



M203 Design for Liverpool Cathedral

Introduction

This was Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh's unsuccessful entry in the first round of the architectural competition for Liverpool's Anglican cathedral. Had it been carried out, it would have been Mackintosh's largest and most ambitious building, and one of the most individual products of the Gothic Revival.

Authorship: The design was submitted anonymously on behalf of Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh, but correspondence between Mackintosh, Margaret Macdonald and Hermann Muthesius confirms that Mackintosh was the partner responsible, and it was published under his name in 1903.

Alternative addresses: Upper Duke Street

Status: Unbuilt

Grid reference: SJ 35377 89409

Chronology

1880

Anglican diocese of Liverpool created. ¹

1884–6

Architectural competition held for the design of a new cathedral on a site next to St George's Hall. William Emerson's design preferred, but building not proceeded with. ²

1901

23 September: Terms of new architectural competition agreed, including the statement that the style is to be Gothic. ³

28 October: Revised competition terms agreed, omitting the Gothic requirement and extending the closing date to 30 June 1902. ⁴

1902

14 April: George Frederick Bodley and Richard Norman Shaw invited to act as assessors. ⁵

9 May: Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh pay Maclure & MacDonal for photographing Liverpool Cathedral drawings. ⁶

30 June: Closing date for submissions. ⁷

July: Designs exhibited to the press in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, from 21 to 25 July, and to the public from 23 to 26 July. ⁸

August: Assessors' report written. ⁹

22 September: Assessors' report accepted by Executive Committee, and ordered to be distributed to all entrants. Austin & Paley, C. A. Nicholson, Giles Gilbert Scott, Malcolm Stark and W. J. Tapper selected to take part in second stage of competition. ¹⁰

1903

Giles Gilbert Scott selected as overall winner; Bodley appointed joint architect with Scott, because of Scott's youth and inexperience. ¹¹

1904

19 July: Foundation stone laid by King Edward VII. ¹²

Description

Background

The isolated medieval village of Liverpool fell within the diocese of Lichfield until the Reformation, after which it became part of the diocese of Chester. By the

late 19th century the former village had grown into one of the largest cities in the British Empire and was the focus of a densely populated region. In recognition of this, a separate Anglican diocese of Liverpool was finally created in 1880. The late 18th-century church of St Peter served at first as pro-cathedral, but it was inadequate, and before long a new, purpose-built cathedral was planned. A site was chosen beside the city's chief civic building, St George's Hall, and following a two-stage competition, a domed Gothic design by William Emerson was selected in 1886. ¹ However, the scheme lapsed due to lack of funds.

The 1901–3 competition

In 1900 a new bishop, Francis James Chavasse (1846–1928), was appointed to Liverpool, and the cathedral project was revived. Emerson's design was considered unsuitable for the new site now under consideration – an elevated ridge S.E. of the centre called St James's Mount – so the executive committee felt justified in setting it aside and holding a new contest. The *British Architect* canvassed opinion about whether an open or a limited competition was best. Among those who responded was the non-traditionalist Manchester architect Edgar Wood, who favoured a limited competition, and who interestingly named Mackintosh (along with Norman Shaw, J. F. Bentley, Leonard Stokes, Henry Wilson and Beresford Pite) as one of those who should be invited to take part according to Wood, architecture had developed 'so much into a one-man architecture, we ought to select those who have shown a strong and successful individualism'. ² In the end, however, the executive committee decided the competition should be conducted on the same lines as the earlier one: in the first round, which would be open to all, architects would submit portfolios of work (not necessarily cathedral designs) to demonstrate their ability; in the second, a small number would be selected to make detailed proposals for the cathedral itself. ³

The Liverpool Cathedral competition was of immense national significance. Not only was one of the great architectural opportunities of the age at stake, the contest also brought into focus the conflicting ideologies that characterised British architecture at the dawn of the new century. The executive committee caused uproar when, announcing the terms of the competition, they declared that the style of the cathedral would be Gothic. ⁴



At a time when classicism was in the ascendancy, and when the whole notion of style as a set of fixed historical precepts was being challenged, many architects saw this restriction as backward-looking and a denial of their creative freedom. There was widespread indignation, a petition was organised by the *Architectural Review* to channel opposition, and letters of protest were published in *The Times*. ⁵ In the end, the executive committee backed down and agreed to leave the question of style open, approving revised terms for the competition on 28 October 1901 and extending the closing date for submissions to 30 June 1902. ⁶ In an attempt to dispel accusations of bias, they selected as assessors two venerable architects representing the two main schools of current architectural thought: George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907), a Goth, and Richard Norman Shaw (1831–1912), by this stage in his career a classicist.

103 portfolios were received, and Bodley and Shaw examined them in the Walker Art Gallery with the authors' names concealed, at the assessors' 'express desire'. ⁷ Afterwards, they were exhibited to the press from 21 to 25 July, and to the public from 23 to 26 July. The assessors wrote their report to the executive committee in August, and on 22 September the committee ordered copies to be sent to all who had taken part. ⁸

According to the report, only 33 of the portfolios contained 'designs prepared expressly for this competition'. A further 23 comprised 'evidence of skill, mostly in the form of cathedral designs submitted in earlier competitions elsewhere. The rest were an assortment of sketches and photographs, not directly related to the cathedral project at all. ⁹ This was something the terms of the competition had explicitly allowed, but in a letter to *The Times*, Bodley and Shaw described the poor quality and limited relevance of many of the resulting entries. Shaw wrote more bluntly to his wife: 'really a very poor show, a few men strong, but the overwhelming number just twaddle'. ¹⁰

Despite the fuss over the original terms of the competition, the majority of submissions were Gothic – the assessors were surprised at the small number of Renaissance or classical schemes – and all the architects selected to compete in the second round were Goths: Austin & Paley, C. A. Nicholson, Giles Gilbert Scott (the eventual overall winner in 1903), Malcolm Stark (formerly of Glasgow, but now based in London) and W. J. Tapper. ¹¹ Besides these, the assessors singled out designs by the following for honourable mention: Thomas Drew, J. Oldrid Scott, A. H. Skipworth, H. C. Corlette, C. A. Nicholson (again), F. Walley, James H. Cook and Reilly & Peach. ¹² All except the last were Gothic. Among eminent names passed over were Leonard Stokes, W. R. Lethaby, Beresford Pite and J. J. Burnet. ¹³ There was a feeling among commentators in the architectural press that the competition had failed to attract the best men to enter, then failed to select the best from those who did.

Mackintosh's design

Alternative proposals

Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh were among the 33 who sent in complete sets of drawings for the new cathedral. According to the *British Architect*, they submitted two alternative designs (the terms of the competition allowed up to three per entrant), but only their 'Design No. 2' – the set of drawings now in The Hunterian – is known today, plus a few preliminary studies for it. ¹⁴ Stylistically, it is clearly by Mackintosh, and the *British Architect* published it under his name in 1903. ¹⁵



A review of the July 1902 exhibition in the *Builder* describes 'two alternative perspective sketches' by Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh, one of which was evidently the perspective now in The Hunterian, the other 'a sober Early Decorated design'. ¹⁶ The latter was presumably the practice's 'Design No. 1', and it

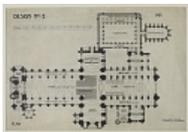
too may have been by Mackintosh. This might explain why some of the surviving preliminary drawings for 'Design No. 2' show Mackintosh shedding 'correct' Gothic Revival features in favour of greater originality. In one pencil study, the upper half of the central tower has been erased, but is still visible: it has paired belfry openings and crocketed corner pinnacles – very different from the final design, with its single, large belfry openings, and its squared-off parapet incorporating statues. ¹⁷



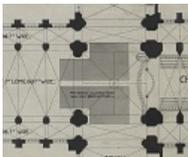
But despite its idiosyncratic details, 'Design No. 2' is still emphatically Gothic. John Honeyman had been one of the few architects to come out in support of the executive committee's original Gothic ruling – he argued that it was not inimical to architectural progress, there being 'abundant scope for its development within the prescribed limit' ¹⁸ – so it is not surprising that Mackintosh produced a Gothic design in the firm's name. His own sympathetic understanding of medieval church architecture and his deep interest in Gothic detail are clear from his sketchbooks and from the recently completed Queen's Cross Church. In his design for Liverpool Cathedral he had the opportunity to develop an imaginative, personal version of the Gothic style on a vast scale and without tiresome financial constraints.

Plan

The cruciform plan, with a second transept E. of the crossing, is familiar from medieval English cathedrals such as Salisbury, while the combination of a tall central tower and two lower western ones is found at York and Durham. Mackintosh followed medieval precedent even to the extent of including a cloister, a feature not functionally necessary in a 20th-century Anglican cathedral.



The most obvious departure from medieval examples is the greater width of the nave (60 feet, 18.29 m) in relation to the aisles (16 feet, 4.88 m): this allowed more of the congregation to be seated in the nave, with their view of the sanctuary uninterrupted by arcades. One of the objections raised against the choice of Gothic for modern churches was that it was unsuited to the 'congregational' nature of 20th-century worship. ¹⁹ In medieval cathedrals, according to this view, religious ceremonies had been celebrated by the clergy in the distant, screened-off chancel, isolated from the laity in the nave, but in modern Anglican worship the congregation was more closely involved and needed a clear view of proceedings. A large, uninterrupted central space was made a definite requirement in the second stage of the Liverpool competition, but many architects in the first round had already included such a space. Mackintosh even indicated on his plan how a congregation of 1200 could be seated within 80 feet of the pulpit, and calculations of seating accommodation on an earlier version of the plan show that this was not an afterthought. ²⁰



The St James's Mount site had not been finally settled upon at the time of the competition, but it was widely known to be the preferred option. ²¹ According to a later account by another participant, Charles Reilly, no site plan was provided to competitors. ²² However, a fairly detailed one was published in the *Architectural Review*, and Mackintosh could easily have obtained further information from his friend James Herbert McNair and sister-in-law Frances, resident in Liverpool since the late 1890s. ²³ His perspective shows the cathedral occupying what looks like the Mount – the dark line of trees immediately behind the church suggests the chasm of St James's Cemetery, a disused quarry laid out as a sunken burial ground in the 1820s – but with its cloister projecting almost 100 feet from the N. transept, Mackintosh's cathedral complex would have been considerably wider than the site.

Exterior

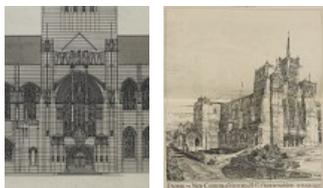
Externally, the design owes much of its character to the absence of horizontal string-courses and set-offs. There is very little to interrupt the soaring verticals, and the resulting upward sweep is emphasised by the batter of the towers and buttresses, an effect exaggerated in the perspective drawing.



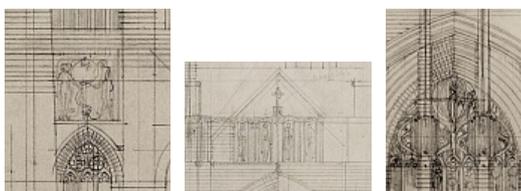
The buttresses are the dominant feature. Above the level of the aisle roofs, they take the form of solid walls rather than the skeletal arches of medieval flying buttresses. They are visually arresting, but it is doubtful if their immense weight, combined with the thrust of the nave vault, could have been borne by the aisle walls. They would also have cast the clerestory windows into deep shadow. ²⁴ It may have been these constructional and practical shortcomings, rather than Mackintosh's stylistic originality, that failed to please the assessors. In a marginal sketch on one of the surviving preliminary drawings, the buttresses look bulkier but more stable, projecting much further beyond the aisle walls. ²⁵



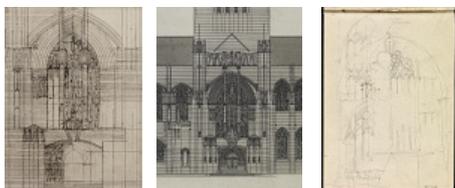
The buttresses are one of several features that recall Henry Wilson's dramatic 1893 design for a cathedral for Victoria, Canada. ²⁶ Mackintosh's big transept windows, subdivided by pairs of buttesse-like mullions that continue beyond their arched tops, seem indebted to the same source, as do the flanking turrets with shallow, conical 'hats'.



Sculpture plays an important role in the design, used in some surprising locations. Friezes of standing figures carved on slightly concave wedge-shaped blocks extend from the front of each buttress to the clerestory window jambs, resembling the ranks of statues that flank the doors of medieval European cathedrals, but suspended in mid air. More statues in canopied niches decorate the tops of the W. towers, rising above the parapets to form richly three-dimensional battlements. The preliminary drawings include some recognisable subjects, such as Adam and Eve on the S. side of the choir. One drawing has an inscription identifying four prominent carved figures above the W. door as the Evangelists. ²⁷ In this choice of subject Mackintosh may have been taking into account the famously Protestant character of the Liverpool diocese, but other drawings feature a more Catholic figure of the crucified Christ, legs merging gracefully into the tracery of the E. gable window or S. transept window. ²⁸ This blending of crucifixion sculpture and window tracery is yet another idea developed from Wilson's Canadian cathedral design.

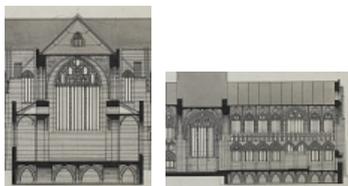


The tracery throughout is derived from curvilinear 14th-century examples such as the W. window of York Minster, which Mackintosh had sketched, but these medieval models are reinterpreted with great freedom and inventiveness to make complex, writhing patterns, unique to each window.



Interior

Inside, nave and choir follow the traditional division into arcade, triforium and clerestory, but the clerestory is unusually tall. Its great windows are shown filled with stained glass. The E. end is raised above a vaulted crypt. This may have been suggested by the extensive 13th-century crypt which is the most dramatic feature of Glasgow's medieval cathedral, a building familiar to Mackintosh since childhood and drawn by him. In the Liverpool design, however, the arches of the crypt vault spring directly from their low bases, without columns.



Aftermath of the competition

Failure to reach the second stage of the competition would have been a bitter disappointment to Mackintosh, not least because the assessors Bodley and Shaw had once been among his personal heroes, named in his 1893 lecture on Architecture among those who 'more & more are freeing themselves from correct antiquarian detail and who go straight [sic] to nature'. ²⁹

The Mackintoshes had a visit from their well-connected friend and supporter Hermann Muthesius in September 1902, during which the as yet undecided competition was evidently discussed. On 24 September Margaret wrote to Muthesius with the bad news:

Alas, have you seen in the papers that one step towards the final decision upon the architects for the short list of the Liverpool Cathedral, has now been taken? The following five names have been recommended – G. G. Scott – C. A. Nicholson – Austen & Paley, Malcolm Stark, & W. F. Tapper. Does it not seem strange – No Wilson – No Leonard Stokes Mackintosh or Beresford Pite? There is still the selection by the committee to be made but I am afraid it is

hopeless – they are almost sure to take the men selected by the advisers – What do you think? Do you think any use for you to see Norman Shaw now? I send you a cutting from the Architectural Review on Toshie's design. Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Herman Muthesius, 24 September 1902. Transcript kindly supplied by Professor Neil Jackson, University of Liverpool. Margaret's letter suggests that during Muthesius's visit they had discussed the possibility of his putting in a word for Mackintosh's design with Shaw. Now that the decision had been made, however, Mackintosh simply wanted to know the reasons for it. He wrote to Muthesius himself: 'If you have a chance any time of speaking to Norman Shaw I should be much interested to know how they arrived at their decision, and what he thought of my design.' ³¹ Muthesius carried out this awkward commission, and recounted the outcome in a letter to Mackintosh:

I saw Norman Shaw lately, he is always extremely kind to me ... I mentioned your design for the Liverpool Cathedral, he did not seem to know it. In [sic] the whole he was somewhat embarrassed to speak about the matter at all. He said, he could not do anything against Bodley who was very orthodox. I said the term eccentricity was a very negative one, was not his work which he did in the seventies, for instance his New Zealand Chambers, considered excentric [sic] by the older school of architects? "Now you stab me", he said. Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, Muthesius Letter Book 1, copy of letter from Hermann Muthesius to Mackintosh, 31 December 1902. Transcript kindly supplied by John V. Maciuka, City University of New York.

Mackintosh replied resignedly: 'of course an assessor will never go back on his award'. ³³

Margaret Macdonald also corresponded with Muthesius's wife about Mackintosh's disappointment: 'It is, as you say, a great great pity about the Cathedral but only what one must expect. In architecture, originality is a crime – especially to those who can themselves only be copyists. We heard from a cousin of Mr. Bodley's that 'He had the greatest difficulty in selecting any of the designs sent in – they were all so bad ' – a funny opinion when one thinks that amongst those designs were those of H. Wilson, Leonard Stokes, Beresford Pite – not to mention one highly thought of. However, he is still alive & kicking & serenely thinking of what he will do next.' ³⁴

Critical reception

Reviewers of the exhibition of work submitted in the first round of the competition were provided with a list of competitors' names, but the signatures on the drawings remained covered as they had been for the assessors. Many were easily recognisable by their style, but on the whole the reviewers preserved their anonymity, referring to them by the numbers allocated by the organisers. ³⁵

The *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record* singled out number 85, 'a design in the manner which has come to be known as the Glasgow School and [which] owes much of its interest to a certain quaint and unorthodox detail and to the technique of the drawing. The design is otherwise upon ordinary mediaeval lines.' ³⁶ This was evidently Mackintosh's design. The *Builder* wrote of it:

No. 85 shows an ordinary three-aisle plan with narrow shallow transepts and a tower at the crossing. The proposed architectural treatment is indicated in two alternative perspective sketches, one showing a sober Early Decorated design, the other an example of "L'Art Nouveau" both in design and in manner of drawing: a building nearly white against a shaded background, with battering central tower, battering buttresses, sculpture cropping up in unexpected places; white spaces and bits of concentrated ornament here and there. A very clever sketch, but quite inadequate in dignity and style for a cathedral; it might furnish a hint for a picturesque parish church. *Builder*, 83, 26 July 1902, p. 70.

The *Architectural Review* was evidently referring to Mackintosh's entry when it described a design 'full of mediaeval spirit, [which] comes from Glasgow, in which a well-proportioned plan, free from all striving after incongruous originalities, is combined with an individualistic treatment of detail, the result being a design of considerable freshness.' ³⁸ This was presumably the review that Margaret Macdonald sent to Muthesius.

The *British Architect* counted Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh as one of only 13 participants in the first round 'who make a strong claim to compete further'. It went on to note: 'No. 85 sends two unequal designs, of which No. 2 is a very clever Gothic essay, rather of the "modelled-in-mud" style, wanting in articulation by strings and mouldings. It has an excellent interior, and is distinctly the most original and clever design of its kind submitted. It has an excellent plan.' ³⁹

Mackintosh's design was one of several rejected by the assessors which were subsequently published in the *British Architect*. The journal pointed out that although it had a typical Gothic plan, a very large area was available for worshippers under the central tower and at the crossing. It went on: 'in its general proportions and details an effect of much dignity and richness is obtained in this remarkably able design.' ⁴⁰

People

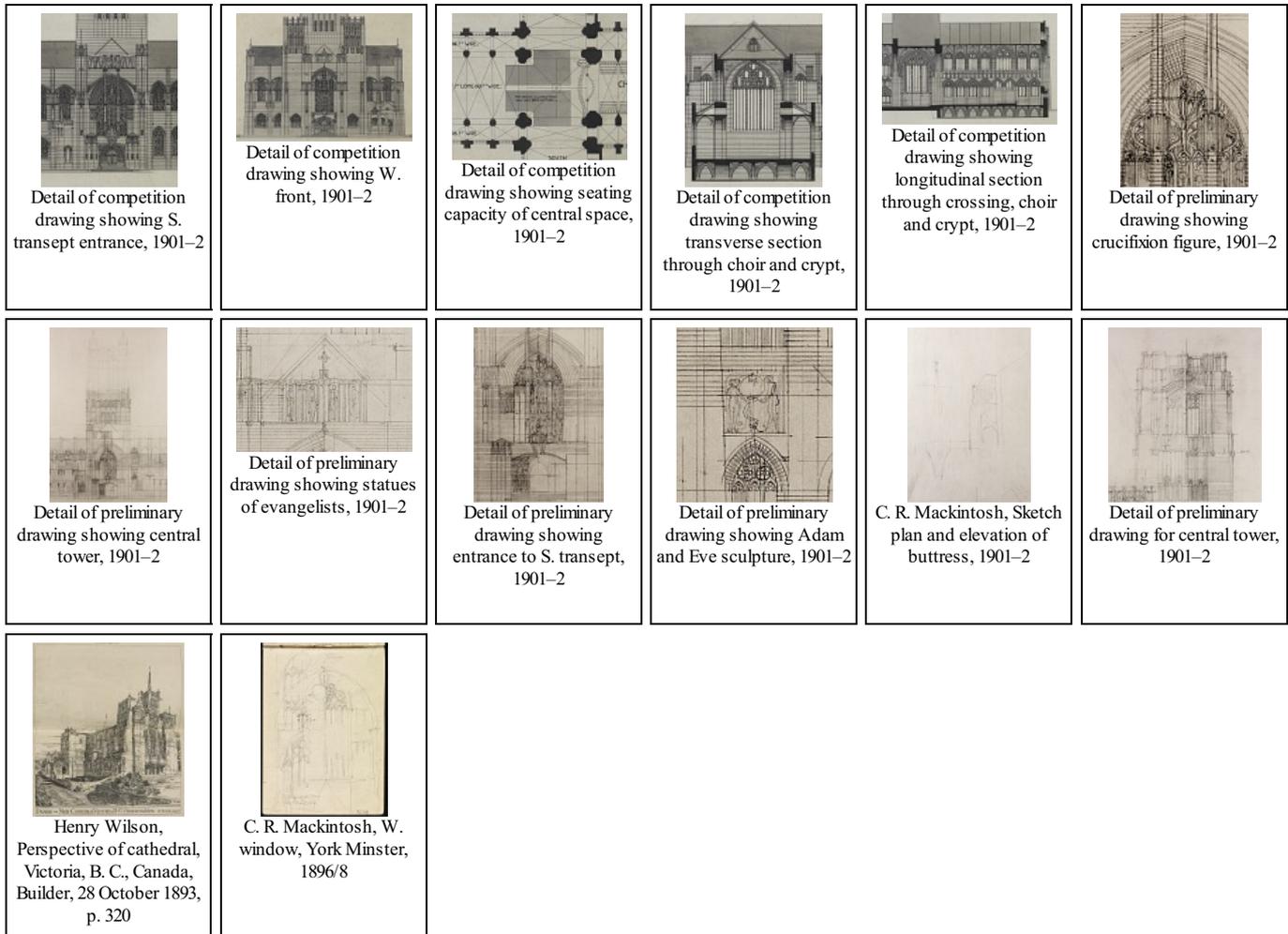
Other:

- George Frederick Bodley
- Hermann Muthesius
- Richard Norman Shaw

Documents



Images



Bibliography

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- Alan Crawford, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1995, pp. 87-8
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- Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edn, 1977, pp. 184-7
- James Macaulay, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2010, pp. 186-7
- Robert Macleod, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: Architect and Artist*, London: Collins, 1983, pp. 108-10
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- 'Liverpool Cathedral: a protest and petition', *Architectural Review*, 10, 1901, pp. 163-77
- *Architectural Review*, 12, September 1902, pp. 83-4
- *British Architect*, 56, 23 August 1901, p. 125; 15 November 1901, p. 341
- *British Architect*, 58, 25 July 1902, pp. 55-6
- *British Architect*, 59, 13 March 1903, p. 186
- *Builder*, 83, 26 July 1902, p. 70
- *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record*, 16, 30 July 1902, p. 380

Unpublished

- Rodney W. Hanson, *The Last Triumph of the Gothic: An Account of the Second Competition for an Anglican Cathedral in Liverpool 1901-1903*, University of Liverpool dissertation, no date
- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Herman Muthesius, 24 September 1902

- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, undated, but after 22 September 1902
- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Margaret Mackintosh to Frau Muthesius, undated, but probably autumn 1902
- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, Muthesius Letter Book 1, letter from Hermann Muthesius to Mackintosh, 31 December 1902
- Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 5 January 1903
- Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343 (uncatalogued)

Notes:

- 1: Vere E. Cotton, *The Book of Liverpool Cathedral*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964, p. 1.
- 2: *British Architect*, 21, 16 May 1884, p. 240; 26, 17 December 1886, p. 547. Vere E. Cotton, *The Book of Liverpool Cathedral*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964, p. 1.
- 3: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 23 September 1901.
- 4: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 28 October 1901.
- 5: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 14 April 1902.
- 6: The Hunterian, University of Glasgow: John Honeyman & Keppie / Honeyman, Keppie & Mackintosh / Keppie Henderson cash book, 1889–1917, GLAHA 53079, p. 71.
- 7: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 28 October 1901.
- 8: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 7 July 1902, 17 July 1902.
- 9: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, George Frederick Bodley and Richard Norman Shaw, *Report on the designs submitted in the preliminary competition for the proposed Cathedral for the Diocese of Liverpool*, August 1902 (bound with committee minutes).
- 10: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 22 September 1902.
- 11: Vere E. Cotton, *The Book of Liverpool Cathedral*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964, p. 3.
- 12: Vere E. Cotton, *The Book of Liverpool Cathedral*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964, p. 5.
- 13: *British Architect*, 26, 17 December 1886, pp. 596–600; pp. xxiii–xxiv.
- 14: *British Architect*, 56, 23 August 1901, p. 125.
- 15: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Building Committee minutes, 23 September 1901.
- 16: The decision in favour of Gothic was taken by the Building Committee on 23 September 1901 (Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Building Committee minutes, 23 September 1901). The competition advertisement appeared in, for instance, *Architectural Review*, 10, November 1901, p. v.
- 17: *Architectural Review*, 10, November 1901, pp. 163–77; *The Times*, 8 October 1901, p. 13; 15 October 1901, p. 5; 21 October 1901, p. 5; etc.
- 18: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 28 October 1901.
- 19: Letter from G. F. Bodley and R. N. Shaw, *The Times*, 17 October 1902, p. 10.
- 20: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, Executive Committee minutes, 22 September 1902. A copy of Bodley and Shaw's report is bound with the minutes.
- 21: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, *Report on the Designs Submitted in the Preliminary Competition for the Proposed Cathedral for the Diocese of Liverpool*, 1902.
- 22: *The Times*, 17 October 1902, p. 10; letter from R. N. Shaw to Agnes Shaw, 15 July 1902, quoted in Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 392.
- 23: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, *Report on the Designs Submitted in the Preliminary Competition for the Proposed Cathedral for the Diocese of Liverpool*, 1902.
- 24: Liverpool Record Office: Liverpool Cathedral Committee records, Acc. 2343, *Report on the Designs Submitted in the Preliminary Competition for the Proposed Cathedral for the Diocese of Liverpool*, 1902.

- 25: A list of all entrants was distributed to the press by the competition organisers, and published in, e.g., *Builder*, 83, 26 July 1902, p. 71.
- 26: *British Architect*, 58, 25 July 1902, p. 56.
- 27: *British Architect*, 59, 13 March 1903, p. 186.
- 28: *Builder*, 83, 26 July 1902, p. 70.
- 29: Glasgow School of Art: MC:G:46 (M203-002).
- 30: *British Architect*, 56, 15 November 1901, p. 341.
- 31: T. G. Jackson, 'The Style of a Modern Cathedral', *British Architect*, 57, 14 February 1902, pp. 123–4.
- 32: The Hunterian, University of Glasgow: GLAHA 52592 (M203-006); Glasgow School of Art: MC:G:44 (M203-002).
- 33: E. S. Prior and F. M. Simpson, 'The new Cathedral for Liverpool. Its site and style', *Architectural Review*, 10, 1901, pp. 138–46.
- 34: Charles Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, London: George Routledge & Sons, 1938, p. 65.
- 35: E. S. Prior and F. M. Simpson, 'The new Cathedral for Liverpool. Its site and style', *Architectural Review*, 10, 1901, pp. 138–46.
- 36: Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd edn, 1977, p. 185.
- 37: Glasgow School of Art: MC:G:45 (M404-003).
- 38: *Builder*, 65, 28 October 1893, p. 320.
- 39: Glasgow School of Art: MC:G:45 (M203-003).
- 40: The Hunterian, University of Glasgow: GLAHA 41880 (M203-004); GLAHA 41153 (M203-007); Glasgow School of Art: MC:G:46 (M203-002).
- 41: Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 'Architecture', in Pamela Robertson, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh: The Architectural Papers*, Wendlebury, Oxon: White Cockade in association with the Hunterian Art Gallery, 1990, p. 207.
- 42: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh to Herman Muthesius, 24 September 1902. Transcript kindly supplied by Professor Neil Jackson, University of Liverpool.
- 43: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, undated, but after 22 September 1902.
- 44: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, Muthesius Letter Book 1, copy of letter from Hermann Muthesius to Mackintosh, 31 December 1902. Transcript kindly supplied by John V. Maciuka, City University of New York.
- 45: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Mackintosh to Hermann Muthesius, 5 January 1903.
- 46: Berlin, Werkbundarchiv, Museum der Dinge: Hermann Muthesius Estate, letter from Margaret Mackintosh to Frau Muthesius, undated, but probably autumn 1902.
- 47: The *British Architect*, however, chose to ignore the committee's request not to name the competitors: *British Architect*, 58, 25 July 1902, pp. 55–6.
- 48: *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record*, 16, 30 July 1902, p. 380.
- 49: *Builder*, 83, 26 July 1902, p. 70.
- 50: *Architectural Review*, 12, September 1902, pp. 83–4.
- 51: *British Architect*, 58, 25 July 1902, p. 56. The architects were named as 'Honeyman, Keppie and Mackenzie', a mistake which provoked a letter from the practice, published on 8 August, p. 103.
- 52: *British Architect*, 59, 13 March 1903, p. 186.

Mackintosh Architecture: Context, Making and Meaning

Led by The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council; with additional support from The Monument Trust, The Pilgrim Trust, and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; and collaborative input from Historic Scotland and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.



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