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THE PIOUS WORKS OF HENRY SEPHTON

Donald Findlay

Henry Sephton is one of the shadowy figures of provincial Georgian architecture. Little has been discovered about his life beyond the fact that he died at the age of 70 on 2 June 1756; but the brief list of his identifiable works - a country house (Ince Blundell Hall), a (demolished) church, two church steeples and a rejected design for another church - given in the second edition of Colvin's *Dictionary*¹ is extended in the third edition² by the addition of two more ecclesiastical works, one built and still standing and the other apparently unexecuted, and from them two more can be adduced. These attributions are made on the evidence of two documents which have recently come to light.

The first is Articles of Agreement³ signed on 11 December 1716 between 'James Corles of Upholland in the County of Lancs, Joyner, and Henry Sephton of Billinge in the said County, Mason, upon the one part and the Reverend Humphrey Walley, Clerk, Curate of Billinge aforesd [a chapel in the parish of Wigan] & Thomas Mather of the same place, Gent, John Woodworth of the same place, Gent, James Naylor of the same place, Innholder, Henry Orrett of Winstanley in the said County, Gent, and Robert Cowley of the same place, Naylor, upon the other part'.

Corles and Sephton undertook 'to pull down the said Chappell and upon or near the place where the said Chappell is now standing....to erect....one good, firm and substantial building to be made use of as a Chappell for Divine Worshipp, of such materials as are hereinafter express'd and in such form and fashion, size and proporcion as in the proposals and in the several plans or modells hereunto annexed are particularly delineated and described'. The chapel was to be 19½ yards long 'exclusive of the alcove wherein the altar or communion table is to be plac'd' and 12½ yards broad. The 'alcove' was to be three yards long and six yards wide.

The exterior side walls were to be 'adorn'd by five Dorick pilasters on each side thereof and 'a stone battlement....with urns upon every pilaster'. The 'alcove' was to have 'battlements....rail'd and banister'd with stone'. The west end was to have 'four Dorick pilasters according to the said plan....and one tower of stone ten foot square and twenty foot high above the square of the wall of the said Chappell with a cupulo to be supported with [Dorick crossed out] Ionick pilasters according to the said plan'. There were to be three doors, 'vizt one large door in the tower at the west end thereof and the other two at the east end thereof vizt. on each side of the said alcove one'. The windows were to be 'of such forme & supported with mullions of stone and tracery in such manner and so many in number as are represented in the said plans or modells hereunto annexed and the glass shall be the best green glass and well leaded and oyl'd'. The roof was to be 'supported within by six pillars of the Dorick order vizt on each side three of equal proporcion and distance and half pillars from both walls on each side to answer the arch, and that part of the roof which shall cover the middle Isle....shall be laid with beams and dom'd or cov'd betwixt pillar and pillar on every side....and the whole roof....shall be cover'd with good slate such as Joseph Physick of Billinge Slater shall approve', with a lead gutter one foot wide all round with five leaden spouts along each side and one on the east end of the 'alcove'.

The 'roof and all the walls....[were to] be plaster'd with lime mortar and whitened on the inside'. The interior walls of the alcove were to be 'strengthened by three Corinthian pilasters, viz. one in the middle thereof betwixt the two windows and the other two at the entrance into the said alcove vizt on each side of the said entrance one adorned with cherubims according to the inside plan'. A 'convenient vestry and chest' were to be 'made and sett in such places as the

said Mr Walley the clerke shall appoint'.

The materials were to be of good quality. 'All the stones to be made use of for the walls, pillars and battlements....or of any other part thereof (except the flaggs) shall be gotten out of a certaine Delf in Billinge called Billinge Delf or Grindleston Delf' and were all to be at least seven inches thick, of 'ax'd work' and set in lime mortar. The nave and aisles were to be 'handsomely and decently flagg'd with good flaggs' and the floor of the 'alcove' was to be raised on two steps. The 'seats or pews' (to be 'in such method and forme as...the curate....shall direct'), the 'handsome altar or communion table....[to] be plac'd at the upper end of the said alcove' and the 'convenient pulpitt, reading desk and clerk's seat' were all to be of 'Dantzig oak', with the communion table 'fram'd about with rails and banisters of the best English oak'. There was also to be provided 'a handsome carv'd font of stone with a cover for the same', to be placed wher Mr Walley shall direct, and at the west end 'a convenient gallery of oak four yards wide or broad to be seated with three ranks of seats or pews in such manner as the said Mr Walley....shall direct'.

The chapel was to be 'well and faithfully built compleated and finish'd for Divine Service with doors, locks, bells and all other matters necessary thereunto in such manner and form aforesd. before the first day of November which shall be in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred & Seventeen upon such penalty for forfeiture as the said Humphrey Walley Clerk and Henry Orrett shall think fitt'. In return Corles and Sephton were to 'have all the timber and other materialls in the Chappell now standing for the building of the before-mention'd intended Chappell (the bell only excepted)' and £400 paid in five instalments as work progressed. If 'Richard Legh of Winstanley....and John Blackburne of Liverpoole....at any time after the said intended building or Chappell shall be finish'd shall order and direct the payment of the further sum of Ten pounds' to Corles and Sephton, it should be paid. Further, 'if any difference shall happen to arise betwixt the said parties touching or relating to the said building or any part thereof or to the explanation of the said plans or to any the descriptions herein contain'd or to the building of the said Chappell in any wise, then such differences or disputes shall be wholly

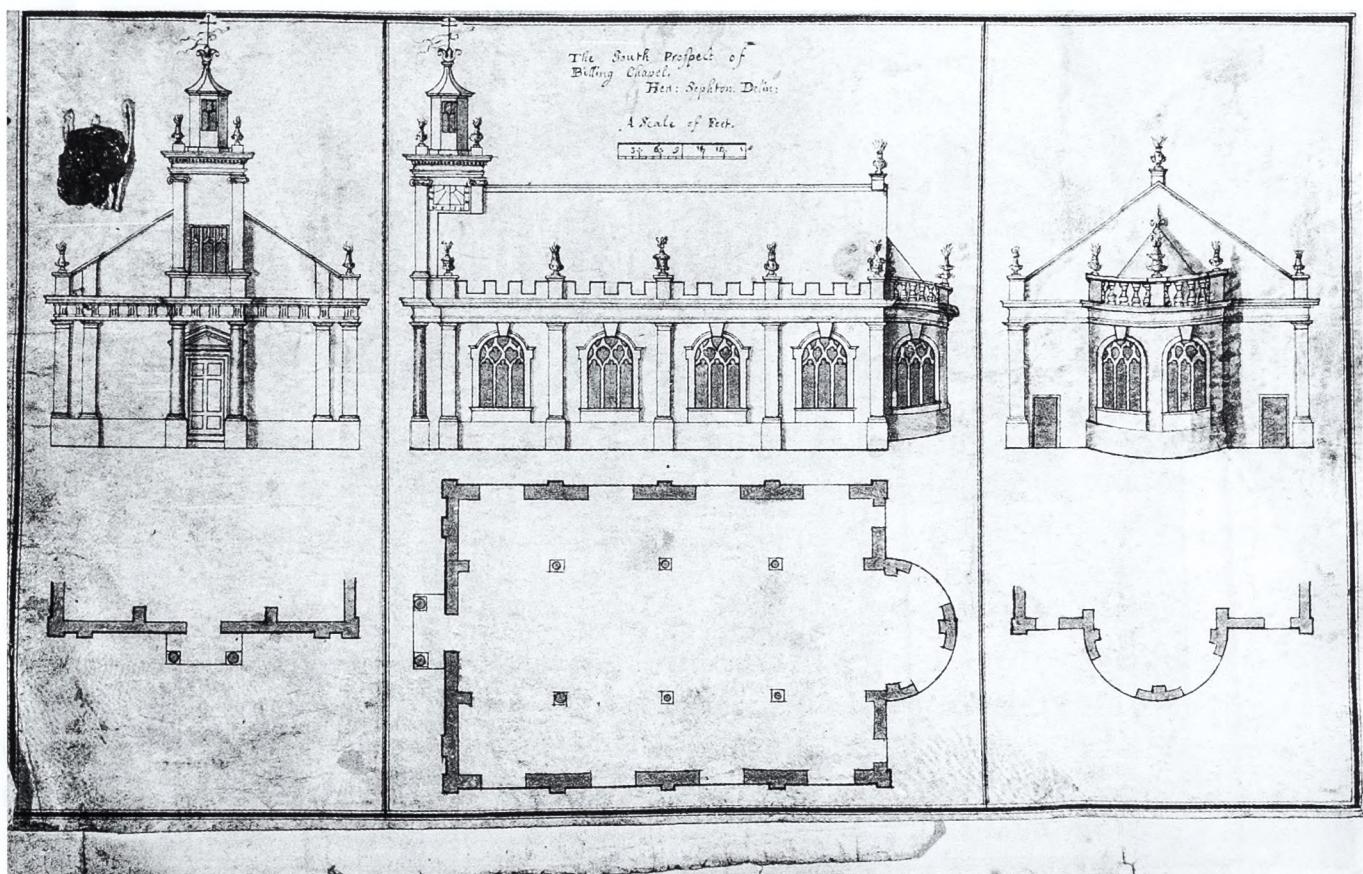


Fig. 1. Henry Sephton, Contract drawings for Billinge Chapel, Wigan, Lancs., 1716. *Wigan Archives Service*.

referr'd to the hearing and determination of John Blackburn of Leverpoole, Gentleman, James Scarisbricke of the same, Gentleman, John Fletcher of Windle in the said County, Gentleman, and James Maddocke of Winstanley, Yeoman'.

Anyone familiar with such documents will know that the 'plans or models' are very seldom still annexed, but in this case they survive - two sheets of vellum, one (Fig. 1) giving the elevation of the south front accompanied by a plan of the church and flanked by the elevations and plans of the east and west fronts, and the other (Fig. 2) a primitive and unusual combination of a cross-section with a perspective view of the interior looking east. The first sheet is inscribed in Sephton's hand 'The South Prospect of Billing Chapel. Hen: Sephton Delin'. Although the term 'Prospect' was normally used to describe a view of a standing building, the fact that these drawings are attached to Articles of Agreement for rebuilding the chapel suggests that in this instance they depict the proposal for the new building.

The first sheet of drawings shows a rectangular body with nave and aisles under one pitched roof and an apse at the east end. 'Dorick' pilasters mark the four bays, a moulded plinth runs at the base of the walls and an entablature surmounted by battlements at the wallhead, with urns of two patterns set above the pilasters. Each bay has a three-light window with reticulated Gothic tracery of ogee lights, within a round arch treated classically, with architraves and keystones. The west wall is broad and windowless, with the plinth and entablature continuing across it. The frieze here is decorated with triglyphs. The plinth is broken in the centre by a pedimented doorway flanked by two free-standing columns carrying a small square tower, round the base of which the entablature continues. The tower, which on three sides is almost submerged within the nave roof, has Ionic pilasters at the angles, a three-light traceried window

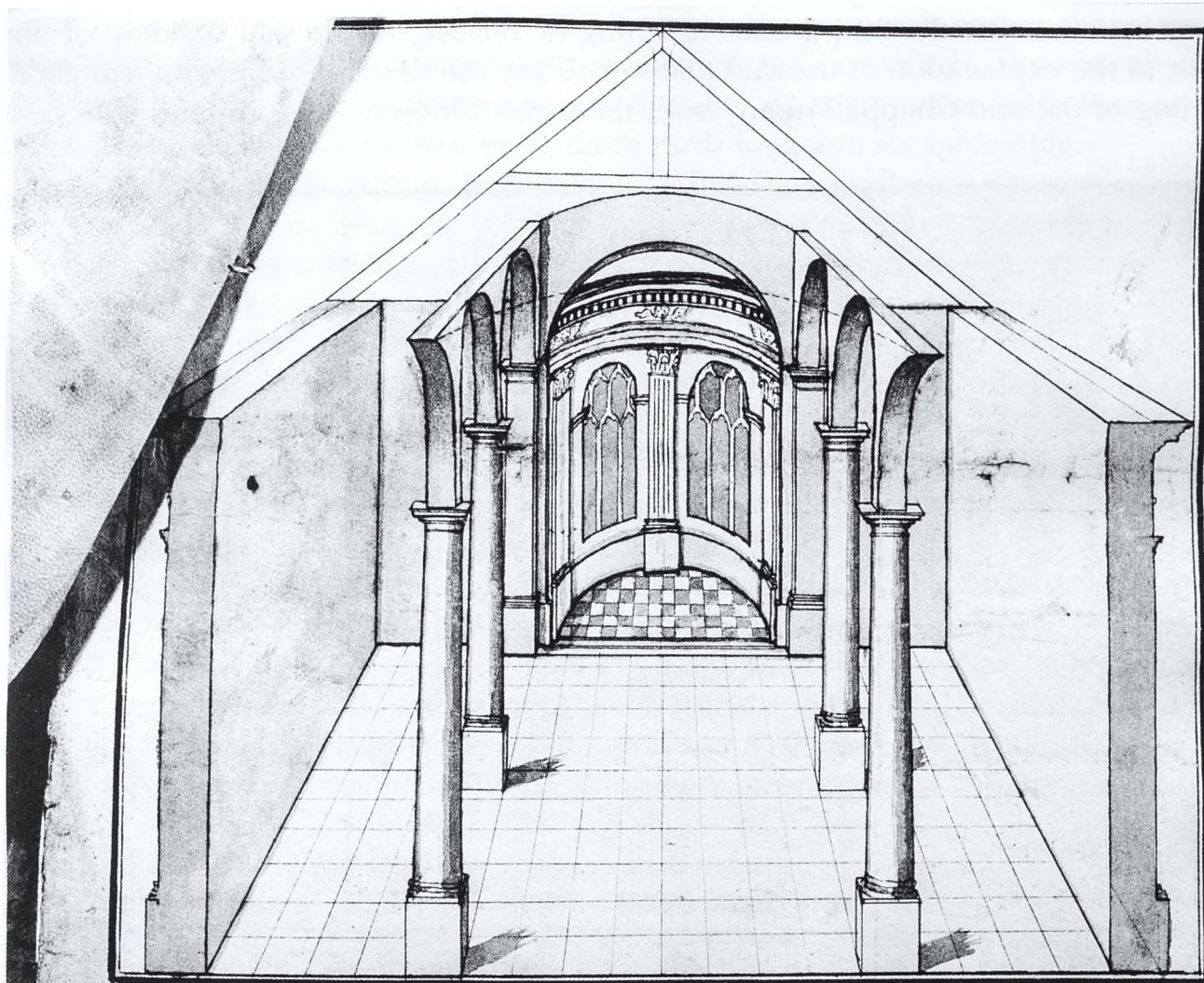


Fig. 2. Henry Sephton, contract drawing for Billinge Chapel, Wigan, Lancs., 1716. *Wigan Archives Service*.

in the lower part of the west wall and a sundial on the small part of the south wall which shows above the nave roof. The parapet has an urn at each corner and the ‘cupolo’ is octagonal on plan, lit on the cardinal sides only and with a tent roof and cross finial. The apse at the east end, set between two plain secondary doorways, is semi-circular, with two windows like those of the side walls and a balustrade upon which stand three more urns. The eighteenth urn crowns the east nave gable.

The interior view (Fig. 2) shows nave arcades with round arches carried on Tuscan columns (perhaps influenced by those at Standish seven miles away). The square stone flags of the nave are clearly differentiated from the chequered floor of the ‘alcove’. The walls of the chancel are articulated by three fluted Corinthian pilasters between which are set the two windows, the frieze carved with a winged cherub’s head in relief above each pilaster and the cornice enriched with dentils.

The leading figure amongst those named in the Articles of Agreement is James Scarisbrick. He is also mentioned on an inscribed board hanging on the south wall, which is painted with his arms, the date 1719 and a text redolent of that Georgian piety which later generations have overlooked or minimised:

In the years
of our Lord 1717 and 1718
By the pious and generous Be
-nefactions of the Gent and Inhabi
-tants of this Chapelry, and the
Charitable contributions of the
Gent Clergy and others of the
adjacent parts of this County,
This Chapel was rebuilt,
But particularly,
By Mr James Scaesbrike of Liverpool-
Merchant, who was the first mover
thereto and who out of his zeal for
Gods honour, and as a noble founda
-tion for soe good a work, did, out
of his own free will, most generously
subscribe and immediately pay down
The sum of two hundred pounds
Them yt honour me, I will honour saith ye Lord.
James Winstanley Warden 1721.⁴

Scarisbrick or Scaesbrike was a well-known man in Liverpool, mentioned several times in Picton’s *Municipal Archives and Records*, where he is described as ‘Mariner’, ‘Merchant’ and, in his will, ‘Gentleman’. His place of business, and possibly at one time also his residence, was in Poole Lane (now South Castle Street). He was by far the highest ratepayer in the street, indeed one of the seventeen highest ratepayers in the southern part of the rapidly expanding town, and he was churchwarden of St Peter’s, Liverpool (built in 1704) in 1706. He is described as the ‘prime mover’ in the rebuilding of the chapel. He contributed £200 towards it, which must have been the largest donation. He was assigned a good pew (the third from the east on the south side, between the Bankes and Gerard families to the east and the curate’s pew to the west) the brass plate from which, inscribed ‘James Sceasbrick, Elizabeth Sceasbrick, of Liverpoole, 1721’, is now fixed to the south wall, so he must have attended the chapel fairly often. If his evidently close involvement with the rebuilding of Billinge Chapel at first seems odd, there is a possible explanation. Scarisbrick’s sister Marjory had married Peter Rainford, also ‘of Liverpool’, who



Fig. 3. Billinge Chapel, Wigan, Lancs. F.H. Crossley, by kind permission of Canon M.H. Ridgway and The Courtauld Institute of Art.



Fig. 4. Billinge Chapel, Wigan, Lancs.: interior before the addition of the chancel in 1907-8. Wigan Archives Service.

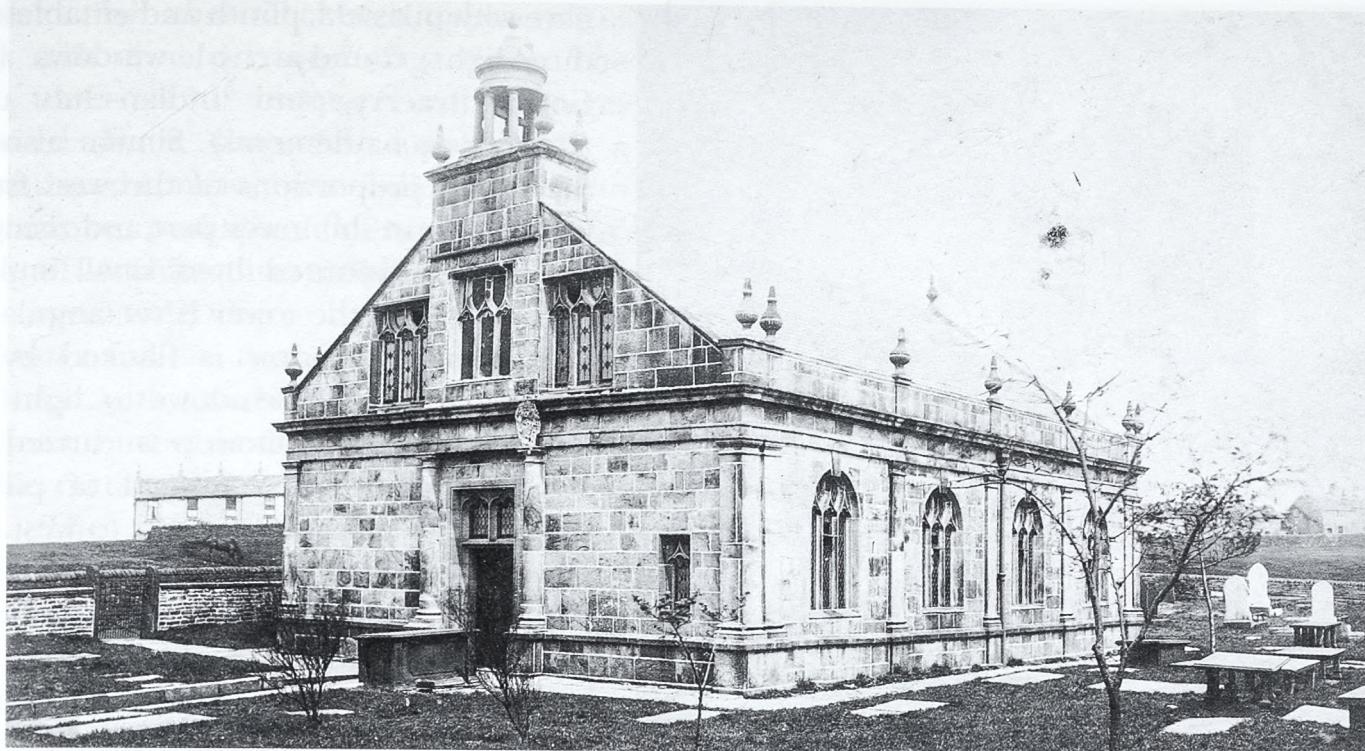


Fig. 5. Over Darwen Chapel, Lancs., 1722. *Council for the Care of Churches*.

leased Winstanley in Billinge, and James Scarisbrick presumably stayed frequently with them there. His rebuilding enterprise at Billinge may have been inspired by seeing St Peter's Liverpool being built.⁵

As built, the chapel at Billinge (Fig. 3) is a charming essay combining rustic Baroque ornament with Gothic tracery and embattled parapets, departing only in a few details from the drawings. Instead of a pediment over the west doorway there is an ungainly block of masonry probably intended for carving. The date on the lintel is 1718, which suggests that the builders did not meet their deadline⁶. Dentils appear only on the entablature of the tower and above the pilasters at each end, not across the whole west nave wall. The roof pitch runs a little more steeply, rising too high on the south tower wall to allow room for the sundial. The urns on the parapets are not of two alternating designs but of one Indian-club-like design. The 'cupulo' on the tower is circular with columns and a little dome. The details of the interior of the apse as built (Fig. 4) were also slightly different: the two windows were separated by a pair of pilasters, the whole frieze was carved with foliage between the cherubim, and the cornice had dentils only where it broke forward over the pilasters.

The seating capacity of the original west gallery was augmented by the addition of north and south galleries in 1823-4⁷. In 1907-8⁸ Sir Thomas Jackson (an excellent choice for a church in this hybrid style) provided a chancel by taking down the apse and rebuilding it further east, inserting transepts between it and the nave. He seized the opportunity to revise the apse fenestration; it now has three rather than two windows, in order to allow the more orthodox arrangement of a window rather than a pair of pilasters behind the altar. During the work it was found that Corles and Sephton had indeed re-used some oak beams from the previous chapel in the pew platforms⁹. Jackson also removed the north and south galleries, leaving the original west gallery spanning the whole width of nave and aisles. The other original furnishing which remains is the handsome Baroque communion table, now in the south aisle. A brass chandelier is probably a little later in date.

Henry Sephton's authorship of Billinge chapel allows us to attribute two more undocumented works to him on stylistic grounds. The first is the chapel built to an almost identical design at Over Darwen (Fig. 5) in 1722¹⁰. Like Billinge, it has a four-bay rectangular



Fig. 6. Hoole Church, Lancs: tower and west end, 1722. *David Oldroyd.*

of Hoole Church (Fig. 6) was extended by one bay and improved by the addition of a tower¹¹. Here the tower is square on plan, carried partly on free-standing columns within the nave and partly, on the west front, on half-columns taking a blind arch which frames the doorway and an oculus above it; these are reminiscent of Billinge and Darwen, as are the Indian club urns on the nave gable and south porch, the Gothic-traceried round-arched belfry windows and the presence of a sundial (probably given its present form in 1875, the date which appears on it) on the south tower wall above the abutment of the nave roof. A new feature is the quartet of decidedly Gothic crocketted pinnacles crowning the tower, in contrast to the urns on the nave gables and the south porch.

Of Sephton's next recorded work, a rejected design for St George's Church in Liverpool (c.1726), nothing is known¹³, but in 1729 he rebuilt the tower and spire of Prescot Church¹⁴. The tower, although retaining a sixteenth-century Gothic west doorway, is an ostensibly classical design; its tall plinth and prominent cornice make it appear as a giant pedestal for the belfry stage, which is dressed with paired pilasters and a triglyph frieze (Fig. 7). But the odd uncusped circular tracery lights of the west window and the returned ends of the hoods of the belfry openings still show a hankering after Gothic. The west wall of the stage below the belfry is pierced by a round window with a moulded surround broken by a mask at the top, and the spire itself is slender, with three tiers of Y-traceried lucarnes.

The second document which gives direct evidence of a church design by Sephton is a group of papers comprising two alternative proposals for a new chapel at Rochdale¹⁵, accompanied by a schedule of work for 'Rochdale intended Chapple' dated 25 January 1738, which gives an estimated cost of £700¹⁶. Both designs are for a larger building than Billinge or Darwen, laid out on the standard urban plan with a five-bay rectangular body with three galleries on pillars, a small rectangular recess for the communion table at the east end and a tower at the west end. One set, which comprises drawings of a south elevation, west elevation, plan and two cross-sections (east-west and north-south) is signed by Henry Sephton on each of the three sheets.

nave with pilasters, plinth and entablature, three-light round-arched windows with Gothic tracery, and Indian-club urns (though no battlements). Similar also are the broad proportions of the west front, windowless in the lower part and rising to a tower surmounted by a small cupola; although here the tower is rectangular in plan and its window is flanked by an additional pair of windows to light the west gallery. The tower is carried on applied half-columns instead of pillars, since it is shallower from east to west and scarcely breaks forward from the wall face. (The small window at the south end of the west front is a later introduction; the cupola later gave way to a late-Victorian Gothic bell-cote; and the east end was entirely rebuilt in 1937-40, losing the apse, and in a less sympathetic manner than Jackson's work at Billinge¹¹).

In the same year as the building of the chapel at Over Darwen, the west end

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It is for a plain classical church, apparently of brick with stone dressings (Figs. 8-11). The west tower is of three receding stages crowned by a flattened cupola with a pronounced concave base of slightly German appearance, perhaps influenced by Gibbs' Book of Architecture, published in 1728. The nave walls have bays separated by buttresses and two tiers of segmental-arched windows with three lights divided by mullions but without tracery. There is a simple rectangular sanctuary under a pent roof. The other drawings show typical Sephton features such as a west wall of broad proportions with only one window, which is circular with a mask at the top, over the west doorway, and a small cupola with a fancy vane. A feature more urbane than anything in his earlier work is the Venetian window in the east chancel wall.

The alternative scheme (Figs. 12-14) comprises three sheets of drawings showing a Gothic version of a church laid out on the same plan. Although these drawings are not signed, that of the side elevation, here of the north flank (Fig. 12), has many characteristics of Sephton's Gothic style. Three-light windows rising full height in each bay of the nave have round heads enclosing simple tracery circles not unlike the tower window tracery at Prescot. Over them are hoods with a central ornament and leaf drops under the returned ends. The bays are marked by buttresses rising above an embattled parapet into crocketed pinnacles. The tower has buttresses terminating in similar pinnacles above an embattled parapet, and round-headed belfry openings of two lights, again with foliate drops below the returned ends of the hoods.

The specification of work for Rochdale chapel is a draft, much more sketchy than the Billinge agreement. It does not mention Sephton, though it does name a Mr Fisher, perhaps an unidentified local architect, three times; nor does it tie in exactly with either set of drawings, though it is closer to the first than the second. Although the building was to be larger than Billinge, 24 yards by 16 yards, the specified materials were less expensive. The walls were to be of brick 'upon a course of dressed stone above the surface of the ground on the north side and south side and both ends to be dressed stone that appear under the said ground tabling'. Stone dressings were also to be used for the 'corners and the doorsteads and windows', with the proportions of the doors and windows being 'according to Mr Fisher's plan'. There were to be 'eight side butt[ress]s' and 'one do. at the west end to strengthen the balcony', with one door at the east end and one at the west. The roof was to be slated and the 'alcove' was to be 'made according to Mr Fisher's plan'. The eight pillars 'to the loft' were to be 'of brick....with a large stone capital at the top then wood pillars above to the roof - without sap'. 'From the east end to the second pillar to be seated with oak and all above the sitting part to be raised pannels, under

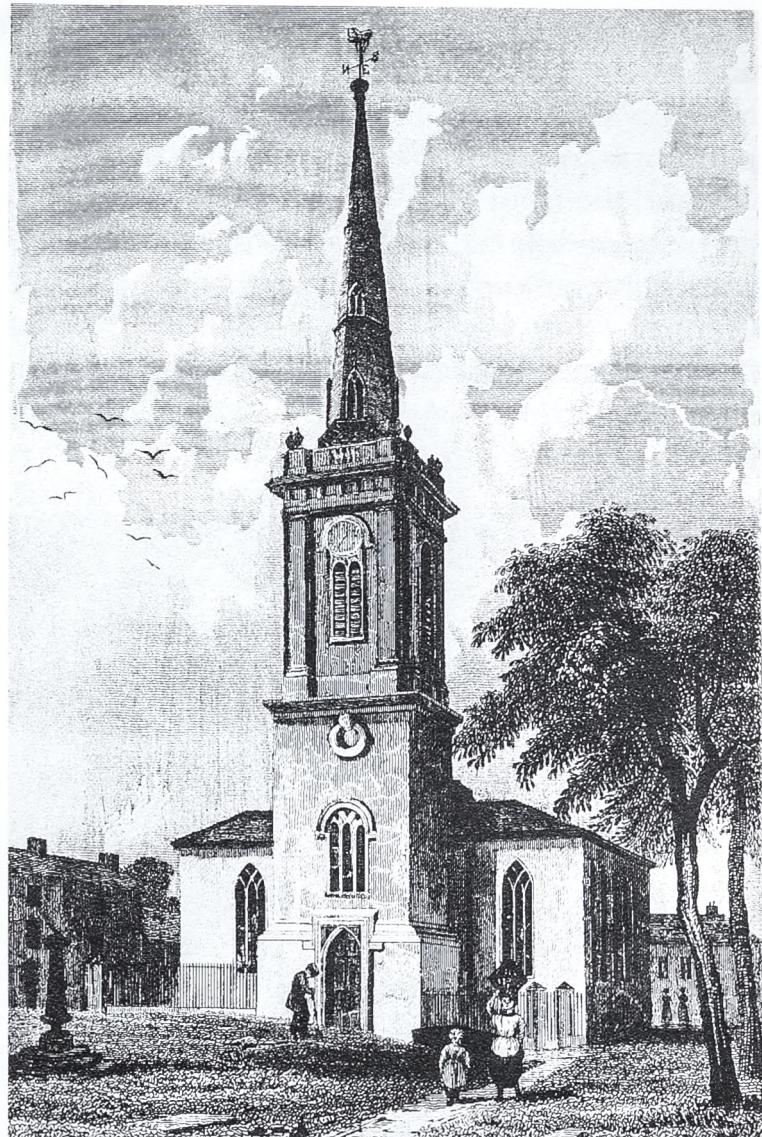


Fig. 7. Prescot Church, Lancs: tower and spire, 1729.
Engraving in "Lancashire Illustrated" (London, Henry Fisher, Son, &r Peter Jackson), 1829.

the seat plain oak and bottoms to be boards and the rest of the chapel to be flagged wt. do. flags and seated with plain forms of deal planks'. The pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk and the communion table rails were to be of oak without sap. A 'gallery from the west end to the first pillar' was to be 'divided into seats at the discretion of the gentlemen', the stairs were to be of oak and the front of the gallery 'neatly [?] raised all without sap'. The walls were to be plastered and 'the middle part [of the ceiling was] to be coved if the gentlemen require it'.

The building eventually erected in 1740-2¹⁷ was taken down in 1909 to make way for J.N. Comper's church of St Mary Wardleworth¹⁸. A sketch of it taken in 1908 seems to show a towerless five-bay chapel lit by plain round-headed untraceried windows, with a tiny cupola perched on the nave ridge, which suggests that neither of Sephton's surviving proposals was adopted. Perhaps Fisher's was.

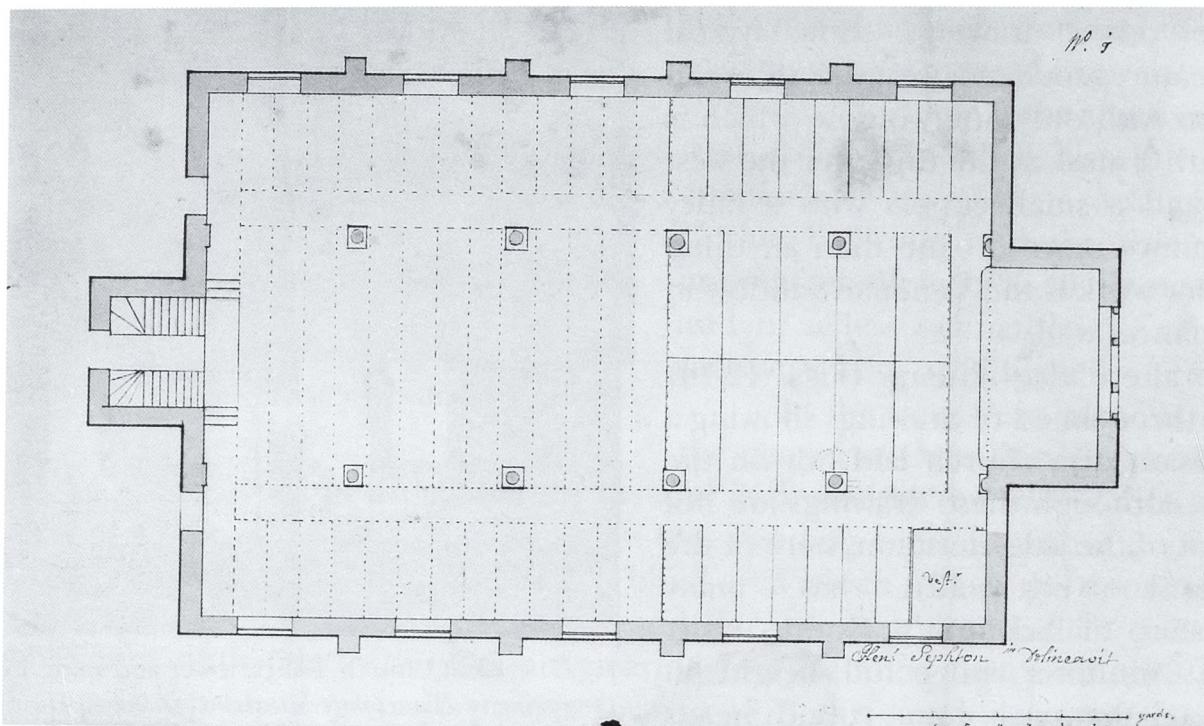


Fig. 8. Henry Sephton, Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., 1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1432*, by permission of the County Archivist.

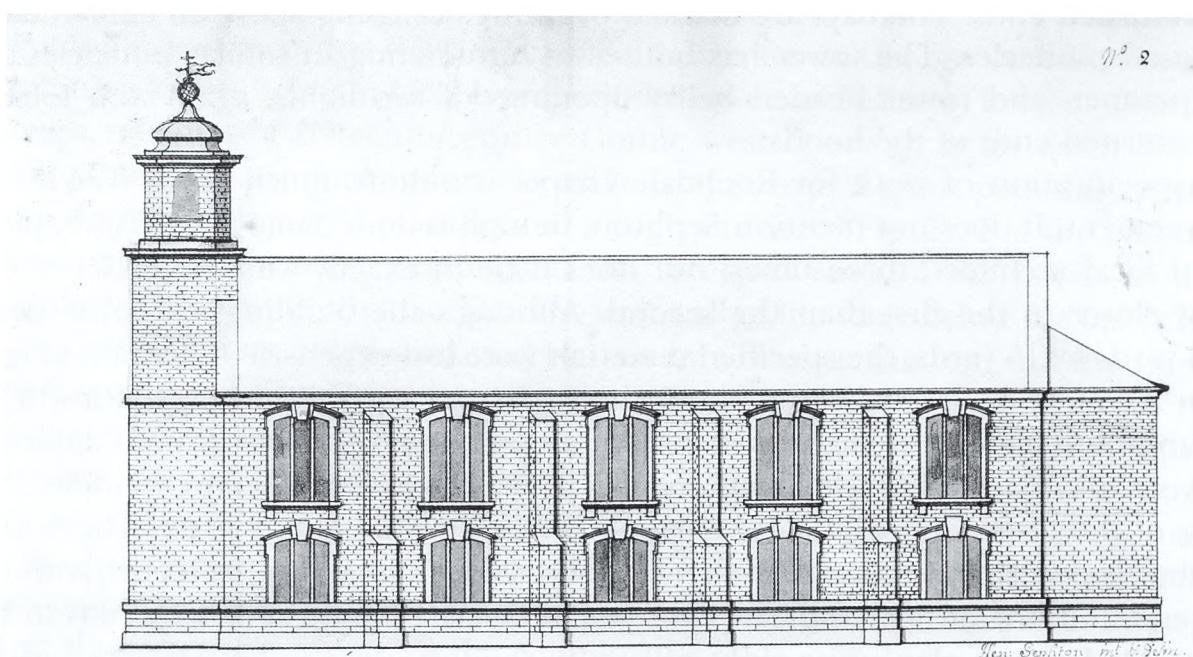


Fig. 9. Henry Sephton, Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., 1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1432*, by kind permission of the County Archivist.

At the two Liverpool churches, St Nicholas and St Thomas, with which Sephton was involved in the later 1740s, he seems to have acted as a contractor executing designs prepared by others. Thomas Gee was the designer of the rebuilding of the spire at the former church, and 'Messrs Sephton and Smith' carried out the work¹⁹; the spire fell in 1810 just before divine service, with fatal consequences for some of the charity girls seated in the gallery below²⁰. An obituary²¹ of Sephton's wife tantalisingly states that he was 'an eminent architect and mason who built St Thomas's church'. Did Sephton design it? On the evidence of Burdett and Rooker's engraving (Fig. 15) it seems unlikely, for it shows no characteristics of his style, but John Eyes, Surveyor to the Corporation of Liverpool, was also involved in some way²², so here too Sephton was probably the building contractor.

Sephton's swansong was the rebuilding of the west tower of Lancaster Priory Church. In 1722 the vicar and churchwardens had added two bells to their ring of four, and in 1743 they had decided to increase it further to eight and to heighten the tower by 30 feet²³. Completed in 1747, this work almost immediately caused alarm, and in 1753 they demolished not only the

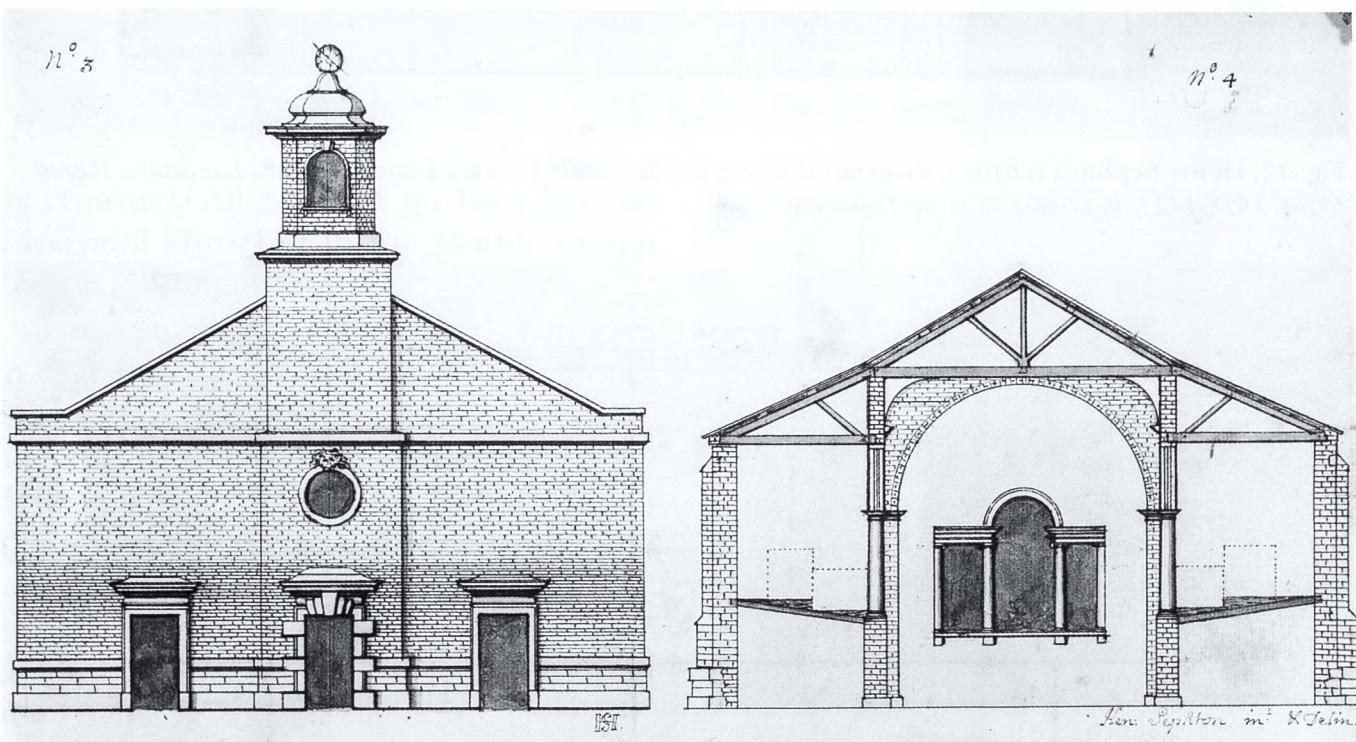


Fig. 10. Henry Sephton, Proposal drawings for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., 1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1423*, by kind permission of the County Archivist.

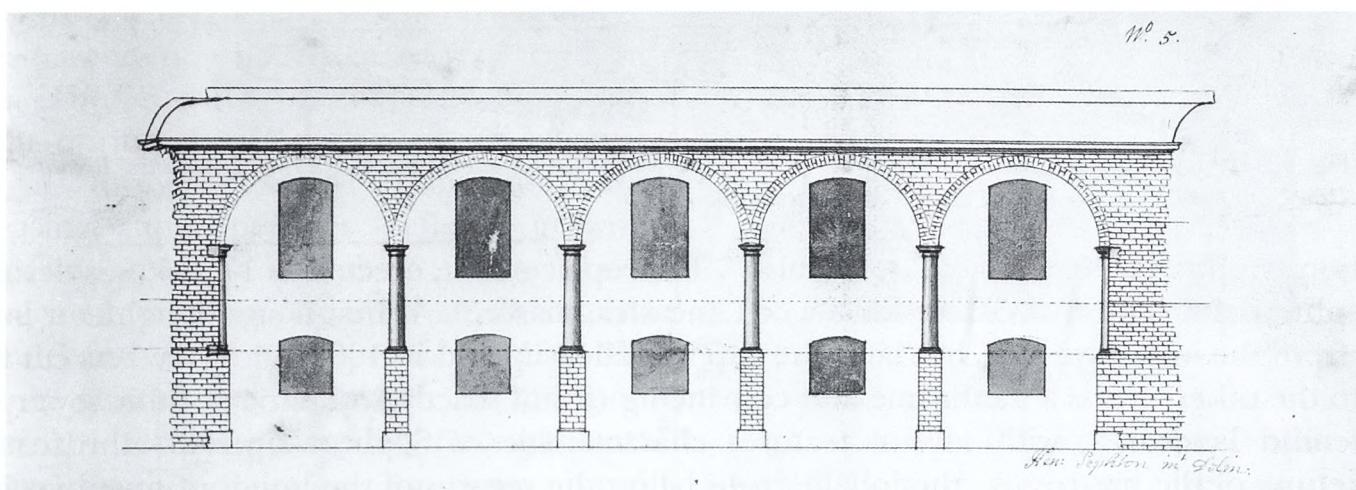


Fig. 11. Henry Sephton, Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., 1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1423*, by kind permission of the County Archivist.

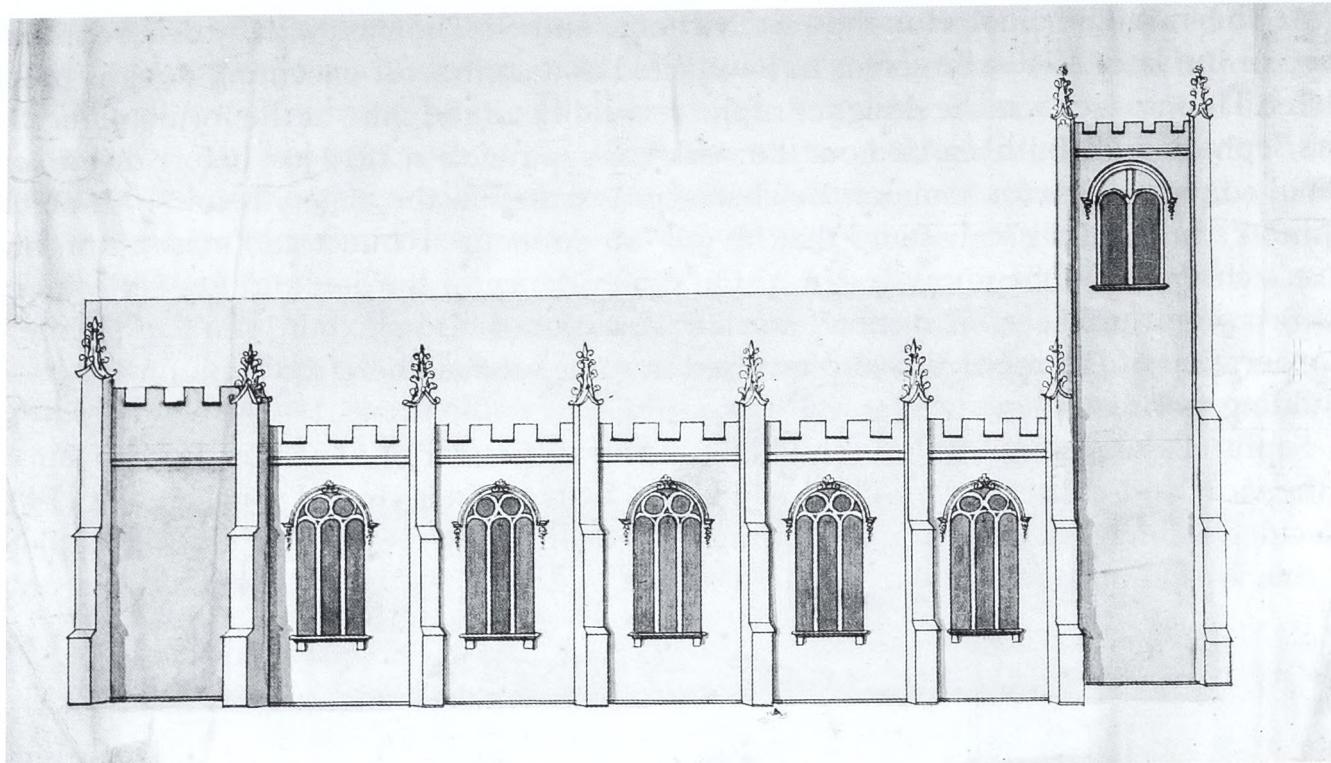


Fig. 12. Henry Sephton (attrib.), Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., c.1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1423*, by permission of the County Archivist.

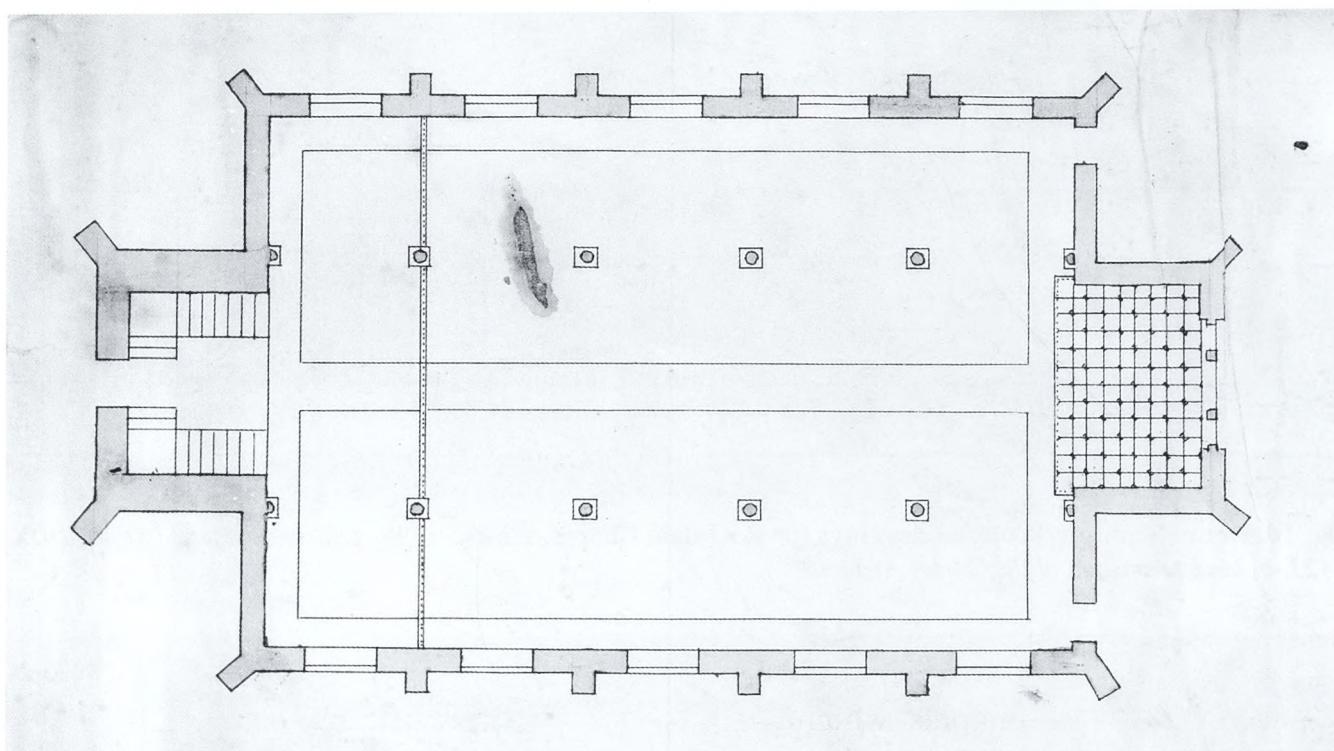


Fig. 13. Henry Sephton (attrib.), Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., c.1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1423*, by permission of the County Archivist.

addition but the whole mediaeval tower also²⁴. The replacement, erected in 1753-4, was designed by Sephton and built by William Kirkby of Lancaster, mason²⁵. At first it stood eighteen inches away from the west nave wall, but later the gap was filled up and in 1903 a doorway was cut from one to the other²⁶. It is a handsome and convincing (if not strictly authentic) Gothic tower, and a splendid landmark, with several features characteristic of Sephton's work - the feathery crocketting of the buttresses, the foliate drops below the returns of the hoods of openings in all three stages (the south doorway, the re-used late mediaeval window above it, and the belfry openings) (Fig. 16), and the oddly small crocketted pinnacles with which the buttresses are

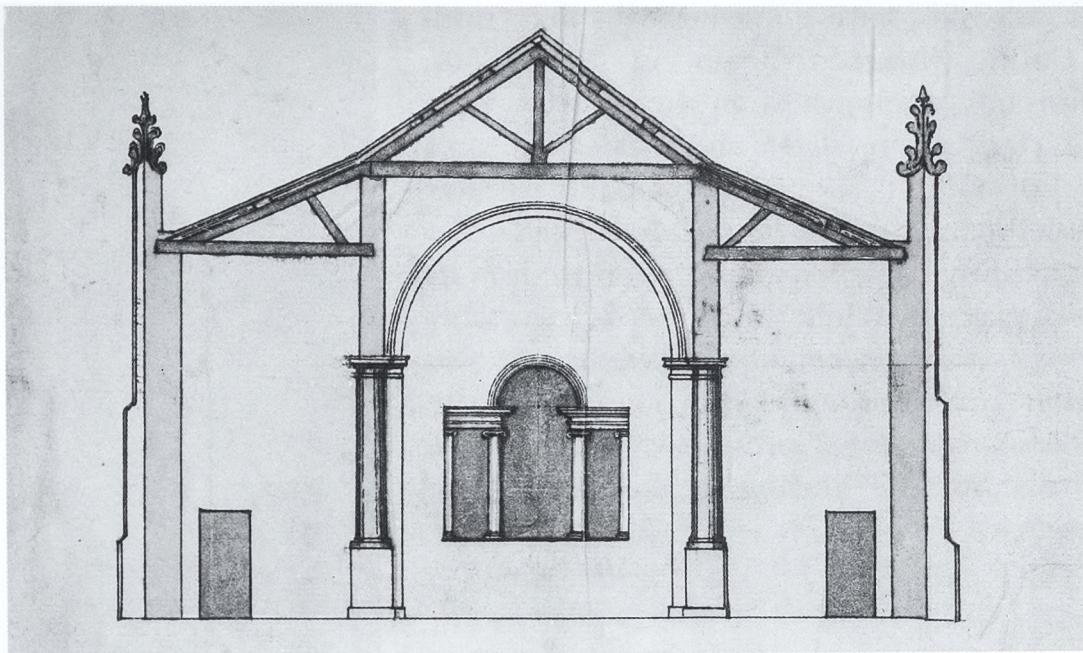


Fig. 14. Henry Sephton (attrib.), Proposal drawing for Rochdale Chapel, Lancs., c.1738. *Lancashire Record Office, DDX 1423*, by permission of the County Archivist.

finally crowned. All of them go back beyond the Liverpool churches to the Gothic design for Rochdale Chapel.

Two surviving Lancashire churches which may have been influenced by Sephton, though not necessarily designed by him, include the old church at Tarleton of 1719 which has a small oblong tower (heightened in 1824), Indian club urns and a two-windowed apse, and Formby of 1746, where the west wall of the tower was at first carried on free-standing columns, the space which they enclose having been later filled in.

Lancashire had an enormous number²⁷ of Georgian churches, far more than any other county. In common with the Pennine parts of Yorkshire, the original parishes were very large, with dependent chapelries serving outlying areas. The number of chapels which were rebuilt during the Georgian period suggests that a formerly sparse population was increasing, and perhaps reflects growing prosperity. Many of them have been demolished²⁸ leaving not even an illustration behind, and it is very probable that 'the leading mason and architect in Liverpool during the second quarter of the eighteenth century' produced designs for more church buildings of which all evidence has vanished beyond trace. The surviving buildings and the

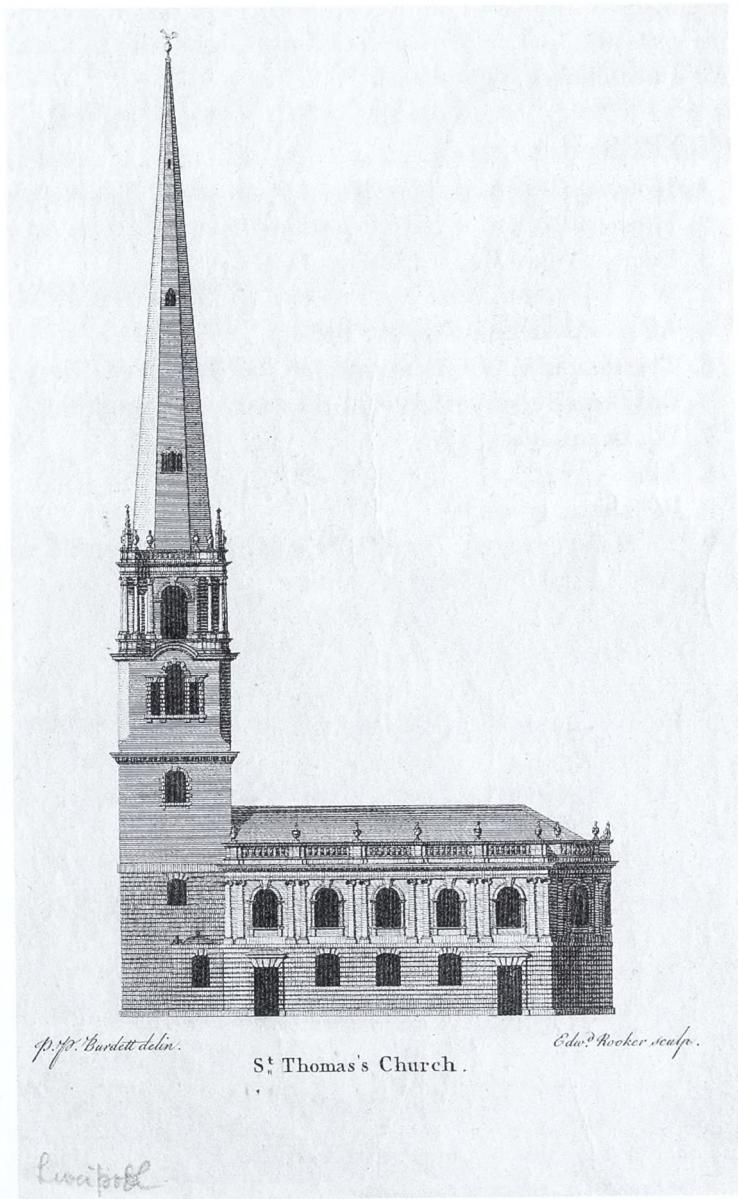


Fig. 15. St. Thomas's Church, Liverpool, Lancs. Engraving by Burdett and Rooker

pictures of those which have gone indicate that, until interest in Gothic flowered again in the 1750s, Lancashire churches, as elsewhere in the country, were almost always classical in style, and that Sephton's persistent use of Gothic motifs, principally window tracery, embattled parapets and pinnacles, suggests that he was almost alone in respecting Gothic for its ecclesiastical associations. While this allows us to identify his church designs with reasonable confidence, it also provides another contribution to the ongoing debate between those who argue for "Gothic Revival" and those who claim "Gothic Survival" during the first half of the eighteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Sir Howard Colvin for telling me about the Rochdale drawings and for his comments on the text of this article, to the archivists of the Diocesan Record Offices at Wigan and Preston during my visits and for the provision of illustrations, and to Richard Hewlings for a number of suggestions.

NOTES

1. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978, 726.
2. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven & London, 1995, 857-8.
3. Leigh, Wigan Record Office, D/DZ A 13/8.
4. W A Wickham, *Some Notes on Billinge*, St Helens, 1968, 10.
5. All from Wickham, *op cit*, 10-14.
6. The chapel is not mentioned in the Bishop of Chester's register of consecrations, presumably because consecration was thought superfluous in the case of a rebuilding.
7. Wickham, *op cit*, 17.
8. *Idem*.
9. Wickham, *op cit*, 9.
10. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Lancashire*, Harmondsworth, 1969, 113.
11. *Idem*; no original fittings survive.
12. *Ibid*, 146.
13. Colvin, *op cit*, 1995, 857.
14. *Ibid*, 858.
15. Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDX/3-6, 7-9.
16. *Ibid*, DDX/10.
17. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South Lancashire*, Harmondsworth, 1969, 375-76.
18. *Idem*.
19. Colvin, *op cit*, 1995, 857.
20. Anon, *The Story of the Church of Our Lady and St Nicholas, Liverpool*, guidebook, c.1935, 19.
21. Colvin, *op cit*, 1995, 858.
22. *Ibid*, 358.
23. L I Cowper & E M J Cowper, *The Priory Church of St Mary, Lancaster*, Manchester, [c 1946], 11.
24. *Idem*.
25. *Idem*.
26. *Idem*.
27. My researches have so far shown that at least 156 Anglican churches and chapels were built or rebuilt in Lancashire between 1700 and 1820, quite apart from new churches provided by the Commission for Building New Churches after 1818.
28. At least 108 of the 156 have been demolished.

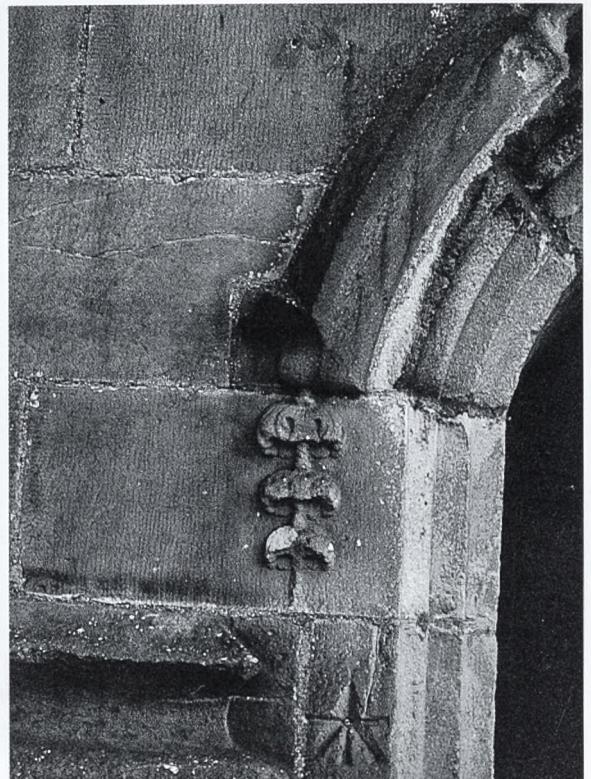


Fig. 16. Priory Church, Lancaster, Lancs.: detail of belfry opening in west tower.
Donald Findlay.