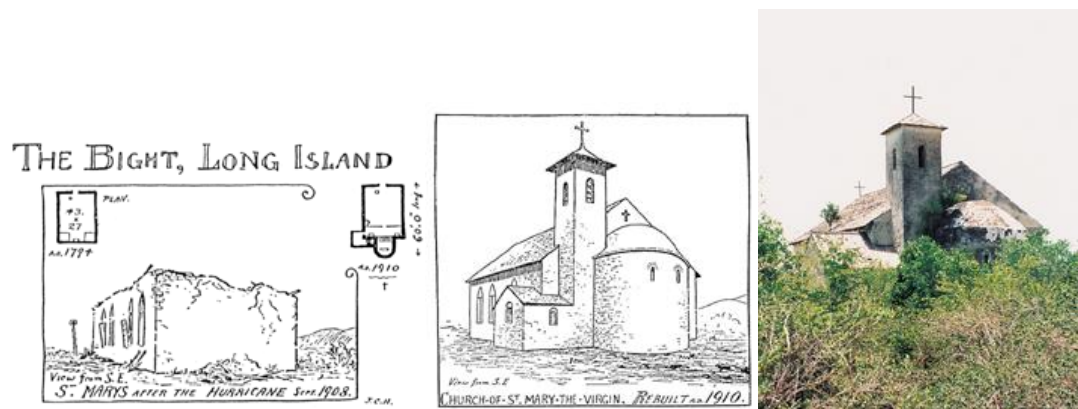


Figure 37: Church of St Mary the Virgin, The Bight, Long Island. Drawings from *Voice of the Church* 1910. Courtesy Archbishop Gomez. Photograph from the south-east, 1995.

One can see Hawes' recollection of his 1890s explorations of southern France in the work at The Bight. In confirmation, he wrote in 1910 of modifying this church so that the appearance of its stylistic origins would move from eighteenth century English Methodist to tenth century French Catholic!

*... by adding a stone-roofed apsidal sanctuary, with bell tower and sacristy at the side, I have endeavoured to give it a more church-like appearance, and a character more befitting its distinction of being the oldest church in the Bahamas. Indeed I think I may fairly say its new sort of newness makes it look older than it did before. Then, it was a type of the period of Wesley and Whitefield; now, the stone-domed apse and re-roofed campanile look as if they might have smiled a thousand years ago across the plains of Lombardy.*¹⁰¹

3.3 Church of St Paul, Clarence Town, Long Island

Hawes moved to Clarence Town in mid-1910 for his largest church rebuilding work, the Church of St Paul. Although the previous church had been strongly built, the 1908 hurricane had practically razed it to the ground. Hawes initially rebuilt the chancel, and drew several designs for the remainder of the building. By January 1911, Hawes had finished the long chancel with a stone roof. He built a Baroque stone altar and a screen for the sacristy behind. Onto this chancel opened a low temporary nave, weather-boarded, over which the larger permanent nave would be constructed. However his ideas for completion of this church would, by necessity be taken on by others.



Figure 38: Church of St Paul, Clarence Town, Long Island. Drawing of the chancel, October 1910. Courtesy DCAG.

The sculptural form of St Paul's, heavy and enclosed, is unusual for its time, and rather forward looking. It is remarkable in that there do not seem to be any similar contemporary developments, and it foreshadows Hawes' marvellous church work at Clarence Town in the 1940s.

3.4 Departure from the Bahamas

Although John Hawes had found an almost idyllic lifestyle in the Bahamas, which so thoroughly suited his architectural pursuits, conflict over his religious direction lead him to abandon Long Island and to seek fulfilment elsewhere. He had been struggling to determine whether he should remain with the Church of England, or become a Catholic. On 29 January 1911, Hawes said his first (and last) service in the restored St Paul's Church at Clarence Town and departed shortly after for New York.

3.5 Chapel of St Francis, Graymoor, New York

In February of 1911, Hawes arrived at Graymoor, north of New York, to join the Catholic Church. It is not difficult to imagine the emotional turmoil he would have been experiencing. Even at this time, however, the professional and gifted architect in him allowed the time, and perhaps the distraction, to design another fine building. The drawing of St Francis' Chapel, Graymoor, which Hawes made in March 1911, shows a simple roughcast building raised, by reason of the ground level, over open brick arches. The squat tower looks as if it might have been inspired by some of the eighteenth century Franciscan mission churches in California.¹⁰²



Figure 39: Chapel of St Francis, Graymoor, Garrison, New York. *The Lamp*, August 1911, p.192. Courtesy Friars of the Atonement Archives/Record Centre – Graymoor, Garrison, New York.

Hawes' drawing of St Francis' shows an interesting conjunction of his own emerging idiom (the 'Spanish Mission' style) with an American one, which is a New England settlers' vernacular. It is perhaps at this time that Hawes had enhanced his great admiration for the Franciscan Spanish Mission architecture from California. He later left an album in Western Australia containing many unmarked postcards of the North American Franciscan missions, gathered during the period 1911-13, but there is no evidence that he ever visited the west coast of the United States of America.¹⁰³ The cornerstone of the Chapel of St Francis was laid on St Patrick's Day, Friday 17 March 1911. Two days later Hawes was baptised and conditionally received into the Catholic Church, and in April he left for England. His tower was later changed, and additional details added to his design by American architects Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) and Carlton Strong (1862-1931).¹⁰⁴

3.6 Rome; First designs for Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton

Back in England and undecided about his future, Hawes accepted an offer of sponsorship to study at the Beda College in Rome from his closest friend Charles Selby-Hall. In January 1912 Hawes commenced studies for the Catholic priesthood. He was thirty-five years old, and by then must have been considered a well-travelled, experienced, and independent man of the world. As well as being able to enjoy the buildings of Rome while studying, Hawes attended other places of architectural wonder. In May of 1913, he visited Malta, revelling in the great beauty and ceremony of the lavishly decorated churches, and these places added to his already wide palette of design influence.¹⁰⁵

While completing his studies and concerned about his prospects, he met Bishop Kelly of the Geraldton Diocese of Western Australia, who was visiting Beda on a recruiting drive for priests as part of an *ad limina* visit during December of 1913. The prospect of Hawes going to Australia was mutually beneficial. Hawes had no firm plans after his ordination, and Kelly would not only gain a missionary but an architect for his diocese, ‘the biggest, poorest and wildest on the Southern Continent’¹⁰⁶ that had no cathedral and only very simple church buildings. With the benefit of a slightly greater scale of resources, Geraldton would give Hawes further opportunity to display his great architectural talent - talent that had been only partly revealed in earlier work.

By late December 1913 Hawes had completed his first designs for the Cathedral of St Francis Xavier. Typically for Hawes’ larger churches, the plan is based on the Latin cross, a two-armed structure, the short arm of which forms the north and south transepts. He incorporates his favoured apse, and elements of basilican planning are again evident. The western towers (although in this instance of Spanish Mission style as will be discussed in greater detail at chapter four), were a feature of French, German, and some English medieval cathedrals, a containment for the double thrust of the side and end walls. Of importance to Hawes, they also mark the importance of the west end as a ceremonial entrance, for it is here that the archbishop ritually enters his cathedral for the first time.

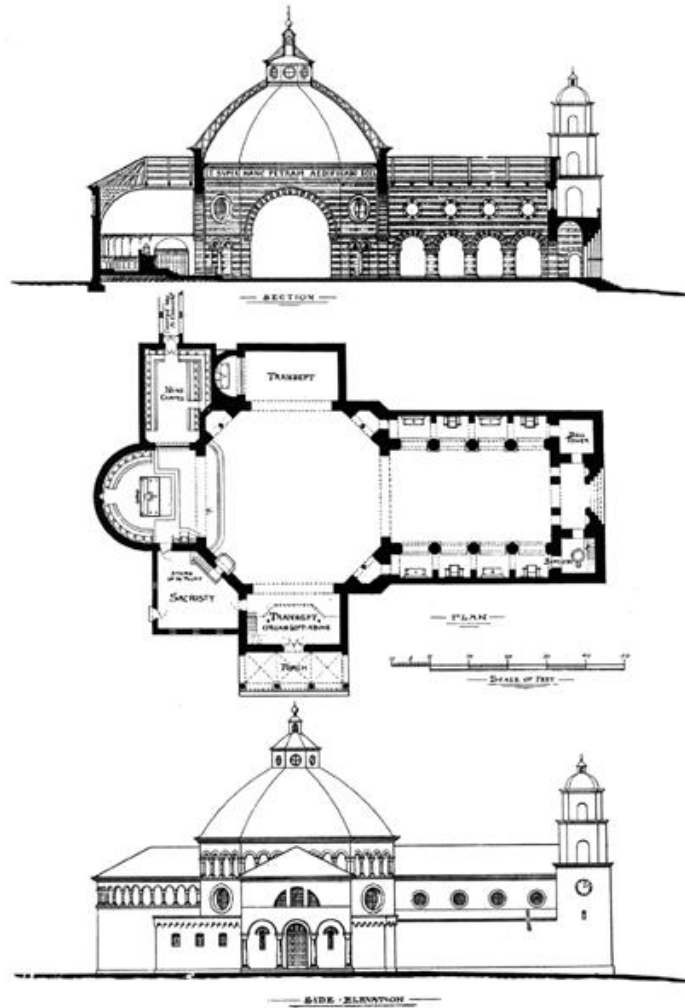


Figure 40: Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton. Section, plan, and north-east elevation. The design was commenced in Rome during December 1913. *The British Architect*, 27 November 1914, p.297.

Hawes' time in Rome at Beda from 1912 to mid-1915 was not only used to further his essential vocation as a priest. His other vocation as an architect was advancing also. He became familiar with the great structures of the 'Eternal City', advancing his study of all periods of churches, and evaluating their design in response to liturgical requirements applying when they were built. Hawes' keen architect's eye recorded details and styles that had great influence on all his future work. In fact his highly eclectic work from this time up until the early to mid-1930s incorporated strong classical and Romanesque characteristics, combined with elements of previous English and French observations, but also included Spanish Mission details!

On 27 February 1915, John Hawes was ordained a Catholic Priest. In June of 1915 he left Rome and travelled via Milan and Paris to London for a holiday with his parents. On 2 October 1915 Hawes left England, embarking from London's Tilbury docks to commence a most exciting period of his life in Western Australia.

3.7 'Cathedrals' by John Hawes

Hawes commenced writing a history of church and cathedral design (from his own perspective) not long after his arrival in Western Australia, and may have worked on the hand written document well into the 1920s. One can see the influence of Halsey Ricardo in this very perceptive work, which starts at pre-Christian times:

*What is a Cathedral? The idea that the Catholic Church has familiarised the world with is that of a great Christian temple, a storied pile of masonry that is at once a sermon & a poem in stone. Of the Pagan Temples of old there remain many that are splendid specimens of architecture. In Italy we have the great Rotunda the Pantheon in the heart of Rome. On the shore of the Bay of Naples, solitary & deserted in the green fields, rise the majestic ruins of the temples of Paestum. The far famed Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens is the 'summa' of perfection of Greek Art. But above all, it is the ancient civilisation of Egypt, the land of awe & mystery, that has left us the most superb monuments raised in the service of religion. Four thousand years before the dawn of the Christian era, Egyptian Architecture was in its prime. ...*¹⁰⁷

Further into the manuscript, Hawes describes the inter-related Christian church design and liturgical development that had occurred over almost two thousand years. The document sets out part of the great study & thought that Hawes put into his most treasured daily occupation – outside of his devotion to God.

Chapter Four – Productive Priest in Western Australia 1916-39:

4.1 Commencement of the Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton

Hawes lived in Western Australia from 1915 until 1939 - the busiest and most productive period of his life. His first project was the St Francis Xavier Cathedral in Geraldton, the corner stone of which was laid and blessed by Bishop Kelly on 3 September 1916. It took two years for the first stage to be complete enough for an official opening and another twenty for the cathedral to be finished. The delay was partly due to the fact Hawes' mentor, Bishop Kelly, died in December 1921.

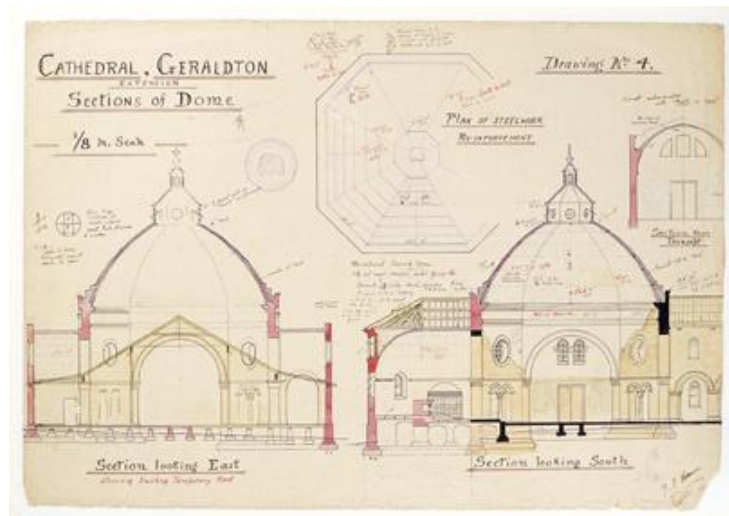


Figure 41: Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton. Drawing No.4, 1917. Courtesy DCAG.

Various elements of the St Francis Xavier Cathedral can be attributed to Hawes' eclectic architectural style, and also to his own 'hands-on' practical building skills. He wrote of the cathedral's style during 1916:

In the design of the Cathedral the aim of the Architect has been to avoid any slavish imitation of past 'styles'; but to give character and expression to the building by austere simplicity of design and by the harmonious proportions of

*the several parts. All useless ornamentation and elaboration that would lead to extra expense have been rigidly avoided. There are no traceried windows, pinnacles or carved decorations. Solidity and massiveness have been chosen rather than prettiness and elegance. In as far as the design follows the characteristics of any 'style' it may be said to be in the Roman Style; with a leaning to the Romanesque or Norman (11th century) variation of that style, sometimes of the Renaissance (17th century) development of the same. It is not Byzantine nor Gothic.*¹⁰⁸

Hawes follows with notes that the idea of the dome (humbly) follows from St Peter's in Rome, and that the crypt follows from various Roman and English (Hexham and Ripon churches) sources. He discusses his admiration for the thirteenth century Gothic cathedrals of France, which he describes as 'the last word' in architecture; and gives some further clues to various design inspirations. The Californian and Irish influences on the west front of the cathedral are noted:

The design for the facade of the Geraldton Cathedral is reminiscent of the Franciscan Mission Churches of California (a colonial variety of the Roman Renaissance style). Its twin towers are modelled on the lines of those of the Santa Barbara Mission, Los Angeles; and more particularly after the campanile of San Luis Rey, erected in 1798. Sons and daughters of Erin who have come to these shores of Champion Bay from Cork will see in the Cathedral towers a likeness to the upper stages of the quaint old steeple of Shandon Church ...



Figure 42: St Anne's Church tower, Shandon, Cork. <http://www.shandonsteeple.com/view6.htm>
August 2001.



Figure 43: The west front of the St Francis Xavier Cathedral, Geraldton.

The Geraldton Cathedral towers are octagonal in plan above the gallery level (where the towers are still square), in two tiers of decreasing plan size. Like the crossing under the dome of the cathedral, the octagon form of the towers has four shorter sides and four longer sides. The towers of Santa Barbara are similar - although not octagonal. Rather, the Santa Barbara towers are square with heavily chamfered corners, with only the two top tiers open - whereas St Francis Xavier Cathedral has three levels of openings.

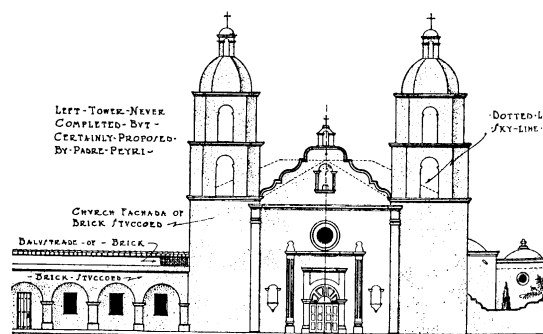


Figure 44: Restoration drawing of Mission Church of San Luis Rey de Francia, California, from Gowans, Alan 1986 *The Comfortable House: North American Suburban Architecture, 1890-1930*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and photograph of Mission Santa Barbara Church, California. <http://www.sbmission.org/> August 2001.

San Luis Rey's campanile (documentary evidence suggests two towers were planned at one stage), is octagonal above the nave level, and as Hawes suggests, bear closer resemblance to those of his cathedral. The reference to the St Anne's Church steeple at Shandon (in Cork, Ireland) would have benefited the many Irish Catholics, and the resemblance is not as close as is the case with San Luis Rey. Hawes' towers are thus his own extension of a building style employed in various forms in some of the Franciscan mission churches, and he would have been aware that these tower types were also used in many Baroque churches. Hawes continued with his description of the cathedral in *The Sower* of August 1916, and gives note of further Irish and English design influence:

Within the church the plain massive round pillars and semi-circular arches will call to remembrance those of the beautiful ruins, 800 years old, of Boyle Abbey, Roscommon. The Norman nave of Malvern Abbey Church in England has similar arcades, and also a flat panelled ceiling above, as the design for Geraldton has. These flat coffered ceilings are very common on the Roman basilicas.

The massive columns are also very similar to those of St John's Church in Norwich, which Hawes visited in August 1913 - just prior to producing his initial ideas for Bishop Kelly.¹⁰⁹ The nave clerestory windows were shown in Hawes' early sketches as circular openings, as in the Florence Cathedral, although this idea changed by 1917.

4.2 Travel and Study in 1920

In early February 1920 Hawes left his parish at Mullewa, east of Geraldton, for a well-earned holiday. He travelled by ship to see his ageing parents in London via the Eastern States of Australia, Wellington in New Zealand, and the Panama Canal. It is likely he found time to examine St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, and St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney, both by William Wilkins Wardell (1823-1900), as he discusses these large nineteenth century Gothic churches in his c.1927 essay 'Cathedrals'. En-route to England, Hawes visited Havana and Matanzas in Cuba, Key West and Miami in the USA, Nassau in the Bahamas, and New York.

In Cuba, Hawes ‘feasted on the beauties of the many baroque and rococo churches’¹¹⁰, and would have thoroughly enjoyed the Havana cathedral - with its Baroque west facade and twin towers so similar to his own cathedral at Geraldton.



Figure 45: Havana Cathedral. http://www.americatravelling.net/cuba/havana/havana_gallery.htm
August 2001.

In April 1920 Hawes arrived in England and spent six happy months based with his parents at Sutton in Surrey. During August he travelled to Ireland, visiting Dublin, Mallow, Limerick, Killarney, Cashel, and the Skellig Islands off County Kerry.¹¹¹ Hawes’ tour of Ireland allowed a careful study of primitive Celtic architecture. He found Cormac’s Chapel at Cashel of great interest, and made a painting of the site that hangs in his Priesthouse at Mullewa. The buildings he saw in Ireland were to have a profound effect on his later designs, particularly Cormac’s Chapel and the ancient ruins on the Skelligs. Their beehive shape and domed stone roofs in horizontal courses fascinated him.



Figure 46: Ancient monastic structures at the island of Skellig Michael.
<http://infoweb.magi.com/~bmorgan/skell.htm> August 2001.

Returning to England, he visited Downside Abbey at Bath, which was to incorporate design work in the period 1917-39 by Giles Scott.¹¹² It is possible that Hawes met Scott at Downside Abbey, or that he wrote to the architect after observing his work there, as it is known that they were corresponding by 1922.

4.3 Proposed Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Perth (1921-23)

Returning to Western Australia in January 1921, Hawes was formally invited by Archbishop Patrick Clune of Perth to start preliminary work on the design for the enlargement of the 1865 Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Hawes made a start on this design, and then returned to Geraldton to deal with other projects. By May of 1922 Archbishop Clune was in a position to call upon Hawes to concentrate on the Perth Cathedral.

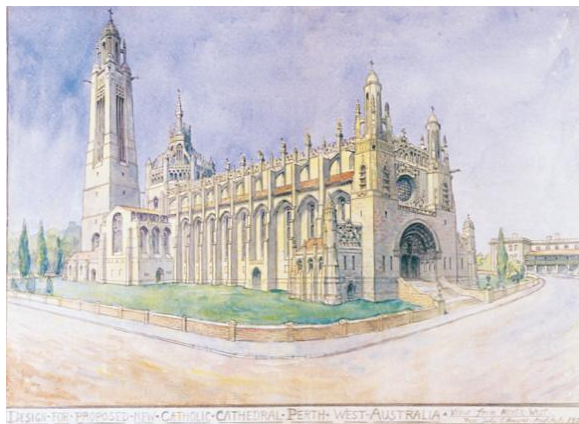


Figure 47: Drawing dated 1922 illustrating design for the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Perth, as viewed from the north-west. Courtesy Tony Evans.

In November 1922 Hawes commenced a journey to England to make arrangements for the mosaics, marble, and stained glass for the Perth cathedral. In London, he met with Giles Scott to assist in confirming his proposed plans.¹¹³ One would expect that the two architects had considerable discussions regarding Scott's evolving ideas for the ongoing Anglican cathedral at Liverpool, Hawes' design for the Catholic cathedral at Perth, and many other ecclesiastical projects.

4.4 Sir Giles Scott and the Liverpool Cathedrals

Hawes must have had a very good opinion of Scott, since to relieve pressure on himself at one stage, he asked Archbishop Clune to consider employing Scott to design the Perth cathedral.¹¹⁴ In addition to his Liverpool cathedral and a considerable number of churches, Scott's major projects were to include the Cambridge University Library (1931–34), Battersea Power Station (1932–34), and Waterloo Bridge, London (1939–45). He also designed and supervised the rebuilding of the House of Commons chamber at the Palace of Westminster in free Gothic style after the Second World War. Scott's design for Battersea Power Station set the pattern for British power stations, and his series of standard designs for the telephone kiosk became a part of British tradition.

Hawes' correspondence with Giles Scott with regard to his designs for the Perth cathedral is significant. Scott wrote in 1927 that he was sorry to hear that Hawes' Perth cathedral design was not to be carried out, as he felt sure it would have been 'very successful and a great improvement on the stereotype Gothic building' which was to take its place. Hawes must have enquired in an earlier letter as to whether there was a likelihood of Scott designing a new Catholic cathedral proposed at Liverpool, as Scott replies:

*As regards what you say about the Catholic cathedral at Liverpool, I have heard one or two vague rumours from time to time, but I very much doubt whether there is anything in them as I have not been approached definitely in the matter.*¹¹⁵

Biographer Peter Anson (1889-1975) records that in the early 1950s, Hawes had some 'very strong' opinions about the new Catholic cathedral at Liverpool, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) in the early 1930s. Following the interruption of the Second World War, Hawes doubted if it would ever be built. He made sketches showing his ideas of a simple and far less costly reinforced concrete cathedral, which could be completed in a few years, saying that Lutyens' designs, in those days, were 'quite impracticable'.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately Anson does not say where Hawes' comments and sketches on the Catholic cathedral at Liverpool were found, and it is not known if they are extant. Hawes' prediction was correct, in that of Lutyens' design, only the crypt with its massive brick vaults and granite dressings was completed by 1958. Lutyens' scheme was abandoned, and by 1967 a new cathedral by Frederick Gibberd (1908-84) had been completed, with a vast circular space seating 2,300 people.

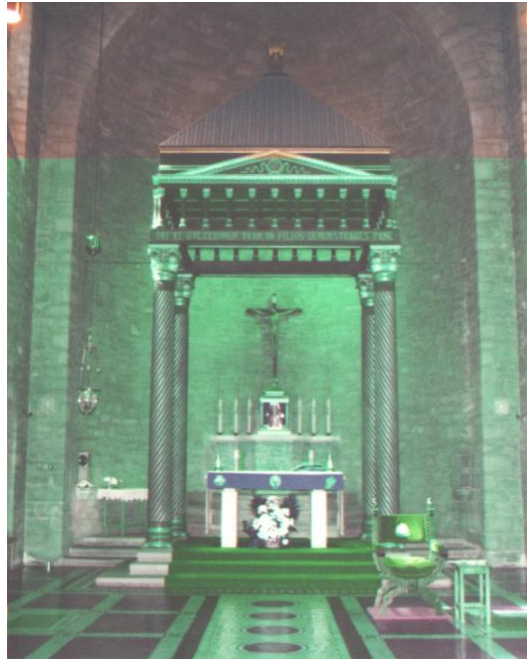


Figure 48: Baldachino and altar at Church of Our Lady and St Alphege, Bath. 2001.

It is significant that Giles Scott designed the Church of Our Lady and St Alphege at Bath, commenced in 1927, not long after having met with Hawes and perusing photographs of Hawes' church at Mullewa in Western Australia. Scott described the Bath design as his 'first essay into the Romanesque style of architecture'.¹¹⁷

The Bath church is of the Roman basilica type, closely resembling the Church of St Maria in Cosmedin in Rome, one of John Hawes' favourites. It is highly likely, although impossible to prove without finding record of their correspondence, that Hawes had been of influence in modifying Scott's design palette.

4.5 Hawes' Cathedrals in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1923

Hawes' designs for an entirely new cathedral at Perth were completed in early 1923. He must still have craved the approval of his architect peers or perhaps his parents and family, as he successfully submitted his designs for display in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition (along with the Geraldton cathedral design).¹¹⁸ Hawes had worked diligently to develop his initial designs for the new Perth Cathedral through to May 1923, and the design that was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in the summer of 1923 is a development in a Romanesque style.

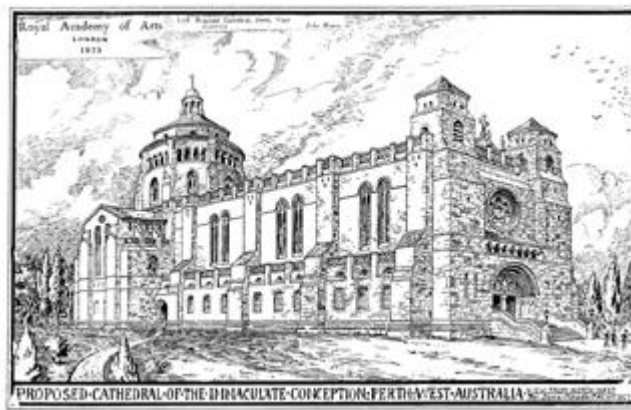


Figure 49: Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Perth, WA. Drawing dated 1923 illustrating the proposed completely new cathedral. For the Royal Academy of Arts Summer Exhibition, London, 1923. (Exhibit No. 1178). Courtesy Tony Evans.

4.6 Travel and Study in Europe 1923

In May 1923 Hawes left London and embarked on a three-week tour to study and enjoy the wealth of architectural detail to be found throughout France, Spain, and Italy. The itinerary Hawes chose clearly demonstrates that he primarily wished to study cathedral architecture that responded to the Mediterranean climate, a climate similar to that of Perth, Western Australia. Wherever he went his observant eyes noticed and his memory retained details of architecture or religious ceremonial. Commencing by train from Paris, Hawes immediately travelled to the south through Angoulême and Tours in France. Continuing south through Burgos, Segovia, Toledo, Cordoba, and Seville in Spain¹¹⁹, Hawes then travelled north-east and back towards France through Granada, Valencia, Barcelona, and Gerona.

In a long letter written from Seville on 6 June 1923, illustrated with many sketches, plans and sections of churches, he wrote that ‘Milan is still the Queen of Cathedrals and Seville is grand and immense’. In Spain Hawes was thrilled with the architecture and particularly the ritual - the ceremony, the music and the dress:

Never in his wildest dreams had Father Hawes imagined such splendid ceremonial. ... Never had he seen ‘such glorious sanctuaries, with huge Gothic retables soaring right up into the vault’. He could hardly find words in which to do full justice to the sanctuary at Toledo, with ‘its apse, carved retable, and two glorious rood screens with the two thieves’. But Seville had ‘the noblest altar and steps, and the most gorgeous gilded bronze screen you ever saw!’¹²⁰

Travelling into France again on the Mediterranean coast, Hawes visited Perpignan, Narbonne, Arles, Tarascon, Avignon, Fréjus, and St Raphaël. Hawes would have been overjoyed to return to Italy after eight years, as he in turn enjoyed the sights of Milan, Florence, Rome, Amalfi, and Naples.¹²¹ In July 1923 Hawes returned to Western Australia, and then completed his final design for a Perth cathedral. Hawes’ drawing of this building is dated August 1923 - a beautiful watercolour of the west front, a harmonious design. This was a further development of the May design, refined following his travels, and perhaps with the input of the Archbishop and Perth clergy after Hawes returned from Europe.



Figure 50: Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, Perth. Drawing dated August 1923 illustrating the west front facing down Murray Street. Courtesy DCAG.

It appears Hawes attempted to compromise and to meet the desires of the local priests, as the August 1923 design incorporates Gothic forms (rather than Romanesque) to the west front, and the twin towers are elaborate when compared to the Royal Academy design. With the stylistic change, Hawes is conscious of the need to minimise or carefully shade any large window openings in the hot climate, and places an overhanging arch forward of the west end rose window. Overall this design demonstrates a marked change and departure from Hawes' previous design development and preference. Ultimately the Perth cathedral was built to the design of another architect. That sad story is another and somewhat lengthy tale.

4.7 Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul, Mullewa (1920-27)

Bishop Kelly's replacement, Dr Richard Ryan, arrived in late 1923, and was unimpressed with Hawes' work, particularly his proposed design for the Perth Cathedral. Ryan was scathingly dismissive of the incomplete Geraldton Cathedral.¹²² Hawes retreated to his parish and worked on the design and construction of his Romanesque parish church in Mullewa. Perhaps to Hawes' relief, Ryan left after a little less than three years, and Geraldton was to be without a bishop from March 1926 until May 1930.

In December of 1923 Hawes produced his drawing of an amended design for the Mullewa Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul. Much of the inspiration that was incorporated into the composition was gained in the 1922-23 travels. Hawes' album of postcards from that 1922-23 trip has several from Arles and Angoulême in southern France that quite obviously provided details for the Mullewa church. The west front format of the Mullewa church is taken directly from the St Trophême Church at Arles. As with his early Bahamian church work, at Mullewa Hawes was his own design and construction master. He designed as he pleased, and as his Arts and Crafts training had taught, incorporating much of his own artwork.



Figure 51: The eclectic Hawes kept this postcard of the entry portal to the Church of St Trophime at Arles, France, from his 1923 tour. Upon his return to Mullewa, he incorporated revision to the west front of his church that clearly follows from this Arles example. Courtesy PAMM.



Figure 52: Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul, Mullewa. Photograph of the west front, 1993.

The Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Angoulême has a dome and campanile combination that was obviously remembered by the observant architect. This is confirmed by Hawes, where he notes that ‘the style of the church is after that of the twelfth century churches of the south of France as found at Angoulême and adjoining places’. However Hawes is firm in declaring that in his estimation ‘there is nothing whatever about it either Byzantine or Moorish’.¹²³

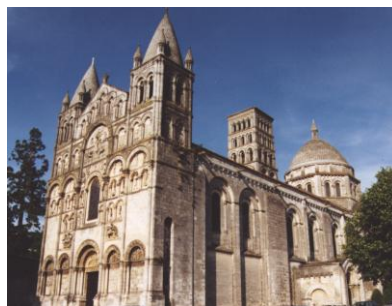


Figure 53: Cathedral of S. Pierre, Angoulême. 2001.



Figure 54: Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul, Mullewa. Photograph from the south-west of the parish hall, convent, school, and of the church, c.1930s. Courtesy JS Battye Library, Perth, acc. no. 3966b/2.

Giles Scott wrote in 1927 with admiration for Hawes' very personal Arts and Crafts involvement in the Mullewa church:

*I am very much interested in the photographs you send me of the church you are building at Mullewa. It is very striking and original, and I must congratulate you not only on the design but on the carrying out of the work; in particular, I think the treatment of the walling is excellent. It is delightfully free, and the absence of hard mechanical finish is most refreshing. Your experience as a craftsman must have been most interesting, and I often wish I had an opportunity of carrying out some of my designs with my own hands.*¹²⁴



Figure 55: The rood cross in the Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul, Mullewa, 1996. Perhaps Hawes is recalling the example in Bentley's Westminster cathedral.

Hawes' Mullewa church is definitely derived from exposure to the work of Prior and Lethaby. Comparison with the transverse arches to the nave in Prior's Holy Trinity Church at Bothenhampton, Dorset (1890), Lethaby's All Saints' Church, Brockhampton, Herefordshire (1901), and Prior's Church of St Andrew, Roker, Tyne and Wear (1905-7) is pertinent.¹²⁵



Figure 56: Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel and Sts Peter and Paul, Mullewa. Photograph by Hawes of the sanctuary from the organ loft, dated November 1926. Courtesy Tony Evans.



Figure 57: The nave of ES Prior's Holy Trinity Church at Bothenhampton, Dorset. 2001

Hawes wrote a souvenir brochure for the Mullewa church sometime after its opening in 1927, including comment that reveals the continuing influence of Lethaby:

*A church, even the smallest, should be of a monumental character. Solidity is more important than ornamentation. That which Professor Lethaby aptly terms "style-mongering" is to be shunned and the architecture should be reminiscent without pedantry, and varied without being freakish.*¹²⁶

Lethaby's *Architecture – An Introduction to the History and Theory of the Art of Building* of 1911, has mention of 'style-mongering', and it is probable this is a term the Professor used in lectures to Hawes and many others.¹²⁷ A John Ruskin quote is given pride of place by Hawes on the front cover of the Mullewa brochure, although Hawes is naughty by modern standards and does not say exactly where the phrase is taken from. By scanning Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* it is possible to discover that the quote is taken from Chapter VI, 'The Lamp of Memory'.¹²⁸

When we build, let us think that we build forever. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone. Let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for.

Hawes' own descriptions of the Mullewa church are revealing:

*To attain an effect of grace and dignity in a church the most sublime effect attainable is that of height. But when there is no money to raise lofty side walls and clear story, the problem before the architect is how to dispose the proportions of his humble building, in order to avoid an appearance of squatness, and yet to give some suggestion of soaring aspiration. If the whole building cannot tower skywards, at least some one part or other may uplift itself above the rest, seemingly higher by very contrast. So here at Mullewa the dome uplifts itself above the low, wide-spreading nave roof, and the campanile still higher than the dome. Effects are gained by relativity.*¹²⁹

The Mullewa church is the equal in resolution of design and detail to any of Hawes' other church buildings. As it was his own parish church, where he was the architect, builder, labourer, and general procurer of fittings and funds to pay for it all; it is an intensely personal work and reflects his own character and ideas for a church.

*It became his personal testament unrestrained by criticism or interference, an embodiment of his romantic and spiritual temperament, a building which above all his others, invites our respect for him as an artist craftsman.*¹³⁰

4.8 The New Bishop

The arrival of Bishop James O'Collins in 1930 meant that Hawes was working with a mentor and supporter who almost immediately appointed him Diocesan Architect. Churches were commissioned and planning to complete the Geraldton Cathedral began. Hawes worked intensively, but the desire to leave Australia and return to the Bahamas incited him to write to Nassau asking permission to work there. O'Collins was reluctant to lose him, and eventually Hawes arranged to leave Geraldton under the guise of taking a holiday to Europe, when his intention was to seek O'Collins' permission to leave Australia permanently, to pursue his Franciscan ideals. In the interim the Bishop received more than great service from his architect of the 1930s.

4.9 The Hermitage, Geraldton (1935)

From the mid-1930s Hawes embraced a modernist external aspect combined with classic interiors - whenever *he* was the one who could decide the style for his church designs. Perhaps due to a different and less serious objective, Hawes' eclecticism is clearly shown in the Hermitage at Geraldton (1935), which is a recollection of the Arts and Crafts grounding previously seen in his work of the late 1890s. Although the Hermitage in Geraldton may be seen to be a simple building, unusual in being so quaint and homely, it is in fact another of Hawes' totally eclectic creations - where he has simply and skilfully combined elements that he has seen and experienced before. It illustrates many Arts and Crafts ideals - including idiomatic decoration, honesty, integrity of materials, and expressed structure.



Figure 58: Interior of the Hermitage, Geraldton, from the *Cathedral Chronicle*, May 1939. Courtesy DCAG.

The Hermitage illustrates Hawes' own very traditionalist idea of how a hospital chaplain's semi-retirement cottage should be - albeit in a minimalist fashion reflecting his own ascetic ideals. But he does provide a hint of the idea that the Hermitage was meant to be 'fun' in a portion of his *Cathedral Chronicle* description of the building in May 1939:

Entering the quaint old-fashioned interior, with its unplastered warm brick walls and heavy green-stained timbering, the visitor might imagine that he had stepped out of the bush into the cottage of the Seven Dwarfs, along with "Snow White" and her attendant fawns and squirrels.

4.10 Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Utakarra (1935-36)

Hawes used what he considered to be appropriate styles for certain circumstances, dependant on his own (and sometimes others') perceptions of how a structure should appear and 'feel'. He adopted the 1930s 'Modern' movement in architecture with gusto, and battled generally rigid church authorities for acceptance of his modern designs. The Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Spirit at Utakarra, Geraldton of 1935 is a fabulous creation with a totally 'modern' exterior, and announces a style that is prevalent in Hawes' later Bahamian work.

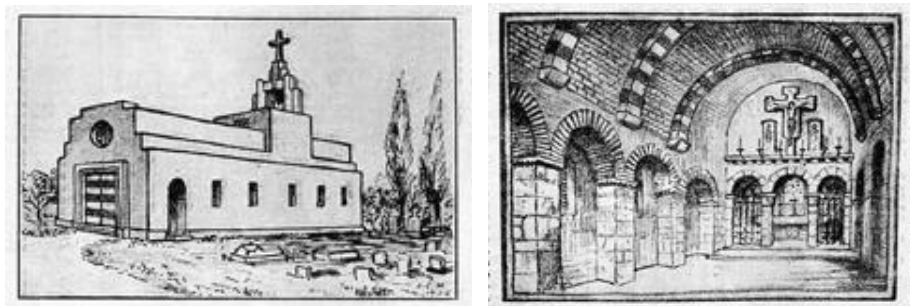


Figure 59: Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Utakarra. External and internal sketches from the *Cathedral Chronicle*, May 1936. Courtesy DCAG.

References noted by Hawes on the initial sketch designs for the Utakarra chapel include the ninth century St Maria di Narancio Chapel in Oviedo, Spain, and the eleventh century St Wilfrid's Church at Ovingdean, Sussex. These influences are

particularly evident in the interior, which has also been moulded with Hawes' memory of the blind side bays and barrel vault at Cormac's Chapel at Cashel.



Figure 60: At left, triple chancel arches and rood over, St Wilfrid's Church, Ovingdean, Sussex, 2001; and at right Hawes' rood triptych over triple chancel arches at the Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Utakarra, 1998.

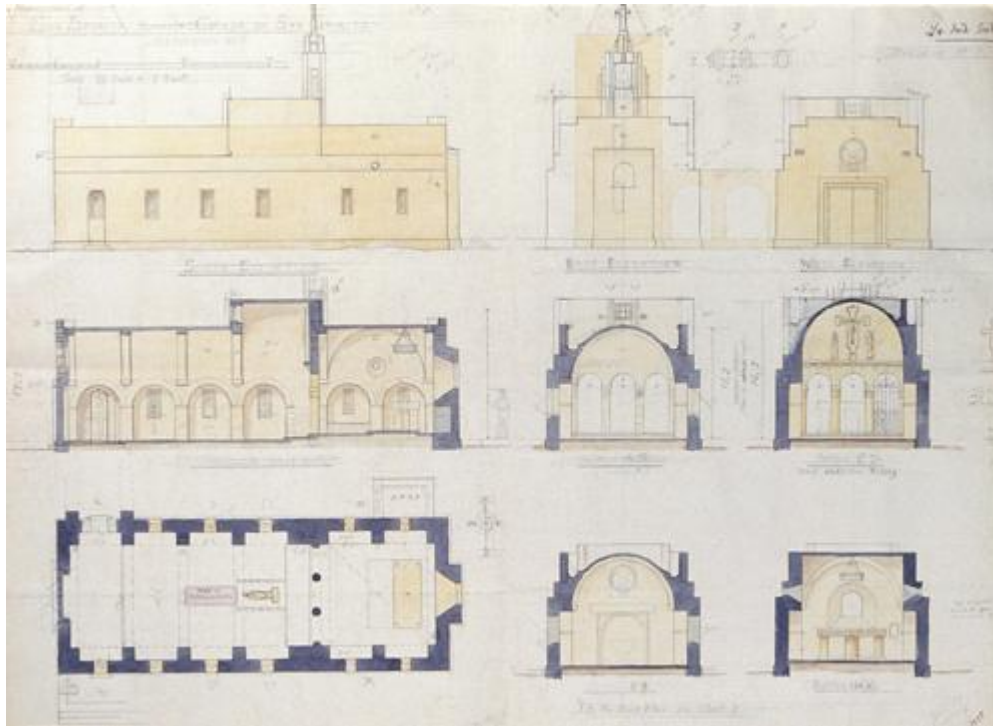


Figure 61: Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Utakarra. Sections and elevations dated 1935. Courtesy DCAG.

In a letter of July 1935, Hawes wrote of his unfolding project and the fact that most of the Western Australian priests wanted a Gothic style:

*... so in Carnarvon and Northampton my hands have been tied to that extent, but I've been left a free hand with regard to the Cemetery Chapel and I think I can claim that the design (the interior especially) is frankly modern without being fantastic or eccentric.*¹³¹

As an interesting parallel to the Utakarra chapel, Hawes initially designed a completely new St Mary's Church, Northampton in a modern style. The parish priest, who sought a more traditional design, rejected this scheme. In 1935 Hawes complied with the 'Gothic' drawings that were used to construct the Northampton church, built concurrently with the Utakarra chapel. The Northampton example, together with a disputed Carnarvon church and the rejected plans for the Perth cathedral, demonstrated a struggle Hawes faced as Diocesan Architect, attempting to implement his own artistic development and influences in the face of rigid traditionalist ideas for church design.

Through his wide reading, Hawes was in touch with the 1930s Modern movement in architecture, where architects were trying to find a new architectural expression that reflected the twentieth century machine age. This comparatively new style was perhaps much less readily accepted by those who had not had the exposure to the influences that Hawes had experienced.

4.11 Completion of the Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton

It is of note that in 1918 Hawes described the style of his cathedral at Geraldton as Romanesque. However he wrote in the souvenir brochure celebrating the opening of the St Francis Xavier Cathedral in 1938:

The architecture of the Cathedral is a modernised and severely plain rendering of the 'BAROQUE' style. The Baroque was an 18th century evolution of the Renaissance; the latter being a return to the round-arched classical style of

ancient Rome. In the design of modern buildings, the aim of the architect should be to avoid on the one hand any straining after originality and on the other any slavish imitation of the past. The building should draw its character and expression from the exigencies of construction, and the nature of the materials used, and its parts should be welded together in harmonious proportions. Moreover, the general aspect of a building should plainly express the purpose it has been erected to serve.



Figure 62: Aerial photograph from the north of St Francis Xavier Cathedral, Geraldton, c.1940. Courtesy DCAG.

With evolution of stylistic development, Hawes had changed his description, stating that the architecture of the cathedral was ‘a modernised and severely plain rendering’ of the Baroque style. Certainly the Geraldton cathedral is not Baroque in current terminology, as it is not rich in decoration, bold, or full of movement. Perhaps Hawes was struggling to define within the terminology current at the time, his incorporation of ‘modernist’ design elements into his longest running project. Historic tradition, eclecticism, and the importance of ‘atmosphere’ in a church are discussed in Hawes’ evocative prose:

A Catholic Church is a link in a tradition, it must express the past as well as the present. A Church of today has to fulfil the same purpose as those of medieval and early Christian times; therefore, it must necessarily follow the type of its predecessors and its different parts must express the traditional symbolism.

... any measure of success in the designing of a Catholic Church can only be attained by an ardent and discriminating study of the past, and a thorough knowledge of the artistic masterpieces of the ages. A Church, considering the sublime purpose it is to serve, should be a poem in stone, the exterior expressing dignity and repose, the interior breathing forth an atmosphere of prayer - of religious awe and supernatural mystery.

Although the dome constructed with the rapid completion of the Cathedral in 1937-38 may be suggested to be squat in appearance, compared to say the Florence Cathedral, the vertical height of the dome is consistent with all of Hawes' concept sketches and construction drawings. It is only the lantern that was constructed in a smaller form than originally planned. In confirmation, the 1938 Souvenir Program of the opening of the cathedral notes of the dome and lantern:

A grander effect certainly would have been made could the supporting octagonal drum have been raised higher, and the curve of the dome steeper, with a larger lantern on the summit as originally planned. But exacting considerations of cost had to be faced or there would have been no dome at all!

Following the dome description, the 1938 souvenir program notes:

In the capitals of the columns of the north porch and of the arcade around the upper walls of the octagon, the very simple and effective detail of the prevalent modern European style has been adopted.

Hawes' ideas for the suitable design style for the Cathedral in the 1930s were somewhat different to those of the preceding two decades. He had made a transition in design style over time that can be particularly observed by examining the drawings and construction of the columns of the arcade around the upper walls of the octagonal

drum under the dome. The 1916-17 drawings show a classical column style with Romanesque arches spanning over them, and these were built to the nave side of the drum in 1917. By the time the drum was completed in 1937-38, Hawes' modified architectural style preference, and perhaps cost considerations, dictated that modern style column arcades were built to the remaining walls, and these are topped with flat reinforced concrete lintels rather than arches.



Figure 63: Hawes the 'hands-on' priest-architect and practical builder, sitting with another man on scaffolding to the nave side of the drum of the dome, at the Cathedral of St Francis Xavier, Geraldton. Courtesy DCAG.

Hawes had also been influenced by the 1934 book *How to Build A Church - What to Do and What to Avoid*, by Fr Benedict Williamson. Hawes corresponded with Williamson on a regular basis, and the fellow architect-priest became a spiritual confessor for Hawes in later times. The chevron motifs on the simple columns to the arcade on the drum of the dome and on the north and south porches of the Geraldton Cathedral probably came to Hawes from scrutiny of Williamson's work. This not only illustrates the eclectic nature of the man, but also his development as an architect, and the lengthy construction period of the cathedral. When compared with medieval cathedrals, often built over centuries and including several different architectural styles, the Geraldton cathedral construction period of twenty-five years is short. However Geraldton reveals similar evolutionary factors, and its conception and realisation also illustrates the pace of change in the early twentieth century.

4.12 Proposed Church of the Holy Redeemer, Walkaway (1938)

Unfortunately the Walkaway design, one of Hawes' most Modern, was not built. As Hawes left Western Australia before this church could be started, and the Second World War began shortly thereafter, there were several reasons why the Walkaway church remained unrealised. Hawes' design for the Church of the Holy Redeemer at Walkaway is a curiously juxtaposed composition, with a banded triple arch narthex capped by a circular turret, all placed in front of a very Modern nave and chancel.

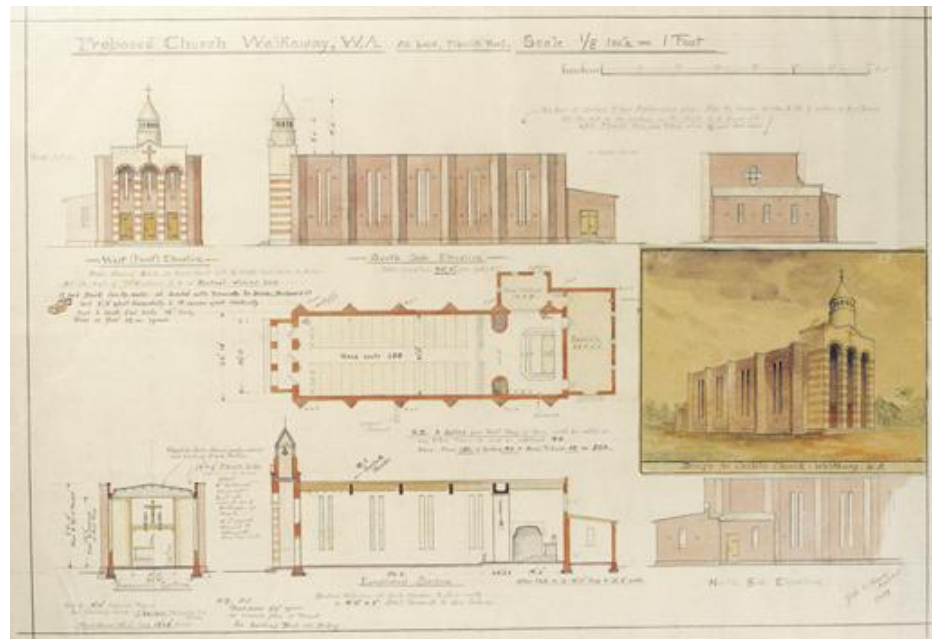


Figure 64: Church of the Holy Redeemer, Walkaway. Drawing dated 1939. Courtesy DCAG.

Amongst Hawes' many churches designed in the 1930s, the influence of Hawes' contact with England and English publications is shown in this design, and on this count is worthy of discussion and illustration. In November 1936, *New Churches Illustrated* was published by the Incorporated Church Building Society in London. It is highly likely that this book, which included photographs, floor plans, and general information regarding 52 churches erected during the years 1926-36, was sent to Hawes by his English connections. Several churches designed by architects Welch, Cachemaille-Day & Lander are featured in the book, including the celebrated Church of St Saviour at Eltham.

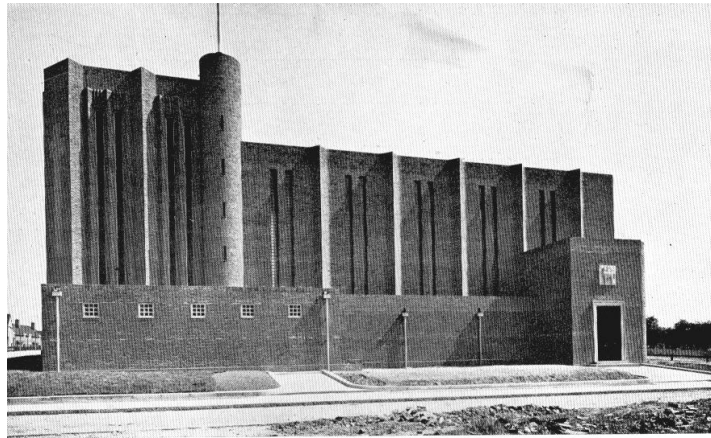


Figure 65: Church of St Saviour, Eltham, designed by architects Welch, Cachemaille-Day & Lander, from the 1936 book *New Churches Illustrated*, p.114.

The similarity of the Eltham church with its triangular buttresses, and Hawes' proposed Walkaway church, is pronounced. However the Walkaway church also has similar external characteristics to the Cathedral of S. Cécile at Albi in France, and in 1937 Hawes placed triangular buttresses on the stylistically separated sacristy of the cathedral at Geraldton that was completed in 1938. These similarities do not mean that Hawes is copying, rather that he is drawing inspiration from what he sees, incorporating ideas with his own advanced resolution of singular site and user specific design issues.

Chapter Five – Back to the Bahamas, Franciscan Hermit 1940-56:

5.1 Approach to Bahamian Building in the 1940s

Departing from Western Australia at Fremantle in May of 1939, and travelling by ship, Hawes made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. From there he travelled to visit Benedict Williamson in Rome. In October 1939, Hawes embarked from England for his return to the Bahamas.

In 1909 and 1910 Hawes had experienced the aspects of the Bahamas environment which determined, in his opinion, a most suitable form of shelter in construction terms. The three ‘threats’ to buildings that he saw were hurricanes, fire, and termite damage. His earliest work in the Bahamas for Bishop Hornby had been reactive - to repair hurricane damage. Hawes’ analysis of the cause of the failures of those structures had lead to his experiments in ‘rock roofing’ – arched roof forms using local limestone. Hawes employed basic structural ideas in his Bahamian work, principles that he had observed in studies of classical and medieval buildings, and while undertaking architectural studies in London. Perhaps most significant was his unusual degree of practical experience – he built as he discovered how to do so.

Hawes’ travels all contained eye-opening experience of buildings for him to draw upon in his own work. This was always eclectic, as is, at least to some extent, any architect’s work. Hawes had the happy ability to use his observations in well-designed and somewhat novel church constructions of his own. Hawes understood how flying buttresses relieved stone vaulted roofs, barrel vaults, groin vaults, pendentive vaults, and other developed forms of stone roofing. In fact he wrote at a late stage in his life that he always longed to have been a part of the thirteenth century, perhaps wishing to have existed in that great monastery and cathedral building period as master architect and mason.

5.2 The Influence of Albert Lothian

On a refresher visit to the ‘out-islands’ of the Bahamas in late 1939, Hawes stopped at San Salvador, and took the opportunity to admire the Holy Cross Church that had been designed by Canadian architect Albert (‘Jack’) Lothian for the settlement at United Estates.



Figure 66: Holy Cross Church, United Estates, San Salvador. North side elevation, 1994.

Hawes had reason to pass through San Salvador at a later date, and makes significant comment on the use of steel reinforcing in concrete at the Holy Cross Church. His developed opinion of the use of this material in the Bahamas is clear:

October. I have a whole day, a very pleasant time, ashore at San Salvador - ... Nice little church there, by Lothian a Canadian architect who was in Nassau for several years. But the vault and the reinforced concrete girders are cracking (and bits dropping down). Metal reinforcement is no good at all in this damp salt climate - unless you make the concrete surrounding the steel so thick that no air can penetrate through tiny cracks - and in that case you can do without the steel! and it's better.¹³²

Hawes travelled on to Long Island from San Salvador. It had been almost twenty-nine years since Hawes had left Clarence Town in January of 1911, and the arrival must have been both exciting and emotional for him. Wasting little time in revisiting the scenes of his earlier work, in November 1939 Hawes visited and admired the Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel at Hamiltons, not far from Clarence Town. The Hamiltons church, like the San Salvador Holy Cross church, had been designed by Jack Lothian. Hawes wrote a letter at this time with several interesting observations,

including his belief that Lothian developed his designs from observing Hawes' earlier 1909-10 works on Long Island:

... The church of which I enclose photo is stone vaulted. ... It was designed by a clever Canadian Architect Lothian sent to Nassau for his health - he developed the idea of the stone roofs from inspecting my Anglican churches of 1910.

I was pleased to hear that never a drop of water, or any stains of damp, had come through my stone roofs; & they stood unscratched when all surrounding houses were blown down or unroofed in the big hurricanes of 1928 & 1933. Lothian put steel reinforcement rods in his vaults & even though the cement was mixed with non-porite & the outer surface tarred, damp has penetrated.

Mine were much more ponderous - but no iron reinforcement & not even any non-porite mixed with all the cement. They have been kept well whitewashed every few years & that evidently helps to seal the surface. ... I don't trust the iron rods run through the stonework.¹³³

His examinations of Lothian's work had some further effect on his own peace of mind as regards practising architecture:

... & they have a first class Architect, Mr Lothian, a Canadian who draws the plans. So I intend to keep quite clear of all Architectural work. Personally I want to live a quiet retired life alone - in some out of the way place - & have time for prayers & thought and reading - & do a bit of writing - aiming to live as far as possible, as a poor Franciscan tertiary ...¹³⁴

Hawes' writing establishes that in addition to Jack Lothian's work at Hamiltons on Long Island, he also admired the 'rock roof' designs of the Canadian's late 1930s and early 1940s churches at United Estates on San Salvador, Lower Bogue on Eleuthera, and Mortimers on Long Island. Hawes enjoyed Lothian's design solutions, but varied the construction techniques of his own 1940s churches in the Bahamas by simplification – he only used arched limestone roofs without metal reinforcement.

5.3 Hermitage and Chapel of the Holy Spirit, Mount Alvernia, Cat Island (1940-42)

Hawes decided to make his final home at Cat Island, and continued to design and build churches through the 1940s, although his advancing years eventually reduced his output. The design of Hawes' hermitage and chapel at Mount Alvernia follow, at least in part, from observations of ancient sites at Ireland in 1920. This multi-faceted structure undoubtedly takes inspiration from ancient monastic structures at the island Skellig Michael, and the Gallerus Oratory, County Kerry. The round Angelus tower at Mount Alvernia is similar to those at Cashel and elsewhere in Ireland.



Figure 67: Photograph of the Hermitage, Mt Alvernia, Cat Island, from the east, 1995.



Figure 68: Gallerus Oratory, Dingle. <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/gallarus/oratory.html>
August 2001.

The roofs of the cell and kitchen in the hermitage are derived from those seen in Palestine during 1939. Hawes confirms this fact, and an additional Franciscan inspiration for the style of domed portions of the Hermitage:

*When I built the little domes I was thinking of Bethlehem & Nazareth - the style of the hill side houses there - & the Hermitage of The Carceri on Monte Subasio, above Assisi.*¹³⁵

The Cat Island Hermitage and surrounding buildings are constructed of local limestone. They are surprisingly small and primitive - the appearance from afar is misleading. Today the stone walls have weathered to a light grey, with the moss and moisture staining the walls that is typically found on masonry structures in the Bahamas. The arched form (chapel/oratory) domed form (cell and kitchen) and sloping form (guest cell/cloister added in 1942) roofs have smooth render coatings to assist in the dispersal of water. Internally the walls are bare rock, and the floors are the original rock, levelled with cement infill here and there.

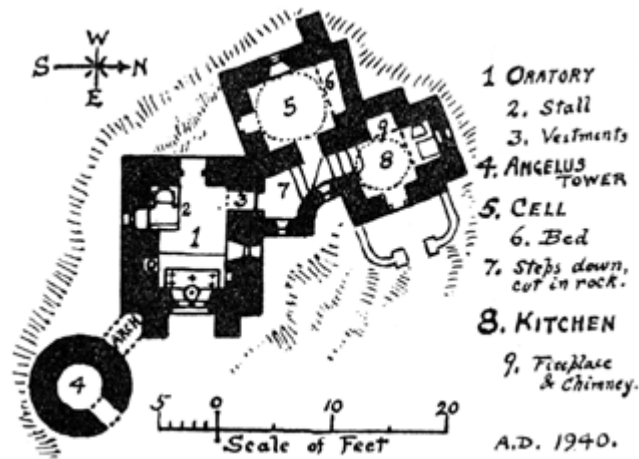


Figure 69: Plan dated 1940 of the Hermitage, Mt Alvernia, Cat Island. From Hawes' *Soliloquies of a Solitary*, 1952, p.17. Courtesy of Rev Dr Benedict Cullen OFM Cap., Irish Capuchin Archivist.

5.4 Church of The Holy Redeemer, Freetown, Cat Island (1941-48)

Work began on the Church of the Holy Redeemer at Freetown in February 1941, initially to seat one hundred, with provision for an extension of the nave to seat another hundred. Hawes sent a detailed description, with photographs, of the initial stages of the Freetown Church to *Liturgical Arts Magazine*, and this includes clues for us on the inspiration for another of his rood triptychs:

The large crucifix or 'rood' hanging above the altar is fashioned after models of the Greek rite, the figures not being carved in the round but cut out of flat boards one inch by twelve inches. The edges are rounded off, and details such as fingers and toes of the corpus are carved in low relief and then all painted and gilded; not coloured with any wishy washy 'art tints,' but with the most vivid and brilliant colours possible.¹³⁶



Figure 70: Rood triptych, Church of The Holy Redeemer, Freetown, Cat Island, 1995.

Hawes made comment on the similarity between his Freetown and Mullewa churches, revealing that Freetown was a development of the same construction of transverse arches, only with side passages pierced in the buttresses instead of the solid internal projections at Mullewa.¹³⁷ As with Mullewa, the transverse arches in the Freetown church bear comparison with both Prior's Bothenhampton church and Lethaby's Brockhampton church. The construction of the side passages in the buttresses to the arches surely follow from Prior's Roker church.

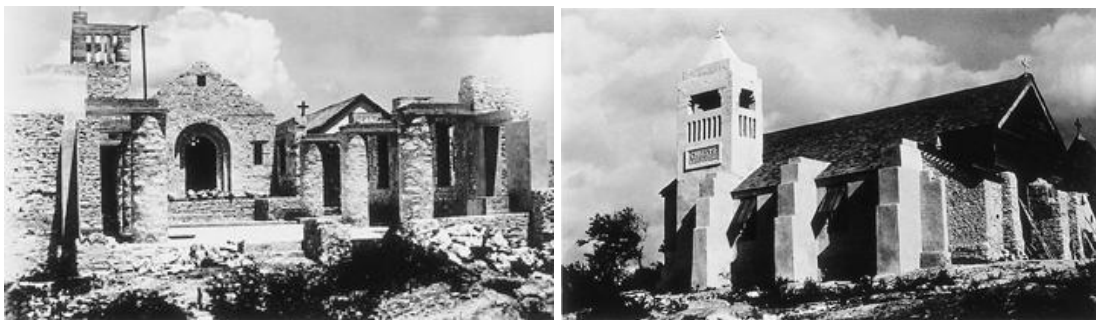


Figure 71: Church of the Holy Redeemer, Freetown, Cat Island, 1941. At left gable end wall, bell tower, and side walls of the church under construction; at right completed first half of church and baptistery at rear. Courtesy JSBL, Acc.No: 8175B/20, 8175B/23.



Figure 72: Church of the Holy Redeemer, Freetown, Cat Island, 1995.



Figure 73: Two exterior views of ES Prior's Holy Trinity Church at Bothenhampton, Dorset. Photograph at left from *Bothenhampton and its Churches* by Cyril Kay, 2nd ed. 1991; at right 2001.

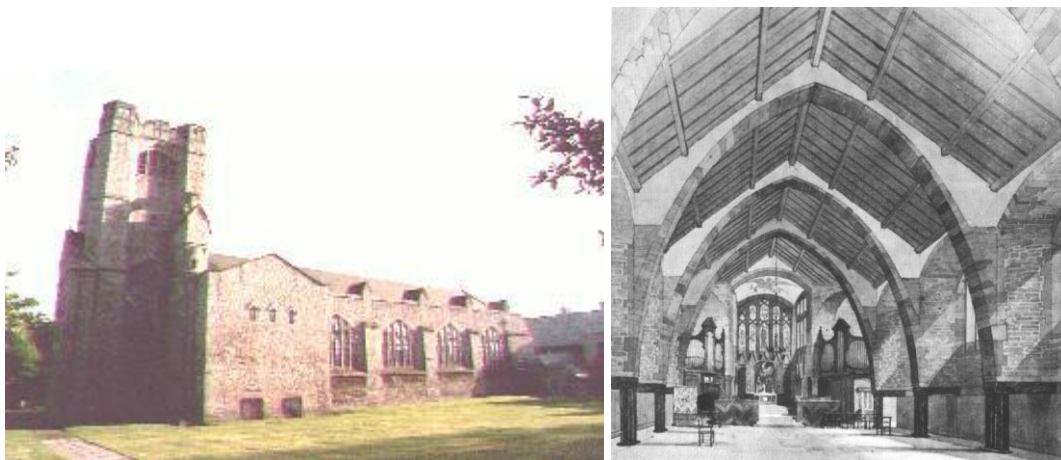


Figure 74: Church of St Andrew, Roker, by ES Prior. Exterior view - <http://website.lineone.net/~pjoiner/genuki/DUR/Monkwearmouth/Roker.html> August 2001; and interior perspective by Prior of 1905. From Richardson, Margaret 1983, p.57.

5.5 Proposed St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat, Victoria (1943-45)

As with the Perth cathedral, Hawes' design task for Ballarat was initially to improve an existing building, but the job soon grew into a completely new design. Hawes received a block plan of the Ballarat church buildings from Bishop O'Collins and noted his own distraction with the design for the cathedral, recording in his usual humour-filled way:

Well now! You've dropped a bomb on the wall of detachment that the poor old hermit was labouring to build. ... Went to bed – tossed about re-visiting St. Ambrogio Milan, & Gerona & Granada Cathedrals & didn't sleep a wink... So I am quite pleased with my sketch design for your Cathedral, its as different from any other Cathedral in Australia as Geraldton cathedral is from Leederville church ¹³⁸ & people won't be able to label it either Gothic or Baroque or any style of period-posing.¹³⁹

In October 1943 correspondence regarding Ballarat, Hawes compares his own design with that of a Catholic cathedral for Brisbane, Queensland, which, like Ballarat, was one that remained unrealised. He also discloses some of his very Catholic-biased views on a few notable cathedrals and architects!

My design for St Pat's is so severe, & free of all unnecessary ornament & decoration – that it will cost a third less for the same amount of cubic space erected, than the over-elaborate design of Henneney's [Hennessy's] for Brisbane & the huge dome there is only an exterior feature - a sham, like St Paul's Dome, London. Not the same inside & out as the Dome of St Peter's Rome. Michaelangelo was a far greater genius than Christopher Wren.

In a letter to O'Collins of February 1944, Hawes states that he thinks St Patrick's is 'quite the best architectural work that I've ever planned yet, - excepting perhaps the little Cemetery Chapel at Utakarra; that was my 'chef-d'oeuvre'.¹⁴⁰

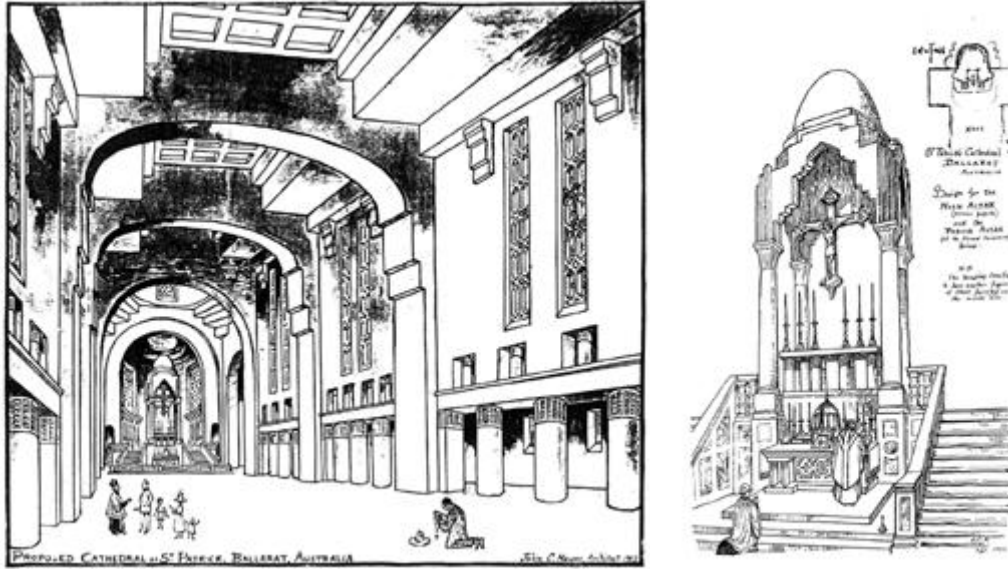


Figure 75: St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat. Sketch design of the nave (looking towards the sanctuary) and of the high and parish altars, 1943. Courtesy DCAB.

Hawes suggests his design 'carries a suggestion of the Roman Basilica with trabeated colonnades like St Maria in Trastevere and St Mary's Major [S. Maria Maggiore], the wide spaced transverse arches like St Prassede, the flat coffered ceiling and apse with baldachinos following the Roman plan, and the regular all over pattern of the windows recalling the ancient pierced marble slab windows of St Maria in Cosmedin [also known as S. Maria in Schola Graeca]. The choir and apse are similar to St Ambrogio, Milan'. Hawes notes that he only thought of the resemblance to the Italian churches afterwards!

Peter Anson noted the influence on Hawes' work at Ballarat of Fr Benedict Williamson's book *How to Build a Church*, with the factory chimney-like twin towers on the west end suggested to be reminiscent of those of a church in Rome shown in the book.¹⁴¹ Hawes had left his copy of this book in Western Australia, so if Anson is correct (and this is quite likely) then Hawes' 'architectural eye' and memory of the concepts was very good.

Hawes' Ballarat cathedral design has similarities to the Battersea Power Station (1932–34) by Giles Scott in its almost brutal massing, which Hawes relates to that of a battleship!

In form and construction I have aimed at the utmost simplicity so that it will be an economical structure. All useless (or merely pretty) ornament and decoration are avoided, in favour of spaciousness and bigness. It will be a big barn of a church, but massive and strong, and I hope dignified. You may think the apse of Ballarat Cathedral resembles the bridge and gun turrets of a battleship! We are all so "war minded" these days that even the hermit engaged in the peaceful planning of a church can't help but give it a fortress look.¹⁴²



Figure 76: Sketch design for St Patrick's Cathedral, Ballarat. View from the south-east, dated September 1943. Courtesy DCAB.

Anson also suggests that the planning of the sanctuary is highly original, and that the design 'quite broke away from the antiquarianism which characterised Geraldton Cathedral'.¹⁴³ In this statement Anson is definitely correct, the very refined and detailed resolution of the altars is quite novel, and so more is the pity that the Ballarat cathedral design was unrealised. Hawes had taken his understanding of church planning, historical reference and the modern liturgy to a new level.

5.6 Church of Sts Peter & Paul, Clarence Town, Long Island (1944-46)

In a letter to Bishop O'Collins of 1944, Hawes wrote of another church he had been designing to be situated at Clarence Town. The church was to seat 200 people and be hurricane-proof; however the budget was to be only £1,000. It was an unusual situation because Hawes had built the Anglican church for Clarence Town over thirty years earlier, and this new church was, in a sense, to compete with it on the Clarence Town skyline:

*...it's a special labour of love as Clarence Town was my headquarters in my Protestant days and I built a big Anglican church with two towers, now I've got to take the wind out of the sails of that! ... It will have 3 towers, a central domed lantern one, and two circular towers ... on the front; so Clarence Town will be quite a place of towers as seen from its harbour.'*¹⁴⁴



Figure 77: An early view of the Church of Sts Peter and Paul, Clarence Town, Long Island.
From Barry, C.J., 1973 *Upon These Rocks: Catholics in the Bahamas*. St John's Abbey Press, Collegeville, Minnesota. p.245 ff. Courtesy St John's Abbey Press.

Following from his Bahamian church building aims, this is the first large church that Hawes managed to build completely of stone, and the acoustic properties of the nave under its arched roof are quite remarkable. The twin west towers of the portside Clarence Town church are appropriately similar to lighthouses, and this composition is easily Hawes' most striking west front. It carries the image of a great white sphinx-like animal sitting with its paws (the long stone steps) stretched out in front.

In the Autumn of 1944, Hawes made very early preparations for furnishing the Clarence Town church by carving a seven-foot crucifix using a pocket knife. He also painted and gilded it.¹⁴⁵ Of this particular Holy Rood group he noted:

... I have made them as gorgeous as possible with brilliant colour and gilding. Our blessed Lady is not portrayed with tears (as in Freetown) but with a sweet pensive virginal face, eyes seeing the vision, through the black clouds ... St John is not the long haired spineless effeminate youth (as alas usually portrayed) but has the strong thoughtful face of a Roman professor of theology at the Angelo. Carved with pocketknife (three blades).¹⁴⁶



Figure 78: Church of Sts Peter and Paul, Clarence Town, Long Island. The rood triptych in the sanctuary, 1995.

In December 1944, Hawes elaborated further on the latest of a long line of liturgical art works that he was to eventually produce:

*Have finished the rood for the new church of St Peters at Clarence Town...
...very simple and restrained treatment...will hang high up in the dim shadow of the stone arched barrel vault, with no clear-storey windows, I have done it in glossy white enamel - the features drawn with a few bold thick black lines - with the smallest amount of necessary shading - the hair is a dark 'burnt sienna' brown, the neck, ribs, knees undercut in low relief and the fingers and toes*

painstakingly carved in fuller detail. There is a simple small blue loin cloth. I got my first inspiration for it from Brittany's early modernistic painter, Guigan [Paul Gauguin], for his 'Christ Crucified in the Buttercup Meadow' [The Yellow Christ] an illustration (rather blurred) that I saw reproduced in the 'Catholic Herald' - but what the colouring is like I do not know as it was just black and white.¹⁴⁷



Figure 79: The Yellow Christ, painted by Paul Gauguin in 1889.
<http://www.albrightknox.org/search.html> August 2001.

5.7 St Augustine's Monastery and College, Fox Hill, Nassau (1944-47)

Hawes' 'Scratchings of a Cat Islander' published in *Liturgical Arts* in 1950 gives us the benefit of a long description of St Augustine's Monastery and College, at Fox Hill near Nassau. This was his 'magnum opus', as he termed it and *Liturgical Arts* records a description of some of Hawes' very practical design theories with respect to this work. Of special interest is his recollection of earlier design training in London:

The very reason I threw myself, as a young man, so whole-heartedly and exclusively into ecclesiastical architecture was the fact that in the London architects' office where I was an "articled pupil" we did little else but banks and pubs. (Public house, somewhat equivalent to an American saloon.) For relief I fled every evening to night schools of art and handicraft. ... Since I had perforce learned to plan out every corner and detail of a bank or a pub, I was quite familiar in my slavery with all the extremes of modern convenience in the building trade. ...

St Augustine's was Hawes' final large project, and consumed a great deal of his final years. In March 1946, the nearly seventy year-old priest travelled to Nassau. Visiting the site at Fox Hill, Hawes found that the new private road had just been completed, and that the summit and slopes of the ridge of the hill had all been cleared. At first a traditional Benedictine layout of the buildings grouped around a big quadrangle was visualised; but when the thick bush on the higher ground was cleared, the project leaders viewed a long narrow rocky ridge of serpentine ground. The architect had to scrap his first sketch plans, and design a completely new layout.

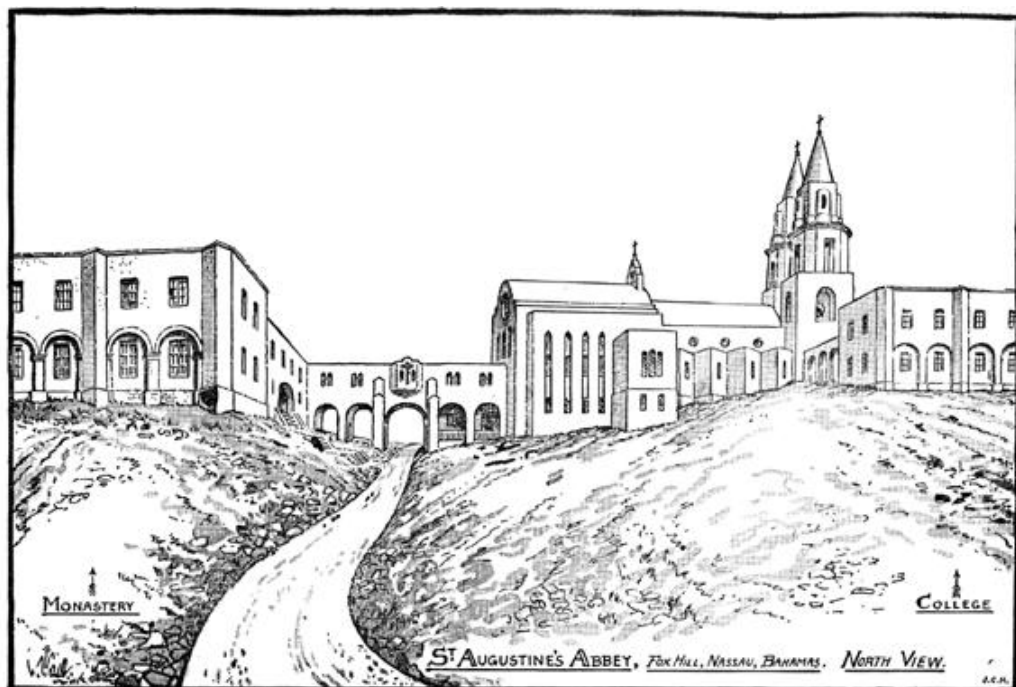


Figure 80: St Augustine's Monastery, Fox Hill, Nassau. Sketch from the north illustrating the relationship between the monastery and the college, with the church in the middle, 1945. Courtesy SAMA.

Hawes said that his theory in building 'of following the exigencies of nature', was the very root of the plan. Hence, 'under mother nature's guidance', Hawes evolved a quite novel and interesting monastic plan, winding in and out, up and down, of monastery, church and college, stretching out eventually to six hundred feet.¹⁴⁸ The many reams of drawings Hawes made for this project included very clever detailing of joinery and rain water pipes, and his triangular buttresses are again evident.

5.8 Advanced, Innovative Liturgical Design: *Liturgical Arts Magazine*

John Hawes wrote a great deal on his theories of the history and development of church design. In addition to the many souvenir brochures, to the descriptions of his churches in periodicals that he wrote, and to his previously mentioned paper ‘Cathedrals’, Hawes wrote a landmark work on the historical derivation of the orientation of churches. In ‘Orientation’, Hawes gave arguments to support the idea that the location of the altar and sanctuary changed from the west end (as at the Holy Temple in Jerusalem) to the east end of a church as a result of the rise in monasticism in medieval times, and resultant gradual change to accommodate the laity in the expanding nave.¹⁴⁹

In ‘Domus Arae – Building a Church: Thoughts for New Churches’ Hawes gave a very specific account of the items which he considered essential in the design and fit-out of a place of public Christian worship. He states that ‘we should aim to carry out strictly all the liturgical requirements of the Roman Ritual which enshrines so many ancient and beautiful usages of early Christian and medieval times; and which has a prescribed place for every detail.’¹⁵⁰ Hawes’ correspondence reveals that he was consistently debating various factors of church design and liturgical expression with fellow clergy, and with many experts such as Fr Benedict Williamson, Peter Anson, and Giles Scott. An example of Hawes’ pedantic discussion on matters relating to the ‘set-up’ of a church and its furnishing is shown in a letter he wrote to the Editor of the *Liturgical Arts* periodical in 1948:

*In several recent numbers of LITURGICAL ARTS there are illustrations showing altars of the Blessed Sacrament with only two candlesticks thereon; one on either side of the tabernacle. ... I had always understood that the Sacred Congregation of Rites decreed there must be six candlesticks (but not a couple of three-branched ones) on any altar carrying a tabernacle with the Blessed Sacrament. ... Possibly there is some recent decree from Rome permitting a new usage or exception to this rule? ...*¹⁵¹

Hawes had fairly fixed ideas on church design, again illustrated in *Liturgical Arts*, where he wrote that he was ‘all that is bad these days; a reactionary, an obscurantist, medieval, and a double-dyed traditionalist’! He abominated semi-circular churches with sloping floors and radiating seats like a theatre.¹⁵² In contrast, although Hawes was immersed in the past glories of church builders, in many ways he could be seen as a radical and innovative new church architect. He anticipated change in the delivery of the liturgy and the need for greater involvement of the laity - well before the Catholic Church formally adopted further twentieth century liturgical change as a result of the Second Vatican Council in 1962-64. For example, when Hawes built his Church of the Holy Redeemer at Freetown in 1941, he placed the altar table in the sanctuary forward of the rear wall - so that the priest faced the congregation when saying the Mass. The tabernacle was placed on a smaller altar in a recess at the rear of the sanctuary. This was a revolutionary action at the time, and Hawes justified his positioning:

*During Holy Mass curtains are drawn across iron screen doors, so that the priest does not show his back to the Tabernacle; at other times it is visible right down the church.*¹⁵³

5.9 Attitude to Modernism

In 1944 Hawes noted that his adoption of modern concepts was tempered with a concern for the work of contemporary ecclesiastical architects:

*Our Catholic ‘Moderns’ – super realists, are now walking too glibly in the rationalist tracks of Le Corbusier.*¹⁵⁴

Some aspects of Modernism agreed with Hawes, others did not, particularly when attempts were made to combine the new with the old. In August 1939 he visited the Benedictine Grange, near Margate, restored to the monks of Ramsgate. In the thirteenth century Gothic chapel, it jarred on him to see an image of Our Lady in stained glass of a Modern style. Yet Hawes praised ultra-modern churches such as Christ the King, Via Mazzini, Rome, and St Antonius, Basle (1926-7) by Karl Moser

(1860-1936) - although he didn't care for Moser's campanile. Again he qualified his Modernist admirations:

But I draw the line at elongated matchbox girder construction such as Lucerne and Xt the King Dublin [sic]. Barry Byrne's first churches are good but his later ones detestable. Notre Dame de Rancy [sic], Paris is A1. There is a wonderful modern church at Cannes or somewhere on the Riviera (my memory is now so bad & I have no books) a cluster of parabolic egg shaped domes – a harmony, a work of genius, absolutely modern, yet every inch a church [sketch].¹⁵⁵

Christ the King, Cork, designed in 1928 and opened in 1931, was by Francis Barry Byrne (1883-1967), then practising in Chicago, and a former pupil of pre-eminent twentieth century architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959). It was a church unlike anything in Europe at the time and in some ways more imaginative in form, if not more technologically advanced, than the groundbreaking Church of Notre-Dame (1922-23) at Le Raincy, near Paris, by Auguste Perret (1874–1954).



Figure 81: Church of Notre Dame du Raincy.

http://www.greatbuildings.com/buildings/Notre_Dame_du_Raincy.html August 2001.

After being replaced by a younger priest when he was no longer able to minister effectively, and undergoing surgery for a hernia when he was 76 years old, Hawes became progressively frail and weak. When he broke his leg in a fall, he was flown to America for treatment, but died in Miami on 26 June 1956, three months shy of his eightieth birthday.

Summary and Conclusion

Hawes used the term *sui generis* in 1949 when describing one of his church designs, and biographer Peter Anson so aptly reused this term for all Hawes' architecture. Anson notes that Hawes was 'a romantic by temperament, in many ways more in touch with the past than the present. ... there is an ageless quality about almost all his architecture, bound up so closely as it was with nature.'¹⁵⁶ A keen student of history, Hawes longed for the opportunity to emulate the monumental architectural achievements of the medieval monastery and church builders, and also for the unusual and solitary life of the historic holy hermits.

One can trace the influence of late nineteenth century English architects such as Sedding, Voysey, Lethaby, and Prior, especially in Hawes' early Arts and Crafts based work, although he cannot simply be placed in any particular 'school' of design. His singularity is due to the fact that Hawes travelled and studied so widely, and readily absorbed so very many influences. To illustrate this facet, Hawes used postcard albums to recall Italian experiences and Californian Spanish Mission influences that were placed directly into his Geraldton cathedral design of 1913, and his Mullewa church carries the mark of Cuban Baroque encountered in his 1920 travels, along with influences from Hawes' study tour of France, Spain and Italy in 1923. Hawes' style certainly evolved over time. This is demonstrated very clearly at the Geraldton cathedral, which developed over twenty-five years, and his design conclusions in 1938 varied considerably from the initial intentions of 1913.

Oddly enough, the Hermitage at Geraldton of 1935 is a straight recollection of Hawes' Arts and Crafts grounding, previously seen in his work of the late 1890s, and this is probably due to the domestic nature of the building. From the early to mid-1930s Hawes embraced a modernistic external aspect combined with earthy Arts and Crafts interiors - whenever *he* was the one who could decide the style for his church designs, and his eclecticism offered an alternative to strict Modernism. The eclecticism is clearly shown in the unique Utakarra cemetery chapel, also of 1935,

which reflects ideas taken from a ninth century chapel in Spain, an eleventh century church in Sussex, and a twelfth century chapel in Ireland! This building could be described as Modern in exterior aspect - but perhaps it is not. Although humble in historical comparison, as Hawes is not a major figure in world terms, it could be termed 'Hawesian', distinctive in its own style.

Finally, and as with the Utakarra chapel, Hawes' Bahamian works of the 1940s are of his own unique style. Confidently resolved, singularly responsive to their sites, and of a powerful beauty, they are products of a minor master's hand. They reflect his views of twentieth century liturgy, and confidence in his own development both as a priest and architect. The planning of his buildings and his artworks became the sum of the man. *Sui generis*.

Hawes brought a keen sense of place to Gunnerton, Caldey Island, the Mid-West of Western Australia, and the Bahamas, with indigenous materials, building practices and technology incorporated into his astute and economical constructions. His great personal experience as a practical builder, and very honest attitudes and responses to local climate, topography and technology mark his works as true products of his own Pugin and Ruskin based Arts and Crafts instincts.

Our interest in Hawes is elevated by the fact that throughout his life, he struggled with what he saw as the inherent conflict between devoting himself to God, and his commitment to architecture. Referring to some of his work of 1939 Hawes notes disdainfully of his preoccupation with architecture: 'The architectural work naturally interfered with my other duties...of the two things I would sooner have been relieved of my care of souls than of my work as an architect. Niceties of design and construction obtruded themselves into my prayers and attempted meditations.' He was to return to this theme, later expressing great regret that his work in Australia occupied so much of his time and impinged on his prayers, and again in the Bahamas, resenting building work when he felt sure his destiny was as a solitary and contemplative hermit.¹⁵⁷ But we can thank God he didn't only practice religion.

Hawes' international portfolio of art and architectural work is very important, particularly in Australian and Bahamian context. Hawes was an excellent Arts and Crafts practitioner - albeit little recognised as yet in his country of birth. He was an innovative, prolific church designer and a craftsman with great skill in a number of the fine arts. His relaxed attitude to style, his inventiveness, and his creative attitude to building techniques and technology show him continually experimenting to produce buildings that grow from a sensitive awareness of the past, yet have a rich sense of place and respond entertainingly and intelligently to local conditions and needs.

Hawes' many works remain today in various states of repair or disrepair – generally the structures are intact, although some have already been demolished. In Western Australia vigorous efforts are being made to conserve his buildings, artworks, and archival treasures, although much more could be done. In other places, particularly the Bahamas, Hawes' work is sometimes neglected due to a lack of both awareness and resources. Perhaps with greater recognition of his work, universal attempts can be made to conserve the legacy of this extraordinary man.

Endnotes

¹ Taylor, J.J. 2000 *Between Devotion and Design*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia. pp.73, 363-64. Costa Rica - additions to church at Limon 1920. It is not yet determined whether the Costa Rican works were constructed in any form. Canada - New church at Bellegarde, Saskatchewan in 1951 (not built).

² Anson, P.F. 1957 *The Hermit of Cat Island*, Burns & Oates, London; Evans, A.G. 1984 *The Conscious Stone*, Polding Press, Melbourne.

³ Hawes' autobiographical diary written in the 1940s, unpublished, pp.1-13. Hereafter 'diary'. Copy in possession of the author.

⁴ Diary, p.13. Paul Pollak, archivist at the King's School remarked in the mid-1990s after consulting records at the school, that Hawes' chemistry and mathematics results were much better than his own comments would indicate. Hawes won the Form Prize in his first year, and the History Prize in 1892.

⁵ Diary p.16.

⁶ Diary, p.18.

⁷ 'The Late James Edmeston', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 5 1898. London. pp.260, 279-80.

⁸ 'Obituary - Edward Gabriel', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Vol. 35 1928. London. pp.320, 375.

⁹ List of works by Edmeston and Gabriel compiled from various indexes to periodicals. RIBA British Architectural Library, 66 Portland Place, London.

¹⁰ Evans, A.G. *op. cit.* p.17.

¹¹ 'Giles Gilbert Scott', pp.17-18. Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 1982. The Free Press, New York. Entry prepared by Gavin Stamp.

¹² Backemeyer, S. & Gronberg, T. (Eds) 1984, W.R. Lethaby, 1857-1931: *architecture, design, education*. Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, London. p.7. With regard to Lethaby's opinions at the time of Hawes' education see Lethaby's paper *Technical Education in Architecture and the Building Trades*, read before the International Congress on Technical Education, published in *The Architect & Contract Reporter*, 30 July 1897.

¹³ Godfrey Rubens records this on page x of his introduction to the reprint of the 2nd ed., 1892, of Lethaby, William Richard 1891, *Architecture Mysticism and Myth*. Architectural Press, London [1974].

¹⁴ For example see Richardson, Margaret 1983 *Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement*. Trefoil Books, London, p.45 showing a design by Lethaby, and many of Hawes' sketch drawings at DCAG.

¹⁵ Diary pp.18-19. The 1896 and the 1897-98 *Prospectus and Time Table*, *The Central School of Arts and Crafts* reveals that the institution was located at 316 Regent Street. It moved to purpose built premises at Southampton Row, Holborn, in 1908.

¹⁶ The first prospectus of 20 December 1896 for the Central Arts and Crafts School is found in archives at its successor, the Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design, Southampton Row, London, WC1.

¹⁷ Evans, A.G. *op. cit.* p.19. Unfortunately Evans does not make record of any documentary evidence to support his statement.

¹⁸ Diary p.19.

¹⁹ An example of Ricardo's historically based writing is *The Revival of Gothic Architecture*. *The British Architect*, Vol. LVIII, 21 November 1902, pp.373-4; 28 November 1902, pp.392-3.

²⁰ Macquarie Dictionary: adj. 1. relating to the gospel and its teachings. 2. related to those Christian bodies which emphasize the teachings and authority of the Scriptures, in opposition to that of the church itself or of reason. 3. relating to certain movements in the 18th & 19th centuries which stressed the importance of personal experience of guilt for sin, and of reconciliation to God through Christ.

²¹ Diary pp.22-23.

²² The other abbey church is the 'Abbaye-aux-Dames' (La Trinité) founded by Mathilda, wife of William the Conqueror.

²³ Diary p.24.

²⁴ Diary p.24.

²⁵ Diary, pp.19-20.

²⁶ Clarke, Basil F.L. 1966, *Parish Churches of London*. B T Batsford Ltd, London. p.29.

²⁷ Diary pp.21-22.

²⁸ With regard to Prior's opinions on architecture and church building at the time of Hawes' education, see Prior's paper *Church Building As It Is and As It Might Be*, an address delivered in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and published in *The Architectural Review*, Volume IV 1898, pp.106-8, 154-8.

²⁹ Diary p.20.

³⁰ The Oxford Movement (1833-1845), was an Anglican High Church group that emphasised its Catholic tradition. Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was the key figure in the concept.

³¹ *Notes on Current Events. The British Architect*, Vol. LVIII, 3 October 1902, p.234. See also pp.235-8, 247 and large perspective drawing of the Westminster Cathedral attached.

³² Clarke, Basil F.L. 1969, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*. Reprint of 1938 edition with additional material. David and Charles Ltd, Devon. p.248

³³ Postcard to Charles Selby-Hall dated 24 June 1914. Copy obtained from Mrs Jane Branch (granddaughter of Charles Selby-Hall) at Teignmouth, Devon, June 2001.

³⁴ Postcard of Angoulême Cathedral kept at PAMM.

³⁵ It is recorded that Hawes visited Paris in 1895, 1915, 1923 and 1939. It is also quite likely that he passed through Paris in 1912, 1913, and 1914 while travelling between London and Rome.

³⁶ Anson, P.F. 1964, *The Building of Churches*. Burns & Oates, London. p.934.

³⁷ Davey, Peter 1980, *Arts and Crafts architecture: the search for earthly paradise*. Architectural Press, London. p.25.

³⁸ Richardson, Margaret 1983, *op.cit.*, p.8.

³⁹ Webb, cited in Lutchmansingh, L.D. 'The British Arts and Crafts Workshop between Tradition and Reform'. *Studies in the History of Art*. Vol. 38, p.182.

⁴⁰ Lethaby, William Richard 1935, *Philip Webb and his work*. Reprint, with additional material, of the 1st ed., 1935. Raven Oak Press, London [1979]. p.111

⁴¹ Davey, Peter 1980, *op.cit.*, pp.46-8.

⁴² Richardson, Margaret 1983, *op.cit.*, p.9.

⁴³ Halsey R. Ricardo, *The Revival of Gothic Architecture. The British Architect*, Vol. LVIII, 28 November 1902, p.393.

⁴⁴ Fletcher, Sir Banister 1896, *A History of Architecture*, 20th ed. 1996, Architectural Press, Oxford. pp.1093, 1124.

⁴⁵ 'The Protest Against Examination and Registration of Architects', reprinted from *The Times* of 3 March 1891 in pp.xxxiii-xxxv of Shaw, R.N. and Jackson, T.G. (Eds) 1892, *Architecture, A Profession or an Art?* John Murray, London.

⁴⁶ Taylor, Nicholas 'Wagnerian High Church'. *Architectural Review*. Vol. 137, No. 817, March 1965. pp.212-17; 'Byzantium in Brighton'. *Architectural Review*. Vol. 139, No. 830, April 1966. pp.274-77.

⁴⁷ Davey, Peter 1980, *op.cit.*, p.114.

⁴⁸ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, pp.182-3. Anson does not mention the source of this quote, it is probably from a letter to Charles Selby-Hall.

⁴⁹ In 2001 this church is leased from the Church of England by the Christ Apostolic Church.

⁵⁰ Pevsner, Nikolaus, and Cherry, Bridget 1983, *The Buildings of England – London 2: South*. Penguin Books, London. p.667.

⁵¹ Clarke, Basil F.L. 1966, *op.cit.*, p.253. As Hawes was in the Bahamas during the Second World War, he may have remained unaware that St Agnes' was bombed in 1941, and eventually demolished for a small church of 1956.

⁵² Davey, Peter 1980, *op.cit.*, p.6.

⁵³ Henry Wilson assisted with the publication in 1892 of *A Memorial to the late J.D.Sedding*, and later with J.P. Cooper in a series of articles on Sedding titled *The Work of John Sedding, Architect*, published in *The Architectural Review* during 1897-8.

⁵⁴ Diary p.21.

⁵⁵ Brandon-Jones, John 1978. *CFA Voysey: architect and designer, 1857-1941*. Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, London. p.10.

⁵⁶ *The British Architect*, March 1890, p.224.

⁵⁷ Richardson, Margaret 1983, *op.cit.*, pp.96-7, 102.

⁵⁸ Fletcher, Sir Banister 1896, *op.cit.*, p.1342.

⁵⁹ Richardson, Margaret 1983, *op.cit.*, p.104.

⁶⁰ Diary p.21.

⁶¹ Comper, J.N. 1947, *Of the Atmosphere of a Church*. Sheldon Press, London.

⁶² Letter Hawes to Dom Michael Hanbury, 7 February 1948. PAAG. Hawes is referring to prominent architect Harry Stuart Goodhart-Rendel (1887-1959).

⁶³ Letter Hawes to Dom Michael Hanbury, 23 November 1944. PAAG.

⁶⁴ Clarke, Basil F.L. 1966, *op.cit.*, p.293.

⁶⁵ Diary p.24. It is not clear who made the model that Hawes admired. The RA catalogue of Architectural Room exhibits in 1897 lists a number of country houses, but does not indicate whether they were shown on a drawing or in model form.

⁶⁶ Diary p.26.

⁶⁷ Diary pp.26-27.

⁶⁸ 'Architecture at the Royal Academy'. *The Builder*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 2882, 30 April 1898, p.407.

⁶⁹ Richardson, Margaret 1983, *op.cit.*, pp.54-5.

⁷⁰ Several key periodicals of 1898, such as *Academy Architecture*, have yet to be viewed.

⁷¹ Diary p.64.

⁷² Letter Hawes to Charles Selby-Hall, 14 November 1933, p.4. Copy obtained from Mrs Jane Branch (granddaughter of Charles Selby-Hall) at Teignmouth, Devon, June 2001.

⁷³ Diary, p.25.

⁷⁴ Saint, Andrew 1976, *Richard Norman Shaw*. Yale University Press Ltd. London. pp.130-42.

⁷⁵ Diary, p.25.

⁷⁶ *The British Architect*, Vol. LVIII, p.112, 15 August 1902. Text, sketches of The White Tower and a doorway of another of Hawes' houses at Bognor Regis, in *West Sussex Sketches* by T. Raffles Davison.

⁷⁷ Brandon-Jones, John 1978, *op.cit.*, pp.39-40, p.53.

⁷⁸ Simpson, Duncan 1979, *CFA Voysey: an architect of individuality*. Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd, London. pp.27-28.

⁷⁹ Diary pp.27,65. The preacher was Rev Richard Rhodes-Bristow (c1845-1914) of Lewisham. St Thomas' was damaged in the Second World War and eventually demolished, possibly in the 1960s.

⁸⁰ Diary p.27, pp.67-8. Evans, A.G. *op. cit.*, p.30, suggests that the claim that his heart could not withstand the rigours of missionary life was either a medical miscalculation, or that Hawes' father exerted his considerable influence with the Missionary Society in the week after Hawes' application.

⁸¹ Diary p.28.

⁸² *The British Architect*; 15 March 1901: St Christopher's Church, Gunnerton, Northumberland. Note later correction to cost and age of font in 22 March 1901 edition.

⁸³ Church souvenir brochure by Brockhampton Parochial Church Council, p.5.

⁸⁴ Diary, p.31.

⁸⁵ For more detail on Carlyle relating to Hawes than is noted in *The Hermit of Cat Island*, see Anson, P.F. 1958, *Abbot Extraordinary - Memoirs of Aelred Carlyle, O.S.B.*, Faith Press, Leighton Buzzard.

⁸⁶ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op.cit.*, p.14.

⁸⁷ *The British Architect*; 9 January 1903: Painsthorpe.

⁸⁸ The term Romanesque does not refer to the architectural style of the City of Rome, rather to the style (founded on Roman architecture) prevalent in Western Europe from the 9th to the 12th centuries.

⁸⁹ Inspiration for the altar design is not evident. Later church designs by Hawes with an altar of the same Romanesque front include the Church of St Andrew, Wemyss, Long Island (1909-10), Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Sutton, Surrey (1912), and Chapel of St Hyacinth, Yalgoo (1921-22).

⁹⁰ For further detail see *Caldey: An Island of the Saints* by Rev. W.D. Bushell, 1908 (reprinted). This booklet is readily available at Caldey and Tenby.

⁹¹ Diary p.33.

⁹² Diary pp.33-4.

⁹³ Diary p.34.

⁹⁴ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op.cit.*, p.20. Other than the drawings published in *The British Architect*, it is possible that Hawes' Caldey designs may remain in archives at Prinknash or Caldey Abbeys.

⁹⁵ Architectural historian Phil Thomas of 13 South Parade, York has produced an excellent series of papers on Coates Carter's work, unpublished, including *John Coates Carter in Pembrokeshire* (Part 2: Coates Carter on Caldey Island) 1999, revised 2000.

⁹⁶ Letters Hawes to A. Carlyle, 26 January 1949, and Feast of St Andrew, November 1951. PAAG.

⁹⁷ Hawes notes this fact in a handwritten list of his work provided to Peter Anson in the 1940s. *Crockford's Clerical Directory of 1908* notes that Adderley was at the Mayfair Berkeley Chapel 1897-1900, and Vicar at St Mark's Marylebone Road 1901-04. Clarke, Basil F.L. 1966, p.134, notes works at St Mark's in November 1903, and February 1904. Examination of parish records may reveal as-yet-undocumented details of Hawes' work.

⁹⁸ Peter Anson notes in the Appendix to *The Hermit of Cat Island* that Hawes worked on the alteration and refurbishing of three churches at Birmingham.

⁹⁹ Diary p.37.

¹⁰⁰ Diary, pp.39-40.

¹⁰¹ *Voice of the Church*, July-August 1991, p.8. Hawes is referring to Methodists John Wesley (1703-1791), founder of the Methodist Church, perhaps also his brother Charles Wesley (1701-1788), and renowned preacher George Whitefield (1714-1770). Hawes is indicating the severe plainness of Methodist churches of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰² Anson, P.F. 1957, *op.cit* p.165.

¹⁰³ Postcard album also containing many postcards of Rome and Italy, PAMM.

¹⁰⁴ Alvarez, Fr F. 1985 *Historical Sites of Graymoor*. Friars of the Atonement Heritage Commission, Graymoor, Garrison, New York, p.131.

¹⁰⁵ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, pp.45-6.

¹⁰⁶ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, p.47.

¹⁰⁷ Hawes, J.C. c.1927, *Cathedrals*. Unpublished, handwritten in notebook form. Original at PAMM.

¹⁰⁸ *The Sower*, August 1916. pp14-15.

¹⁰⁹ Hawes kept a number of postcards of this church and he wrote on one the date August 1913 - the original cards are in PAMM.

¹¹⁰ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, p.64.

¹¹¹ *The Record*, Saturday 15 January 1921, p.5.; and painting of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel dated August 1920 at PAMM.

¹¹² 'Giles Gilbert Scott', pp.17-18. Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 1982. The Free Press, New York. Entry prepared by Gavin Stamp.

¹¹³ Letter Clune to Hawes, 19 December 1922. DCAG.

¹¹⁴ Letter Clune to Hawes, 29 September 1922. DCAG.

¹¹⁵ Letter Scott to Hawes, 17 January 1927. DCAG.

¹¹⁶ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, pp.183, 198.

¹¹⁷ Souvenir brochure of the Church of Our Lady and St Alphege, Oldfield Park, Bath, 2001. p.6.

¹¹⁸ Perth Cathedral entry number 1178, original sketch drawing given to the Geraldton Regional Museum along with other Hawes items by A.G. Evans in 1998. Geraldton cathedral entry number 1321, original sketch drawing is framed and hung in Bishop's House Geraldton.

¹¹⁹ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, p.72, notes that Hawes' travels were in 1933, including a June 6 letter from Seville. Postcards collected on this trip (Hawes kept the postcards for the buildings shown and did not mail them) are found in an album dated 1923 in PAMM. As a further confirmation of timing, Mullewa baptisms and marriages registers confirm that Hawes was there throughout 1933. Anson probably misread Hawes' writing on a letter to Charles Selby-Hall.

¹²⁰ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, p.72. Anson does not record to whom this letter was directed, but it is most likely to have been to Charles Selby-Hall.

¹²¹ Places visited determined from a postcard album dated June 1923. PAMM.

¹²² Evans, A.G. *op. cit.*, p.107.

¹²³ *The Record*, 7 May 1927.

¹²⁴ Letter Scott to Hawes, 17 January 1927. DCAG.

¹²⁵ Hawes revisited Northumberland in 1920, and may have gone to see Prior's Roker church after visiting the Professor at Chichester.

¹²⁶ Souvenir of the Church of Our Lady of Mt Carmel & St's Peter and Paul, Mullewa. c.1928.

¹²⁷ Lethaby, William Richard 1911, *Architecture: an introduction to the history and theory of the art of building*. Revised edition, Butterworth 1929. p.241.

¹²⁸ Ruskin, John 1849, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. 5th edition 1894. George Allen, London. p.339.

¹²⁹ *The Record*, 7 May 1927.

¹³⁰ Evans, A.G., *op. cit.*, p.110.

¹³¹ Hawes to Bishop Kevenhoerster, letter, 23 July 1935. DCAN.

¹³² Diary, p.240-1.

¹³³ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 21 December 1939. pp.7-8. DCAB.

¹³⁴ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 29 December 1939. p.1. DCAB.

¹³⁵ Hawes to Barbara Arnold, letter, September 1941. JSBL. Acc. No. 2599 A/1.

¹³⁶ *Liturgical Arts*, August 1942, Vol. 10 No.4, pp.81-82. Many of the details about the Freetown Church are repeated and enlarged in *Our Lady of Fatima Messenger*, Nassau, 13 September 1949. Published by the Benedictine Fathers of the Vicariate Apostolic of the Bahamas.

¹³⁷ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 16 July 1943. DCAB.

¹³⁸ St Mary's Church, Leederville (a suburb of Perth, Western Australia) is of simplified 'Gothic Revival' style.

¹³⁹ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 7 August 1943, pp.1-3. DCAB.

¹⁴⁰ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 16 February 1944. DCAB.

¹⁴¹ Williamson, Benedict 1934, *How to Build a Church: What To Do and What To Avoid*. Alexander Ouseley Limited, London. Christ the King Church, Via Mazzini, Rome, Plate III, facing p.32.

¹⁴² Anson, P.F. 1957 *op. cit.*, p.178. This is probably from a letter to Charles Selby-Hall c.1944.

¹⁴³ Anson, P.F. 1957 *op. cit.*, pp.178-9.

¹⁴⁴ Hawes to O'Collins, letter, 14 March 1944, p.3-4. DCAB.

¹⁴⁵ Anson, P.F. 1957 *op. cit.*, pp.144-6.

¹⁴⁶ Text (recorded by Tony Evans in preparation for writing *The Conscious Stone*) is not referenced, and is probably from a letter in DCAN.

¹⁴⁷ Diary, p.229. Hawes also discusses this Rood in detail in a letter to Fr Brendan Forsythe, 5 December 1944. SAMA.

¹⁴⁸ *Liturgical Arts*, Nov.1950 Vol.19, No.1, pp.18-20.

¹⁴⁹ Hawes, J.C. *Orientation*, in *Pax*, Quarterly Review of the Benedictines of Prinknash Abbey, Gloucester. Winter 1949. No.253, pp.169-175.

¹⁵⁰ Hawes, J.C. *Domus Arae – Building a Church: Thoughts for New Churches*, in *Our Lady of Fatima Messenger*, Nassau Bahamas. December 1949.

¹⁵¹ *Liturgical Arts*; 'Correspondence' in August 1948, Vol.16 No.4 pp.134-135. A detailed reply from the Editor of the magazine follows Hawes' letter.

¹⁵² *Liturgical Arts*; 'Scratchings of a Cat Islander' in November 1950, Vol.19 No.1 p.18.

¹⁵³ Caption to photograph: *CLOSE-UP VIEW OF MAIN ALTAR, Church of Holy Redeemer*; in *Our Lady of Fatima Messenger*, Nassau Bahamas. 13 September 1949. p.6.

¹⁵⁴ Letter Hawes to Dom Michael Hanbury, 23 November 1944. PAAG.

¹⁵⁵ Letter Hawes to Dom Michael Hanbury, 7 February 1948. PAAG. Hawes may have been referring to the domes of the Cathedral de la Major at Marseille, although this is a 19th century church.

¹⁵⁶ Anson, P.F. 1957, *op. cit.*, p.186. Hawes uses the term *sui generis* for his work (regarding a church at Murtoa in Victoria) in a letter to Bishop J.P. O'Collins at Ballarat dated May 1949.

¹⁵⁷ Evans, A.G. *op. cit.*, pp.139, 187. Diary pp.93-4.

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