The study of bricks and brickwork in England since Nathaniel Lloyd

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The first person to write a serious history of English brickwork was born in 1867 into a comfortable middle-class family in Manchester. Nothing in Nathaniel Lloyd’s early career, which included a spell managing advertising and printing in a tea company, suggested that he had any interest in either architecture or bricks. In 1893 he went into business for himself, running his own colour printing firm. This proved extraordinarily successful and by 1909, at the age of forty-two, he had made so much money that he was able to comfortably retire to exercise his twin passions: shooting and playing golf. That might have been the end of the matter had he not bought an elderly house called Great Dixter in 1910. The house was in a very poor state of repair and too small for Lloyd’s purposes so he set out to find an architect to help him restore and extend it. He chose Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) and thus began a successful collaboration which not only led to the completion of the house itself, but saw the middle-aged Lloyd, encouraged by his friend and mentor, starting a whole new career as an architect and architectural historian, interests that were to dominate the rest of his life. He went on to design a number of buildings and publish five books on aspects of architecture and gardening of which the two most important were A History of English Brickwork (1925) and A History of the English House (1931). Lloyd died in 1933. His wife continued to live in the house he and Lutyens had built until her death in 1972 and it is now open to the public.

A History of English Brickwork was an extraordinary book being both scholarly and profusely-illustrated, a rare combination. Lloyd brought together for the first time, and quoted at length, the most important writings on bricks from the seventeenth century onwards. He included detailed tables of brick measurements, exploding the myth once and for all that bricks could be dated from size alone. Moreover to illustrate the book he took dozens of black and white photographs of buildings throughout England (some of which are now the only evidence for the appearance of structures which have since been demolished) and included careful measured drawings of key examples. Together these form three-quarters of the book.

The book remains one of the most authoritative and useful works on the subject today. Indeed Lloyd was in so many ways a pioneer in the study of brickwork, that many still assume he has had the last word on the subject. Even today A History of English Brickwork is often the only work on bricks to appear on architect’s bookshelves and the one they are most likely to cite in discussion. Yet a great deal of research into the history of brickwork in England has been done in the past seventy-seven years since Lloyd’s book appeared in 1925. It is this research that forms the subject of the current paper, the aim of which is twofold: firstly, by reviewing the literature available, to show how scholarship has developed since Lloyd as a useful guide for those looking for more information on the subject; and second, and more
importantly, to indicate those areas which seem to have been ignored.

Before commencing on such an enterprise it is worth noting that the scope of this article is limited to the history of brickwork. Modern textbooks on the subject of bricklaying or brickmaking are excluded except where they might be of interest to the historian looking at periods before Lloyd. Now that we are into the twenty-first century, study of the twentieth century becomes ever more important and such textbooks will no doubt become the historical sources of tomorrow, but this is a paper on historiography rather than a survey of historical sources. Terracotta and tiles are excluded as not being strictly brick. Geographically I have confined myself to research done on English architecture chiefly because that was the subject of Lloyd’s book, although I have extended the area to cover Scotland and Wales where this seemed appropriate. British researchers have written on brickwork beyond their shores, most notably in reports on archaeological projects on Classical and ancient civilisations in Europe and the near and Far East, but this material has not been systematically collated and remains fragmentary.

**BOOKS AND GENERAL WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION**

Although there had already been a number of books seeking to set out the methods of building construction in various periods, the history of building construction before Lloyd was still a minor area of interest compared to the extensive studies carried out into architectural style. The field of construction history was noticeably better developed in France, for instance, than it was in England. This was one of the reasons Lloyd’s work was exceptional. Construction history was to remain a field of minor interest in Britain for the first seventy-five years of the twentieth century. The expertise existed, but it rarely found its way into print. Nevertheless a few isolated general studies on the history of building construction did appear during this period and these normally included chapters on both brickwork and mortars. The introductory nature of these studies naturally meant that the amount of new research carried out into brickwork in particular was limited and most relied on secondary sources (often for brick by citing Lloyd) but they did play an important part in setting brick in the context of the building industry as a whole.

Briggs (1925) and Davey (1961) were two of the broadest studies covering the whole world. Davey focused on building materials and contains an interesting study of mortars while Briggs, whose work came out in the same years as Lloyd’s book, followed a craft based approach. Both are now out of date. Alec Clifton Taylor (1972) focused on entirely on English building materials. It remains a valuable introduction to the subject and a model of erudition, although it is great pity that, for a book on the colour and richness of materials, all the illustrations were printed in black and white. Clifton Taylor went on to produce a number of titles on individual materials including one with Ron Brunskill that focused entirely on brick discussed below.

Very useful studies of individual periods of English construction history have appeared which do an excellent job of summarising previous scholarship. For the Medieval period Salzman (1952) remains an invaluable survey of the terms used and costs involved in Medieval building work compiled from an extensive search of building accounts. It remains the most important survey of the period in this respect.

Malcolm Airs (1995) provided a similar analysis of the state of the building world in the Tudor period. No comparative survey exists for the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century has been well researched starting with Dan Cruikshank and Peter Wyld’s beautifully illustrated London: the Art of Georgian Building (1975) and more recently James Ayres Building the Georgian City (1998). Cruikshank and Wyld (1975) provide invaluable drawings and photographs of many buildings of the period which have since been lost, while Ayres (1998), as well as providing an excellent overview, reprints in colour many contemporary illustrations from the period and later providing a useful source for visual references.

The complexity of the nineteenth century seems to have discouraged English scholars from writing general works on building construction for this period although perhaps not surprisingly it has attracted more interest in America. What has been written tends to be in volumes devoted to particular materials, those on brick being noted below. A very useful survey of building construction in the twentieth century is found in Yeomans (1997).
GENERAL BOOKS ON BRICKS AND BRICKWORK

There have been disappointingly few books devoted entirely to the history of English brickworks since Lloyd. Of the general studies that have appeared the most important is undoubtedly Professor Ron Brunskill’s *Brick Building in Britain* (1997) which was designed as a revision of and replacement for an earlier work, *English Brickwork* (1977), which he had co-authored with Alec Clifton-Taylor. *Brick Building* contains chapters on the history of brickmaking, bricklaying, an excellent glossary and sections on brickwork of different periods. It is a model of research and cautious in its approach. Three short appendices, one on brick tax, one on cavity walls and one on brick in Scotland are model essays on their subjects. It still remains the best summary of scholarship on the subject and essential reading for all those looking for an introduction and contains an excellent bibliography.

Woodforde’s *Bricks to Build a House* (1976) is an enjoyable introduction to the subject, but has a rather cavalier attitude to historical facts. It was designed with the interested layman in mind rather than the scholar or conservation professional. Where it does have value is in its illustrations, particularly its collection of useful nineteenth century engravings. More cautious in its approach is Hammond (1981) which provides an excellent introduction to all aspects of brickmaking, but at only thirty-two pages long is too slim to go into any depth.

More recently Andrew Plumridge and Wim Meulenkamp’s *Brickwork* (1993) has provided an overview of all aspects of brickwork across the globe illustrated by lavish colour photographs and including an excellent forty page section on construction and materials and a short history. Plumridge is English while Meulenkamp is Dutch. The book is thus an unusual example of international collaboration, which is surely something that should be encouraged. Nevertheless some reviews of the work have been less than complimentary about its scholarship (T. P. Smith 1994b).

Also worth mentioning are Gerard Lynch’s *Brickwork* (1994), John Warren’s *Conservation of Brick* (1999) and volume two of John and Nicola Ashurst’s *Practical Building Conservation* (1988), all books that are aimed at the conservation architect. These provide information on the technical side of brickwork restoration, together with short histories of brickwork.

Lastly, two American books are worthy of note because they have direct bearing on English brickwork. The first is Karl Gurcke’s *Bricks and Brickmaking: a Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (1987). Its primary focus is on the development of brickwork in America, but it does provide insights into the mechanisation of brickwork in England and includes an invaluable guide on distinguishing bricks made using different factory methods. The second is Joseph Arnold Foster’s *Contributions to the Study of Brickmaking in America* printed in six volumes from 1962 to 1971 which, despite its title, devotes the first four volumes to reprinting exclusively English sources from 1600–1850. Unfortunately the book was privately printed in runs of two hundred copies or less, making it almost as hard to get hold of as most of the sources it is reprinting.

Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias

A survey of every entry in every dictionary under brick or brickmaking would be unlikely to yield anything of interest, but one entry that is worth mentioning is the excellent section in the *Grove Dictionary of Art* (Turner, 1996) under «brickwork» which includes contributions on moulding, firing, bonding, diapering, and sections on the history of brick in various parts of the world.

As far as I know, no-one has thought to produce a dictionary exclusively devoted to brickwork, which would undoubtedly be useful, although probably not a bestseller. The closest I have come across is Searle’s three volume *An Encyclopaedia of the Ceramic Industries* published in 1929, but this contains no information on the history of the brick.

DETAILED STUDIES OF BRICKS AND BRICKWORK SINCE LLOYD

There is a growing call among architects, engineers and others working in the conservation world for better books on construction history. Professionals in these fields have little time to visit libraries during the working day and frequently find scattered papers in academic journals too difficult to find to make it...
worth their while. Lloyd’s book was aimed at just this audience. Yet ironically it is in the area of academic papers that Lloyd’s work has done the most to encourage publication while the popularity of his book has acted as an obstacle to the publication of further books on the subject. Scholarship has moved on and this may be about to change. A group of enthusiasts originally centred around Laurance S. Harley (1901–1983) have acted as a catalyst for encouraging research since 1972 and are leading research into brickwork.\(^3\)

The British Brick Society started with just four members: Laurance S. Harley (who was an engineer by training but involved in archaeology), Geoffrey Hines (a humanities lecturer in Adult Education), Ron J. Firman (a lecturer in geology at Nottingham University) and a young archaeologist from St. John’s College, Cambridge called Terence P. Smith. It was partly conceived as a specialist study group of the British Archaeological Association, but from the outset it welcomed members from any background. Its constitution set out a number of aims including: the study of bricks and brickwork from Roman times to the present day; some investigation of the precursors of the baked brick; the study of continental bricks and brickwork; the encouragement of a multi-disciplinary approach including archaeological, architectural and scientific studies of the material and its uses; the investigation of geological, physical and chemical ways of dating bricks; the preservation and conservation of brickwork; and the establishment of a system of archives and records on the subject which would be made accessible to the public.

From the outset the group produced a regular newsheet simply termed Information. Both the newsheet (now a full-blown journal). It is currently produced three to four times a year and sent to subscribing members and major libraries, has since its conception been one of the most important outlets for research on the subject, intermixed with more general queries and observations. It also contains regular reviews of relevant literature. Many of the Society’s members publish in other journals devoted to particular subjects and since 1973 publications on brickwork have increased noticeably to the extent that it is possible here only to summarise the extent of present knowledge and to review key articles on particular subjects which in turn provide further bibliographies which the interested scholar can follow up on particular topics. The rest of the paper will be devoted to tracing how these and other papers have advanced scholarship in various areas since Lloyd, starting with brickmaking, then social and economic studies, geological and scientific studies and finally the study of bricklaying and architectural brickwork. The aim is to provide a clear overview of the subject as it now stands in order to highlight those areas that could benefit from further research.

**Brickmaking through the ages**

The baking of bricks to use in building construction has a very long history but the story of brickmaking in Britain begins with the Romans. Lloyd pointed this out, but as the full title of his book suggests, his treatment of Roman bricks was brief and even Clifton Taylor writing in 1972 could add little of substance. Since that time, however, the study of Roman bricks has advanced hugely. The Romans stamped some of their bricks with distinguishing marks which can be used for dating. Brick stamps have thus proved invaluable in archaeology and there is a large literature on the subject. A series of excellent articles summarising scholarship (including excavations of major kiln sites) are collected in McWhirr (1979). Roman brick production in Britain is reviewed in Darvill and McWhirr (1984) which also provides an extensive bibliography. A further summary of all this material and a longer bibliography can be found in Gerald Brodribb’s *Roman Brick and Tile* (1987) which despite its title is entirely devoted to bricks produced in Britain under Roman occupation. The Roman legions appear to have been responsible for running brickyards in Britain, so that when they left, the craft of brickmaking went with them.

The Anglo-Saxons and Normans were content to re-use scavenged Roman bricks on various buildings (for instance St Botolph’s Priory, Colchester and St Albans Abbey). A distribution map of such instances is given in Smith (1996) and a discussion in Smith (2001). Brickmaking was not revived until the end of the twelfth century when new bricks appear to have been used in Polstead Church in Suffolk and Little Coggeshall Abbey, Essex a few miles away (Lloyd had mentioned Coggeshall in his book). A nearby brick kiln is said to have been excavated in the
nineteenth century and destroyed. The Coggeshall brickwork is reviewed in J. S. Gardner (1955). Polstead is noted in Wight (1972) and reviewed in Kennett (1990).

Medieval brickmaking has been extensively studied by T. P. Smith in his *The Medieval Brick-making Industry in England 1400–1450* (1985b) which has a good bibliography of both English and Dutch secondary literature. Salzman (1956) provided an introduction to terms used in the period while the accounts of the medieval kilns in Hull are analysed in Brooks (1939). Excellent summaries of the medieval brickmaking industry are also found in Drury (1981) and Moore (1991).

Although the brick earth was dug and mixed by hand, the exact method of moulding is not recorded and has been widely discussed. Once moulded the bricks were set out to dry before firing. Both the methods of stacking and moulding leave marks on the bricks which were discussed in Hammond (1986) and Firman (1986).

Medieval pottery and tile kilns have survived, but no specific brick kilns from the period have been excavated to date. Clamps were also used for firing bricks in the Middle ages but by their nature they leave little trace behind them.

Brickmaking in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is surveyed by Howard (1991). By the seventeenth century, brick was widespread and used for smaller houses and churches leading to an increase in production. The first printed references to bricklaying and brickmaking (some of which were printed by Lloyd), appear in England in this period and are listed in Campbell & Saint (2002). Since Lloyd’s time three important manuscript sources have been published, namely the accounts associated with Christopher Wren published in the twenty volumes of the Wren Society (1924–43) and the notebooks of Roger Pratt (Gunter 1928) and Roger North (Colvin and Newman 1981).

The Great Fire of London in 1666 and the numerous fires in other towns around the country prompted increased legislation in favour of brick over more-flammable timber-framing. Some of the London regulations were reprinted in Lloyd, but T. P. Smith has since shown that they were rarely followed (Smith 2000a). Brickmaking after the Great Fire is discussed in Cox (1989), (1997) and Yeomans (1987). Accounts for brick supplies for Hampton Court are discussed in Musty (1991) and for the West Midlands in Whitehead (1981). A seventeenth-century contract for brickmaking is reprinted in Kellsall (1983).

Kilns have been excavated from the seventeenth century and later (see Drury 1975) as have clamps (see Wade (1980) and the photographs of a clamp excavation in London in Ponsford and Jackson (1997, 316–317) and the notes in Ponsford and Jackson (1995, 179)).

One of the innovations in this period was the use of ash added to clay to make London ‘stocks’. Their manufacture is discussed in Cox (1989) and (1997). A general description of brickmaking in the Georgian period together with illustrations can found in Ayres (1998).

By the eighteenth century mapmaking had progressed to the extent that brickmaking sites are discernable. It has thus been possible to compile regional gazetteers of brickmaking sites for the period c.1700–the present, with some earlier sites being located from other sources. Those gazetteers that have already been completed are reviewed in Kennett (1999) and (2000). They often provide detailed local histories of brickmaking and tend to be done by county. The first to be compiled was Hampshire (White 1971), followed by Bedfordshire (Cox 1979), Buckinghamshire (Pike 1980), Oxfordshire (Bond, Gosling & Rhodes 1980), Suffolk (Pankhurst 1988), Somerset (Murless 1991), Sussex (Beswick 1993), and Essex (Ryan 1999). A separate study (Douglas & Oglesthorpe 1993) covers all of Scotland. Local studies of individual districts in Surrey, North-East Hampshire, Acton, Burton-on-Trent and around Ascot are also listed in Kennett (1999).

From 1784 until 1850 bricks were taxed in England. The tax had a number of important effects on the industry. As the tax was imposed per brick it led to an increase in the size of bricks until this was countered by further legislation (Exwood 1981a). There have been a number of studies of the effect of the tax, most notably: Exwood (1981a) and (1981b), Shannon (1934, 188–201), Smith (1992a), Smith (1993), and Smith (1994a). A summary is included in Brunskill (1997, 192–93). The myth that the brick tax led to the introduction of so-called «mathematical tiles» (thin tiles which look like bricks) has been disproved by Smith (1979) and (1985a); and Exwood,
Kennett (2001) deals with why the tax was abolished.

Lloyd’s interest in the development of brickmaking ended at the end of the Georgian period. Of course today the interests of many researchers begin where Lloyd left off. In the nineteenth century brickmaking began to mechanise. The shift was a slow process and bricks were still being made by hand into the twentieth century and in isolated instances they are still made by hand today. The first treatise on brickmaking to show mechanisation was written by Edward Dobson in 1850 and was reprinted in full with a useful introduction and bibliography in Celoria (1971). Because of the longevity of many techniques some early twentieth century books for the contemporary brickmaker also provide useful sources for nineteenth century practice. This is certainly the case with Alfred Searle’s Modern Brickmaking (which was first published in 1911 and went through no fewer than four editions before 1956) and the entries found in building manuals by McKay and Mitchell noted in Bruskill (1997, 199).


Bricklayers and brickmakers: socio-economic studies

Despite the fact that much information in the form of building accounts survives from the Middle Ages onwards to allow a detailed picture of the economic status of the building craftsmen, there has been comparatively little analysis of this data. Medieval accounts are reviewed in Salzman (1952), Smith (1985b) and Moore (1991). The situation in post-medieval northern Britain is discussed in Woodward (1995) and in London for a similar period in Summerson (1945) and McKellar (1997). The eighteenth-century situation is discussed briefly in Shannon (1934), Smith (1984) and Ayres (1998). A treatment of the changes in the economic structure of the industry in the period can be found in Clarke (1992) and for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Powell (1980). The publication of specific building accounts are mentioned under bricklaying below.

Guilds undoubtedly played an important part in regulating early medieval urban brickmaking and bricklaying. Guild records survive in many towns in Britain but virtually nothing has been written on the subject. A list of the apprentices taken from the books of the London Tylers’ and Bricklayers’ Company is published in Webb (1996) and is mainly intended for genealogists. Bell (1938) provides a short history of the London Company. The rules and regulations of the guild in Hull had been reprinted before Lloyd in Lambert (1891, 272–282).

GEOLGY AND ANALYSIS OF BRICKS

L. S Harley, founder of the British Brick Society, was keen to see the development of better methods recording and analysis of bricks discovered during archaeological investigations. He set out his own detailed method for recording bricks in The Journal of the British Archaeological Association in 1974 and this remains the most detailed typology yet set out, although it is rarely followed in practice. A rare example of the type of analysis Harley envisaged can be found in Ryan and Andrews (1993) which is reprinted in Warren (1999, 59–68).

One of Harley’s recommendations was that the type of clay should be recorded. There has been a great deal published on the selection of clays for the modern brickmaking industry but comparatively little has been written on the analysis of clay for determining the origin of bricks. The foremost advocates of this practice are husband and wife team Ron and Pat Firman who first called for this approach
in an article in *Mercian Geologist* in 1967. Subsequent articles on the same subject include Smalley (1987), Firman and Firman (1989), Firman (1994), and Firman (1998). Sadly geological analysis of bricks has not been generally taken up although one fine example of an investigation of this type is found in Pavia et al (2000).

**BRICKWORK**

Nathaniel Lloyd’s *English Brickwork* had included detailed drawings and photographs of surviving buildings from the period of the Middle Ages up to circa 1800. Lloyd undoubtedly saw his book as being about architecture and for architects and the same attitude was taken by many of the books which we have already discussed. In such a scenario brickmaking is important in relation to how bricks are used, yet in the literature on brickmaking the focus is on the brick as a product of an industrial process. Many of the British Brick Society’s members are or have been involved in brickmaking or are active collectors of bricks as artefacts and it is perhaps inevitable that their interests lie primarily in the history of production rather than use. Architectural historians meanwhile tend to come from an art history background and are both less interested in building technology and more prone to focus on architectural style. Nevertheless studies of the use of bricks in buildings do exist and are worth briefly reviewing here.

On the Middle Ages Jane Wight (1972) provided a useful survey of the major buildings constructed before 1550, updated for Eastern England by Harley (1975/76), and Kennett (1988). T. P. Smith’s analysis of the Rye House, Hertfordshire (Smith, 1975) provides an excellent example of how recording should be carried out. The accounts for Caister Castle were published in Barnes and Simpson (1952), and those for Tattershall castle, in Simpson (1960). A portfolio of full size drawings of brick details was produced by Small and Woodbridge (1931).

Regular bonding in English brickwork seems to have been a relatively late development. An excellent analysis of the types of bonding employed and their distribution can be found in Brian (1972) and (1980). On the use of Flemish bond (an early 17th century innovation) see Kennett (1984). Diaper patterns were popular in the Tudor period. Studies of diapering are found in Smith (1985b) and (1992b). The subject of brick infill in timber buildings (nogging) which was widespread in this period is discussed in McCann (1987).

The great innovations of the seventeenth century were the shaped gable, Flemish bond, and rubbed and gauged brickwork. The foreign origin of shaped gables was discussed in Hitchcock (1978) and their importation to England in Kuyper (1980). For the general Dutch influence on English brickwork see Percival (1989). For a fine example of analysis of a surviving seventeenth-century building can be found in Smith (2000b) and an analysis of bricklayers’ contracts from the period in Campbell (2002).

An explanation of the methods used in gauged brickwork is found in Lynch (1990). A detailed study of this subject is overdue, although a number of excellent examples are recorded in Cruikshank and Wylde (1975) and Small and Woodbridge (1931).

From the nineteenth century onwards the involvement of architects in the design and specification of brickwork means that studies of the subject are usually included in works on the architects themselves. Studies of brickwork in isolation are rare.

One important innovation of this period was the cavity wall which was to become the standard way of building brick walls by the middle of the twentieth century. An excellent account of its development and bibliography are provided in Brunskill (1997 193–196). The best historical accounts of the general use of brickwork in Britain since 1900 have been provided in Yeomans (1997) and Kennett (2001a, 2001b, & 2002).

**SUMMARY: GAPS IN THE LITERATURE**

From this all too brief survey of the literature of the history of bricks and brickwork in England a number of clear gaps in the literature become immediately apparent. For the Middle Ages much has already been done on manufacturing, but remains to be done on the recording and use of brick, on the types of clay employed and on the influence of the guilds. For the later periods there are many gazetteers for counties still to be written. A proper historical study on the history of the brick kiln for not just England but across the globe is overdue. To date, there has to been
little written on the manufacturers, suppliers and types of brickmaking machinery that appeared in the nineteenth century and how they were taken up. There has been no publication of English makers marks to parallel that for America in Gericke (1987) despite the fact that this would be invaluable for dating building fabric. The fascinating subject of Patent bricks is worthy of a book in its own and has hardly been touched upon.

Studies of brickwork are less common than those of brickmaking. There is much work still to be done on bonding patterns and their distribution and on the development of pointing and mortar used. Brickwork is rarely carefully recorded in contrast to timber framing, for instance, and there seem to be no generally recognised guidelines on how such recording should be carried out. Lastly, but by no means least, the chemical, geological and physical analysis of bricks is an area that still remains to be developed.

Today the brick industry is struggling. It has enormous capacity but it is facing a decreasing demand for its products. Some might say that this is self-imposed as the bricks the industry produces have become less appealing and the manufacturers less flexible in reacting to what architects want, but architects themselves are poorly informed of the advantages and possibilities of brickwork and there are fewer and fewer skilled bricklayers to carry the work out. The history of bricks and brickwork does not hold all the answers to these problems, but a better understanding of it is at least important in providing a framework for discussion.

NOTES

1. The full title is A History of English Brickwork, with Examples and Notes of the Architectural Use and Manipulation of Brick from Mediaeval Times to the end of the Georgian Period. The book has been republished twice since. The first reprint abridged by Leslie Mansfield in 1934 omitted pictures and reduced the text. It is to be avoided. The second reprint by the Antique Collectors Club issued in 1983 is a complete facsimile of the original.

2. An excellent French guide to papers on brickwork in Mesopotamia has recently appeared including an extensive bibliography (Sauvage, 1998). As far as I know such studies have yet to be written for China, SE Asia, and India. The British have noticeably lagged behind in the study of European brickwork and with the exception of articles on Dutch architecture I know little of substance in this field.


4. Certain types of moulding lead to «sunken margins» the origin of which were discussed in a number of articles listed in and concluding with Betts (1996).

5. For an example see Drury and Pratt (1975).

6. See also Nail (1996).

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The study of bricks and brickwork in England since Nathaniel Lloyd


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