

## **Negotiating modernism**

How Church Designs of the Post-War Era Negotiated Modernism in an Attempt To Renew Their Image and Relevance Within an Increasingly Secular Society

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### **Abstract:**

*In an unequivocal attempt at building a new reality, Australian churches of the post-war period were transformed via citation, the creation of new spatial realities embodying the idea of the original, and the application of new structural, formal and aesthetic syntaxes that specifically shunned the use of quotation. Quotation, the repetition of the past or the traditional in any form, was rejected by a modernising culture in the post-war years. Paradoxically, despite the impetus to modernise, churches of all denominations aspired to continue, as they had always done, as identifiable places of ritual and spaces of worship through the perpetuation of tradition. The challenge to the architect designing the post-war church in Australia was to produce ritually functional spatial relationships in forms liberated from historicism, without quotation or repetition of the past, that were capable of communicating the eternal relevance of the church within an increasingly secular society. This paper will examine the ways in which church designs of the late 1950s in Victoria, Australia, variously used quotation and citation to reinterpret the symbolic and ritual functions of the church to fashion authentic new realities. Through a critical examination of a rich array of primary source material, from design drawings to realisation, two church designs will be examined: St Faith's Anglican Church, Burwood (1956-58) by Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell; and St Oliver Plunkett Catholic Church, Pascoe Vale (1959-62) by Alan G. Robertson. This paper aims to contribute new knowledge to the story of modernism in Australia, which to date has largely ignored ecclesiastic works due to their perceived irrelevance to the evolution of modernism in the post-war period.*

## Introduction

Modern architecture can give us a great many things, large spans, new and beautiful materials - should not these be put to the service of the church?<sup>1</sup>

In the existential crisis that ensued in the wake of the Second World War, many ordinary people sought the comfort of tradition and a return to the lifestyle of a pre-war community. However, these sentiments were tempered by a desire for modernity which promised new post-war realities in the form of “socio-spatial environments that would be open, modern, and coherent”.<sup>2</sup> In architectural circles, there prevailed a relative optimism about the potential of architecture as a vehicle for creating a reconstructed society. However, “what it meant to be modern remained an open-ended question... one that, inevitably, generated multiple answers”<sup>3</sup> and ‘a wide range of new formal propositions... different from the forms of the early modern movement and of the International Style’.<sup>4</sup>

An examination of two specific church buildings designed and erected in the 1950s in Melbourne, Victoria, highlights the extent to which religious communities and their architects engaged in a negotiation between traditional and modern form, aesthetics and ideas to achieve new places of worship commensurate with the modern era. Quotation, in the form of tradition, produced historical legitimacy which had, since the Renaissance been the measure of a building’s worth.<sup>5</sup> In the modern era however, quotation – which was incapable of expressing the spirit of the modern age - no longer held currency. Edward D. Mills expressed the impasse in his influential text *The Modern Church* (1956) “If we do not build churches in keeping with the spirit of the age, we shall be admitting that religion no longer possesses the vitality of our secular buildings”.<sup>6</sup>

This paper examines St Faith’s Anglican Church, Burwood (1956-58) designed by Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell and St Oliver Plunkett Catholic Church, Pascoe Vale (1959-60) designed by Alan G. Robertson. Despite being built within a few years of each other, these examples are representative of the diversity of responses being negotiated in highly idiosyncratic ways within various parishes by religious communities and their architects, to varying degrees full of quotation and citation, to produce a wide diversity of formal and aesthetic outcomes in church designs in the post-war era in Australia.

### St. Faith’s Anglican Church, Burwood, Victoria 1956-58

Architecture articulates and presents meaning, and values; it expresses these things.<sup>7</sup>

#### Three schemes for the realisation of St Faith’s Anglican Church

Three sketch designs for St Faith’s Anglican Church (fig.1) are powerful reminders of the relative rapidity with which the process of modernisation occurred and the extent to which post-war society was changed. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century St Faith’s parish was a rural area occupied by market gardens and English immigrants in a collection of settler houses. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and after the Second World War, an influx of predominately English migrants led the area to gradually become suburban. As a result, between 1941 and 1956, a series of new church designs were commissioned to replace the modest timber building of 1892 – there being no greater prestige and sign of progress for a parish than the building of a new church. In 1941 the most prolific Anglican church designer in Melbourne, architect Louis Williams (1890-1980) was commissioned by the Vestry Committee to produce a design for the church.<sup>8</sup> Replete with rose window, buttresses and longitudinal plan the design illustrates the extent to which in Australia before 1945, quotation of traditional forms, materials and plan was established; for it was through the quotation of an inherited British tradition that relied upon a specific re-presentation of accepted forms and “stylistic vocabularies” that the building was understood as a church.<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 1.** Three sketch designs for St Faith's.  
**Left:** Louis Williams 1941. **Centre:** Wystan Widdows 1952. **Right:** Mockridge, Stahle & Mitchell 1956. (Source: All images, St Faith's Anglican Church Archives).

During the 1940s St Faith's parish resources were slight, but by 1952 with some distance between the war years and the new decade, the issue of a new building was once again raised. At this point the Vestry Committee reconsidered the original design. A new design was commissioned from English-born architect Wystan Widdows (1912-1982).<sup>10</sup> Widdows' design (fig.1) shows a building stripped of decorative detail, yet in its form and massing it presents a recognisable profile – the traditional church form from which can be read a customary longitudinal plan and semi-circular sanctuary. The 1952 design reads as a kind of hybrid creation in which traditional requirements are being negotiated alongside an attempt to convey an authentic new reality, the image of modernity. This paper asserts that by the 1950s, a modern aesthetic had become an important method by which churches of all denominations sought to communicate an image of modernity to secure their continuing relevance within a changed society and urban landscape.

In 1954, the arrival of a young vicar the Rev. Gordon Brown inaugurated a fresh look at the issue of a new church building. To this end, it was agreed "as many as possible of the Vestry" would visit a new Presbyterian church designed in the modern idiom "to have a look at the style of architecture".<sup>11</sup> Although Widdows was subsequently invited to submit further plans, it is not clear if those plans were produced.<sup>12</sup> By May of 1956 the new Vicar, through the authority of the Vestry Committee, commissioned fresh sketch designs from the young firm of architects and designers of modern buildings, Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell, who had recently completed the (1956) of God Catholic Church, Ivanhoe East in the modern idiom.<sup>13</sup> The new sketch design for St Faith's (fig.1) was surprisingly unusual, representing a complete departure from the quotation of traditional form, articulation and detail.

When the drawings and plans for the small round building of St Faith's were put to the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne there was some concern that modern forms were not as compelling as the quotation of historical forms for the building of a church. The Diocesan Registrar's response to the parish's request for financial support for the new building stated "The Archbishop feels that you should know something of the long discussion which took place...[regarding]...the unusual design of the Church..." "the Diocesan Building Committee... while not totally disapproving of the plans, feel that something less modern might be provided for your parish".<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, the avant-garde design was approved, purportedly based upon its location – for St Faith's church was located "in a side street, hidden from the general public".<sup>15</sup> The Diocesan response to the design illustrates the tentative nature of the Anglican Church's encounter with modernism and its reluctance in 1956 to accept the capacity of a non-traditional building to function theologically within the suburban landscape.

## Symbolism

Since the experience of the holy is never directly possible, because it transcends everything finite, its presence must be mediated by authentic representation and symbolic expression.<sup>16</sup>

The use of symbolic associations was one approach used by post-war architects in their attempts to create buildings of meaning and continuity with a history of religious ideas. The form and plan of St Faith's is associated with the founding origins of Christian worship. Initially, the plan of the building was intended to be circular, for according to Mockridge, "the circle... a 'round square'... is appropriate for a church as it symbolizes eternity and unity"<sup>17</sup> but also the design was said to replicate the form of the twelfth century round churches of the Crusaders.<sup>18</sup> In the final iteration, to better accommodate the ritual requirements of modern worship, the plan was altered and became associated with the earliest Christian symbol, the sign of the fish.<sup>19</sup> Symbolism is said to express multiple ideas simultaneously, a characteristic often experienced subliminally and therefore associated with the power to suggest the "presence of a supernatural power".<sup>20</sup> Tafuri describes the nature of symbolism as 'revealing and hiding at the same time,<sup>21</sup> while Eliade interprets the multivalent quality as expressive of conceptual truths "inaccessible to empirical experience," yet also expressive of a common "manifestation of human existence".<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 2 (left).** 'Fish-shaped' plan (Source: St Faith's Archives).

**Figure 3 (right).** St Faith's Anglican Church. (Source: *Architecture Today*, Jan 1959.)

Commentators such as the Rev. Peter Hammond have argued against the use of symbolism in church design, suggesting that of the thousands of church buildings erected in the post-war era, many were mere experiments in form rather than being the result of a modern approach to design via a "functional analysis that informs the best secular architecture of our time".<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, 'the symbolic' was often how religious communities expressly wanted to be represented. This sentiment was noted by the competition assessors of Liverpool Metropolitan Catholic Cathedral, UK (1959) in their statement that the winning design "powerfully expresses the kingship of Christ, because the whole building is conceived as a crown".<sup>24</sup> Similarly, for the faithful of St Faith's parish, the powerful use of symbolism in the planning and material fabric of the building imbued the church with divinity to create a 'renewed instrument of communication'.<sup>25</sup> The Diocese acknowledged the significance of the associative symbolism and consequent continuity with an historical narrative in these words: 'we have a twentieth century church, grounded on an ancient tradition, as new today and tomorrow as it was then:- "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour".<sup>26</sup>



### Materials and technology

(The) psychological aspects of design. (are) basic and primary whereas the technical components of design are our intellectual auxiliaries with which to realise the intangible through the tangible<sup>27</sup>

In the early post-war years, budgetary constraints increasingly fostered the use of modern materials and modern techniques. In the late 1930s, John Mockridge (1916-1994), Ross Stahle (1917-2010) and George Mitchell (c1916-2006) attended Melbourne University Architectural Atelier and were among the first generation of Victorian architects to produce work *solely* using modern materials and techniques, and composition and form.<sup>28</sup> According to John Mockridge, it was “reasonably simple to produce [volumes] with a minimum of expense and thereby create some sort of drama which in olden days would have been difficult to do, or expensive to do”.<sup>29</sup>

The unusual form of St Faith’s (fig.5) was created through the use of concrete slab and steel frame construction welded on site combined with the authentic use of natural materials that were both tactile and robust; slate roof with copper rain water spouts; copper sheathed 12 metre tall spire; “fawn-pink silica” brickwork and natural stone; and floor to ceiling modern abstract stained glass. The structural steel elements were expressed internally which, combined with ‘Copenhagen’ acoustic timber batten lining on the interior walls, served to emphasise the circular nature of the building, creating a sense of spatial unity.

The design of all interior furnishings – altar, pews, ritual objects and furniture, tapestries and stained glass – creates a unified schema designed by the architects, who also prepared the surrounding landscape design.<sup>30</sup> Light within the church is highly orchestrated for effect: skylights direct coloured rays of light upon the altar at certain times of day. Chapel and baptistery provide the main sources of natural light, emitting a warm multi-coloured radiance through the abstracted stained glass, which is in turn reflected off white walls and gold painted coved ceilings, bathing the interior of the church in an ever-changing warm glow of colour. The conception of the building as a circular unified whole on a human scale and the use of warm and tactile materials is achieved through the skilled use of modern technology.



**Figure 4 (left):** St Faith’s view towards altar. (Source: Image by Mark Strizic 1958, St Faith’s Archives) **Figure 5 (right):** Detail, Baptistery stained glass. (Source: L. Richardson, Feb 2017)

### New Liturgical ritual and worship

The task of the modern architect is not to design a building that looks like a church. It is to create a building that works as a place for liturgy.<sup>31</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup> Century Liturgical Movement with its focus on a re-evaluation of the theological and programmatic requirements of liturgical ritual and worship, was intrinsically aligned with modern “functionalism,” the foundational *raison d’être* of the new architectural language.<sup>32</sup> The elimination of strict hierarchies through a more active participation between the clergy and the faithful was a feature of the new liturgical thinking.<sup>33</sup> Architecturally it became common to locate sanctuaries and naves within the same spatial volume, which led logically in some instances to centralised configurations radically removed from the traditional longitudinal plans of the past.<sup>34</sup>

In 1962, Rev. Hammond made the observation of the Liturgical Movement in the United Kingdom that “the present debate about church design cuts right across denominational frontiers”.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, in relation to the United States, Buggeln has observed “the denominational borders of architecture were so fluid, and the trends in contemporary religious architecture so sweeping...[that] many of the same concerns shaped the architecture..”.<sup>36</sup> This paper asserts that churches of the post-war era in Australia generally held similar concerns, regardless of their denomination, and that the re-conceptualization of ritual and worship changed the way church buildings were conceived.

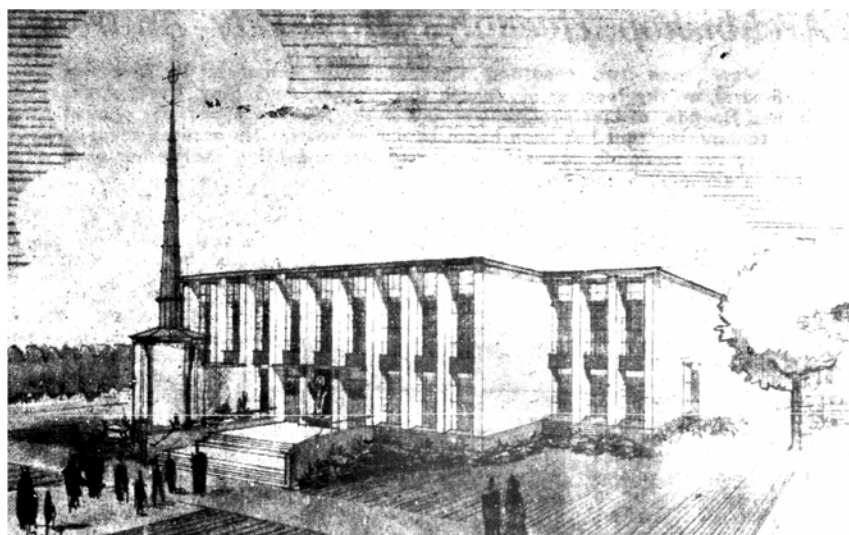
The planning of St Faith’s (fig. 2) reflects the new liturgical thinking in its attempt to bring into close proximity the sanctuary and congregation within a spatially unified volume encompassing the sanctuary, nave and choir, with the choir unusually located within the body of the congregation. The very shape of the building of St Faith’s and the interior expression of its structure contributes to a physical sense of centralization. Nevertheless, the visual emphasis at St Faith’s is concentrated upon the altar which is raised three steps above the sanctuary and set against the western wall. The idea of designing round buildings as an expression of the new liturgical thinking was not new. The earliest modern circular churches were built predominately in Germany, such as Otto Bartning’s Evangelical “Church of the Resurrection,” Essen (1929–1930) and St Engelbert Catholic Church, Cologne by Dominikus Böhm (1930-32). Effectively however, a ‘centralised’ plan came to mean that the altar could be easily comprehended from multiple locations. Very few churches were truly centralised with the altar placed in the physical centre of the building. An early exception was Our Lady and the First Martyrs Catholic Church, Bradford, UK (1935) designed by J.H. Langtry-Langton, in which the altar is located at the centre of an octagonal building. In Melbourne, a notable example is All Saints Anglican Church, Greensborough (1960) designed by Blyth and Josephine Johnson in which the altar, originally located at the centre of a lozenge shaped interior was later moved to a conventional position against the east wall. In the design of St Faith’s it is evident that John Mockridge was testing new ideas with some degree of experimentation; perhaps ideas that he had encountered while travelling in Europe in 1951 and in the internationally published journals of the day in his effort to grapple with the challenge of implementing new liturgical thinking while creating a functional building, one which conformed to religious conventions.

### **St Oliver Plunkett Catholic Church, Pascoe Vale, Victoria 1959-60**

Religion is the life of a social group which expresses a common ultimate concern, an experience of the holy, in symbols of myth and cult as well as in moral and social ways of life.<sup>37</sup>

#### **Constructing identity**

In the case of St Oliver Plunkett Church, the necessity for a new building arose from the disastrous destruction by fire of the original building and the optimism of the priest who saw an opportunity for the erection of a significant parish building not to be rivalled. Being a relatively new Catholic parish (1940) in an expanding suburban population comprised mainly of working class Irish immigrants, the identity of the congregation was twofold: both Catholic and Irish.



**Figure 6:** St Oliver Plunkett. Sketch design. (Source: *The Advocate*, May 12, 1960, 10.)

A number of emblems of both faith and identity appear in the fabric of St Oliver Plunkett signifying the rituals performed within as expressions of and synonymous with a collective religious belief and Irish cultural identity.<sup>38</sup> Unlike St Faith's however, the use of symbolism at St Oliver Plunkett is overt and emblematic; it is "full of quotation".<sup>39</sup> Central to the facade is a prominent statue of St Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland – Irish martyr – hung drawn and quartered in 1681 at Tyburn, London, for his propagation of Catholicism in Ireland. A large Celtic 'high cross' draws attention to and association with the earliest Irish monastic institutions. Less obvious are two signs incorporated into the east-west brickwork: the Holy Trinity (west) representing the three forms of existence of God; and the ancient celestial symbol and insignia "Chi-Rho" (east) displayed by Emperor Constantine at the battle of the Mulvian Bridge, Rome 312CE,<sup>40</sup> which became associated with Roman Catholicism and the power to invoke the protection of Christ.<sup>41</sup> These prominent emblems of faith and identity inscribed into the fabric of St Oliver Plunkett draw attention to the Roman Catholic faith and to a continuity with an historic Irish identity – one of "defiance and martyrdom".<sup>42</sup>

### **Image and power**

It is by its social intention and not by its abstract form that the monument reveals itself.<sup>43</sup>

As an aspirational parish which had responded well to the diocesan mission to build church and school complexes, St Oliver Plunkett was viewed as not having achieved maturity; the parish was expected to thrive. Thus the new church was not only a significant event in the life of the parish, but also an opportunity for the Catholic Diocese of Melbourne to proclaim its success through the building of such an impressive building in what it believed would become 'One of the greatest parishes in the Archdiocese'.<sup>44</sup> The new church was dedicated as a Memorial 'to the memory of those who died in World Wars I & II'. This was a financially advantageous arrangement for the diocese; it allowed 'tax deductibility on the construction' while also signalling a co-operative relationship with the State, whose aim it was to reinstate many of the structuring institutions of Australian society in the post-war era.<sup>45</sup>

St Oliver Plunkett established for the Diocese a powerful image of modern identity, stamped with state sanctioned civic involvement. The new building was unusually sited at the rear of the deep allotment rather than aligned upon the main road as might have been expected. This site organisation allowed for the construction of a car park, a key modern feature of St Oliver Plunkett, proudly reported as the "first Catholic church in Melbourne to have a spacious car park in the foreground".<sup>46</sup> This feature both



anticipated and advertised the affluence of the parish, with the added benefit that it enabled the church to be built on higher ground to monumental effect. Furthermore, in an act of territorialisation, on the day of blessing, the church was ritually brought into being through a processional ceremony enacted as Father Keogh made his way through the suburban streets accompanied by Irish pipers and police escort to arrive and then ascend over the site and into the building. Such processional rituals are associated with the production of sacred space, in this case the territorialisation and sacralisation of the wider parish with a Catholic, and also Irish, identity.<sup>47</sup>

### Tradition

The requirements of a church now are the same as they have always been – the best possible building structurally, aesthetically, economically, in which to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with dignity, and with due regard to liturgical requirements.<sup>48</sup>

Robertson (b.1908) himself was of the Catholic faith.<sup>49</sup> He had attended the Melbourne Technical College in the late 1920s, subsequently travelling abroad for four years to return in 1939.<sup>50</sup> Reflective of the pre-war generation, Robertson worked with modern materials and technologies but was not formally trained in the new ideas of composition and form. Robertson had already produced a number of commissions for the Catholic church: St Francis Xavier, Frankston (1953), Holy Spirit, Thornbury (1955) and St Brigid's, Mordialloc (1956) all of which are, spatially and formally, hall-like conceptions. St Oliver Plunkett stands out against these early examples as his most expressive formal composition, with "fan-shaped" planning reflective of the new liturgical thinking and a prominent circular baptistery, located forward of the façade, a configuration which recalls that used in a number of European churches; the Catholic Sacré-Coeur, Audincourt, France by Maurice Novarina (1946) and the widely published Anglican Cathedral at Coventry, UK, by Basil Spence (design competition 1950-51, constructed 1956-62).



**Figure 7 (left):** St Oliver Plunkett 'fan-shaped' plan. (Source: Public Records Office of Victoria, Public Building files, Unit 1421, Box 12025) **Figure 8 (right):** St Oliver Plunkett view towards altar. (Source: Libby Richardson, 16-02-2017)

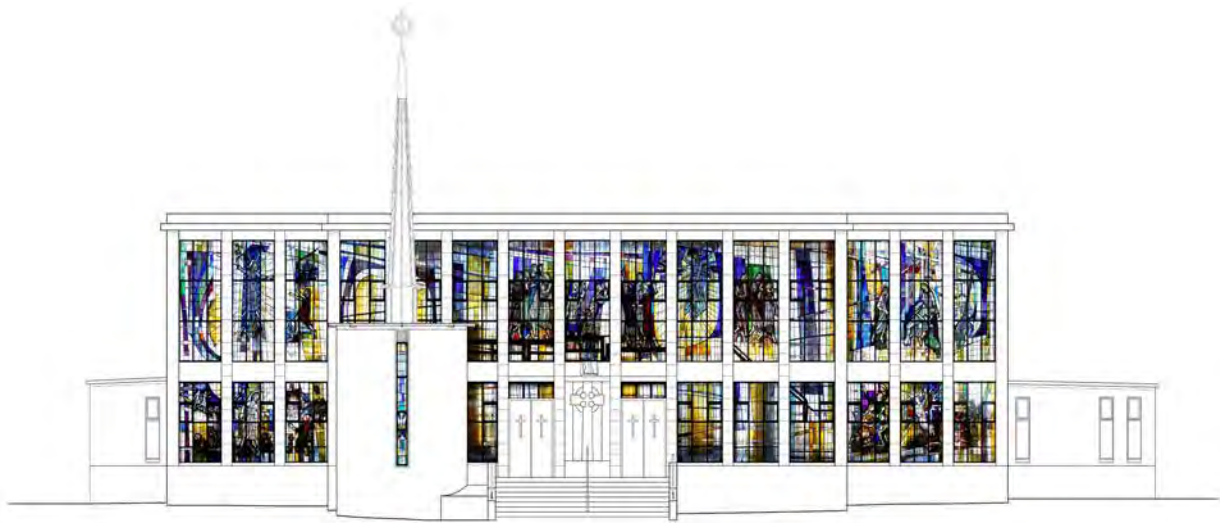
The building is a flat roofed form with contemporary cream brick aesthetic, but it is tempered by the quotation of a classicising symmetry in the regular distribution of its supporting piers and traditional schema of ornamentation. A hierarchy of material selection expresses and declares the sacred and [Irish] identity through the fabric of the building.<sup>51</sup> The focus of the interior is upon a white marble altar, raised three steps and set against a tall reredos of impressive green 'verde isorie' marble, reminiscent of the 'connemara' marble of West Ireland found in Galway Roman Catholic Cathedral. The sanctuary is expressed spatially and structurally as a place set apart. St Oliver Plunkett expresses a particular



moment in time in which it was necessary to engage in a negotiation between the imperative to express tradition in a readable schema and at the same time to create an outcome in a modern guise as a “renewed instrument of communication”.<sup>52</sup>

As an image, it is through the quotation of a significant ecclesiastic tradition that St Oliver Plunkett most emphatically establishes its strong identity as a recognisable place of worship. An impressive and monumental stained glass cycle of windows designed by glass artist Alan Sumner is the most significant feature of the façade (fig. 9) and most notable feature through which the theological function of the building is broadcast.

**Figure 9:** St Oliver Plunkett. South Elevation. (Source: S. Dewhurst, R. Fan, M. Park, University of Melbourne, 2016).



The windows have been described as Sumner’s most “important cycle,” comprising the “largest continuous area of stained glass in the southern hemisphere,” measuring 1800 square feet.<sup>53</sup> The cycle depicts “The Deposition” (the taking down of Jesus from the cross), the “Ascension” (the departure of Jesus from earth) and the “Resurrection” (Jesus appearing to Mary), while a further wall of stained glass in the sanctuary depicts “Christ on the Cross”. The narrative purpose of the windows and the clear figuration of characters is a quotation of the way a traditional *domus ecclesia* communicates and articulates meaning. Yet, modern churches in Europe of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Catholic churches of Notre-Dame du Raincy, Paris, France by August Perret (1923); “Steel Church,” Essen, West Germany by Otto Bartning (1928, destroyed 1943); and St. Maria Königin, Cologne, Germany by Dominikus Böhm (1952-54), were already moving toward the use of abstract stained glass in their new thinking about an appropriate modern aesthetic expression in ecclesiastic architecture.<sup>54</sup>

Alan G. Robertson has indeed delivered an impressive ecclesiastic building – “the best possible building structurally, aesthetically, economically” – liturgically functional, built of modern materials and in a modern form, a building which is as expressive of its Roman Catholic faith and Irish identity as it is conversant with a classically civic language; designed to create monumental effect and signify civic status.

## CONCLUSIONS

Contemporary architecture... does not... attempt to create a new style or strive for novelty... rather [it] tries to give meaning to space.<sup>55</sup>

If architecture “and presents meaning, and values,” then surely our places of worship represent the most interesting and complex building type; full of multi-valence and cultural significance through the unique specificity of the requirement to express a continuing tradition in the new architectural language of modernism. The wide diversity of ecclesiastic buildings produced in Victoria and Australia emerged as the product of the highly idiosyncratic negotiations within each parish by religious communities and their architects in their attempts to create meaningful places of worship commensurate with the rapidly modernising landscape. Conflicting desires and expectations for both the comfort of tradition and the excitement of new socio-spatial environments were played out in the construction of our religious buildings of the post-war period.

Aspirations were achieved principally through the use of innovative form, made possible by the new materials and technologies and the tight economic imperatives that drove and necessitated their use. The greater challenge to the architect designing the post-war church in Australia was to produce ritually functional spatial relationships in forms liberated from historicism, without quotation or repetition of the past, that were yet fully capable of communicating the eternal relevance of the church within an increasingly secular society. Religious institutions sought to create buildings that complied with institutional tradition but also had the capacity to signal reconceptualised modes of ritual and worship.

In an attempt to counter modernism’s exclusion of tradition, many architects used symbolic associations captured in the material fabric, form or plan of the building, thus creating buildings with the capacity to evoke a multi-valence of meanings; symbolising continuity rather than quotation; expressing the intangible through citation and rendering authentic new realities capable of communicating the eternal relevance of the church. Conversely, in spite of the modernist eschewing of tradition, fundamental components of traditional ecclesiastic architecture were often cited and adapted to a form commensurate with a modern setting, as evidenced in the continued but adapted use of stained glass as a key feature of church designs.

The attempts of religious communities and their architects to negotiate between traditional and modern form, aesthetics and ideas in an attempt to renew their image and relevance within the rapidly changing environment and increasingly secular society of the post-war period, is writ large in the church buildings of the era.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Basil Spence, "Foreword," in Edward D. Mills, *The Modern Church* (London: Architectural Press, 1956), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Gretchen Buggeln, *The Suburban Church: Modernism and Community in Postwar America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xx-xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Dennis P. Doordan, "Writing History, reflections on the story of mid-century modern architecture," in Vladimir Kulic, ed., *Sanctioning Modernism, Architecture and the making of Postwar Identities* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Sarah Williams Goldhagen, "Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern," in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Rejean Legault, eds., *Anxious Modernisms. Experimentation in Post-war Architectural Culture*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 312.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Leach, "Manfredo Tafuri and the age of historical representation," in Gevork Hartoonian ed., *Walter Benjamin and Architecture*, (ProQuest Ebook Central: Taylor and Francis, 2009), 10-12. Accessed 3/10/2016.

<sup>6</sup> Mills, *The Modern Church*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Maguire, "Meaning and Understanding," in Peter Hammond, ed, *Towards a Church Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1962), 69.

<sup>8</sup> St Faith's Anglican Church Archives, Box 5 – Vestry Minutes Book, Meeting held 26 March 1941: "Moved Mr Tucker seconded Mr Evans that the Vicar interview Mr Lewis [Louis] Williams to discuss details of new Church and arrange for plans etc".

<sup>9</sup> Leach, "Manfredo Tafuri," 6.

<sup>10</sup> St Faith's, Vestry Minutes, Meeting held 24 April 1952: "...the Vicar and Churchwardens had interviewed Mr Widdows..."; Meeting held 25 Aug 1952: "The architect Mr Widdows was present at the meeting with plans and drawing..."; Meeting held 22 Dec 1952: "Vestry adopts the preliminary plans...".

<sup>11</sup> St Faith's, Vestry Minutes, Meeting held Oct 1954.

<sup>12</sup> St Faith's, Vestry Minutes, Meeting held 22 Nov 1954: "The vicar advised the meeting that he had spoken to Mr Widdows re: some further plans but so far he had not heard anything".

<sup>13</sup> St Faith's, Vestry Minutes, Meeting held 27 Feb 1956: The Vicar introduced Mr Mitchell who talked to the Vestry..."; Meeting held 23 Apr 1956: "The secretary to write to Mr W. Widdows advising him that we have decided not to retain him as our architect"; Meeting held 28 May 1956: "...engage Messrs Mockridge, Stahle and Mitchell to act as our architects.... Vicar will call on them to discuss certain aspects of sketch plans".

<sup>14</sup> Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, Parochial Church Lands File, Parish of St Faith's, District of Burwood, packet No. 359: Letter from the Diocesan Registrar to Mr. A. E. Hall, Honorary Secretary, St Faith's Burwood, dated 21<sup>st</sup> December, 1956.

<sup>15</sup> St Faith's, *In Good Faith*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Tillich, "Honesty and Consecration in Art and Architecture," in *On Art and Architecture*, edited with an introduction by John Dillenberger in collaboration with Jane Dillenberger, (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 226.

<sup>17</sup> St Faith's, *In Good Faith*, 16.

<sup>18</sup> *The Church of England Messenger*, (Mar 20, 1959), 47. [The official organ for the Diocese of Melbourne, reporting on the State of Victoria, 1870 - 1966].

<sup>19</sup> John Mockridge quoted in *In Good Faith*, 16. "The final shape of St Faiths can be likened to a fish which I assure you was by accident not design – a happy accident though because the fish is an early Christian symbol".

<sup>20</sup> Mircea Eliade. *Symbolism, the Sacred, & the Arts*, ed., and introduced by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona (New York: Crossroads, 1985), 3-14.

<sup>21</sup> Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (London: Granada, 1980), 198.

<sup>22</sup> Eliade, *Symbolism*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> Peter Hammond, "A radical approach to church architecture," in Hammond, ed., *Towards a Church Architecture*, 24.

<sup>24</sup> Elaine Harwood, *Space, Hope and Brutalism; English Architecture 1945 – 1975* (London: New Haven, 2015), 451.

<sup>25</sup> Tafuri, *Theories and History*, 19. In his analysis of the work of Borromini, Tafuri describes architecture as a 'renewed instrument of communication' when it is the product of a palimpsest of historical quotations resulting in multi-valence and simultaneity of meaning.

<sup>26</sup> *The Church of England Messenger*, (Mar 20, 1959): 47.

- <sup>27</sup> Walter Gropius, "Is there Science in Design?," in *Architecture Australia*, no.3, vol42, (July-Sept., 1954): 132.
- <sup>28</sup> Julie Willis, "The Melbourne University Architectural Atelier, 1919-1947," in *Journal of Architectural Education*, no.3, vol.58, (Feb., 2005): 13. Accessed 1/9/2014.
- <sup>29</sup> John Mockridge interviewed by Hazel de Berg, (July 17, 1973), National Library of Australia, [transcript]: 7.
- <sup>30</sup> Blyth Johnson, "Recent Victorian Churches," in *Architecture Australia*, no.2, vol48, (1959): 76-77.
- <sup>31</sup> Peter Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture* (London: Barrie and Rockcliff, London, 1960), 9.
- <sup>32</sup> Proctor, *Building the Modern Church. Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 135.
- <sup>33</sup> Robert Proctor, *Building the Modern Church*, 142.
- <sup>34</sup> Reyner Banham, "Church at Bow Common, London," in *Architectural Review*, issue766, vol.128 (Dec., 1960): 400-405; Kathleen James-Chakraborty, "Reconstructing Faith," in *Architectural Review*, issue1430, vol.239, (Apr., 2016): 77-90.
- <sup>35</sup> Hammond, ed., *Towards a Church Architecture*, 9.
- <sup>36</sup> Buggeln, *The Suburban Church*, xx.
- <sup>37</sup> Paul Tillich, "Honesty and Consecration," 225.
- <sup>38</sup> Proctor, *Building the Modern Church*, 251.
- <sup>39</sup> Tafuri, *Theories and History*, 19.
- <sup>40</sup> Brian Hobley, *The Circle of God* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 567-568.
- <sup>41</sup> Hobley, *The Circle of God*, 569.
- <sup>42</sup> Proctor, *Building the Modern Church*, 255.
- <sup>43</sup> Lewis Mumford, "Monumentality, Symbolism and Style," in *Architectural Review*, issue 648, vol.105, (Apr., 1949): 179.
- <sup>44</sup> "One of the greatest parishes in the Archdiocese," *The Advocate*, (July 13, 1961): 7.
- <sup>45</sup> Tom Frame, "Local Differences, Social and National Identity, 1930-1966," in Bruce Kaye, ed., *Anglicanism in Australian* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 114-115.
- <sup>46</sup> James Carney, *St Oliver's People & Parish* (Pascoe Vale: St Oliver Plunkett Parish, 1998), 59.
- <sup>47</sup> Proctor, *Building the Modern Church*, 254-255; Jeanne Halgred Kilde, *Sacred Power Sacred Space: An introduction to Christian Architecture and Worship*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4-7.
- <sup>48</sup> Alan G. Robertson, "Church Architecture," in *The Advocate*, (Nov 23, 1939): 24.
- <sup>49</sup> Robertson retired from practice in 1977. His date of death is unconfirmed.
- <sup>50</sup> Built Heritage, *Dictionary of Unsung Architects*, Melbourne, www.builtheritage.com.au. accessed 1/11/2016.
- <sup>51</sup> Proctor, *Building the Modern Church*, 260.
- <sup>52</sup> Tafuri, *Theories and History*, 19.
- <sup>53</sup> Bronwyn Hughes, *Twentieth century stained glass in Melbourne churches*, (The University of Melbourne: Masters Thesis, 1997), 103.
- <sup>54</sup> Harwood, *Space*, 434.
- <sup>55</sup> Pietro Belluschi, "Contemporary Architecture," in *Architecture Australia*, no.3, vol 45, (1956): 63.