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Regular Features

Front cover: The Deposition from the east window of the church at Normanby-by-Spital, Lincolnshire (see page 85). Rear cover: Herbert Gribble's scheme for the sanctuary of the Brompton Oratory, from a watercolour of 1878 (see page 32).

Chairman's Letter

This issue

The guest editor of this issue is Richard Halsey. As you will see from the opposite page, he has chosen 'Further thoughts' as his theme, and I do not think I will be alone in thinking that this has led to a fascinating set of contents – a mix of personal viewpoints, updates on research and reflections of how things have moved on. We are grateful to Richard for such an interesting issue.

Annual conference

With this edition you should receive details of our Annual Conference, on Saturday 4 October, on the subject of Welsh Churches. We try and run conferences that deal with topics which have not been properly explored before, and this event certainly follows that tradition, as Welsh churches and chapels are far less well known than they should be.

This is always a friendly and lively event, and I look forward to meeting many of you there.

For those of you who like to look ahead, the 2009 conference will probably be on the subject of 'Church Towers'. Do drop me a line if you might be interested in giving a talk on some aspect of this subject.

The Spring 2009 issue and a call for case studies

The Spring 2009 edition will be devoted to one subject – PEWS. Your Council felt that church and chapel seating is a subject which raises strong emotions, and that it would be helpful if the Society could produce a dedicated issue to aid – in an even-handed and dispassionate way – the debate about how pews and similar furnishings should be treated in future. This edition will be jointly edited by Sarah Brown and myself, and will contain much new material, some of it being specially commissioned.

As well as sections on the history of pews, their typology, and matters related to their future treatment, there will also be a number of case studies. Sarah and I would therefore welcome suggestions for recent examples involving the alteration of pews and other seating, particularly where there were tricky issues involved. We would also like to hear of any general historical or typological research regarding church seating in local churches (though it is unlikely that research relating to a single church or chapel would be of interest, and the focus is on local churches, not greater ones). Sarah's contact details are on the final page of this volume.

Trevor Cooper
Chairman of Council

‘Further thoughts’: about this edition

Richard Halsey

Richard Halsey retired from English Heritage in 2007 after nearly thirty years centred on the conservation of ecclesiastical buildings. He is a trustee of the Friends of Friendless Churches, chairman of the Cambridgeshire Historic Churches Trust and a member of the Ely DAC, but still hoping to retrieve his academic interest in twelfth-century architecture.

WHEN I WAS invited to be the guest editor for this edition of *Ecclesiology Today*, it was suggested that I chose a theme and worked from there. Looking through recent editions, I realised how diverse the subject matter was: that, to my mind at least, was one of the journal’s strengths (a view the recent questionnaire shows is shared by many other members). I began then to think about how a number of shorter pieces might be marshalled together.

The greatest dilemma of academic study – at least in the arts – is to know when (and how) to conclude. Peter Lasko, my professor at the University of East Anglia, used to say ‘publish and be damned’, as indeed he was by some of his colleagues after the publication of his Pelican History of Art volume, *Ars Sacra*. Human artistic endeavour comes about for a huge variety of reasons that can be frustratingly difficult to discover and evaluate. The further back one goes in time, the greater the loss of hard evidence: inevitably, familiarity with the character of the society also diminishes. That is when an intelligent or ‘educated’ guess has to be made and where contemporary opinions can then diverge. The public ‘disputation’ was at the heart of the mediaeval university higher degree, where candidates had to stand and defend their findings and theories to their peers (and until quite recently, anyone had the right to attend an Oxford doctorate viva). I suppose that the twenty-first century equivalent is the website and especially, internet blogs and chat rooms, but the very nature of that medium discourages mature reflection.

Many learned journals have a waiting list for well presented articles and a healthy number of publishers are prepared to promote single subject books, which then receive reviews: this Society, through *Ecclesiology Today* and its occasional publishing ventures is a shining example! However, there are very few places for an author to come back on those reviews, to make a small but important amendment or addition to their original piece or even to air further or second thoughts.

Prompted by these notions, I therefore invited a large number of authors in the ecclesiological world if they would like the opportunity to revisit recent work. I asked for short pieces that expanded the evidence or argument already presented, responded to reviews or reflected on the way their work had been received or progressed since publication. I was looking for ‘concise, succinctly argued, even passionate’ pieces and so set a short deadline, which was too tight for about half the potential authors I approached.

The fifteen contributions here cover a greater range of 'further thoughts' than I had imagined and so I have attempted to group them according to their approach as much as their subject matter. Some of the opinions expressed are indeed 'passionate' and approach the French concept of *l'espirit d'escalier*, the riposte that only occurs to you after the meeting has ended. I sincerely hope that all are not just of interest to members, but that some of you will feel moved to write a response (equally short) to be considered for publication in the next edition (in about six months time), though I am not suggesting that we return to the vituperative character assassinations that were the hallmark of the letters page of our predecessor Society's journal in its first twenty or so years!

Updating the story

The first four contributors look at the reception of their books (and essay) and also rectify or complete the story. And each author explains the circumstances in which their work came to be published, as that had some influence on their writing. **Anthony Symondson** experienced unsubstantiated, anonymous criticism through a website, demonstrating that medium's worst aspects. **Geoff Brandwood** tells us how he came to his subject and brings us up to date with new information. **Malcolm Thurlby** has long followed the advice of Peter Lasko (also his professor at UEA) and far from being damned, his publications have often elicited academic debate. Finally, **Roderick O'Donnell** puts matters right by delineating the history of the High Altar omitted from the Oratory Centenary volume.

Issues raised

The next four contributions also start from a publication (though for two of them, it is not theirs) and consider some of the issues raised by revisiting it, as much as the factual subject. **Paul Cattermole** is one of those school teachers who enrich the lives of people beyond their pupils and warns us of the new approach to building archaeology that can gloss over the facts in favour of an ideology. We are all in debt to **James Bettley** and his colleagues who revise the revered Pevsners. He gives us an insight into both his task and the traits he has detected in the original assessments. On his return to the Survey of London, **Andrew Saint** has found himself on familiar territory and he reflects on what has happened to the study of urban churches in more than twenty years. **Stuart Harrison** and **Christopher Norton** work on an even longer timescale. Not only is their subject over nine hundred years old, but they are attempting to understand a building that was demolished in the late fourteenth century.

However, their findings could well rewrite the history of Gothic architecture in England.

Changing churches

This third group is essentially concerned with changing churches to suit their core purpose, the seemly worship of God. **Chris Pickford's** industry is prodigious, as anyone with even a passing knowledge of his books on Bedfordshire churches can confirm. He reflects on how change was achieved in history and makes a plea for today's conservationists to take their cue from the past.

Peter Howell is a veteran of many campaigns to retain the best endeavours of the last two centuries. In his account and reflection on recent practice in the Catholic Church he detects a wish to return to past practice, too late of course for some ensembles. Finally, on a really positive note, **Paul Velluet** rejoices in an exemplary altar setting he has found in an Austrian church, illustrating just the principles he gave us in a previous article.

The long view

Two authors revisit subjects that they have championed for many years. **Gavin Stamp's** interest in suburban London churches has been reawakened by a recent house move: his account of St Hilda's shows just how interesting these understudied buildings can be. Stirring-up interest is a major part of **Matthew Saunders'** job and he has his campaigning hat firmly in place to rally support for nineteenth-century stained glass. I felt sufficiently moved to choose one of his illustrations for the cover!

Issues facing historic places of worship

The final pair of essays both look back on the major projects the writers pursued to raise awareness of the issues facing the congregations of historic places of worship. The writers assess what their work has achieved. One essay is from **Trevor Cooper**, the Chairman of Council of the Society, and the other from myself (**Richard Halsey**).

I am most grateful to all the contributors for their prompt and fascinating responses to my request for their further thoughts. Unless otherwise stated, the photographs are theirs also. Of course, the views expressed remain those of the particular authors and should not be taken to represent the views of the Society (or indeed, myself!).

Richard Halsey
Guest Editor

Further thoughts on *Sir Ninian Comper: an Introduction and Gazetteer*

Anthony Symondson, SJ

Anthony Symondson is a Jesuit priest and architectural historian, and the authorised biographer of Sir Ninian Comper. He has lectured and published widely on the subject. In 1988 he organized the exhibition, Sir Ninian Comper: the Last Gothic Revivalist *at the Heinz Gallery, Royal Institute of British Architects.*

AT THE beginning of December last year, thirteen months after publication by the Ecclesiological Society and Spire Books of *Sir Ninian Comper: an Introduction and Gazetteer*, written by myself and Stephen Bucknall, a review of the book appeared on the Amazon internet website. It said:

> For any admirer of Comper's work, this book is I'm afraid a waste of time. Sparceley *(sic)* illustrated in black and white, one gets absolutely no idea of the speldour *(sic)* of Comper's design and his wonderful use of colour. I didn't even bother to read this dull over priced little volume. It is to be hoped that some day a book will be published on Comper that does justice to the subject.

It was submitted by 'David Steele "iggy 992" (England)', and he awarded the book one star out of five.

In August another review appeared in *Mass of Ages*, the journal of the Latin Mass Society, by Moyra Doorly. Writing in a ferment of indignation, she described St Mary's, Wellingborough, as merely displaying 'all the features associated with the Gothic Revival' and, while grudgingly conceding the beauty of Comper's work and his repudiation of Modernism, embarked on a diatribe against his later liturgical planning and accused him (and me) of playing down the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass and misunderstanding the evidence of North African basilican church planning. She misrepresented my meaning by half-quoting sentences and disavowed (through misreading the text and confusing planning with doctrine) that in the Roman Catholic Church the Mass is the central act of worship. What these reviews shared in common was that they were written from a basis of disappointment and bias which clearly affected them on a deep level. Miss Doorly has invented her own theory of celestial space in church planning, is engaged on a lone campaign directed against modern church architecture, and denies that Comper offers a solution to the malaise. I am sorry that Mr Steele wasted his money.

Apart from these, *Sir Ninian Comper* was widely and well reviewed in Britain, Canada and the United States. It went into four impressions in a year, remains in print, and met with a surprisingly warm reception: reviews continue to be published. I write 'surprisingly', because, recognising its limitations, I was apprehensive about publishing it. In the light of these misgivings, it might be instructive to set out the genesis and development of the book in order to explain them.

For many years the late Stephen Bucknall, one of Comper's great-nephews, enthusiastically made a gazetteer of his great-uncle's work. He intended this primarily (he told me) for the use of his family, and on that basis I co-operated by sharing my index. The gazetteer was significantly based on the entries in Comper's own ledgers which Mr Bucknall had acquired from his brother, John, and the provisional card index to Comper's drawings held by the British Architectural Library. A first edition was privately printed and widely circulated with an appeal for further information from other enthusiasts. Subsequent editions appeared until the Ecclesiological Society was approached with a proposal for publication. Later, Mr Bucknall thought that of all Comper's publications, *Of the Atmosphere of a Church*, would be best suited to form a prologue. I was asked to write an introduction with the aim of setting that paper in context. Then, John Bucknall, Stephen Bucknall's nephew, thought that it should be illustrated. I was asked to provide twenty or so illustrations and write brief notes on them, set in a chronological sequence. The outcome was approved and it would have resulted in a slim pamphlet.

Trevor Cooper saw these negotiations through to completion but while doing so, realised that it was relatively inexpensive to print further illustrations and from that moment the publication assumed a more ambitious scope. The inadequacy of the earlier proposals immediately became apparent, not least in the brevity of my notes, but also in the limited number of plates. I realised that a more comprehensive work was needed, one that would help to open the subject, identify Comper's lasting legacy as a major twentieth-century church architect and introduce his work to a new audience. Comper has never lacked admirers, but the age in which he worked has become inaccessible to all but an older generation and the condition of what remains and its original integrity has, in many cases, deteriorated or been disordered.

More illustrations were tracked down, many in the National Monuments Record: others I had accumulated over a long period of time from wide sources, some I had commissioned, the rest came from different institutions. From the very beginning, it was recognized that the Ecclesiological Society was not in a position to commission colour plates, nor could it afford the copyright fees or expense of using existing colour photography. I knew that many would be disappointed by the lack of colour, given Comper's genius as a colourist, but the problem was insoluble. It turned out to be a blessing in disguise.

A coffee-table book on Comper's work was too obvious and simple, though not at all easy to attain satisfactorily. To begin with, he did not like colour photography because he thought that it led to tonal distortion: precise reproduction remains a problem.

Colour photography is now more accurate than it was in Comper's lifetime, as the Comper Flickr website shows. The attention to detail on Flickr is often breathtaking, especially in painted glass, but sometimes distortion is continued by choosing unsuitable angles at the expense of scale and they injure his work in a new way. In the majority of cases, Comper's achievement has suffered the depredations of time, liturgical re-arrangement, replacement by inferior textiles, crude embroidery and paint restoration (as well as by eruptive flower arrangements) that seriously disfigure its integrity. For instance, many of the exhibits in the Comper exhibition mounted at the Heinz Gallery in 1988 have disintegrated, been stolen or disappeared.

To do justice to the best examples with new photography would need levels of tact and suggestion to which the majority of clergymen would be resistant. Yet the outstanding colour photograph of St Mary's, Wellingborough on the cover of the book, taken by Martin Charles, represented not only photographic skill of the highest order but a level of co-operation from Fr Robert Farmer, the vicar, that was as rare as it was welcome. He allowed all traces of change during the last forty years to be removed before the picture was taken. This enabled St Mary's to be seen as it was left on Comper's death in 1960. One reviewer said that the cover made picking up the book irresistible. It secured a place in Hatchard's window, but Heywood Hill declined to stock it because it was not hardbound, and it briefly entered Waterstone's list of best-selling architectural books.

The use of contemporary monochrome photographs, many taken under Comper's direction, enabled his work to be seen as he originally intended. The approach of most of those photographers also complemented the architectural and liturgical understanding and ideals of earlier generations, for whom Comper's work represented the culmination of perfection. The liturgical changes of recent times means that such a sympathetic level of empathy and knowledge is almost lost. The fortunate result is a chronology of many of Comper's key (and lesser-known) works as he himself would have understood them. Many reviewers have commented on this strength, while others expressed disappointment that more colour illustrations were not included. The solution to the problem is to combine original monochrome and new colour illustrations in a future volume.

The amplification of the introduction into an extended essay on Comper's thought, work and development was written to provide an overview. However, it also led to the solution of some problems with the gazetteer. I had seen, commented on and corrected several versions and considered that, in the light of the new introduction, it needed expansion and occasional

parenthetical notes on Comper's most significant works, especially in the setting of his planning theories. Comper's drawings have not been fully catalogued, but his papers have. Angela Mace, former archivist to the Royal Institute of British Architects, wrote a catalogue of his correspondence to which researchers are permanently indebted. I therefore included fuller details from her catalogue in the final revision of the gazetteer, thus making it a more detailed, thorough and comprehensive document. The core, structure and plan remain Stephen Bucknall's and it would not have been accomplished if he had not tirelessly assembled it, corresponded copiously and visited the sites in search of the work. Since publication, corrections and the discovery of unrecorded works (published on the Ecclesiological Society's website) have been minor.

Some reviewers expressed disappointment that the book was not a fuller study, that it lacked biographical content, that notable works were excluded, that there were little more than glancing references to Comper's textiles, embroidery, precious metalwork and, most significantly, painted glass. His work in the United States was only touched on and there was little discussion of his treatment of nineteenth-century buildings and his attitude to their architects. They were right to identify these omissions and they reflect my own views of the book's shortcomings. Others were pleased that the book is essentially an architectural survey where the work is fully discussed and the interconnections of patronage identified. In order to expand my commentary on the increased number of illustrations I had to cannibalize unpublished work but there is much left, including biographical material founded on primary sources and research in the applied arts. Comper undoubtedly needs an amplified study and that is now underway.

To understand the work you need to know the man, otherwise misconceptions occur. For instance, what Douglass Shand-Tucci wrote of Comper and Caldey Abbey in the second volume of his biography of Ralph Adams Cram, published in 2005, is based on deduced evidence derived from Peter Anson's opinions published in *Fashions in Church Furnishings* (1960), an interview with John Betjeman long ago, correspondence and discussion with Simon O'Corra. It has no substance in fact and is established on fabrication, speculation, and I suspect, wishful thinking. Athelstan Riley commissioned Comper to design the hanging pyx above the high altar of the abbey church, but Comper disapproved of Abbot Carlyle and Caldey and never visited the island, nor did he know, as Shand-Tucci implies, Sedding's pupil, Henry Wilson. Measurements were secured by correspondence with F. C. Eden, the designer of the gilded reredos. Comper's austere ideals of the monastic life were based on his experience of the Cowley Fathers

at Oxford and Downside Abbey. His correspondence of 1928 with Cram was confined to the subject of church planning, inspired by his designs for the Seabury Memorial Cathedral in Aberdeen; they shared the same churchmanship but never met, still less enjoyed confidences. The suggestion that these distinguished architects went to Caldey for a nefarious purpose evaporates into fantasy.

In his book on Martin Travers, written in association with Rodney Warrener, and his more recent work on Anglican papalism, Michael Yelton accused Comper of avarice. This notion was derived from the Revd Francis Stephens, one of Travers's last pupils and for many years chief designer for the Faithcraft Works. I have no evidence that it is true. Comper was an expensive architect because his standards of workmanship were high and he never relaxed them. However, he made little money from the practice, lived and travelled modestly, worked for most of his later years on an overdraft and, at the end of his life, had to sell land to continue. He sometimes worked for nothing for poor parishes (notably St John's, Larcom Street, Walworth, London), presented a window to St Mary's, Wellingborough, and other painted glass to St Philip's, Cosham, and the House of Prayer, Burnham. Fees were left for collection to Arthur and, later, John Bucknall; both had to deal with the shortages and expense of post-war conditions.

Another source of misinformation to be found on parish and other websites, and even in books, records John Betjeman writing of Comper in 1948: 'His ecclesiastical tastes are rococo as well as his architectural ones; he is perfectly satisfied so long as gold leaf is heaped on everywhere'. This originated on the website of St Michael's, Inverness, and has been gleefully copied by people who should know better. In fact these words were written by Comper himself (as I note on p.184 of the book) and referred to the taste of the Revd W. R. Corbould, Rector of Carshalton, to whom they aptly applied. I first drew attention to them in an article published in *The Thirties Society Journal* (1991), 'John Betjeman and the Cult of J. N. Comper'. With the exception of St Mark's, Regents Park, I have so far failed to get this misquotation removed from the websites. As one of my aims was to rescue Comper from the absurd myths that have surrounded him, this remains an obstinate survival. Otherwise, my principal factual error was incorrectly recording the dates of Jean, Cardinal Verdier, Archbishop of Paris (he was in office in 1929–40, not 1921–31 (p.111)) and I misspelt Fr Corbould's surname (pp.180, 184).

What I hope the book achieved is a complementary balance of what Comper thought, designed, wrote and realized, founded on documentary sources: illustrated by plates largely taken under his guidance: amplified by his mature architectural conclusions: embodied in a gazetteer that fills gaps in the text and will take the

reader to see his work. Stephen Bucknall and I shared all these aims. I am told that visits to Comper's churches and those which contain his work have significantly increased during the last two years and people arrive bearing the book under their arms. That, for the time being, was what we intended and I hope it will increase knowledge and appreciation of his artistry. None of this could have been accomplished without Trevor Cooper's patience, chaste book-design, and impeccable editing. But *Sir Ninian Comper: an Introduction and Gazetteer* is little more than the tip of an iceberg; a sequel is in process of completion.

Temple Moore revisited

Geoff Brandwood

Geoff Brandwood has written extensively on church architecture, especially of the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and was Chair of the Victorian Society from 2001 until 2007.

JUST OVER ten years ago – in 1997 – my book on Temple Moore was published.[1] I had become interested in Moore in the late 1980s, having completed a thesis on church building and restoration in Leicestershire and come to the conclusion that I knew all too little about churches of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. The heroic age of the early Victorian Gothic Revival and its achievements seemed reasonably clear and its story often told, but a quarter of a century ago the later years were altogether less well-charted. Jenny Freeman's study of Caröe, Ted Hubbard's of Douglas (edited by Peter Howell), Gavin Stamp's of Scott junior, Anthony Symondson's of Comper, and Michael Hall's penetrating examinations of Victorian church building all lay in the future.

I made it my business to seek out a wide range of churches after about 1870 and the one architect who particularly impressed me – and about whom I knew next to nothing – was Temple Moore. Then in 1990, out of the blue, I got a letter from Dionys Moore (now deceased), who had heard of my interest in her grandfather's work from the priest at St Peter's in Barnsley, Moore's first true masterpiece and, indeed, one of the greatest churches of the nineteenth century (Figs. 1, 2). We met and she

Fig. 1: St Peter's, Barnsley. First design 1885, east end 1891–3, Lady Chapel 1900–01, nave 1911. Like many of Moore's churches this one was built for Anglo-Catholic worship. Moore, himself, was a devout Anglo-Catholic.

kindly told me much of Moore and his family and made available sketchbooks, accounts, press cuttings and other papers which greatly helped me to pull together an account of the architect and his work.

Moore was born in 1856 in Ireland, grew up in Glasgow and in 1872 was sent to the East Riding village of Londesborough as a pupil of the rector, the Rev. Richard Wilton. This move changed both the course of Moore's life and the face of English church building. Architecture had not been in the family and, so far as we know, there were no plans for the young man to enter the profession. However, his artistic talent and interest in old buildings came to the notice of the great G.G. Scott junior (who was restoring Nunburnholme church nearby), so Moore became articled to Scott from 1875 to 1878. These were the years when Scott was building his three greatest churches – St Agnes, Kennington, All Hallows, Southwark, and St Mark's Leamington Spa. Tragically the first two have been lost thanks to the combined efforts of the Luftwaffe and the diocese of London, but they were key buildings in the development of late Victorian church

Fig. 2: St Peter's, Barnsley. Interior watercolour by W. Nimmo for Temple Moore. The passage aisles, wooden vaulted ceiling, blind arches in the aisles, and the complex and varied arches are all characteristic of Moore's work [Photo: Academy Architecture, 43 (1913), 5].

Fig. 3: St Anne's, Royton, Greater Manchester, 1908–9. In his later work Moore often did away altogether with mouldings. He also pierced window reveals to create a complex sense of solids and voids.

architecture. They took forward the ideas of Englishness and refinement pioneered by Bodley in the 1860s along with the reawakened interest in the latest medieval styles. They must have made a big impact on the young Moore, as he embraced what he had seen in Scott's office and developed it brilliantly throughout his career.

At the end of Moore's pupillage Scott's mental health was failing and he was often incapable of effective work. Moore shouldered much of the burden and loyally looked after Scott's interests and those of his long-suffering family. This may be the reason why Moore's independent career was slow to take off; it could also be that he was a slow-developer, rather like J.D. Sedding, another star of the late Gothic Revival who also did not produce anything of significance until his thirties. For Moore, the great debut building was St Peter's, Barnsley, designed in 1885 but not begun until 1891. Thereafter his practice blossomed, including following in the footsteps of Pearson and Street for that great patron of Yorkshire church-building, Sir Tatton Sykes. By 1900 commissions crowded in and continued until the Great War brought architecture and so much else to a full stop. Afterwards came a few dozen minor works but before anything significant could be built, Moore died in 1920. His son-in-law, Leslie Moore, a partner from 1918, retained the older man's name in the title of the practice – 'Temple Moore & Moore'.[2]

A decade on from the book, this article presents the opportunity to ask myself questions like: what did I miss, and, more importantly, have I assessed his work properly? When writing a book such as mine, the responsibility is actually a big one. For writers on Shakespeare or Dickens or the causes of World War One, the market is big, with scope for many books at different levels and with different interpretations – and, therefore, many publishers willing to take them up. Not so in architectural history once we stray from such giants as Pugin or Lutyens, or the ever-appealing Arts and Crafts movement! Those writing books on Victorian architects are likely to be the only people to do so for a generation or more and any re-examination is going to be in the form of articles or as a part of more general works.

What did I miss? Sadly, in terms of family and business correspondence there was virtually nothing to go on and our knowledge of Moore's private and office life is quite limited (in any case, as a very private man he would probably have wished it that way). However, information about the jobs he designed is excellent, thanks to the material Miss Moore was able to place at my disposal, the usual reports in the trade press, and the survival of caches of drawings at many churches or records offices.[3] For a long time I lived in the happy knowledge that I had missed no substantial scheme.

That is until late last year, when I visited Street's 1874–8 All Saints, Middlesbrough, where grandiose plans were developed for the west end. In March 1910 Moore came up with a design for a tower with flanking organ galleries (Fig. 4). In October the same year he produced an alternative, cheaper scheme for a tower with a steep saddleback roof. A perspective of the first design found its way on to the cover of the parish magazine in 1912, no doubt in the hope of encouraging people's generosity: it was republished in a book about the church in 2003.[4] However, the later design (Fig. 5), among the parish papers in Teesside Archives,[5] was hitherto unknown and is the only case of Moore designing a saddleback tower. All this came to nothing: sufficient funds were not raised, the Great War intervened, and such money as was available was diverted in 1926–7 to fixtures and fittings by Bodley & Hare (i.e. C. G. Hare).[6]

Other works I failed to identify are 1885 designs for an organ-case at Kemsley, Kent, and an altar and frontal for Bramley, Leeds, of around 1909.[7] Another couple of minor factual amendments are detailed in the end notes.[8]

I hope that the book on Moore has done something to widen awareness of his work and its quality – though whether this is so is for others to judge, not me. In some ways the job could have been improved. I wish there had been some colour pictures and I

wish that some of my own illustrations had been better: but there are over 200 of them and they do give a comprehensive view of Moore's work. My heartiest thanks go to Shaun Tyas of Paul Watkins Publishing for having the courage to accept the publishing proposal and seeing it to completion. He has been willing to produce architectural history books which otherwise might not see the light of day; long may he succeed.

And what of Moore's reputation? In the book I included a short chapter setting out what others thought of him. Goodhart-Rendel, Pevsner, Betjeman and Stephen Dykes Bower, for example, all held him in very high regard. I also quoted Gavin Stamp's view that Moore was 'the most subtle and satisfying of the great Victorian church architects'; in a letter to me after the book was published he put it even more directly: 'I still think Temple Moore was the best of the lot.'[9] That is exactly how I feel too, but for many people his name still does not roll off the tongue like those of Butterfield, Street, or Pearson and they would be hard-

ALL SAINTS'

Parish Magazine

NOVEMBER. PRICE ONE PENNY. 1913.

All Saints'.

SUNDAY SERVICES.

Holy Eucharist, 1st Celebration 7 a.m.
Holy Eucharist, 2nd Celebration 8 a.m.
The Parish Eucharist with Sermon & Procession (High Mass) - 9 a.m
Matins ... ... 11 a.m.
Sunday School ... ... 2 p.m.
Holy Baptism and Churching ... 3 p.m.
Evensong and Sermon ... ... 6-30 p.m.
Mission Service ... ... 8 p.m.

WEEK-DAY SERVICES.

Holy Eucharist (daily) ... 7 & 9 a.m.
On Wednesdays and Holy Days, also 9-15 a.m.
Matins ... ... 7-40 a.m.
Litany, (Wed. & Fri.) ... before 9 a.m. Mass.
Evensong (daily) ... ... 7-30 p.m.
All seats free and unappropriated. The Church is open every day from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. for private prayer.

HOLY BAPTISM & CHURCHINGS

Sundays at 3 p.m. Mondays and Wednesdays at 7 p.m. No Fees for Baptism.
N.B.—(1) No child can be baptized without at least one god-parent.
(2) All god-parents must be Communicants.
(3) A god-parent is provided every Sunday, Monday and Wednesday.
When a Woman comes to Church to thank God for safe delivery she makes the ecommended offering.

SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

Confessions are heard every morning after the Eucharist or after Matins, also on Fridays at 3, 6, and 8 p.m., and on Saturdays at 8 p.m.

CLERGY.

Rev. Father Burn, The Clergy House
Rev. Father Melville " "
Rev. Father Folleston " "

Fig. 4: Moore's March 1910 design for the west end of All Saints, Middlesbrough. As at Barnsley, this was a staunch Anglo-Catholic parish [Teesside Archives].

pressed to name many of his churches. Why? Crucially, much of his best work is not easily accessible and a great deal of it is in the north of England, beyond easy range of London-based architectural historians. Moore's one great London church is

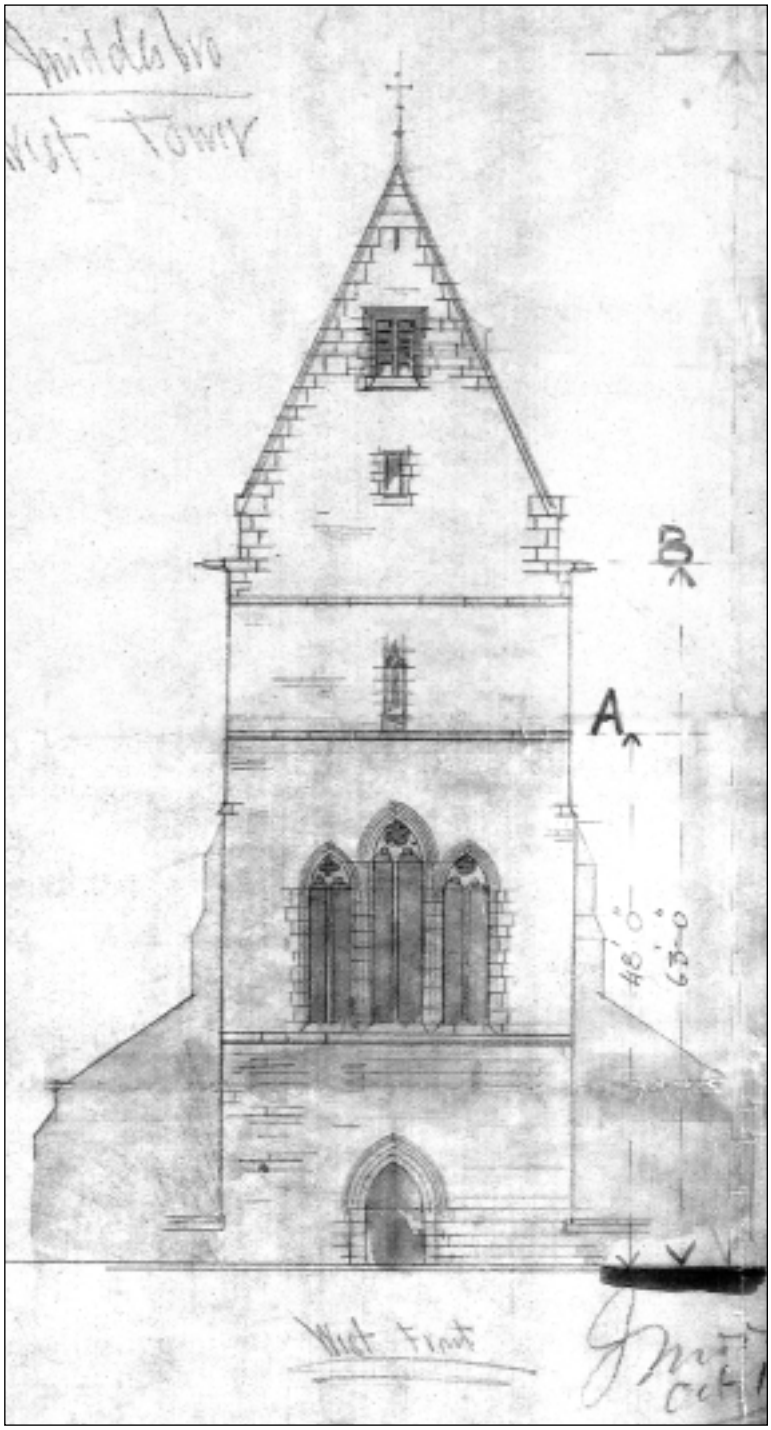

Fig. 5: The more modest October 1910 scheme for a west tower at All Saints, Middlesbrough. [Teesside Archives].

marooned in the suburbs of Tooting (All Saints', Tooting Graveney, Fig. 6), while St Peter's, mentioned above, sits in a grim bit of Barnsley. Earlier Victorian architects were building in or nearer the centres of towns and cities, while Moore's generation was mostly supplying buildings further out. By his time, the spectacle of All Saints, Margaret Street, or the fireworks of St James the Less, Pimlico, both of which make such an instant impact, had

Fig. 6: All Saints, Tooting Graveney (1904–6), Moore's only major church in London. The altarpiece is a Renaissance import from Bologna, brought in by the vicar along with other trophies from his travels: Moore disapproved heartily of them being placed in the Gothic setting and resigned.

passed out of fashion. His great churches have intense beauty which derives, as one contemporary critic said of a Moore design, from 'good proportion and sweetness of line'.

To see Moore at his very finest, apart from churches mentioned already, you could profitably experience (and this aims to give a reasonable geographical spread), St Mark's, Mansfield (1896–7), St Columba's, Middlesbrough (1900–02), St Wilfrid's, Harrogate (1904–8 onwards), St Anne's, Royton, (1908–9), All Saints, Uplands, Stroud (1908–10), St Mary's Canwell, Staffs. (1910–12), St James', Clacton-on-Sea (1912–13), St Columba's, Scarborough (design 1914, built 1922–6), and All Saints, Basingstoke (1915–17). They all reveal a great master at work.

Special offer to Ecclesiology Today *readers. Copies of Geoff Brandwood's* Temple Moore: An Architect of the Late Gothic Revival *are still available direct from the publisher, price £35 (UK) or £37 (overseas) (normal price £49.50). Send a cheque (made out to 'Shaun Tyas') or Visa or Mastercard details (no security code needed) to Shaun Tyas, 1 High Street, Donington, Spalding PE11 4TA. Or telephone 01775 821542.*

Notes

1 Geoffrey Brandwood, *Temple Moore: An Architect of the Late Gothic Revival* (Shaun Tyas, 1997).

2 A rather odd idea but not without precedent. After Edmund Sharp retired from architecture in 1851 to concentrate on other business ventures, E. G. Paley traded as 'Sharpe & Paley', while after the death of J. D. Sedding in 1891, Henry Wilson still included his master's name in the title of the practice.

3 After Leslie Moore's death in 1957 and the refusal of the RIBA to take the office's drawings, his widow Mary offered them to the churches involved. Many took them in and I was able to inspect rolls of drawings on many a vestry table. A large number have subsequently been placed in record offices.

4 Barry Jewitt, *All Saints, Middlesbrough: A History of the Church and its Parish* (2003). The whereabouts of the original perspective are unknown but the parish magazine is with the parish archives. The design for the west elevation of the tower and flanking wings scheme on tracing paper is held at Teesside Archives, PR/M(AS)6/1.

5 PR/M(AS)6/4.

6 A hanging rood, war memorial chapel, and an alabaster tabernacle for the high altar: Teesside Archives PR/M(AS)6/5–9.

7 RIBA Drawing Collection at the Victoria &Albert Museum: respectively PA106/17 and PA1107/5.

8 The other minor amendments mentioned in the text are as follows. We now know exactly when Giles Scott was apprenticed to Moore – 18 January 1899 (my book, p. 4, said 'about 1898'): this information comes from Gavin Stamp (personal communication, 6 August 1997) who was shown Moore's indenture by Betty Hoare. On p. 38 I said '"Pick" Brotton was a minor architect and produced plans for Moore of Rievaulx church'. In fact it was his father (also named Robert Pickering Brotton) who did so: e-mail from Mrs M. Anne Rees, great-granddaughter of Moore's builder William Brotton, 7 February 2008.

9 Personal communication, 24 July 1997.

Reflections on *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture*

Malcolm Thurlby

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IN 1999 I gave a lecture on *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* to the Friends of Hereford Cathedral, an event to launch my new book of the same title published by the local Logaston Press. That evening we sold about one hundred copies of the book, not bad for starters, I thought. The book continued to sell well, even though one important work of the School, the Orleton font, had been omitted because of my less-than-perfect computer skills. The omission was corrected in the second printing, which also included fragments from Edvin Loach which had come to my attention too late for inclusion in the first edition. The book is now in its fifth printing and a sixth is planned later this year.

I start with these figures because the book sales alone vindicate my decision not to publish with an established academic press. However, that was not my only reason. In my Introduction I stated that the book

> aims at that delicate balance between appeal to the scholar and to the general public. It must be confessed that this is a somewhat daunting task. On the one hand, the art historian approaches the text with prior knowledge of the specialized literature and will seek insights into the *minutiae* of the subject and new perspectives on the historical setting of the work. On the other hand, there is the reader with no prior knowledge of the topic, a person, like me thirty years ago, who is captivated by the aesthetic experience of the south doorway of Kilpeck church.[1]

This approach complied with the philosophy of Andy Johnson, founder and owner of Logaston Press, to publish books of good academic quality which would also be accessible to the general reader. If I had to make the choice again it would be exactly the same. Admittedly, my decision was taken at a time in my career when I had nothing to lose by publishing with a 'popular' rather than an 'academic' press, as I was a tenured Full Professor. I wonder if a tenure-review committee or research assessors today would rank the book as highly as one published by a university press? However the book is categorized, it is worth noting that it has garnered many more citations than any one of more than 90 articles I have published in academic journals. It reached an even bigger audience when used as the basis of a two-page spread in the *Daily Telegraph* (27 March 2004).[2] Although a welcome 'advertisement' leading to more book sales, it also achieved my object of bringing the Herefordshire School of Sculpture to the attention of more people.

Reviews of the book have been generally complimentary and Jeremy Knight was even kind enough to refer to it as 'definitive'; I am not sure that I want to go that far but I was nonetheless very flattered.[3] Ron Baxter noted that the photographs 'alone are worth the price of admission' (£12.95).[4] There can be little doubt that the 'bargain price', as Roger Stalley called it,[5] appealed to a large number of people who would not normally think of buying a more expensive art history book. One website refers to the book as 'First-rate, packed with information (and photographs), yet still digestible'.[6] Tessa Garton found 'the book contains much that is useful and thought provoking, and has much to offer both to the scholar and to the general public'.[7] At the same time she detected some limitations, notably 'A more extensive discussion of the influence of patrons on style or iconography would have been useful', a point with which Stalley was in basic agreement although he felt that this may have been outside the scope of the book, (a view I share). Garton also thought that interpretation of the sculpture based on the Bestiary 'would have benefited from a more comprehensive discussion of the social context and audience for which the work was produced'.[8] On the latter, Stalley stated that 'the author really needed to confront the (albeit intractable) question of the audience and its social composition'.[9] Intractable, indeed; is it possible to determine whether or not the sculpture was aimed primarily at a rustic or an elite audience?

On the other hand, Ron Baxter (author of *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages)*[10] was not happy with the direct association of some of the Kilpeck sculpture with the Bestiary. With specific reference to corbel 32 on the south side of the apse, he said:

> Thurlby's bold interpretation of the upside-down beast head at A6 as an ibex (which carries a good deal of iconographic weight in Bestiaries) is surely refuted by the observation that it has antlers rather than horns and is likelier, as the author of 'A Short Tour...' suggests, to represent a dead stag after the hunt. The author is reluctant to accept that Bestiaries provided the key to much medieval sculpture. They provided exemplars for sermons, which might well have been used to explicate such sculptures as these, but they were not the only source, and in any case their theological arguments are often so convoluted as to be almost incomprehensible. My own position is closer to that of the late Michael Camille, who argued that the corbels surrounding a church in a ring of imagery that was often worldly and sometimes grotesque and obscene could represent the reality of the world itself that surrounded and besieged the Church and the Man of God.[11]

If Bestiaries provided exemplars for sermons then they may also have provided inspiration for both the iconography and the sculptors of corbels. It is really just a question of whether the connection to the Bestiary is direct or via the intermediary of

sermons. On the specific reference to the ibex or stag, one does not preclude the other. In the interpretation of medieval art we do well to recall the words of Richard Krautheimer in the postscript to the reprint of his seminal article 'An Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', in which he emphasized the importance of what he called '"double-think", or better, "multi-think"', or the likelihood of multiple connotations.[12] With that in mind, I associated the stag on corbel 65 at Kilpeck with both the Bestiary and the hunt.[13] For the latter I made passing mention to corbels on the south wall of the nave of Elkstone (Gloucestershire). Specifically, corbel 12 (counting from the east) is carved with a knight on horseback; there is a hound on corbel 13, while a stag is on corbel 14 (Figs. 1–3).

The ibex interpretation was accepted by Jeremy Knight and the Sheela Na Gig Project.[14] More generally, Bestiary connections are accepted by John Hunt and a website on Kilpeck.[15] Hunt has also suggested that:

> The apostles, and tonsured figures representing the Fathers of the Church, are displayed as column figures, an arrangement found widely in early twelfth-century Europe. Both St Paul and St Benedict have been variously suggested for two of the figures, but the only one that can be certainly identified is St Peter, shown with his keys. It may be that this theme was particularly intended to reflect Hugh de Kilpeck's patronage of Gloucester Abbey and the establishment in Kilpeck of a Benedictine cell.[16]

Hunt further extended the study of Kilpeck church in the context of the caput or 'chief place' of the honor.[17] Calvin B. Kendall read the Kilpeck tympanum as a sign of Christ as the True Vine, with reference to John xv. 1–10, as previously suggested by Keyser and reported as a possible interpretation by me.[18] For Baxter and Pevsner, the Kilpeck tympanum is a Tree of Life.[19]

Baxter also challenged my association of aspects of Kilpeck with Ferrara Cathedral, as the date of 1135 in the inscription over the west portal of Ferrara Cathedral is 'uncomfortably late'. However, this date is more likely to refer to the completion of the church and so construction would have commenced well before that.[20] Thus it would seem that the analogue can stand, although it does raise questions about the exact nature of such links. A visitor from Herefordshire on pilgrimage to Rome might have visited Ferrara Cathedral and been impressed with the very latest work there; one has to ask if such a visitor might have had access to the workshop too.

The most comprehensive analysis of the Herefordshire School since the publication of my book is John Hunt's essay entitled *'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of*

Fig. 1. Elkstone (Gloucestershire), south nave corbel 12.

Fig. 2. Elkstone (Gloucestershire), south nave corbel 13.

Fig. 3. Elkstone (Gloucestershire), south nave corbel 14.

Sculpture'.[21] Most importantly he argued convincingly that 'Shobdon cannot be placed before late 1135…more probably the late 1130s'. His evidence is based on a careful reading of the Wigmore Chronicle in which the main account opens with the words, 'In the time of King Stephen', and proceeds to introduce Hugh I de Mortimer, Oliver de Merlimond and the latter's plans for Shobdon church.[22] In spite of Hunt's reservations about dating Kilpeck church by the 1134 gift to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, I still believe it has much to recommend it.[23] Hunt also questioned the dating of Bishop Roger's work at Old Sarum Cathedral in relation to Kilpeck, but it now seems clear that the eastern arm of Sarum was finished by the mid 1120s.[24] Therefore, Kilpeck should be dated earlier than Shobdon as suggested by James King.[25]

The Introduction to Herefordshire in *The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* (CRSBI)[26] provides very useful historical and geological information that pertains to the Herefordshire School, and the website presents detailed discussions of a number of Herefordshire School sites, especially Castle Frome[27] and Kilpeck.[28] On the St George and the Dragon tympanum at Brinsop, George Zarnecki reports my discussion of various Roman sources but is lukewarm to the idea of any connection with a cult image of Mithras.[29] He does not elaborate and I remain convinced by the validity of the formal relationships. At Rowlstone, Zarnecki thought that the iconographic identification of the left-hand inverted figure to the right of the south capital of the chancel arch as St Peter 'seems unlikely because no crucifixion is shown: because the figure carries a cross-sceptre and a book rather than keys: and because it would not explain the inverted angel alongside'.[30] He observed that this inversion could not be a mistake in the placing of the sculpture, because it forms part of the same stone as the capital and suggested instead that this was a mistake in carving. These observations notwithstanding, the inversion of the figures surely allude to St Peter's crucifixion, the saint to whom the church is dedicated.

On the Fownhope tympanum, my discussion of the iconographic interpretation of the figures as the Virgin and Child, or God the Father and God the Son from a Trinity, completed by a bird in the voussoir above, was mentioned by Zarnecki and Baxter but without further discussion; they label the sculpture 'Virgin and Child'.[31] In addition to my presentation of Eardisley and the account of the sculpture in the *CRSBI*,[32] it should be noted that during the restoration of Eardisley church it was reported that a 'number of corbels of the Norman period….have been found'.[33] Have any of them have survived in the houses or

Fig. 4. Penally (Dyfed), detail of cross shaft.

Fig. 5. Kilpeck (Herefordshire), south nave corbel 4.

Fig. 6. Nevern (Dyfed), cross from north east.

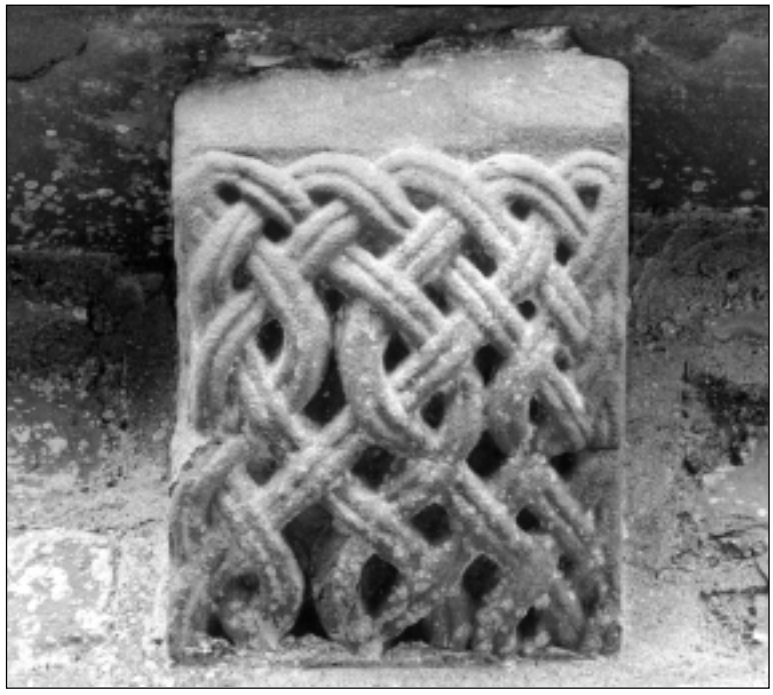

Fig. 7. Kilpeck (Herefordshire), south nave corbel 13.

rock gardens in the village?

Peter Lord was quite correct to spot the omission of the Brecon Priory (now Cathedral) font from my discussion of the Herefordshire School.[34] This is now amended with specific parallels cited with the Stottesden (Shropshire) font, with reference to Byzantine silks.[35] On the other hand, Lord's association of the fonts at St Woolos at Newport and St Thomas at Over Monnow is incorrect; the former dates from much later in the twelfth century while the latter is a nineteenth-century Romanesque revival.[36] The label stops on the south doorway at Marcross (Glamorgan) have now been compared with Kilpeck corbels.[37]

Research on the Herefordshire School continues. A forthcoming article by John Hunt discusses a red sandstone relief carving at Upton Bishop.[38] This shows the upper torso and head of a figure, set within an architectural niche with part of another niche. The relief has been published as both Roman and Romanesque, and Martin Henig has associated it with the Herefordshire School.[39] Hunt discusses these parallels but concludes that the relief dates from the early middle ages. I attributed the sculpture reset in the Bell Inn at Alveley (Shropshire) to the patronage of Hugh de Mortimer between 1138 and 1140. Hunt argued that the work was created for Guy Lestrange who held the manor of Alveley and suggests a date between 1155 and the early 1160s.[40] As I am now inclined to accept Hunt's attribution and dating, this means that the Herefordshire School was active for longer than I had originally proposed.

In my preface to *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* I remarked that I had cited a number of Welsh analogues in *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* but that '[in] retrospect, I am inclined to think that I did not give the Welsh sources due emphasis'.[41] Given that Kilpeck and the churches in Erging or Archenfield – in an area bounded by the Wye, Worm and Monnow rivers – were formerly in the diocese of Llandaff, it should not be surprising to find reflections of a Welsh artistic heritage in the Herefordshire School. As a thorough investigation of this is well beyond the scope of this note, I will just cite two parallels for two corbels on the south wall of the nave at Kilpeck. First, there is a distinct affinity in the composition of the creatures on Kilpeck corbel 4 and those on a cross shaft at Penally (Dyfed) (Figs. 4 & 5). Secondly, the two strand interlace on Kilpeck corbel 13 is of the same type as the second panel from the top of the shaft on the north face of the Nevern (Dyfed) cross (Figs. 6 & 7). These parallels from Wales certainly reinforce my initial apprehension at Jeremy Knight's flattering description of my book (ironically in a

Welsh journal), as 'definitive'.

Notes

1 Malcolm Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston, 1999), xii.
2 Christopher Somerville, 'England: Tall tales captured in stone', *Daily Telegraph* (27 March 2004). http://www.christophersomerville.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/Herefordshire%20Sculpture.htm
3 Jeremy Knight, 'Review', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 147 (1999) [2001], 242–47.
4 Ron Baxter, 'Review', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (JBAA), 155 (2002), 307.
5 Roger Stalley, 'Review', *Archaeological Journal*, 156 (1999), 438–39.
6 Peter Evans, 'Kilpeck Church', http://www.hoary.org/snaps/engl/kilp.html
7 Tessa Garton, 'Review', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* (TAMS), 45 (2001), 150–51.
8 Garton 'Review', 150.
9 Stalley, 'Review', 438.
10 Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998).
11 Ron Baxter, 'St Mary and St David, Kilpeck, Herefordshire', Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland (CRSBI) linked from Herefordshire Site Index (henceforth CRSBI, Hereford) at http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/crsbi/frhesites.html
12 Richard Krautheimer, 'An Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 1–33; reprinted in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York 1969), 115–49, postscript 149–50.
13 Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, 51–52, 63–64.
14 *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 147 (1999) [2001], 244; 'The Sheela Na Gig Project', http://www.sheelanagig.org/index.html#http://www.sheelanagig.org/SheelaKilpeck.htm
15 John Hunt, 'Kilpeck Church: a window on medieval "mentalité"', http://www.history.org.uk/pdfs/Kilpeck%20Church%20final.doc ; Evans, 'Kilpeck'.
16 Hunt, 'Kilpeck Church, a window'.
17 Hunt, 'Kilpeck Church: a window'.
18 Calvin B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 104–05. Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, 44.
19 Baxter, 'Kilpeck'; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (Penguin, 1963), 202.
20 Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1915–17, reprinted New York, 1966), II, 407–08. Baxter, *JBAA Review*. Also Pevsner, *Herefordshire*, 203.
21 John Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Antiquaries Journal*, 84 (2004), 185–222.
22 Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons', 187.
23 Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons', 191–99.
24 Malcolm Thurlby, 'Sarum Cathedral as rebuilt by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139: the state of research and open questions', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 101 (2008), 130–140.
25 James F. King, 'The Parish Church of Kilpeck Revisited', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in Hereford: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, 14, ed. David Whitehead (Leeds 1995), 82–93.
26 Ron Baxter, 'Preface to Herefordshire', CRSBI, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/crsbi/frhepreface.html.
27 George Zarnecki, 'St Michael and All Angels, Castle Frome, Herefordshire', CRSBI, Hereford.
28 Baxter, 'Kilpeck'.
29 George Zarnecki, 'St George, Brinsop, Herefordshire', CRSBI, Hereford.
30 George Zarnecki, 'St Peter, Rowlstone, Herefordshire', CRSBI, Hereford.
31 George Zarnecki and Ron Baxter, 'St Mary, Fownhope, Herefordshire', CRSBI,

Hereford.

32 George Zarnecki and Ron Baxter, St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, Herefordshire, CRSBI, Hereford.

33 *The Builder*, 20 (1862), 608.

34 Peter Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), 72 note 48.

35 Malcolm Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), 111–13.

36 Thurlby, *Wales*, 163–64, 168.

37 Thurlby, *Wales*, 176.

38 I am grateful to John Hunt for sharing this article with me in advance of publication in the *Antiquaries Journal*.

39 Martin Henig, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Corpus of Sculpture of the Roman World, Great Britain, Volume 1, Fascicule 7, Roman Sculpture from the Cotswold Region with Devon and Cornwall* (Oxford, 1993), cat. 255, pl. 59.

40 Hunt, Sculpture, Dates and Patrons, 206–08.

41 Thurlby, *Wales*, xi.

Brompton Oratory revisited

Roderick O'Donnell

Rory O'Donnell has been a member of the Oratory Art and Architecture Committee for over twenty five years. He has published more than one hundred titles – from reviews to books – largely on Catholic church architecture in Britain and Ireland.

Introduction

IN 1984 Brompton Oratory celebrated the centenary of its consecration with a triumphant internal redecoration and an exterior cleaning (completed in 1994). A commemorative volume of essays *The London Oratory Centenary 1884–1984* followed in 1985.[1] There have been embellishments since, notably the re-ordering of the St Joseph chapel in 2005,[2] to include two standing angels left over at the re-erection of the seventeenth-century Lady altar from Brescia, the first and foremost of the imported continental Baroque sculptures for which the church is famous.[3] The competition and the church (1880–84) by the architect Herbert Gribble were the subject of a chapter in the 1983 *Survey of London* volume.[4] However, the form and date of the high altar were surprisingly unnoticed. References to the high altar were also omitted from the *Centenary* volume, as the editor concluded that existing guide books covered the history of the church from 1884.[5] This paper rectifies these omissions.

The 'style of the Italian Renaissance'

In my *Centenary* essay, I posited a forty year Gothic hegemony from Pugin's Oscott College Chapel opening (1838) to the Oratory competition, (1878) stating that Sedding's Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell, was 'the first Anglican classical church for half a century in London'.[6] In his review, Peter Howell countered this with Thomas Allom's 1852 St Peter's Notting Hill, an example in its stuccoed façade and galleried interior of classical *survival* rather than Renaissance *revival* (as were so many contemporary nonconformist chapels of this type). Without citing any, Howell also referred to 'many Irish examples'.[7] In fact, the handful of Irish classical churches in this period are also examples of a classical survival, often of churches begun before the Great Famine (such as Longford cathedral) or the completion of Dublin classical churches by Patrick Byrne. The major exception is Byrne's Our Lady, Rathmines also of 1852[8]. I also claimed that 'The Oratory...stands out extraordinarily early in its return to Renaissance classical themes' and gave examples of English and continental classical churches which succeeded it.[9] Howell thought this 'over states [the] case', and gave a further four continental examples (although his inclusion of St Augustin, Paris, a Romanesque or *style-latin* design, cannot be included). Such few exceptions surely prove the length of the Pugin hegemony and the important part played by the Oratory competition brief 'for a

Fig. 1: The high altar in the Oratory temporary church (1854-1884), here attributed to J. J. Scoles 1858. [Photograph: Fathers of the Oratory]

church in the style of the "Italian Renaissance", in the late Victorian re-assessment of the status of the Renaissance.

Aspects of Gribble's design and decoration are in fact Mannerist, even if his second façade design of 1890–3 shows a Baroque *kunstwollen*. A contemporary quip that the new church was a '*réchauffé* of St Paul's and the Lowther Arcade and Newgate'[10] should be noted. The 'Lowther Arcade' refers to the domed and top-lit interior of the arcade (demolished 1902) in the West Strand improvements by Nash, so strongly reflected in the top-lit dome system of the Oratory. 'Newgate' refers to Dance Junior's Newgate Prison (also demolished 1902), particularly Gribble's quote of the French-style channelled rustication. In fact Wren (and Paris) was as strong an influence as Rome and I have analysed the 'Englishness' of the church in detail elsewhere.[11] By contrast, the Baroque aspects are seen in the first two post-consecration phases; the two-stage construction of the façade – the lower by Gribble (1890), the upper by the clerk of works Peter Shaw (1893) – then in the addition of the outer dome in 1895 by George Sherrin. It is especially true of the marble cladding of the sanctuary by Cosgreave (1888–9) and the 1927–32 internal decoration by Commendatore Formilli. The loose description of the church as 'Roman Baroque' by some recent authors more

Fig. 2: Herbert Gribble's scheme for the sanctuary of the Oratory, from a watercolour of 1878 labelled 'Interior view. The new church of the Oratory South Kensington, Herbert A. Gribble MRIBA architect'. [Photo courtesy English Heritage, Survey of London]

properly refers to these later aspects, rather than Gribble's work in the 'Italian Renaissance' style.[12]

The high altar

The competition *Instructions* specified that the high altar from the previous church would be re-used.[13] Early photographic evidence suggests that this altar, clearly enlarged, survives in the present church[14] and this is confirmed by the first guide of 1884.[15] Although the *Survey of London* identified reused furnishings from the earlier church (such as the altar rails and floor in the sanctuary), it made no comment on the design or date of the high altar. The evidence which emerges from the Oratory archives is one of dithering over the decoration and the reuse of existing

furniture, demonstrating both Oratorian conservatism and the low status of their architect, Gribble. On 7 February 1883, in a cost cutting mood, the Congregation of Deputies decided on 'replacing the High Altar and sanctuary floor...each of these items to be subject to a vote of the General Congregation'.[16] On 27 April 1883 the General Congregation duly voted for estimating the cost of 'replacing in the New Church the old High Altar with the addition of two steps to the already existing three and [to] increase the width of the super altare'.[17] On 20 June 1883 it accepted 'Mr Goad's estimate for replacing and making alterations to the old High altar… £300'.[18]

Significantly, the architect is not mentioned and the only drawing to survive relating to the actual high altar is a tracing labelled 'Design for laying out the sanctuary floor', showing the altar in position with extensions either side hatched in (work which in fact took place). Although there is a further undated

Fig. 3: The Oratory (1878-1884) by Herbert Gribble; the sanctuary incorporating the altar by J. J. Scoles [Photograph RCMHE, 1948]

Fig. 4: St Joseph's Chapel as reordered by Russell Taylor in 2005; the J. J. Scoles altar of 1861 is embraced by a screen of Tuscan Doric columns surmounted by two seventeenth century angels.

drawing by Gribble showing foundations to support four piers, they are for his unexecuted baldachino (see below). By contrast, more detailed drawings survive showing his designs for the foundations of the Sacred Heart altar (though others were to follow its details) and that for the fixing of the Lady altar from Brescia.[19] Then in April 1886, an Oratorian, Fr Kenelm Best, offered to pay for the 'renewal of the High Altar' as well as the decoration of the sanctuary and a 'new high altar'.[20] Could this have been a new structure? If so, no drawings survive for it. Despite the words 'replace' and 'new', it would seem that the re-used altar was yet further adapted and ornamented piecemeal, as suggested by Fr Best's further gift of a new tabernacle in December 1887 [21] and the acceptance on 2 July 1890 of his gift of 'additional gilt ornament'.[22] Two Gribble drawings of either January or June 1888 for the decoration of the apse have a blank white overlay or outline indicating that the high altar was to be re-used. Underlining its interim status, the high altar was not consecrated with the church in April 1884, an omission rectified only in 1934.

It is therefore argued here that it is the altar from the earlier church which survives, that it was not this altar which was moved to Chiswick[23] and that it is not work of the 1920s by B. Pozzi as suggested by Denis Evinson.[24] The existing altar is therefore identified as 'the grand altar'[25] by the architect J. J. Scoles[26] , from the previous church. Three other Scoles' side altars from the previous church also survive, notably that of St Joseph for which drawings dated 1861 survive. Given the maintenance of tradition here through forty years of liturgical turmoil, the high altar at the Oratory is the oldest in daily use in Catholic London.

I wish to thank the Revd Fr Rupert McHardy, Cong. Orat, archivist, for access to the archive, in particular to the uncatalogued collection of architectural drawings

Notes

1 Michael Napier & Alistair Laing (eds.), *The London Oratory Centenary 1884–1984*, (Trefoil, London 1985).
2 By Russell Taylor, architect: *Church Building*, 93 (May/June 2000), 18–19.
3 The angels are by Santo Calegari and Tomas Ruez. Alistair Laing, 'Baroque sculpture' in Napier & Laing, *Centenary*, 65–83.
4 F. H. W. Shepperd (gen. ed), Southern Kensington, Brompton, *Survey of London*, vol. XLI, (Athlone Press, London, 1983), 50–7, Frontispiece.
5 Letter from the late Fr Michael Napier to the author, c.1983.
6 Roderick O'Donnell, 'The Architecture of the London Oratory Churches' in Napier & Laing *Centenary*, 21–47.
7 Peter Howell, review in *Newsletter of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 27 (Spring 1986), 11.
8 Roderick O'Donnell, 'Roman Reflections on the Liffey, classical Catholic churches in Victorian Dublin', *Country Life*, CLXXVI (July 1984), 52–53.
9 Roderick O'Donnell, *London Oratory Churches*, 22 and footnotes 6, 7.

10 Fr F. R. Kerr 'The Oratory in London', *Oratory Parish Magazine*, VII, no 3, (3 March 1927), 42.
11 '[Roman] Catholic church architecture in England; 'Irish occupation' or 'the Italian mission'?' in D. Crellin and Ian. Dungavell (eds.) '*Architecture and Englishness 1880–1914*', *Papers from the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2003* (2006), 59–71, (pp 68–9), 'Roman' was interpolated into my title by the editors. Andrew Saint's essay in the same volume, 'The cult of Wren', 37–58 makes other points about the Wren Revival.
12 For instance, James Stevens Curl, *The English Heritage Book of Victorian Churches*, (Batsford/English Heritage 1995), 43–5; *Piety proclaimed*, (London, 2002), 47–9.
13 London Oratory Archive (LOA), New Church file, 'Instructions to Architects offering designs for the new Church of the Oratory'.
14 LOA. Photographs in an undated album show that the recessed outer pier and console bracket on both sides are additions and the plinth has been heightened with four steps (not the five mentioned in the 1883 estimates).
15 The 'altar, which originally stood in the old church, but has received further additions and embellishments'. B.F. Laslett, *The Description of the New Church of the Oratory* (London, n.d. c.1884), 11.
16 LOA, Congregation of Deputies 7 February 1883.
17 LOA, General Congregation Minutes 27 April 1883. In *Oratory in London chronology 1845–1947*, a typed manuscript *c.* 1947 of notes by Fr Ralph Kerr (died 1932) it has 'replace old High altar with additions. £300' under February 1883.
18 LOA, General Congregation Minutes 21 June 1883. John and E Goad, Phoenix Marble Works, Stonehouse, Plymouth signed contract drawings dated 20 January 1880 to supply the marble of the major and minor orders; the capitals were omitted from this contract.
19 All drawing references are to the uncatalogued collection of architectural drawings in the LOA.
20 A manuscript addition to the *Oratory chronology 1845–1947* has '"new high altar" first used 19 September 1886'.
21 *Oratory chronology 1845–1947*, December 1887.
22 LOA, General Congregation Minutes, 2 July 1890.
23 LOA, Fr Philip Gordon and Fr Kerr, 'Various memoranda relating to the London Oratory history', 391–2 describe the original altar as made of wood, and moved to the church at Chiswick. This must refer to a yet antecedent high altar to that retained in 1884.
24 Denis Evinson, *London Catholic Churches*, (Sheffield University Press, *c.* 1995), 166.
25 Scoles's 1853–4 temporary church was improved in 1858, see *The Builder* (1858), 500–1, (where the 'grand altar' is referred to) and also *Building News*, (1858), 690, 696.
26 J. J. Scoles, architect, was the father of two priest-architects. Roderick O'Donnell 'Pious bachelors, converts, fathers and sons: Catholic architectural practice 1791–1939' in *Ecclesiology Today*, 38 (May 2007), 25–36.

Church studies in transition

Paul Cattermole

Paul Cattermole was born in Norfolk and began to be interested in churches in about 1950. Having learned to ring at Beccles in 1955, church towers and bells became a life-long addiction. He retired from teaching in 2003 and is at present honorary archivist at Wymondham Abbey and Norwich School.

Wymondham Abbey – first thoughts

PHILOSOPHICAL approaches to archaeology have changed greatly over the past thirty years and revisionism has so far affected the study of castles more than it has churches. It is worth considering how modern archaeological theory has influenced the study of castles and is creeping quietly into the study of churches. Recent work on Wymondham Abbey is a good example.

It was in 1995 that I was asked to produce a booklet on Wymondham Abbey and its bells[1] and to help the vicar, the Revd John Barnes, to update the church guide book.[2] The Abbey has a very rich archive that includes many documents dating from the fifteenth century relating to the bells, five account books of mediaeval gilds, and a bede-roll of 1524. The story of the long-standing animosity between the town and the monks which resulted in the Abbey having a tower at each end and two peals of bells has entered into vivid local legend. Careful collation of documents from different sources showed that generally the parishioners acted logically in defending their rights in the parish church and that periods of intense hostility were isolated. For most of the time town and monastery realised they were interdependent.

Research on towers and bells produced documentary evidence for dating the splendid north aisle with its range of nine windows (Fig. 1), seven in the local sixteenth-century Perpendicular style and two that were perhaps 200 years older. Seven entries occur in the Bede Roll bidding prayers for the donors of windows before 1524; a number of wills provide dates when donors died and a spot date, 1511, in the accounts of the Fraternity of the Light of Our Lady, gives independent evidence for making and glazing one window, complete with the costs. The advice given to me years before by R. Allen Brown, my supervisor at King's College London, seemed sound. Wills can tell you what people intended to do, building contracts are stronger evidence of intention, but it is only accounts that confirm that the job was done; then you can look at the archaeology and ask whether it all makes sense. Wymondham north aisle was surely the classic case.

In 2006 there was an opportunity to consider a new book on Wymondham Abbey and so far critics have treated it kindly.[3] Specialists were invited to write on various aspects of the Abbey, producing nineteen chapters and eight picture essays. Academics exchanged their views in open, honest and sometimes forthright

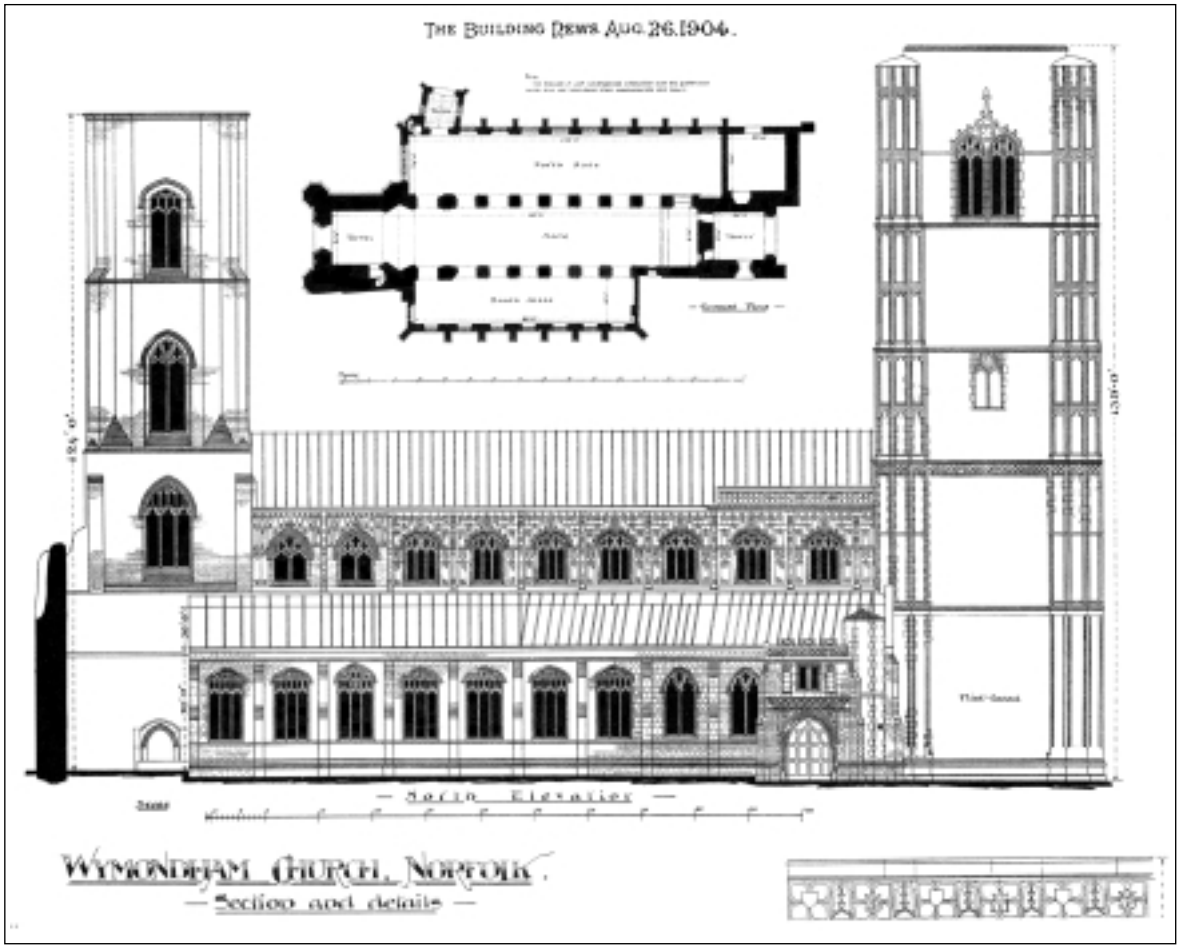

Fig. 1: The north side of Wymondham Abbey, 1904. Drawing by Frederick Sanders. Wymondham Parish Records 18/2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar and Churchwardens. The drawing shows the range of windows in the north aisle and the mid-fifteenth century porch.

discussion. My own contribution on the bells was robustly criticised for accepting the received wisdom that the parish bells were set up in the north-west tower of the Romanesque church around 1415, whilst ignoring a single inconvenient reference to the south-west tower. Careful consideration of the archaeology showed I was wrong: the south-west tower (Fig.2) was clearly strengthened to take the parish bells, just as Archbishop Thomas Arundel had ordered in 1411. This in turn resolved the problem of the north aisle, whose west end could not have been built if the north-west tower was still in use – second thoughts that could be good ammunition for critics. However, the new Wymondham book was produced without its editor fully appreciating the seismic changes that had taken place in archaeological thinking. The modernists could have a field day.

The modern approach to archaeology

It was only when a professional archaeologist suggested that I should look at up-to-date publications that I realised how much

Fig. 2: The south side of Wymondham Abbey, 1865. Photograph. Wymondham Parish Records 18/3. Reproduced by kind permission of the Vicar and Churchwardens. The photograph shows the thickened west bay of the clerestory, which remains from the former south-west tower.

the academic landscape had changed over recent years.[4] Revisionism appears to have hit castles earlier and more severely than it has churches. Castellologists of an earlier generation asserted that castles were built primarily for defence. Comfortable living accommodation and the opportunity to display status were secondary considerations. Archaeology was supported by documents, the two sources being seen as complementary. Writers such as R. Allen Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor set the standard in their *History of the King's Works* in 1963, scholarly text that a layman could read.

Not so now: Colin Platt has pointed out the dangers and inconsistencies of the modern approach to castles in an important article written in 2007.[5] Castles are apparently to be studied more 'holistically', yet Professor Matthew Johnson argues that scholars should look at 'a new sample based on strictly archaeological criteria' and ignore uncomfortable documentary references. At Cooling Castle in Kent, for example, 'the documents do not in fact record what is "true" and we cannot fit our archaeology around them'. The important thing for Johnson is 'actual field

experience, wandering round some ruins and comparing notes on what we see'. The telling words are 'our archaeology', in other words the orthodoxy of a new generation of archaeologists. Dr Robert Liddiard follows the same path. Grand concepts such as 'Landscapes of Lordship' are all very well, but one needs only to read two guidebooks to Castle Rising Castle in Norfolk written in 1978 and 2000 and reflect on which has the greater credibility.[6] Questioning and analysing the motives of castle builders is an undoubted addition to scholarship, but Johnson's claim that gunports at Bodiam Castle were designed so that a visitor could show off his military knowledge by criticising their design, looks more like a flight of fancy.

Hard on the heels of Johnson, Dr Pamela Graves set out in 2000 a modern approach to churches, which is beginning to gain some currency.[7] For Graves the works of Karl Marx for whom 'religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature … the opium of the people' or Avram Chomsky whose 'personal visions are fairly anarchist ones' apparently form a good basis for a philosophy of church archaeology. Not so the views of Eamon Duffy, which are tainted by his belief that people have a spiritual dimension to their lives in which religious observation is important. We are asked by Graves to 'walk with me through another world, singing the song of analogy'. Much kneeling and genuflecting, as well as walking through different doors and peering through squints, allows us to use our own bodies to 'reconstruct the physical components of religious practice'.[8] Churches must be chosen for investigation that do not conflict with preconceived ideas, and archaeologists must see only what they expect to see. Swaffham church is apparently a good place to understand why sanctus bell turrets cannot occupy the east gable end of the nave. The bell-rope would have been a 'hindrance to procession' and 'would have detracted from the view of the rood, and may possibly have got in the way of any pulley system there may have been for the rood light'. Very practical, except that engineers seem to have managed pretty well to solve these problems at the twenty or so Norfolk churches with bell turrets on the nave gable, which is exactly where the Swaffham one is. It must have been a trick of the light that allowed Graves to see it on the transept roof. Documents can be dangerous, so it is important to select churches for study that have no building accounts[9] and the historical background to a church should include the stories everyone knows.

Wymondham Abbey – second thoughts

The new Wymondham Abbey (2007) book, it has to be said, fails to conform to the rigorous standards of modern archaeological theory and the editor has to confess he was not aware that the

building had already been briefly assessed in the light of the new orthodoxy. Graves tells us that 'about the year 1400 the monks erected a tower over the crossing [and] … the townspeople built a solid wall across the nave under the western arch of the crossing, thus cutting the monastery out of their sight'.[10] They went on to build 'their own west tower, as a gesture of defiance'. Even a quick glance at the east end of the Abbey shows that the new tower was not built over the crossing, nor was a solid wall built under its western arch: so much for careful archaeological observation. The church guide book states correctly that the wall was built by the monks, but this is clearly inadmissible since it contradicts Graves's preconception that the wall 'proclaimed the independence of the townspeople'. The whole story of centuries of conflict between monastery and town, culminating in the town building its own tower is perhaps one of the hoariest chestnuts in the 'pseudo-history' of Wymondham.[11] It is not borne out by any surviving documents.

So the new Wymondham book enters the hostile world of academia and its editor can empathise with the Norfolk antiquary, Benjamin Mackerell, writing in 1737:

> I can make no other Apology for this Book, than it was written by One who took Pleasure in the Composition … let Criticks snarl, and Censurers cavil; it is the Candid and Ingenuous that I esteem.[12]

Notes

1 Paul Cattermole, *The bells of Wymondham Abbey*, Wymondham Abbey Booklets (1996).
2 John Barnes, *Wymondham Abbey*, Guide Book, (1990 revised 1995).
3 Paul Cattermole (ed.), *Wymondham Abbey: a History of the Monastery and Parish Church*, (Wymondham Abbey 2007 Book Committee, 2007).
4 C Pamela Graves, *The Form and Fabric of Belief: an archaeology of the Lay Experience of Religion in Medieval Norfolk and Devon*, (BAR British Series 311, 2000).
5 Colin Platt, 'Revisionism in Castle Studies: A Caution', *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007), 83–102, where Johnson and Liddiard are cited. Quotations in the following paragraph are taken from this paper.
6 R. Allen Brown, *Castle Rising, Norfolk*, English Heritage (1978), and Robert Liddiard, *Castle Rising, King's Lynn – Norfolk*, (no publisher named, undated, *c.*2002?).
7 Graves (2000).
8 Graves (2000). See especially p.111 for an extraordinary exploration of the thoughts of a woman forced to sit in the north aisle, if Ludham church was crowded and the sexes were separated. She would have a good view of the piscina on the south side of the high altar and the priest's frequent ritual washings. 'It would be the women who would be most conscious of the priest's ritual ablutions. Given the clerical and especially religious definition of women as polluted, it is interesting that at Ludham it might have been women who were made most conscious of the ablutions both as purifying and as evocative of the priest's unique proximity to the body of Christ'.
9 Four Norfolk churches have relatively full building accounts for their chancels, three more have incomplete accounts and Swaffham has a mine of information in its Black Book and churchwardens' accounts; all are listed in Paul Cattermole and

Simon Cotton, 'Medieval church building in Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 38 (1983), 235–79. More building accounts appear in contributions by the same researchers to John Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects*, (Alan Sutton, 1984).

10 Graves (2000), 161.

11 Professor Oliver Rackham has pointed out the limitations of relying only on documents when researching the history of a landscape, but he warns against writing 'pseudo-history' based on 'factoids'. 'A factoid looks like a fact, is respected as a fact, and has all the properties of a fact, except that it is not true'. Oliver Rackham, *The illustrated history of the countryside*, (George Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1994), 14.

12 Benjamin Mackerell, *A History of Lynn* (1737).

Reflections on revising Pevsner's *Essex*

James Bettley

James Bettley, whose revision of Pevsner's Essex *was published by Yale University Press in 2007, is now working on Suffolk.*

WHILE I was revising *Essex*, somebody said to me that he hoped the new edition would contain less on churches. I had to disappoint him, but might have added that although there would in fact be more on churches, they would constitute a smaller proportion of the whole. It is sometimes easy to think that Pevsner was really only interested in churches, and it is not unusual for people who have but a passing acquaintance with the *Buildings of England* series to assume that it is in fact devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical buildings. Few would deny, however, that in the average English village the parish church is the most important and interesting building from the historical and architectural point of view. It is hardly surprising, then, that Pevsner devoted more space to churches than to any other building type.

Having followed Pevsner round Essex and visited every church with him as my guide, I am struck by how much variety Pevsner managed to achieve in his descriptions. It would be so easy for him to have become formulaic, in the manner of the Royal Commission volumes for Essex that were published in 1916–23. These follow a set pattern which makes it easy to locate information about a particular part of the building, but lack any element of surprise. With Pevsner, it is as if you are approaching each church for the first time and working out its history from the evidence in front of you. Sometimes he will start with the most prominent feature, such as the tower: or he will start with the building's earliest visible feature, such as a blocked Norman window: or, as at Elmstead, he will take you round the back because the sequence of windows gives you an instant potted history of the building's construction. Usually he will start on the outside before taking you inside, but at Castle Hedingham, after discussing the west tower, he describes the interior of the nave before taking you back outside to look at the exterior of the chancel. Dating, wherever possible, is done by reference to features of the building itself – mouldings or tracery – rather than to documents. It sometimes feels as if you are part of a small party of students whom he is showing round, and the experience is never dull.

How, then, can one improve on perfection? As a writer, Pevsner was incredibly concise, and sometimes altering what he wrote can have the effect of removing a key structural element from a building: the whole thing is liable to collapse. My own inclination was not to change what Pevsner wrote any more than I could avoid, but rather to add where necessary. There are very

Fig. 1: Twinstead, St John the Evangelist: 'a wild admixture'

few actual mistakes in what Pevsner wrote (the occasional 'N' when 'S' is meant, or miscounted bays of an arcade), although in a number of instances new facts have come to light. The famous log church at Greensted is a case in point. In the first edition of *Essex* (1954) it was dated 'with some probability' *c.* 1013. For the second edition (1965) a footnote was added to the effect that 'dendro-magnetic tests in 1960 have suggested a date of *c.* 850 for several of the nave timbers'. The new technique of tree-ring dating, or dendrochronology, now tells us that the trees were felled between 1063 and 1100. Most people now would accept that as definitive, but past experience makes one wonder.

A major shortcoming of Pevsner's *Essex*, for present-day readers, is the rather summary treatment of nineteenth-century church work. This he acknowledged himself in the foreword to the 1965 edition: 'I would include now in a new volume more Victorian churches than I did twelve or fifteen years ago'. He clearly admired one or two Victorian churches and all that has been necessary is to revise and expand the entries in the light of new research. Wendy Hitchmough's analysis of St Mary the Virgin, Great Warley, for example, reveals the relatively minor part played in the design of that building by its architect, Charles

Harrison Townsend: more credit for the overall conception needs to be given to William Reynolds-Stephens.[1] Thanks to John Elliott and John Pritchard's biography of Henry Woodyer, we no longer have to be content with saying that Twinstead church (Fig. 1) 'is all very much in the style of Butterfield', although that remains a valid observation.[2] But Pevsner did, by the standards of the day, give both churches a respectable amount of space.

On other occasions, however, he was brutally dismissive. The next entry after Twinstead is Ugley. He described the sixteenth-century brick tower; 'the rest dates from 1866 and is of no interest'. There is no mention of surviving thirteenth-century work, nor of the Morris glass, which suggests that he was so distressed by the 1866 work that he didn't even go inside. (It may also be that he was unaware of the Morris glass because it appears in the firm's catalogues under 'Oakley', which was the preferred, more genteel name for the village at that time.) Also 'of no interest' was most of Wivenhoe church, restored by E. C. Hakewill in 1859–60. Here again, Pevsner seems to have been unaware that much of the medieval fabric survived the restoration and Hakewill's fitting out of the church is not only interesting from the ecclesiological point of view, but was also executed to a very high standard (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Wivenhoe, St Mary the Virgin: 'of no interest'

Part of the problem, perhaps, is that Pevsner had a thing about the 1860s, and seems never to have missed an opportunity to be rude about buildings of that decade. Even Twinstead (1860) is built of 'red brick with a wild admixture of black and yellow brick decoration'. Stapleford Abbotts (1862, by Thomas Jeckyll) is 'hideous' (Fig. 3). The village school at Shenfield (1865) is 'a specially revolting brick and stone building with a turret, but very typical of High Victorian work', although Pevsner presumably did not know that the offending turret was in fact added in 1893. The Roman Catholic church in Brentwood that later became the nucleus of the cathedral is described as being 'of that assertive ugliness which is characteristic of much church work of the sixties'. Burges's remodelling of the east end of Waltham Abbey (1859–60) he called 'fabulously insensitive', whereas one might now argue that it was precisely the opposite (Fig. 4). Stepping back into the 1850s, Wicken Bonhunt rectory is 'gruesome'.

Two particular aspects of nineteenth-century churches have been considerably expanded in the third edition of *Essex*. The first is that of furnishings and fittings, especially stained glass. Pevsner's inclusion of stained glass seems quite haphazard, so that it is hard to tell whether some glass was omitted it because he didn't think much of it, or because he hadn't noticed it. It might simply have been that he didn't include stained glass for which he did not know the maker. Thanks to the efforts of Martin Harrison, Michael Kerney, Peter Cormack and others, we now know the authorship of very much more stained glass than anyone did fifty years ago. That Pevsner was not unsympathetic towards Victorian stained glass is apparent from his comment on Pebmarsh church:

Fig. 3: Stapleford Abbotts, St Mary: 'hideous'

Fig. 4: Waltham Abbey, Holy Cross and St Lawrence: 'fabulously insensitive'

'So much is said (and done) nowadays against Victorian glass that one should consider seriously whether Clayton & Bell's is not more legitimately stained glass than Mr [Hugh] Easton's, which is always reminiscent of line drawings daintily water coloured'. On the other hand, so much stained glass is mediocre that perhaps he was right not to mention it.

Nineteenth-century restorations are a different matter. So many churches owe not just their present appearance, but their very existence, to 'thorough' restorations; their architects, whether local like Fred Chancellor, or big national names, deserve proper recognition. Woodyer's restoration of Holy Cross, Felsted, for example, makes the church what it is today: all the fittings are his, as is much of the stonework, but from Pevsner's entry one might think that this was an unrestored medieval building. He noticed at Felsted 'an odd soffit decoration' round the arches, comparing this with a similar device at Castle Hedingham ('a flat wavy band'). Something similar occurs at Copford. Is it an Essex feature? No, it is a Surrey one, introduced by Woodyer, who worked on all three churches. All too often, Pevsner either ignored nineteenth-century restorations, or mentions them only in order to regret them: at Castle Hedingham, again, the windows are 'sadly renewed', at Lawford the east window is 'unfortunately renewed'.

However, at Lawford he went on to make a comment that is spot on:

> the reredos underneath [the window] by trying to outdo the magnificence of the medieval stonework in alabaster and naturalistic carving, is another blemish. It needed all the Victorian self-confidence not to restrain oneself in the presence of so much ornamental carving as the interior of the chancel displays.

I have tried to fill some of the gaps that Pevsner left in his account of Essex's churches, but sentences like that simply cannot be improved.

Notes

1 W. Hitchmough, 'Great Warley Church: architecture & sculpture – body & soul' in P. Burman (ed.), *Architecture 1900* (Shaftesbury, 1998), 99–108

2 J. Elliott & J. Pritchard (eds.), *Henry Woodyer Gentleman Architect* (Reading, 2000)

On Victorian church building in London: a second bite at the cherry

Andrew Saint

Andrew Saint is General Editor of the Survey of London (English Heritage) and has just published Architect and Engineer: a study in sibling rivalry, *a comparison of their respective roles in creating buildings.*

CHURCH BUILDINGS are usually studied one at a time. Sometimes people look at the work of one architect, or a batch of churches or features from around the same time or in the same style. A strictly topographical approach is rarer but that too can yield dividends. I have been lucky enough to pursue such a line of study for London's churches and be paid for it – not once but twice. As the *Survey of London*'s architectural editor in the early 1980s, I wrote up most of the Anglican churches in the southern portion of Kensington, published in volumes 41 and 42 of the series. Now, after a gap, I am back on the *Survey*. For volume 49 we are just embarking on the very different district of Battersea and I have begun by tackling the Anglican churches once again.

There are, or were, a thumping eighteen in all. The Georgian parish church of St Mary apart, all these sub-parishes and their buildings were created between 1825 and 1910 to serve Battersea's burgeoning population. Of those seventeen, five remain in their original use (two with a reduced nave); five have been demolished and have no successor; three have been rebuilt to a smaller scale since (in two cases because of) the Second World War; three now belong to other denominations; one is used as a community hall. And I find myself facing anew the questions I had to address in Kensington over twenty years ago. How come there were so many Victorian urban churches? Were they ever needed, appreciated, or full? And what reasonable attitude can today's historians and conservationists bring to their plight and their adaptation?

These posers have of course been with us for years. They preoccupy archdeacons, DACs, and heritage organizations. On the historical side too, nineteenth-century urban church attendances have long been argued over. When we were writing up Kensington, I was wholly ignorant of that academic debate. Yet I flatter myself that our account of the churches there added something fresh to the topic. Looking church by church across the map of Kensington, you could see how one parish grew haphazardly out of another, how fluctuating rivalries between local High and Low factions created churches too close to one another and how successive bishops of London and Ecclesiastical Commissioners failed to clip the wings of ambitious clerics or prevent the formation of smaller and smaller so-called 'Peel districts', each time permitting a new bite to be taken out of an area not long formed.

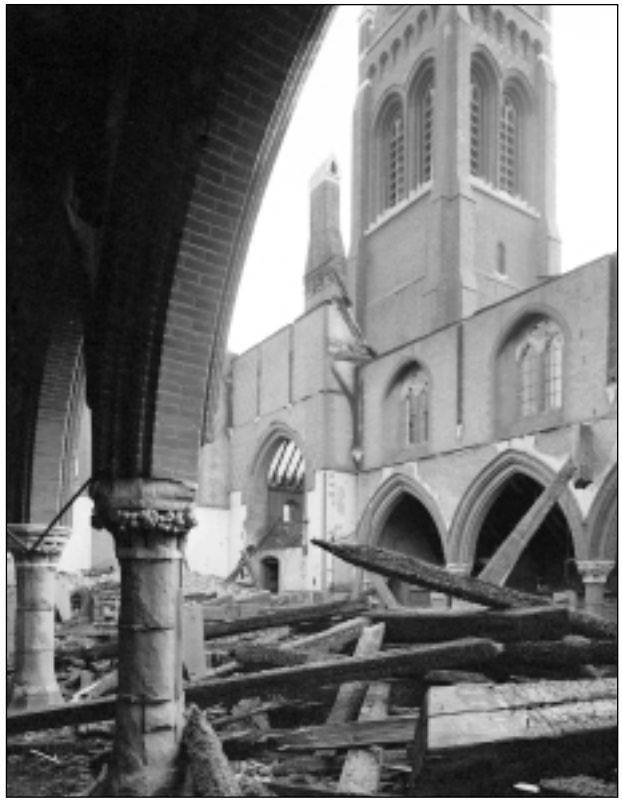

Fig1:St Peter's, Plough Road, Battersea, by William White, 1875–6, after it was burnt out on Guy Fawkes Night, 1970. Copyright English Heritage/NMR.

Above all, you could grasp the instability of the whole set-up, financial and emotional alike. Any energetic clergyman with enough pulpit eloquence and sex-appeal (often much the same thing) could start the process of founding a church by getting a few hundred pounds together. A site was the first hurdle, but was not always that difficult as landowners knew that churches added to the respectability and hence the rental value of a district. Generally the promoter would start with a temporary iron church before procuring a plausible design from an architect, complete with alluring tower and spire. Then the fund-raising would begin. Even in affluent Kensington that could go wrong. Up to about 1875 the Low-Church committees relied much on selling pews but for the High-Church party that was not an option. Insurance policies taken out on the life of a priest promoting the scheme were not rare, nor was it unknown for clergy to decamp in financial disarray with a church half-built. Naturally there was much idealism and hard work. On occasion churches and fittings of outstanding beauty were created. What was missing was any rational calculation about the long-term future. Raised against a backdrop of feverish speculative house-building, such churches competed against one another and were seldom solidly endowed. The Lord was to provide.

The Kensington experience made me reflect on the limitations to most writing about Victorian church architecture, focussed as it was upon personalities and style. So I suggested to the late Chris Brooks that the Victorian Society put on a lecture series called 'Building the Victorian Church' to explore the broader issues of nineteenth-century church provision and their architectural consequences. Chris took the idea up enthusiastically and the lectures took place in 1992. A multi-authored book followed on under our joint editorship as *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester University Press, 1995). Though I regret still the misleading loss of the word 'Building' insisted upon by the publishers, the book has perhaps helped broaden things a bit.

My own contribution to that book, 'Anglican Church-Building in London, 1790–1890: from state subsidy to the free market', recycled and summarized the Kensington material, intermingled with other episodic pieces of research I had done elsewhere in the capital, chiefly on the rebuilding of St John-at-Hackney in the 1790s and the Bethnal Green churches promoted by Bishop Blomfield in the 1830s. The moral then seemed clear to me. Whereas in Georgian times the building or rebuilding of parish churches faced formidable legal obstacles, all that had dissolved in the era of semi-disestablishment after the state subsidies offered to the Commissioners' Churches dried up. Red tape and the private parliamentary act had given way to a frenzy of competition and over-supply. The Victorian urban church, I wrote, was 'raised against a background of frailty, sometimes almost of fantasy … From their different perspectives, churchmen and those who care about architecture are still trying to pick up the pieces today.'

As I start looking into Battersea's churches, I cannot find that conclusion wrong. The record of survival, given above, speaks for itself. Poorer, less privileged and socially less stable than Kensington, Battersea has naturally proved frailer. More of the churches have gone or been changed out of recognition. In a pattern doubtless reflected in other urban districts without a strong middle class, most of the money spent on building its churches came from non-residents, who lost interest once the fabric was up. Merely to maintain them proved beyond the resources of many congregations.

In fact the story of Anglican church extension in Battersea has a coherence absent in Kensington. After 1872 it was largely masterminded by a redoubtable, organizing broad-church vicar at St Mary, Canon Erskine Clarke, national instigator of parish magazines, founder also of the children's paper *Chatterbox* – and, alas, a regrettable omission from the revised *Dictionary of National*

Biography. But clear-sighted though Erskine Clarke was, he could only initiate, he could not maintain. Of the six striking churches he promoted to the designs of his architect and friend William White, only three survive and only two (St Mark, Battersea Rise, and St Michael, Wandsworth Common) remain in Anglican use.

So, the moral is the same again then? Perhaps, but now I feel it may be too stern, or at least partial. If so, that is because I have belatedly come to grips with that historians' debate about churchgoing. To summarise, up until the 1980s it was widely accepted that secularization in England correlated with urbanisation. The urban working classes seldom attended services, it was asserted. Hugh McLeod, concentrating upon London in *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (1974), used the statistics from the famous church censuses of 1851, 1886 and 1902–3 to stress the strength of links between middle-class areas and religious observance. The same census figures were also used to show that church attendances overall were falling palpably at the end of the nineteenth century. To put it from the church-building perspective, all those new urban churches had not done much good.

Then along came the revisionists. The pioneer, James Cox, looked in his *The English Churches in a Secular Society* (1982) at churches in Lambeth, next to Battersea and quite like it in social composition. Using the census material more subtly and mathematically and adding fresh evidence, Cox and others – notably J. N. Morris's study of Croydon (1992) and S. J. D. Green's study of parts of industrial Yorkshire (1996) – argued that the urban churches had not been so unsuccessful after all and that the crisis for them really developed in the twentieth century when municipal and other authorities usurped their social functions. A more radical standpoint was set out recently in Callum G. Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain* (2001), which claimed that secularisation got a real grip only in the 1960s and that Christian belief and practice held up until then.

Common to Cox, Brown and most of the revisionists is the view that an analysis of church activity and religious experience is not to be confined to the church building and church service, which might or might not have been subject to decline. Brown's interests in particular are Scottish and evangelical, and he seeks also to point towards the habits and activities of women as the main sustainers of organized religion.

Where then does all this leave the church buildings, whose architecture was submitted to such scrutiny and controversy at the time they were built yet now seems almost discounted? On the face of things, nowhere. If you believe that the exercise of religion is just about personal or social experience, then the quality of the

congregational space does not much matter – as recent church reorderings and rebuildings in Battersea, as elsewhere, seem to confirm. That view is now widespread, not to say official, throughout the Church of England.

On the other hand, perhaps the revisionists do conservationists a service by pointing out that churches – congregations and buildings alike – have survived and even flourished by means of what is done outside the framework of church services. Put like that, one may be thankful that a magnificent space like Brooks's Ascension, Lavender Hill is maintained by the goodly rents poured into it by nursery schools that occupy not one but two of its vestries, or White's cranky St Michael, Wandsworth Common by the day-care centre held in the hall abutting the church. Beyond that, the frailty and fantasy remain. But perhaps, I now think, the irrationality of all that urban church-building is more to be celebrated and enjoyed than mourned or reproved. Given all the social upheavals and confusions since they were built, maybe it is astonishing that Battersea still has six older functioning Anglican churches, plus another seven church buildings, that still at least remind one of non-commercial values and defy the banalities of South London's townscape into the bargain.

Reconstructing a lost cathedral: York Minster in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries

Stuart Harrison and Christopher Norton

TWENTY YEARS ago the two of us stood on the edge of a small excavation just outside York Minster looking at a beautifully-preserved piece of twelfth-century plinth from the cathedral of Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evéque (1154–81). The significance of this section of masonry, which had last been seen in the nineteenth century, was already apparent to us. In a seminal article on 'The Cistercians as "missionaries of Gothic" in Northern England',[1] Christopher Wilson had addressed one of the most significant episodes in the history of English architecture, one which has had an immeasurable influence on church-building in this country, namely the adoption of the Gothic style. Traditionally, the credit for the introduction of Gothic had been given to William of Sens, the master-mason who designed the new east end of Canterbury Cathedral following the fire of 1174; but Wilson demonstrated that many features of the Gothic style were already in evidence in northern England twenty years earlier. He pointed to Archbishop Roger's choir at York as one of the seminal buildings in the dissemination of the new style, while attributing its earliest appearance in England to an as yet unidentified Cistercian abbey.

Wilson's analysis of Roger's choir was based on the remains of the crypt which had been brought to light following the 1829 fire started by the infamous Jonathan Martin, along with numerous *ex situ* fragments of twelfth-century masonry. He was however hampered by the lack of any reconstruction of the building, which had been demolished in the late fourteenth century to make way for the Perpendicular eastern arm. The need for a systematic study of Roger's Minster was all the more apparent following the publication in 1985 of Derek Phillips's monograph on the long-lost eleventh-century Minster of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux (1070–1100).[2] Phillips published the results of the excavations of 1966–73 associated with the celebrated engineering campaign carried out on the Minster under the direction of Sir Bernard Feilden. He revealed a remarkable aisleless cathedral whose plan was quite unlike any contemporary great church in England (Fig. 1) and he published a reconstruction drawing (Fig. 2). The twelfth-century cathedral is the missing link between Thomas's Minster and the standing fabric, which has been analysed in Sarah Brown's recent splendid architectural history.[3] There were already plans for publishing Roger's Minster in the 1970s, but they were indefinitely delayed until English Heritage agreed to fund the project on which we are currently engaged.[4]

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Christopher Norton is Professor of Medieval Art and Architecture in the History of Art Department and the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York. He has been studying the medieval fabric of York Minster for many years.

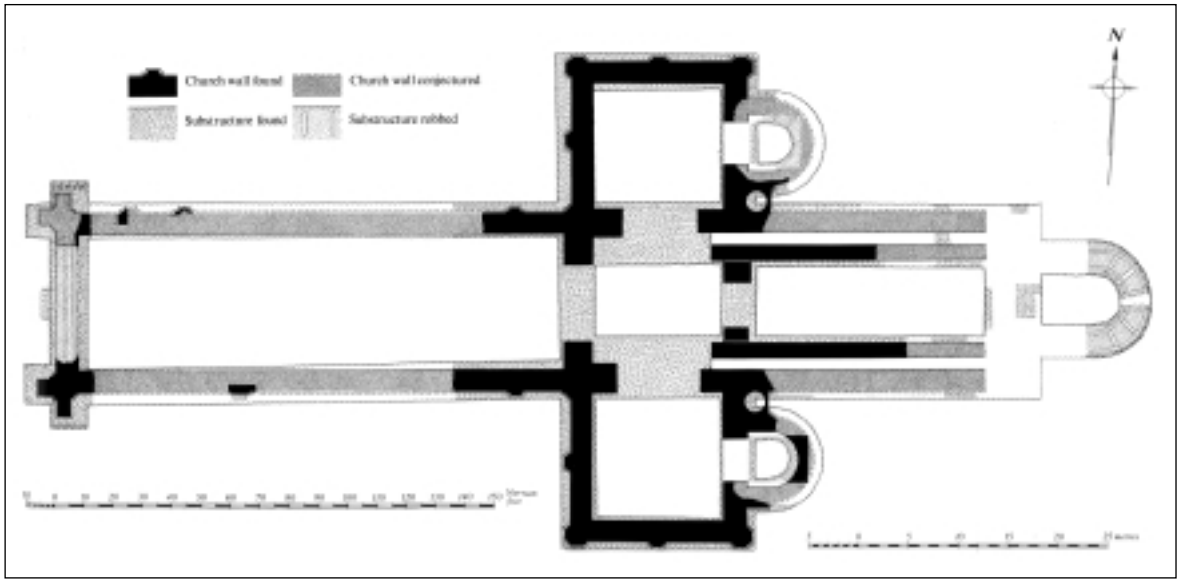


Fig. 1: Plan of the cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux, from Phillips 1985, fig. 42 (Crown copyright).

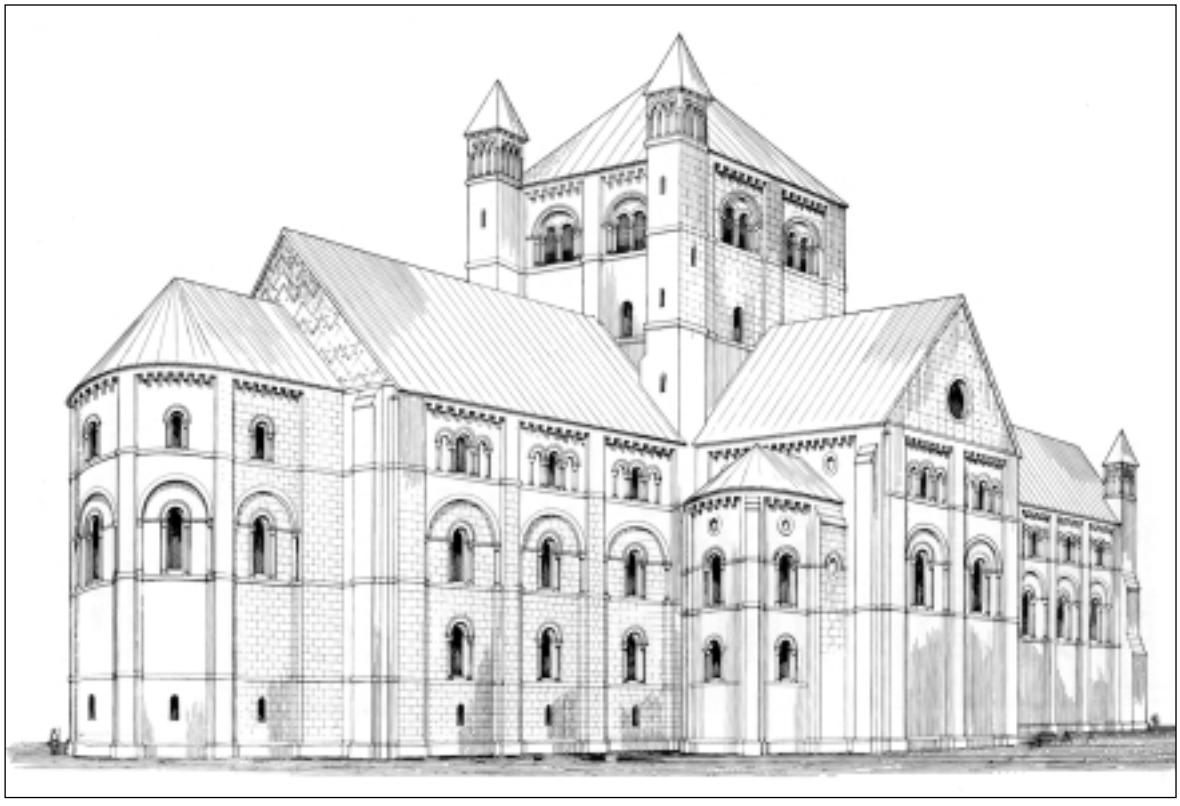


Fig. 2: Reconstruction drawing of the cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux, from Phillips 1985, fig. 25 (Crown copyright).

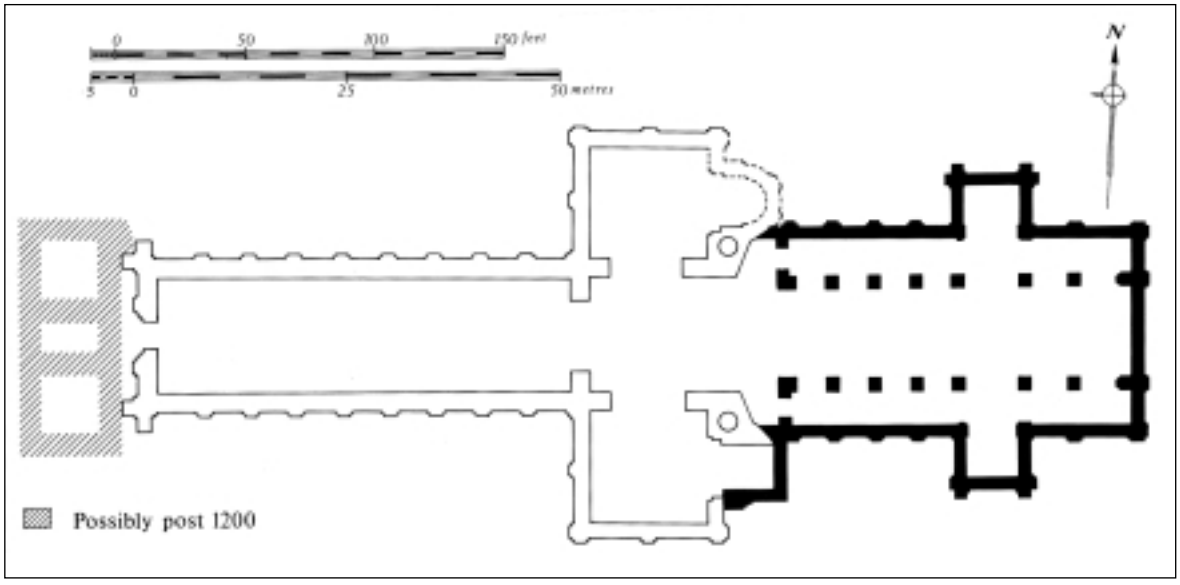


Fig. 3: Plan of the cathedral of Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Evéque, from Phillips 1985, fig. 40 (Crown copyright).

It was apparent from the outset that Archbishop Roger's cathedral could not be understood apart from its eleventh-century predecessor. In fact, the unexpected discovery of previously-unidentified fragments of *in situ* masonry from the eleventh-century Minster, together with a re-consideration of the evidence previously published by Phillips,[5] has resulted in a completely new reconstruction of the cathedral of Thomas of Bayeux. This in turn has proved fundamental to the study of the twelfth-century work of Archbishop Roger. Quite apart from these new discoveries and the benefits of looking at the material with fresh pairs of eyes, some new techniques and methodologies have enabled the current research to be taken much further than would previously have been possible, in particular the following.

A new digital plan and survey of the Minster, funded by English Heritage. One of the greatest obstacles to understanding the lost eleventh- and twelfth-century Minster is the extreme fragmentation of the *in situ* remains. They survive in often inaccessible places, and it is seldom possible to see one piece of masonry from another. Consequently, it is very difficult to relate them to each other. The digital survey makes it possible for the first time to locate all the below-ground and above-ground fragments of early masonry in three dimensional space with great precision, and to analyse their relationship. This has been fundamental to understanding and reconstructing the lost Minster.

Close collaboration between architectural historians and archaeologists. The York Archaeological Trust has been commissioned to assess the huge archive from the 1966–73 excavations, and to research in detail the evidence for the

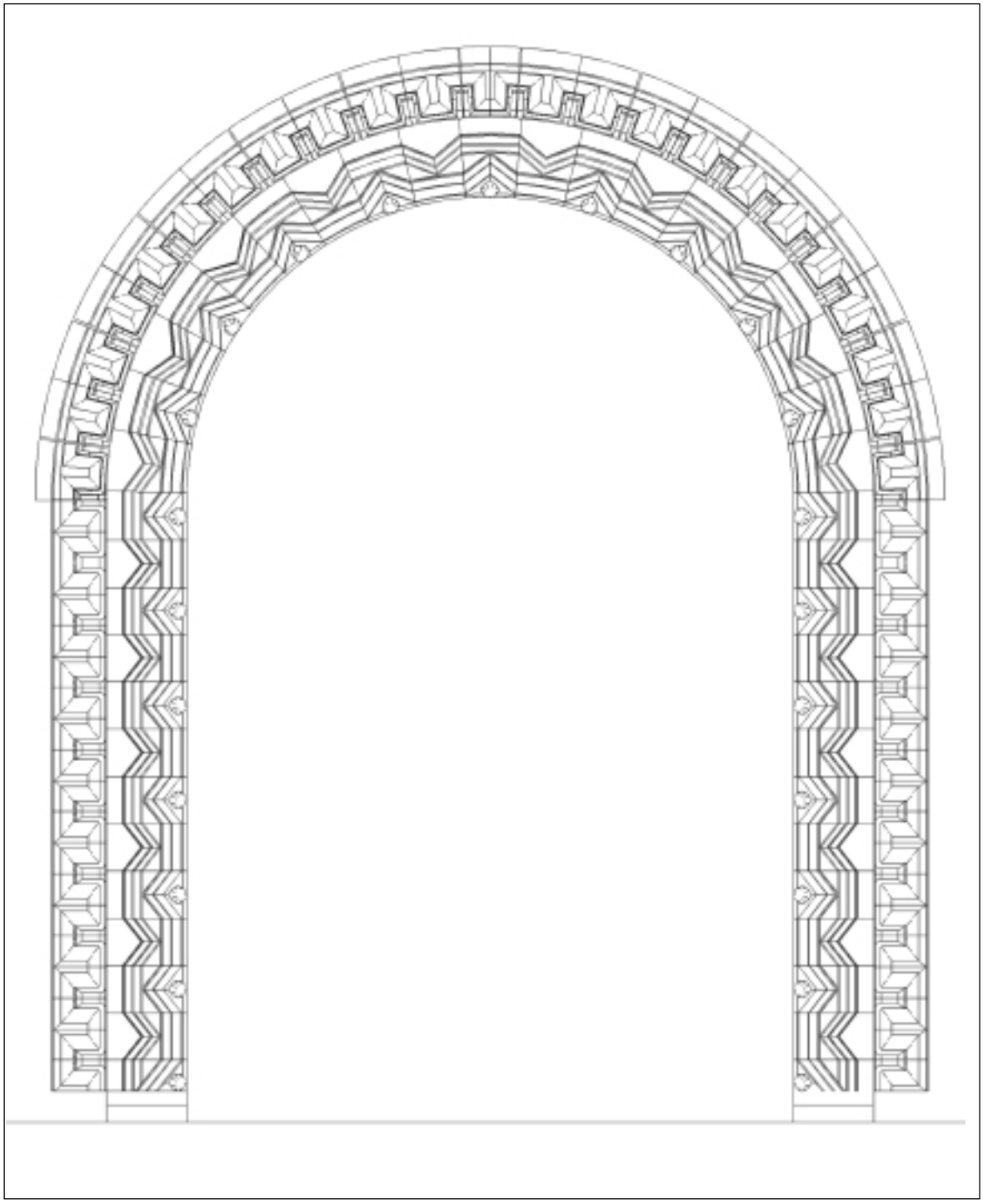


Fig. 4: Reconstruction of one of the crypt entrance doorways from the cathedral of Archbishop Roger (drawing: Stuart Harrison).

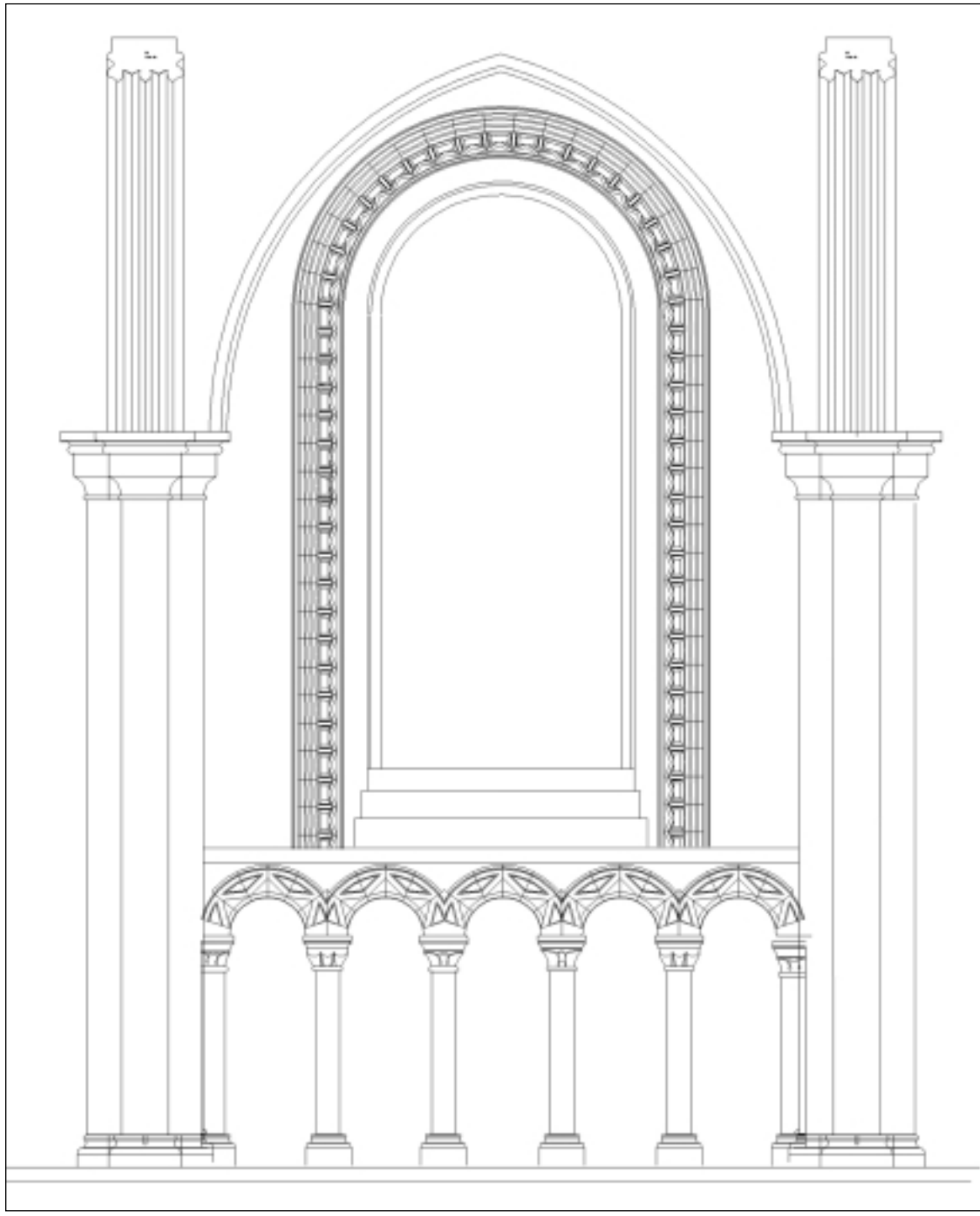


Fig. 5: Reconstruction of a bay of the main arcade and aisle of the upper choir of Archbishop Roger (drawing: Stuart Harrison).

eleventh- and twelfth-century buildings. The digital survey has also been extremely helpful for analysing the data from the 1966–73 excavations which, because of the exigencies of the engineering programme, were carried out under extreme time pressure, in very difficult conditions and in numerous small, separate interventions which were often extremely difficult to interpret. Plotting the evidence onto the digital survey has facilitated an overview of the material which would otherwise have been extremely difficult to achieve.[6] The collaboration has been extremely fruitful.

Analysis of ex situ masonry. A surprisingly large quantity of architectural stonework from the twelfth-century Minster has been preserved, built into later fabric, scattered around the Close, dispersed around the city, and even further afield across Yorkshire. The surprise discovery of the best-preserved triple water-leaf capital from the clerestory of Roger's choir upside down in the hall of a Georgian country house alerted us to the fact that stonework from the Minster can turn up in the most unlikely places. The loose stonework makes it possible to fill many of the enormous gaps in the surviving fabric, and a catalogue of hundreds of different type-stones from the lost Minster has been created.

The methodology of reconstruction has been refined over many years of reconstructing ruined abbeys and destroyed buildings all over northern England and beyond, assisted in recent years by the availability of computerised modelling techniques. The present project has presented greater challenges than any other, and the results have exceeded expectations.

It is only possible here to summarise a few points of interest.

1. The exterior aspect of Thomas's Minster was significantly different from the existing reconstruction (Fig. 2). The main walls were lower than previously thought; the transept chapels were single-storey; the staircase turrets on the angles of the crossing tower were circular; the eastern arm apparently culminated in two towers flanking the projecting central apse.
2. The interior of the building has become much clearer. A particularly satisfactory moment was the discovery in the south transept of two *in situ* eleventh-century voussoirs exactly where we had previously posited an arch.
3. The enigmatic and unique plan of the eastern arm (Fig. 1) can now be much better understood. The crypt entrance passages through the eastern side of the crossing have been elucidated. The narrow lateral passages opened into a full-width crypt about half-way along the eastern arm, with a separate central staircase descending into the middle of the crypt from the upper choir above.[7] The high altar would have been in the centre of the main apse, as at Durham.

4. The twelfth-century eastern arm of Archbishop Roger emerges as a building of remarkable complexity of plan, with an elevation design unique in England, and extraordinarily rich ornamentation.
5. The plan published by Phillips (Fig. 3) is extremely simplified, the eastern façade being far more complex and unusual than indicated. It had small projecting chapels at the east ends of the aisles and a large central projection which may have terminated in a centrally-planned chapel.
6. The main elevation was of four storeys. This is the only example of a four-storey elevation in England, more or less contemporary with a group of northern French four-storey early Gothic elevations of the third quarter of the twelfth century.
7. The choir had a high vault that seems to have used a mixture of sexpartite and quadripartite designs with moulded transverse ribs and chevron-decorated diagonal ribs.
8. The detailing included arch-mouldings of a complexity previously unknown in England, combined with an astonishing richness of sculptural ornamentation around the doorways and windows (Figs 4–5). The upper choir also contained Purbeck marble main arcade piers and slender en-délit Purbeck shafts in the clerestorey, twenty years before the appearance of equivalent features in the eastern arm of Canterbury.

The detailed analysis of the numerous points of interest in the lost Minster will have to await the full publication in a few years time. In conclusion, it is perhaps worth saying that the long delay in starting the present project, frustrating though it has been, has not been without significant benefits. It has enabled a thorough reconsideration of the unique design of Thomas's Cathedral, and it has permitted a far more exact reconstruction of Roger's Minster than would have been possible twenty or thirty years ago.

Notes

1 C. Wilson, 'The Cistercians as "missionaries of Gothic" in Northern England', in C. Norton and D. Park (eds), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1986), 86–116.

2 D. Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux – Excavations at York Minster, vol. II* (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1985).

3 Sarah Brown, *'Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster, An Architectural History of c. 1220–1500* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2003).

4 Particular thanks are due to Sarah Brown, Barney Sloane and Pete Wilson for their support and for making possible the funding from English Heritage.

5 C. Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral at York* (Borthwick Paper 100, York, 2001), 14–33 had already pointed to certain aspects of Phillips's analysis of the building which required further investigation.

6 Grateful thanks are due to Dr Mark Whyman, Mark Johnson and Ian Milstead who carried out the work under the direction of Dr Richard Hall, Consultant Archaeologist to York Minster and Deputy Director of York Archaeological Trust.

7 This confirms the suggestions previously made in Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux*, 20–6.

Our parish churches: some reflections on the passage of time

Chris Pickford

Fascinated by churches since his childhood, Chris Pickford has studied church buildings and furnishings in detail from the archival and pictorial record in Bedfordshire, Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire. An archivist by profession - and now a freelance consultant - he was previously County Archivist for Bedfordshire and later Director of the Church of England Record Centre.

IN 2001 the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society published the last of four volumes describing all the parish churches in the county. Under the title *Bedfordshire Churches in the Nineteenth Century*, the first three volumes look at the buildings and their fixtures and furnishings through five standard contemporary sources: church inventories or terriers of *c*.1822, Archdeacon Bonney's historical notebooks of *c*.1820–40, Archidiaconal visitation notebooks 1823–39, a series of pithy articles written by John Martin (the Duke of Bedford's librarian with Tractarian leanings) 1845–54 and Sir Stephen Glynne's church notes of 1830–70. The fourth volume chronicles all the other churches and mission rooms in the county – those not covered by the standard sources – and contains a tabulated summary of the main restoration work and new building carried out between 1800 and 1914. Ann Hudson – who previously compiled indexes for a number of RCHM publications – prepared a splendid and thorough index to the whole work. All four volumes are illustrated with contemporary watercolours, drawings and photographs.

The books are not just about the contemporary sources though. As well as a general introduction about nineteenth-century restoration work, each parish entry has a section outlining the history of the church and describing the surviving principal furnishings. Detailed footnotes provide explanatory comments and steer the reader to sources of extra information. Every church was visited and thoroughly researched – not only in the local record office but in all the main repositories holding relevant material – and this is reflected in the footnotes. Part I (parishes A to G) is admittedly weaker in this respect than the later volumes but this defect is partly redeemed by the supplementary material in volume four.

The project grew out of my personal interest in the subject alongside my professional work as an archivist in the county record office. In my early years at Bedford I visited every church to survey all the records and I also had responsibility for the full re-listing of all the parish material deposited in the office. Even as County Archivist I retained responsibility for ecclesiastical records. Producing these volumes gave me the opportunity to make my accumulated knowledge available for the information – and I hope enjoyment – of future generations.

In short, these books offer a glimpse of Bedfordshire churches on the eve of major restoration, with a summary of the main changes and pointers to further information in the rich seam of source material that underpins the series. Being able to establish dates and to identify artists and craftsmen for fixtures and furnishings as well as for the fabric was a particularly satisfying aspect of all the work that went into assembling the material for it.

Reflections

The opportunity to reflect on the work leads me to think about our churches and the processes of evolution and change. The invitation to contribute to this issue of *Ecclesiology Today* suggested that for all members of our Society 'church buildings are a historic document to be understood as well as a simple delight to be enjoyed and used'.

In picking on this I intend no criticism of our guest editor whose own views are much broader than this, but the wording does provide a handle from which to develop my theme. For many people nowadays this essentially two-fold view of churches is quite sufficient. Churches exist or survive chiefly to provide evidence of the past and to be places where people can experience something different and something timeless. There is a certain sterility in this view as it ignores one vital dimension – the fact

Fig 1: The interior of All Saints, Leighton Buzzard, as it was from 1842 to 1885 – one brief phase in its history, suiting the needs of the time. Several previous and later schemes are well documented in photographs, plans and written records.

that churches were built as places of worship for their communities. The scale and magnificence of many, of course, underlines the point that they were inspired and not merely built.

For all my interest in churches and their contents, I am not myself particularly religious. Yet I feel a great deal of sympathy for those people who struggle – as many now do – to convince others that the primary purpose of church buildings is as places of worship. One does not have to share that inner calling in order to respect it. Yet those who use and care for these buildings must increasingly feel that the world around them is prepared to ignore this aspect in pursuit of heritage preservation and conservation as goals in their own right. Even minor alterations are made difficult, and doing anything major now requires real determination.

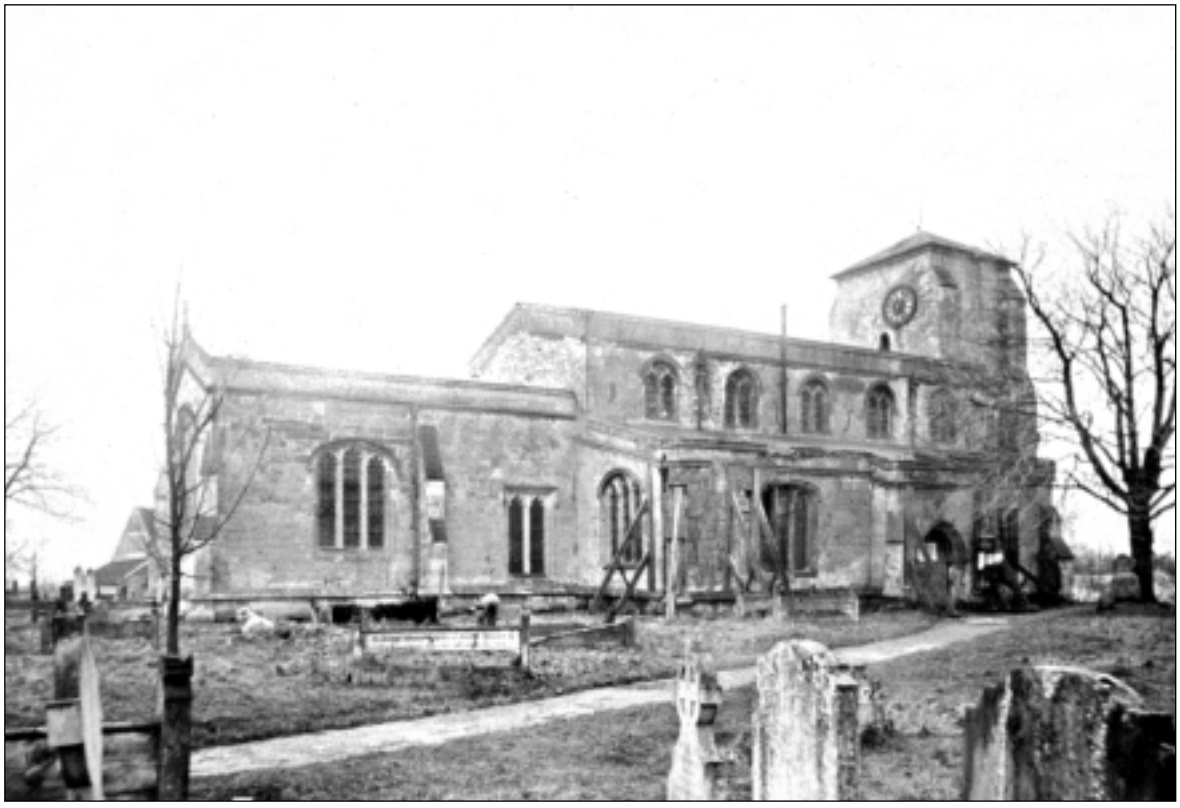
One thing that is abundantly clear from my Bedfordshire studies is that in the past our churches were anything other than the timeless and unchanging places that many now want and expect them to be. The idealised view of the church building as a constant in a changing world is a modern myth. Nevertheless our churches are gradually being fossilised in their largely Victorian state, in many cases this being the time when the last major alterations to the fabric and the most recent large-scale reordering took place. Much of the work done more recently has tended to be conservation and repair rather than architecturally and aesthetically significant improvements. The best of the twentieth century work is covered in my books, but I am not sure how much more I would want (or need) to say about the vast majority of work undertaken since, say, the Great War.

I am reminded of the reviewer of Mark Chatfield's book *The Churches the Victorians forgot* who observed that the ones the author described were chiefly the ones the Georgians did not forget! There have been many waves of significant alterations to reflect changing uses and liturgical fashions, and sometimes excellent work of one period has been swept away or over-written by later generations – and why not? While few would argue for unbridled change yet it must now be time to challenge the present 'it exists, so it must be preserved' climate influenced by those who want to stop the clock on future development and improvement. Would we really be better off if these attitudes had existed previously and our churches remained now as they were in the earlier periods described in my books? Anyone with an understanding of the past should appreciate that history is never static – and that it is the interface between change and continuity that makes for historical interest.

Another thing that strikes me on thinking back over the mass of papers, plans, reports and other documentation that I studied in order to prepare these books, is that the process of making

Top. Fig 2: In this drawing of 1874 Worthington George Smith gives us a last glance of the unusual form of the tower at Eaton Bray as extended to the west and heightened by Sir Reginald Bray in the time of Henry VII. The removal of these additions in 1876 changed the external appearance of the church for ever

Bottom. Fig 3: Now well cared for and recognised as a gem among Bedfordshire's churches, Eaton Bray was rescued from ruin by the later Victorians and their successors. Insisting on preservation without further alteration would not only 'freeze' the building as restored between 1891 and 1916 but also over-value the work of that period as the definitive interpretation of the historic fabric.



alterations to churches was so very much quicker then than now. Fundraising difficulties apart, many large schemes were conceived, authorised and executed within an amazingly short timescale. If Mr Scott came along and said 'all must be rebuilt', then so it often was. Even where there was disagreement, it was common for a scheme favoured by the most influential parties to succeed – and not be watered down by outside interference and compromises made to placate people unconnected with the place.

The books do, of course, chart the rise of the conservation movement too – from John Carter's early archaeological recording, to the Archdeacon insisting on the retention of old forms; from the formation of the local architectural and archaeological society to the active involvement of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) from the 1880s. SPAB and the local antiquaries failed, for instance, to prevent destructive restorations at Elstow Abbey and elsewhere. Their voice needed to be heard. It still does today, although I for one feel that today's conservation campaigners are often less in tune with the worshipping needs of the church than their forbears.

Where now?

So how might a chronicler's perspective help here?

Firstly, I see no justification for stopping the clock and condemning many churches to enforced 'mothballing' in the name of conservation (including many of modest interest and importance that cry out for imaginative development). These buildings are at the heart of their communities, and those who use them – whether for worship or for the many other activities for which they are so suitable – should be the key stakeholders. An understanding of what happens when the doors close and churches fall into disuse shows that there can be little as destructive of the heritage as abandonment.

Secondly, I think that it is time to ask just how much evidence – and in what form – the historian and archaeologist can reasonably expect to be preserved. Evidence is a primary factor in the case for preservation and conservation ensures that evidence remains intact when changes to churches are made. But has the emphasis swung too far in favour of the physical fabric to the neglect of other facets that make up the historical whole? The archival and pictorial records of our churches are immense and mostly under-studied. In terms of interest there is often so much more in historical facts and associations than in physical remains alone.

Thirdly, church buildings have a problem with their image. Popular books on churches add little to knowledge and indeed may perpetuate known myths and errors. Often superbly

illustrated, they also create an impression that churches are to be viewed as precious and not-to-be-touched in the same way as preserved houses and museum collections of objects no longer in use. A lack of understanding of the religious dimension and a failure to appreciate that these are buildings in use is a recurring problem. There remains a need for accessible interpretation to ensure that churches are made interesting and properly explained in context. Parishes too need to be more imaginative and dynamic in their relationship with their local communities. A lack of public sympathy is not hard to understand in cases where church buildings appear to be expensive luxuries maintained only for the use of a small and inward-looking group of regular worshippers.

Fourthly, there needs to be some reconsideration of what makes churches special. Real scholarship may not sell (nor does it pay!) but it should be the bedrock for the compilation of high quality statements of significance to guide future decision-making. I certainly welcomed the concept when it first appeared as it offered hope that these documents might lead to a consensus regarding what is *really* significant about a historic building and its contents. The hope was that by making such identifications, controls could be relaxed for aspects of lesser importance. Yet unfortunately the system is already being misused by the heritage world. I have seen examples of these potentially valuable documents being used to record anything that anyone might argue could be possibly thought significant. Instead of getting a clear focus on priorities – on the things that 'most people would agree are significant and important'– we are seeing evidence of a scatter-gun approach that targets almost anything that anyone might want to replace or alter. This, alas, is not a happy recipe for progress.

Finally, although I began this article intending to avoid any criticisms of people or organisations while challenging certain viewpoints and positions, something has to be said about the 1991 Faculty Measure. It has created a new industry of church fabric administration and the verdict must soon be that it is unworkable and over burdensome on parishes. Yet it was conceived at a time when conservationists and amenity societies still had little say in the process, despite concerns that work was taking place with insufficient regard to legitimate heritage needs. For those wanting their voice to be heard, the Measure came rather late in the day, the Church closing the stable door after the horse had bolted. Its effect, however, has almost been to close all the doors so that nobody can now feed, tend or use the horses!

Some blame must lie at the door of DACs and Chancellors – as with planning officers in the secular world – who have lost their nerve in the face of the growing power of the conservation lobby.

It is easier to say 'no' than to engage with the real issues and allow development where a reasoned case is made even if some loss of heritage is involved. The past offers examples and solutions – pragmatism coupled with the clear wishes of those who used the buildings very often won the day!

Conclusion

In short, we need to make more room for The Church in our churches – and hand back more control to the communities in whose hands their future lies. This will most likely lead to more change. However I for one am generally quite positive and hopeful about that, provided that care and imagination go into developments that will both meet current and future needs and also add something new to buildings which are as they are because they have evolved over time.

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Reordering the reorderings

Peter Howell

Peter Howell, a former chairman of the Victorian Society, is a member of the Westminster Cathedral Art and Architecture Committee and of the RC Wales and Herefordshire Historic Churches Committee.

IN 1977 I was asked to join the new Department of Art and Architecture of the Liturgy Commission of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, to look after the interests of conservation. I should not have been asked if I had not shown loyalty to the liturgical principles advocated by the Second Vatican Council. I had never been opposed to liturgical reform. When an undergraduate I had belonged to a Liturgy Group where we discussed what, at that time, seemed daringly advanced notions such as the use of the vernacular. I could see the point of the changes recommended by the Vatican Council. That did not mean that I was in favour of destructive alterations to churches. Rome had in any case insisted that due respect should be shown to 'patrimony'. The question was how this should be interpreted.

Some years after the new Department was formed, I was asked to write an article about reordering for the *Catholic Herald*. It shows the way things had been going that the chairman of the Department, Fr Kenneth Nugent, SJ, was asked to write a reply to mine. I had, however, taken a conciliatory line, repeating my loyalty to Vatican II, but deploring the unnecessary destruction that had wrecked so many of our churches and pleading for a conservationist approach.

Part of the problem depends, of course, on how one defines conservation and what one thinks deserves to be conserved. My colleagues in the Department maintained the principle that if a church was of outstanding merit, then the liturgical must be adapted to the church, rather than adapting the church to the liturgy. However, I do not think a case ever came up where they thought that the principle must be upheld.

In 1984 my term of membership of the Department expired. We had by then carried out the most important of our tasks, which was to produce a new publication to guide the building and reordering of churches. I fought hard to try to ensure that the principles of conservation were taken into account, but with incomplete success. It was published with the title *The Parish Church: Principles of Liturgical Design and Reordering*, in that year.

The best hope for Catholic churches came with the legal re-definition of Ecclesiastical Exemption in 1994. All listed churches now had to apply for permission to make alterations to the diocesan Historic Churches Committee. This consisted of representatives of the dioceses themselves and of outside bodies including local authorities, English Heritage and Cadw, and the national amenity societies. This has transformed the situation.

Attitudes have changed too. More and more Catholics see the destruction wrought between 1963 and 1994 as nothing short of a disaster. One priest refers to 'the work of the Taliban'. Ideas on the liturgy have become less rigid, and we even have a Pope who has in the past spoken out strongly in favour of tradition and against vandalism, and who has now relaxed the restrictions on the celebration of Mass by the pre-Vatican II rite.

Meanwhile, my own ideas have changed – the iron having entered into my soul. Recently I was asked to lecture in a Victorian Society series on Catholic churches at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Afterwards a member of the audience asked if there was any reordering of which I approved. This is a question which I ask myself.

The most important feature of a church is its high altar. In Catholic churches these are usually of stone or marble and attached to a reredos which is often elaborate and fitted with a gradine and an exposition throne. Vatican II recommended that Mass should be celebrated facing the congregation and also that there should be only one altar in a church (not just in the sanctuary). In the early days it was not uncommon for magnificent altars to be destroyed, as, for example, at the Servite church at Fulham (J. S. Hansom), and at Stanbrook Abbey, Worcestershire (E. W. Pugin, 1871). (The French have been even worse than us: for example, the Basilica at Lourdes has a horrible void where the altar should form the climax.) Sometimes the altar was moved to a different location, as at St Mary's, Cadogan Street, London, where J. F. Bentley designed the new church of 1877–9 to focus on the altar he had designed for its predecessor in 1863. This was put in a side chapel, leaving the sanctuary bare (Fig.1).

The deplorable case of St Mary's, Crook, Co. Durham, where the fine early altar by Bentley (also 1863) was ruthlessly moved

Fig. 1: St Mary, Cadogan Street, London, in 1970.

forward from its reredos, led me to draft a paper urging that where an existing high altar was of architectural or historic merit, it was permissible to leave it in situ, with a new altar in front of it. Some of my colleagues were unhappy that this should be the first document produced by our Department, but it was adopted and circulated and the basic principle was repeated in the 1984 Directory.

The separation of the mensa from the reredos almost always involved some destruction and serious disruption of the architectural context. There was also the question of reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, for which a location apart from the sanctuary was recommended. An example of a first-rate church where the solution of these problems led to an unsatisfactory result was St James, Spanish Place, London (Fig.2). The first reordering, in about 1970, removed the old high altar – one of Bentley's last works. Its front, an 'opus sectile' panel, was not moved forward because the Rector argued that standing behind a solid altar made him feel as if he was serving at a bar. So the altar front was meaninglessly stuck on the west wall and a new open

Fig. 2: St James, Spanish Place, London after 1970.

altar placed on the sanctuary. The tabernacle was moved to the Lady Chapel, where it spoilt Bentley's superb reredos. The original marble backing was left in the reredos, so that many people assumed that the Sacrament was still reserved there. The next Rector brought back both the altar front and the tabernacle to the sanctuary.

Two factors have bedevilled reorderings. The first is the application of recommendations for the building of new churches to the treatment of old ones. In *The Parish Church*, I tried to get this clarified but without complete success. The other has been a lack of precision about what has been ordered by Rome and what has not. Priests and liturgists have only too often told congregations that something is required, when this is not the case. Sometimes they have acted in genuine ignorance, sometimes – alas – with deliberate intention to mislead. An obvious instance concerns altar rails. Over and over again congregations have been told that these must be removed, which is untrue. Some years ago the parishioners of Bondi Beach (of all unlikely places) obtained a ruling to this effect. It is curious that priests desperate to get rid of them have more recently produced the bizarre argument that altar rails make them feel like prisoners, which they associate with child abuse scandals.

Another type of object almost as nearly threatened with extinction is the pulpit. There is no reason why these cannot be kept, whether in their original location or slightly moved. One of my liturgist colleagues argued that they should be used for reading the Gospel, to provide the appropriate dignity. Members of congregations are happy when they are used for preaching as the priest can be better seen and heard. Once again, however, priests have used absurd psychological arguments, claiming that pulpits were symbols of the old hierarchical order, with the priest raised above the people. This feeling is not, in my experience, shared by congregations.

It is extraordinary that a comparatively recent reordering involved the mutilation of both pulpit and altar rails in a listed church built and furnished at one go by an architect of great distinction. This was Our Lady of the Rosary, Marylebone, London, designed by the architect, author and critic H. S. Goodhart-Rendel (1959–63). The pulpit was taken apart and reworked as an ambo, while the marble altar rails were chopped up and set in front of side chapels. I was shocked that this was permitted by the Archdiocese of Westminster's Historic Churches Committee (of which I had been a founder member), and I appealed against the decision. My appeal was dismissed, but as I was never sent the 'statement of reasons' which is supposed to

accompany the decision, I do not know on what grounds my appeal was dismissed. Sadly this case shows that even the new procedure does not prevent disasters.

The 1984 Directory has been replaced by a new version, *Consecrated for Worship*, published in 2006. The principles laid down here about the treatment of historic churches and their contents are admirable and it represents a notable step forward. However, as always, everything depends on whether the principles are applied. The Directory states that pulpits of merit should be retained and the preferred option is to use them 'without significant alteration' as ambos, while 'removal ... should only be considered as a last option'. The preface was written by the Bishop of Leeds, whose cathedral of St Anne has just been given its second major reordering. What was left of the pulpit, designed by Bentley for the previous church, had been in use as the ambo; it has not been reused and it is proposed to jettison all but the 'opus sectile' panel.

The greatest cause for hope is the general change in attitudes. So far as altars are concerned, it is accepted – now that eastward celebration is allowed– that they must be constructed in such a way as to permit it. The extreme view that there should be only one altar in a church, which led to side altars being destroyed or 'concertina-ed' (the mensa removed and its front stuck below the reredos), or at the least 'redefined as shrines' (whatever that might mean), has almost disappeared and it is increasingly common to see them dressed, ornamented, and even used.

Revisiting the position of the altar in contemporary liturgical practice

Paul Velluet

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THE PUBLICATION of my paper on the position of the traditional altar in contemporary liturgical practice in the December 2006 issue of *Ecclesiology Today*, and its reprinting with varied illustrations in the January/February 2008 issue of *Church Building*, attracted some useful responses.

Encouragingly, the priest-in-charge of the rebuilt eighteenth-century church of All Saints, Isleworth to which I referred, commending and illustrating its diminutive Joshua Chapel, wrote about her delight in taking services in the chapel and at being prompted to think more deeply about its architectural and liturgical dynamics. Another priest wrote with concern about the increasing polarisation within the wider church into 'traditional' and 'modern' camps. He also drew attention to his plea to rediscover a creatively Anglican liturgical and architectural aesthetic – an aesthetic which, at its best, has never been insular or narrowly English but has drawn upon the example and theology of the whole history of the church and particularly that of the early church. On a related theme, a member wrote as one of those 'who value the traditional appearance of our churches, whilst as non-worshipping members of the church, feel uncomfortable when asked to object to their reordering for modern forms of worship', suggesting the need for the Society to publish a further article dealing in more detail with the specifics of liturgical reorganisation.

Whilst valuing these and other comments and the editor's invitation to review, revise or supplement the original paper, I feel bound to focus on one specific issue. I do this in the light of discussing and reviewing a number of major reordering proposals for historic English churches over the months since I first drafted the paper, and further to a chance discovery last summer of a recently reordered eighteenth-.century church in the suburbs of Vienna. This example struck me as embodying all that is best in present liturgical and conservation values, if not in every detail, then most certainly in the principles adopted.

The key issue to which I wish to return, and to develop, is that of the position and elevation of a new, free-standing altar in the reordering of a historic church and its relationship with the original altar that survives or is to be retained at the east end of the original church. It is a recurring issue and one of the greatest significance, raising deeply held theological, liturgical,

Fig. 1: The exterior of the Marie Geburt Kirche, Heitling, from the west.

architectural and cultural opinions, prejudices and concerns amongst both the clergy and the laity.

In my original article, I expressed disappointment about the deficiencies of many reorderings implemented over recent years. I lamented the paucity of examples of truly participatory liturgical solutions, with altars located in the midst of, and at the level of, the people, observing that in the reordering of so many historic places of worship, the hierarchies and liturgical constraints that existed at the east end of the chancel or choir have simply been transposed westwards and reproduced at the east end of the nave. It was a delight therefore to discover a recently reordered church in which the concerns to which I had referred had not only been addressed and resolved with supreme clarity, coherence and discernment, but had been realised with extraordinary sensitivity to the particular architectural and historic significance of the building and its internal character and features.

By remarkable good fortune, a visit last July to Fischer von Erlach's Schonbrunn Palace – the Hapsburg summer residence a few miles to the south-west of Vienna – offered the opportunity to explore the old village of Hietzing, now effectively a suburb of Vienna; the original parts extend along the western boundary of the park of the Palace. Originally a fashionable district where the nobility of Vienna spent their summers in the eighteenth century, the area became an attractive suburb for the wealthy middle classes of Vienna during the nineteenth century and now forms the City's 13th district, with quiet residential streets containing a mix of *Biedermeier* and *Jugendstil* villas. For all the changes that have taken place in the area as a whole over past years, the original centre of the village survives, with the parish church and an adjacent small square at its heart.

The original parish church, the Maria Geburt Kirche, had been built in the thirteenth century, rebuilt in the early fifteenth century, substantially damaged by invading Turkish and Hungarian armies in 1529, 1605 and 1660, rebuilt in 1685 and altered and extended modestly over the following hundred years. The church was extended westwards and a slender tower and spire added by Carl Rosner in 1863–1865. Damaged by bombing in 1945, the church was repaired and restored between 1947 and 1957, extensively renovated externally in 1994–1995, re-roofed in 2001 and renovated internally in 2003–2005.

The delightfully simple, rendered and lime-washed exterior of the church, of essentially Gothic character, belies the exuberant, splendidly day-lit, eighteenth-century, Baroque interior of white and gold. Within the church, the shallow curving ceilings of the main body of the church and the chancel comprise richly modelled plasterwork of the delicacy of icing sugar by Dominicus Piazzol, framing irregularly shaped panels containing richly coloured frescoes by Antoni Galliardi and Georg Greiner. The east end of the chancel contains a vast altar and altarpiece of a richness that Anglo-Catholic taste of the 1920s might consider to be overdone. It incorporates sculpture by Matthias Steinl, including the gilded figures of Joachim and Anna, and Zechariah and Elizabeth to each side of the central feature of the altar-piece. This comprises a statue of the Blessed Virgin, as Queen of Heaven, supporting the infant Jesus, with silvered crowns and gowns, set at the heart of a mandorla star-burst of gilded rays around which gilded child angels fly. Directly below is a generously proportioned and gilded tabernacle, rising above a gilded altar laid with a lace-edged linen cloth. A set of six, gilded candle-sticks are located on the altar and a further six around the tabernacle.

Two further richly-modelled and decorated altars and altar-pieces, containing paintings by Johann Michael Rottmayr of 1712, are located against the east wall of the main body of the church to each side of the elliptically-arched opening to the chancel. Once again the carved work is by Matthias Steinl. In the south wall is set a low gallery or 'box' which accommodated the Empress Maria Theresa when attending worship whilst in residence at the nearby palace in the middle years of the eighteenth century.

It is in this visually and architecturally splendid (but seriously overstated) Baroque setting dominated visually by three great altars and altarpieces – a most unlikely context for radical liturgical change – that an extraordinarily successful reordering has been effected.

Fig. 2: The reordered interior of the Marie Geburt Kirche, showing the new central altar by Wolfgang Stracke.

As part of the recent renovation of the interior of the church a new modestly-scaled, freestanding altar, square on plan, of sublime simplicity in outline and carved from white limestone has been placed at the very centre of the main body of the church, set in the middle of a clearly-defined square in the floor paved in matching limestone. The altar, together with the ambo, baptismal font, candlesticks and Easter Resurrection Cross are the work of Wolfgang Stracke. To provide an adequate setting for the new altar and a generous clear space around it, the pews in the front half of the body of the church have been removed (leaving those in the rear half *in situ*), and replaced with sensitively designed chairs oriented to face towards the new altar in a collegiate form. The body of the church is simply treated in square paviours of uniform size, but subtly varying natural colours.

In conservation terms, the new ordering provides for the maintenance of the key historic and architectural features of the interior: the clearly expressed east-west axis of the church, the visual pre-eminence of the three original altars and altarpieces and the exuberance of Baroque detail. In liturgical terms, the centrality and simplicity of the new freestanding altar set in its own clearly defined, paved space, enables it to more than 'hold its

own' liturgically against the strong competition posed by the massively scaled altars and altarpieces to the east.

On entering the body of the church from the west, there can be little mistaking the location of the liturgical focus of the present worshipping community and the status of the new altar. The altar is set in the midst of the people at the level of the people, fully accessible functionally and visually – in marked contrast to so many modern reorderings in which oversized modern altars are elevated on high platforms with steep flights of steps on each side, secured from public access by temporary barriers for the greater part of each day. Transposed to an Anglican setting, such an ordering would facilitate eucharistic celebration varying from the simplest to the richest. It would provide for the needs of a modest number of worshippers gathered around the altar for an early morning service of communion celebrated in accordance with the *Book of Common Prayer*, as well as for the needs of a packed church gathered around the same altar for a High Mass celebrated in accordance with the many and diverse options of *Common Worship*.

The liturgical and architectural coherence of the ordering is persuasive and effective. Whilst the particular detailed design of the altar and ambo may be open to lively discussion and may not appeal to all tastes, it is the principles of the liturgical plan in terms of the position, elevation, shape and scale of the freestanding altar, and its relationship with the established architectural character and features of the historic church, which merit commendation.

The worshipping community of Hietzing is most fortunate to have such a beautiful and successfully reordered church at its heart. It serves as an eloquent exemplar of how intelligent liturgical reform can be reconciled with the effective preservation and presentation of the particular architectural and cultural interest of a historic church. It represents a celebration of convergence and co-existence rather than of conflict or compromise. Anyone contemplating the reordering of their own church should be encouraged to take a careful look at the Maria Geburt Kirche before setting out on their own journey of liturgical change.

The church of St Hilda, Crofton Park

Gavin Stamp

The author is an architectural historian with a particular interest in the architecture of the early twentieth century who until last year was chairman of the Twentieth Century Society.

ST HILDA'S, Crofton Park was consecrated a century ago this year on 3 June 1908. It is very unusual to find a church dedicated to the abbess of Whitby outside the north east of England and it is perhaps surprising to find a building of considerable ambition and quality in an undistinguished early twentieth-century suburb in south east London. Along with the near contemporary Horniman Museum on Forest Hill, it is one of the two outstanding and distinctive buildings which make the amorphous district between Dulwich and Lewisham worth visiting. Appropriately, the church has a commanding presence (Fig. 1). A dramatic and unusual gabled east wall faces Stondon Park, with small windows placed high up between mannered, attenuated buttresses. South of this is a squat but powerful tower, rising to an octagonal summit enlivened with a chequer pattern of stone squares amidst the purple-brown bricks, while behind a great sweeping roof, unbroken by any clerestory, sweeps down low over the aisles to bring the church into scale with the surrounding terraced houses (Fig. 2).

Nikolaus Pevsner noticed St Hilda's in his *Buildings of England* volume, but found the east end 'odd' and described the style as being the architects' 'rather irresponsible Arts and Crafts Gothic'.[1] Why the imaginative and adventurous treatment of Gothic was 'irresponsible' here when the decidedly odd and exotic Horniman Museum was bold and 'original and successful' is not clear. Perhaps, always mindful of the *zeitgeist*, Pevsner thought Edwardian churches should be in Bodleian Late Gothic while seeing the Arts and Crafts influence as secular and belonging to the previous decade (although he had nothing but praise for Edgar Wood's contemporary and gloriously strange and inventive Christian Science church in Manchester). It is a description which begs the question of how such Edwardian churches should be assessed, especially as it is a building which was not noticed in that indispensable survey of 'Notable Modern Work' of the period, *Recent Ecclesiastical Architecture* by Sir Charles Nicholson and Charles Spooner, published in 1911.[2]

In fact, the architects of St Hilda's had never done anything like it before, nor would they build in Arts and Crafts Gothic again. This was the first church designed by the partnership of Greenaway and Newberry. Francis Hugh Greenaway (1869–1935) had been articled to Sir Aston Webb, from whom he perhaps learned to give Gothic an Arts and Crafts character. John Ernest Newberry (1862–1957) had been articled to Edward Hide. When

Fig. 1: St Hilda's, Crofton Park, from the south-east (2006).

he retired in 1946, he wrote that he had designed some twenty-six churches, mostly in the diocese of Southwark, and that he had had 'an interesting life which has included two seasons digging in Thebes, Upper Egypt – several years experience in the office of the late J. L. Pearson, R.A'.[3] When Greenaway retired in 1927, Newberry entered into partnership with C. W. Fowler. In their recent survey of *Anglican Church-Building in London 1915–1945*, Michael Yelton and John Salmon wrote that 'If there is an archetypal church of the period, then St Martin, Dagenham (1932) by Newberry & Fowler will serve as well as any'.[4] That may well be so, but what is interesting in this context is that St Martin's, with its overall roof, transepts barely projecting beyond the aisle walls, repetitive aisle windows, wide and generous west window and tall internal brick arcades looks like a simplified version of St Hilda's designed a quarter of a century earlier – but without a tower and any obvious manifestation of irresponsibility.

St Hilda's, Crofton Park is notable as an intelligent synthesis of the precedents set by leading church architects of the later nineteenth century. It is possible to detect the influence not only of G. F. Bodley but also of G. G. Scott junior, Temple Moore, J. D. Sedding, Henry Wilson and Leonard Stokes. But the church is not derivative; the handling of Gothic is thoughtful, distinctive and original, while a successful attempt has been made to simplify and modernise the forms of Gothic tracery without losing its essential character. Aspects of the design may well be 'odd' but are all explicable on practical or functional grounds. And the noble,

well-proportioned interior was well designed for Anglo-Catholic worship.

The new parish of St Hilda was created in 1899, carved out of the ancient parish of Lewisham ('Crofton Park' was a name invented by the London, Chatham & Dover Railway when it opened a station nearby in 1892; the district is more accurately described as Brockley or Honor Oak). A temporary church, today the church hall, was built in 1899–1900 and designed by Newberry, who entered into partnership with Greenaway in 1904. The first section of the permanent church was begun in 1905. This was the crypt chapel and basement vestries below the chancel allowed by the fall in the ground from west to east. This substructure was given a reinforced concrete roof which became the chancel floor when the rest of the church was built in 1907–08. A perspective of the design, drawn by Winton Newman, was published in *The Builder* for 28 March 1908 (Fig. 3). This shows the church as built except for the tower, which eventually assumed a different form and was never surmounted by the thin spire or flèche depicted. This tower placed south of the chancel, which contains a return passage for communicants, vestries and an organ chamber, was in fact an afterthought. A speech by the first vicar, the Revd John Hartforth Jacques, in support of the South London Church Fund elicited a subscription from a generous benefactress, Sarah Martha Packe, to enable the building to be completed. The building committee then decided that the south transept should become a tower, but as the foundations and substructure were already in place it could not have thick walls or rise very high: hence its squat but powerful shape. The cost of the church, excluding fittings, was £10,047.

Fig. 2: The south side of St Hilda's facing Courtrai Road (2006)

The nave of the church is of five bays, with wide aisles lying behind tall arcades. The nave is tall under the open timber roof and the satisfying proportions may possibly reflect Newberry's time with Pearson (Fig. 4). The chancel is as wide as the nave, but divided from it by an arch behind which, to the north, is a transept extending no further than the aisle wall which is now the Lady Chapel. This is an arrangement probably derived from that seminal church, St Agnes', Kennington Park, by G. G. Scott junior, whose influence is also evident in the arch mouldings dying into the piers of the arcades. The interior is lit by a wide west window, typical of churches by Sedding or Norman Shaw. But there is no large east window as there is in, say, Sedding's Holy Trinity, Sloane Street. Instead, to reduce any glare from the morning sun, there are three small windows placed high up, with deep sloping sills, an arrangement which allows for a tall reredos to rise above the altar.[5] These windows were filled with excellent glass by Henry Holiday in 1912. It is this arrangement which is reflected in the dramatic,

if 'odd', external elevation of the east end of the church, where there is a statue of St Hilda by Albert H. Hodge in the gable (Fig. 5). This elevation, with its blank arches as well as the small high windows, may possibly have been influenced by the unusual design of the east end of the new church of St Cuthbert, Middlesbrough, by Temple Moore.

The tracery patterns in the windows are unconventional. Decorated Gothic forms were simplified and standardised to create a modern effect and filled with careful decorative leading – in places with figurative patterns. The broad windows in the aisles are remarkable as they are contained by semi-circular rather than pointed arches. Throughout there is an attempt to develop from strict precedent while adhering to tradition in both style and planning. That was surely highly responsible. In the calm horizontality of the side elevation, the exterior of the church recalls the work of Leonard Stokes. It is undeniably mannered, however – perhaps inspired by the church designs of Henry Wilson – with carefully composed buttresses with a pronounced batter, the sparing use of Chilmark and Bath stone (treated, alas, with a 'preservative solution')[6] amidst the Crowborough brickwork and, above all, with the subtle modelling of the tower to create an effect which is at once Tudor and modern – comparable with the contemporary forms Lutyens was generating

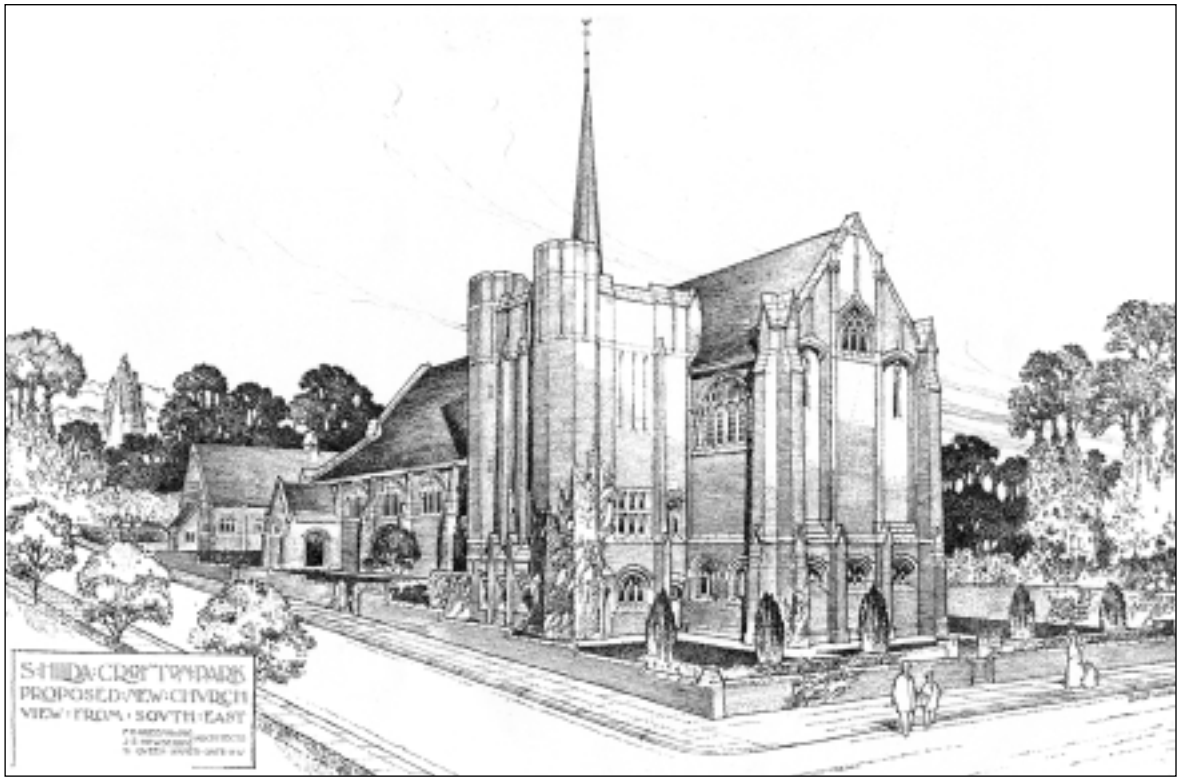

Fig. 3: Perspective of the design of St Hilda's, Crofton Park, not precisely as executed, drawn by Winton Newman and published in The Builder for 28 March 1908.

Fig. 4: The interior of St Hilda's in 1933, looking east [Incumbent and PCC of St Hilda's, Crofton Park]

at Castle Drogo. 'Arts and Crafts', irresponsible or otherwise, is a nebulous term when it comes to style. What is evident at St Hilda's is a consciously decorative and inventive treatment of traditional forms, but the overall impression is one of breadth and strength, achieved by the unbroken sweep of roof, the dramatic blankness of the eastern elevation and the subtle ruggedness of the tower. There is something more interesting here than that sometimes effete refinement characteristic of the work of contemporary architects who adhered more strictly to the models provided by Bodley's later churches.

After a century, St Hilda's is little altered, although the two western bays of both aisles have been discreetly boxed in at ground level. More unfortunately the yellow facing bricks exposed in the interior, together with the Corsham Bath stone of the piers, were later whitewashed and subsequently painted. The solid chancel walls, which originally formed a pair of ambos, have also been cut down, but Newberry's decidedly Arts and Crafts choir stalls survive, as do his altar cross and most of the

Fig. 5: The east elevation of St Hilda's (2006).

candlesticks made of aluminium and oak by the Artificers' Guild. The font is particularly clever and handsome. St Hilda's, Crofton Park deserves to be better known. It is one of the churches which show how the reaction in favour of Late Gothic and English styles established by Bodley, Sedding and the younger Scott in the 1870s remained a creative force capable of imaginative development well into the twentieth century. In purely architectural terms, it is arguably one of the best and most interesting Edwardian Anglican churches in London.

Notes

1 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London (Except the Cities of London and Westminster)*, (Harmondsworth, 1952), 288.
2 Sir Charles Nicholson & Charles Spooner, *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* (London, n.d. – but internal evidence suggests 1911).
3 Letter to the Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 8 November 1946, in Newberry's biography file in the RIBA Library.
4 Michael Yelton & John Salmon, *Anglican Church-Building in London 1915–1945* (Reading, 2007), 17.
5 The reredos, or dossal, designed by Newberry was originally hung with a William Morris fabric. The canopy dates from the church's Golden Jubilee in 1958.
6 This and all the other historical facts about St Hilda's come from the notes on the church by J. E. Newberry published in *St Hilda's Magazine* for July/August 1933.

Appreciating Victorian and Arts and Crafts stained glass: a battle half won

Matthew Saunders

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IT WAS very tempting to be asked to revisit an area of personal expertise or passion and assess how intervening years have honed one's judgment. But it seemed in my case that a personal odyssey would be less interesting to the reader than tracing the reaction of Society and *academe* towards the appreciation of a particular genre over the last 40 years or so.

The subject I have chosen is one on which I feel passionately – stained glass in the period from Victoria's accession to, say, 1920. The period was prolific; Martin Harrison, in what remains the standard text, *Victorian Stained Glass* (1980, soon to emerge in a second edition), reckons that some 80,000 windows were produced in that period, excluding those sent for export (Fig. 1). Now it is an inexorable fact that amid such levels of production there will be the humdrum, even very occasionally the atrocious –and yes, there is bad drawing. But as I visit more and more churches I have come to believe not just that critics are plain wrong to dismiss most of the products of my chosen period as a nadir, but that stained glass at its best is one of the greatest of all artistic media. In those 80 odd years, works of art were produced that have never been surpassed. Not just William Morris, but Clayton and Bell, Burlison and Grylls, Henry Holiday and Percy Bacon when they were good, were very good.

First of all though (unless I be accused of shadow boxing), let us just look at the common currency of critical assessment in the 1960s and 1970s, at the beginning of my overview. One of my first purchases was *Discovering Stained Glass*, a Shire Publication of 1968 by a certain John Harries. For ten pence from the pocket money of a fifteen-year old, even then it opened up a whole new world to discover. But it was a blinkered and harsh guide:

> There were several artists and companies who turned out competent work in the 19th century ... but they were in a severe minority and for all their craftsmanship the best of their work palls after looking at good medieval stained glass...In church after church you may see windows which have all the resources of the 19th century mass production lavished upon them... Figure stands behind figure in pompous array. The drawing of the figures and backgrounds is over meticulous and that of the faces, weak. The expression on them is usually tight and smug or else sentimentally soulful.

Higher authorities delivered similar sweeping condemnations. Thus Alec Clifton-Taylor in *English Parish Churches as Works of Art* (1974). There too the condemnation was not universal but no less

barbed for that. 'There is quite a lot of Victorian glass that is innocuous, some that is good, and a very little that is excellent... Nevertheless, the general standard of these windows is frankly appalling'. Then there was the descent into good knockabout stuff. He praised the bombs that had blown out much of the glass in St Mary Redcliffe in Bristol and paid a rather backhanded compliment to the Rector of Church Iccomb in Gloucestershire who 'chose to commemorate his wife not with a window but by installing a purely functional heating apparatus. Would that many more had done likewise'. I am not sure this articulates quite as well as glass what the Rector thought about his wife!

When Clifton-Taylor got to the individual dismissals, offering me a chance to compare specifics, I began to feel that he was plain wrong. He praised the cleansing of Euston church in Suffolk of its Victorian glass, not knowing (and surely not caring), that one of those expelled was a high quality Clayton and Bell. He excoriated the mass of Victorian glass for its supposedly poor draughtsmanship, the very richness of colour which compromised natural light, the aesthetic disharmony that resulted from so many windows in so many different styles in a single church and (a typical lament), its over-sentimentality. He attempted too (in much the same way as John Harvey tried to reject the Renaissance), to impute noble motives to the medieval glazier whose service was to glorify God, and more commercial considerations to his nineteenth century successor. Clifton-Taylor felt that the latter was less concerned about advancing the majesty of religion than in commemorating the lost member of the client's family. But did the medieval glazier work without worldly reward? No – and I can add to his list of reasons to be unkind. It is certainly the case that some great studios did run out of imaginative steam; there is a real dullness, even decadence, in the work of William Morris & Co. after the founder's death.

And yet. I still remember the occasions when I first saw glass that takes the breath away. Albert Moore and Harry Ellis Wooldridge's work for James Powell & Sons at Thursford in Norfolk, Campbell Smith & Co.'s *Angel bearing a Child to Heaven* at Orton in Westmorland, Rosenkrantz's east window of 1896 at Wickhambreux, Kent and, just two years outside my chosen period, Wilhelmina Geddes' *Crucifixion* of 1922 at St Luke's, Wallsend, Newcastle, which even Clifton-Taylor admitted had great power (although he mistakenly attributed it to Evie Hone). To see this Geddes is to recognise, like scales falling from the eyes, that nothing quite matches the highest quality stained glass for intensity of artistic experience. I stared at and absorbed it for a good ten minutes. Only a personal visit can suffice, photographs cannot convey the way it commands the whole interior.

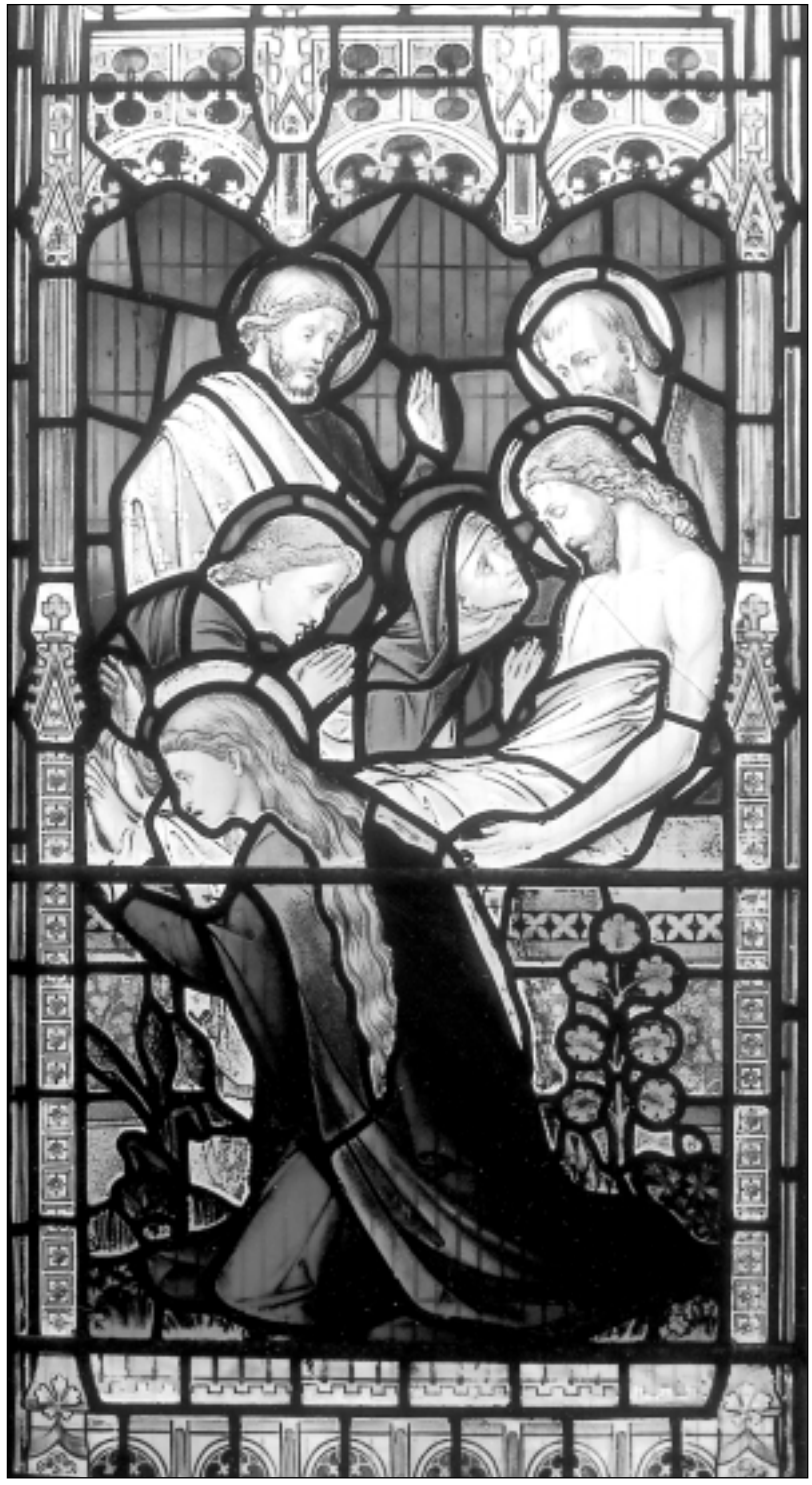


Fig. 1: This Deposition from the east window of the Churches Conservation Trust church at Normanby-by-Spital, (Lincs.) is not credited in Buildings of England or the guide. The composition, with figures in three superimposed planes, and the richness of colour show that even in anonymity good Victorian glass can command attention.

In a sense there was nothing new about the controversy over nineteenth century glass. There were *battles royal* in the Victorian period itself. A surprising number of windows of the 1840s of direct, rather acidy, colours were replaced in the 1880s and 1890s with the softer, more intricate designs favoured by the Late Goths. The opalescent glass of Tiffany and La Farge have never found real favour (except in Wickhambreux), whilst few contemporary critics seemed to have kind words for the foreign firms that flooded Catholic churches (in the case of Mayer of Munich) and great swathes of Yorkshire (in the form of the Belgian firm of Capronnier).

Yet what really rang the alarm bells was that such critical dismissal could give intellectual underpinning to efforts to remove and destroy in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Replacing a 'hot' William Wailes by the intricate sobriety of a Burlison and Grylls was altogether a different affair from destroying a window by Charles Winston at Little Gidding for the sake of clear glazing, simply to allow light in and views out (as was done only a few years ago, though fortunately the glass has found a new home at Peterborough High School). Winston is credited by Martin Harrison as the man who began the revival of archaeologically-driven stained glass in the nineteenth century and his work, already rare, is therefore of the greatest importance historically. Martin thinks his work at Gidding, with the 'glaring colours' noticed by Pevsner, is actually Winston's attempt of 1853 to go Laudian in sympathy with the seventeenth-century origins of this important community. If T. S. Eliot, who perpetuated the church in his famous poem, is prayed in aid he would be an unreliable witness. It is rather satisfying to discover that when the great man wrote an essay on what he regarded as the culturally important, he included nineteenth century Gothic churches in the list. Glass is already the most vulnerable of all artistic expression within a church – whether from the vandal's stone, the buckling of the lead through seasonal change or the instability of the pigment through the effect of borax. It did not need the added inducement to obliterate provided by ill-judged critical condemnation.

I turned to scholarship to reinforce my prejudice in favour of the glass which made my spine tingle and to be confirmed in my belief that it really did have artistic merit. I found the authority and the sheer way with words of Martin Harrison for the Victorian and Peter Cormack for Arts and Crafts utterly persuasive. Both drummed home the point that this really was a high watermark through scholarly text and exemplary photography. However, I found a world too where Fate had tied the hand of the scholar behind his back. The records of major

Fig. 2: The subtlety of the Late Goths at Brighstone (Isle of Wight), particularly the delicate intricacy of the draughtmanship – note how the gorgeous lily interweaves behind and above the lectern. This is yet another uncredited, but compelling, window in a church well served by the new Buildings of England volume.

firms had been destroyed – those of Clayton & Bell had been bombed, those of Shrigley & Hunt had gone up in flames and the papers of Kempe were consigned to the dustbin after the closure of the firm in 1934. The new edition of Martin Harrison on Victorian glass is expected soon, that of Peter Cormack on Arts and Crafts glass will be one good thing that results from the spare time that he now has, after his otherwise outrageous sacking from the William Morris Gallery. The publishing record of that Gallery has helped to deepen knowledge, as has the outstanding Journal of Master Glass Painters. Of course, there are the early (and so far unsurpassed) volumes by A. C. Sewter on William Morris and Margaret Stravridi has tackled C. E. Kempe. Most other biographies of stained glass artists are either inadequate or for the most part conspicuous by their absence.

There are dealers like Rachel Moss who provide welcome outlets for the purchase of cartoons and occasionally glass itself. The Stained Glass Repository at the Glaziers Hall, just by the southern approaches to London Bridge, provides some possibilities for the recycling of glass ejected from demolished churches. Yet it is starved of resources and finds tasks like rehousing Pugin's great west window from Sherborne Abbey (presently in its store) an overwhelming challenge. The Victoria & Albert Museum has its own corpus of expertise and the newly reopened Stained Glass Gallery, but the only space solely dedicated to this great art form remains the Stained Glass Museum in the south nave gallery at Ely Cathedral. (The Hardman Gallery in Birmingham concentrates on the gold and silver ware of that firm.) There is practically no university or college which offers a full undergraduate course in the history (as opposed to the production) of stained glass. The greatest experts have come to the discipline from elsewhere; Martin Harrison from photography, Peter Cormack from the museum sector and Michael Kearney from the world of science.

It is true that glass receives regular comprehensive and authoritative treatment in the surveys by the Church Recorders of NADFAS. However, only a thousand of these surveys have been completed and there are 15,000 in England to go. Birkin Haward has been exhaustive and inspirational in his comprehensive treatment of Norfolk and Suffolk and there are other good countywide assessments, for example in Cumbria. The new *Buildings of England, Wales and Scotland* volumes are far less infuriating than the first round which regularly missed out important windows, mis-ascribed them or failed to double check the main secondary source employed, the lists of Sir Thomas Kendrick (Fig.2). But how much of that depends upon personal

Fig. 3: St Mary's Denbigh, Clywd. Come on Denbigh! This is work by the Whalls to be really proud of.

enthusiasm? Alan Brooks, reviser of the two Gloucestershire and Worcestershire volumes (and soon to do the same for Herefordshire), counts stained glass as a particular interest and those four volumes are, and will be, exemplary as a result of that accidental fact. We all still come across the church guide that takes one relentlessly through the iconography and dedication of a window, but not a dickybird about the designer.

Stained glass artists still make very unusual favoured sons. Where is Shrewsbury's celebration of the glaziers who have practised in the city since the seventeenth century, let alone David Evans? Despite the promise of an exhibition on stained glass as part of the reconstruction of William Wailes' own house at Saltwell Towers in Gateshead, all that has resulted so far is the relocation there of his portrait. York, hopefully, will be showing the way in the museum planned in St Lawrence's church.

Probably the ultimate sign that the world out there has *not* twigged was the decision of the authorities to organize a major exhibition on the Arts and Crafts at the V&A two years ago and hardly mention stained glass at all – this in a museum which claims to understand the medium much better than others. Since Clifton-Taylor intoned, there has been a revival in interest but there is still much to accomplish. It is so frustrating to know that there is greatness out there but that it remains unrecognised. As churches are closed, windows are boarded up, sold off or vandalised, wider public appreciation cannot wait much longer. Given the discontinuation, by the National Monuments Record, of their compilation of photographic inventories of churches going out of use, some windows are even being lost without any recording taking place – surely quite unforgiveable. The few celebrations of what we have inherited can be puzzlingly obtuse. One of the best of all trails offered under Heritage Open Days is that in Denbigh. But until last year the trail guide was mute on the outstanding glass by the Whalls, Christopher and Veronica, in St Mary's church (Fig. 3).

Is it not astonishing that there has *never* been a substantial national exhibition on stained glass of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries? It is admittedly the most difficult medium to treat in this way as displacing glass from a church– even temporarily– is fraught with problems. There has just been an enormous row in Shrewsbury over the moving of some of the great sixteenth century glass from St Mary's church to an exhibition in Germany. Some were only appeased when temporary replicas were promised. Cannot the light box and the wonders of digital recording summon up the real thing when it cannot be moved? Why does the otherwise exemplary Corpus Vitrearum stop at the

Middle Ages? The current moves to extend its boundaries are very welcome. The British Association of Master Glass Painters does quite outstanding work, both in standing up for the profession at its annual conference and in its Journal, but is there not a more popular constituency out there willing and waiting to be given a voice?

The greatness of the glass from this period is still too much of a secret –and in this world, a secret can be dangerous where it licences ignorance and destruction.

Keeping our parish churches: further thoughts

Trevor Cooper

Trevor Cooper makes his living in business. He is Chairman of Council of the Ecclesiological Society.

Sensation!

My mobile rang, interrupting a meeting at 3.30 on a Friday afternoon. It was a television company. The conversation went something like this.

Voice: We're the XYZ television company. Can you provide us with a list of the sixty churches which are going to close this year?

Me: I don't have such a list. And it won't be sixty anyway. Probably half that. Anyway, why do you want the list?

Voice: We want to take the camera crew down to one of the failing churches this Sunday and film the congregation as part of a news story about large numbers of churches closing.

Me: Well, even if I had such a list, I wouldn't tell you – how do you think the congregation would feel about it?

I then suggested the names of people who could give them positive stories about the use or re-use of church buildings. Needless to say, they didn't follow this up. For much television, it seems that news is only news when something simple and nasty is happening and there is a picture to go with it.

All this was soon after publication by the Society of my short book *How do we keep our parish churches?* (2004). Somewhere along the line a single sentence about the future rate of Church of England church closure had become a minor news story, with four enquiries from local radio, a useful short piece broadcast on Radio 4, and the abortive conversation with the TV company. Frustratingly, all of these (with the honourable exception of Radio 4) ignored the fact that I was talking about the rate of closure in the *medium term*. It may be sixty churches per year in future. The actual figure then, and now, is about thirty. All in all, this was a useful – though mildly uncomfortable – lesson in media relations. Something I would certainly try and manage better next time.

The genesis of the book

The book had been born out of frustration – frustration that although many people were thinking hard about the future of English parish churches, there was no authoritative source of data to turn to. Two specific events set me going. One was a seminar on the future of rural churches. The general issues were aired very sensibly. But there was almost no quantification. How many

churches? How much money? What number of people? The other stimulus was reading Frank Field's apocalyptic words about the potential for the imminent loss of 'outstanding ecclesiastical buildings second only to that which occurred during the Reformation', and the risk of a 'whole slice of our history' disappearing for future generations.[1] Was he right? I did not know, and, what was worse, there was nowhere I could go to find out.

So my aim was to pull together a set of statistics for Church of England (CofE) parish churches. In fact, my original aim was to go further than this and build a computer model to predict the future number of closures, though I pretty quickly abandoned that idea when I realised how many unpredictable factors were involved.[2] The book ended up with some 65 tables and charts. It makes a fine bedtime read, if you are battling with insomnia.

This was not the first book to look at the problem of the over-supply of church buildings, but it was the first to provide a large dataset of facts and figures. I believe it also came at just the right time, following English Heritage's *New Work in Historic Places of Worship* (2003), and complementing the important position document by the CofE, *Building Faith in our Future* (2004). Subsequent years have seen considerable movement, including the setting up of an All Party Parliamentary Group, English Heritage's *Inspired!* campaign, SPAB's training course for churchwardens, the repositioning of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust as the National Churches Trust, the extension of the VAT refund scheme for repairs to listed places of worship, and the recent formation of a heritage network for places of worship (tied into Heritage Link).

One of my biggest fears was making crass mistakes, easy enough to do when collating and typesetting such a variety of data (often late at night, comforted by a whisky). Actually, there seem not to be many errors of fact: the ones I have identified are listed in the end note.[3] Somewhat to my surprise, I appear also not to have overlooked many sources of information.[4] Since I wrote, some new research has been published, too much to list here. Although this has not changed the overall picture, it has been helpful in a number of important areas. For example, we can better quantify the shortage of young and middle-aged people in typical church congregations – a shortage that has serious long-term implications.[5] Recent research also seems to show that CofE churches are typically lagging between one and two quinquennials with their repairs, perhaps a little better than I guesstimated, though we still do not know very much in this area.[6]

Table 1: Number of listed places of worship in England

	All	Listed	Grade of listing		
			I	II*	II
Church of England	16,200	12,200	4,200	4,200	3,800
Methodist	5,400	540	3	36	498
Roman Catholic	3,300	620	41	102	479
Baptist	1,800	310	1	10	295
United Reformed	? 1100	330			most
Other nonconformist		?? 500	-	-	-
Synagogues*		28	1	11	16
Mosques*		1	0	1	0
Total	*c. 37,000 ?*	*14,500*			

* purpose-built buildings

What was not in the book

The book concentrated entirely on CofE churches. The obvious reason is that these churches make up the great bulk of listed church places of worship (see Table 1).[7] The less obvious reason is that doing this work just on the Church of England was extremely time-consuming and if I had started on other denominations, the work would have gone on for ever. Since then, I have done a little work on some other denominations. Each of them faces rather different pressures on their buildings, arising from their history, their theology and their ecclesiology (in the sense of church government). However, the number of attendees per church building – which gives some indication of the level of support available for the building – has tended to fall for all denominations. (See Table 2; note that the recent influx of Eastern European worshippers into Roman Catholic churches in England is not reflected here).[8]

Table 2: Sunday attendees per church building
England

	1979	**2005**	**% change**
CofE	99	54	-45%
Methodist	81	48	-41%
Roman Catholic	542	244	-55%
Baptist	131	107	-18%
United Reformed	104	48	-54%

Fig 1: At St Edmund's, Kingsbridge, Devonshire, a monument by the famous English sculptor John Flaxman (1775 - 1826). This one is a copy of one he had done previously, now in Milton Church, Cambridgeshire. There are about 130 works by Flaxman in parish churches, far more than in the V&A. [Photo © c b Newham]

Another topic I did not cover is the artistic and cultural value of the contents of CofE churches. Perhaps I should have; but I was keen for the book not to have too much of a heritage flavour. It would be interesting to collect some data on this – maybe even to try to put a monetary value on this heritage and its care. Take John Flaxman, for example, one of England's most important and accessible sculptors: is it not extraordinary that whilst the V&A has fifteen pieces by Flaxman, there are about 130 – twelve times as many – in parish churches (Fig. 1)? All of these are publicly accessible but the great majority at no cost to the taxpayer.[9]

Looking back, I also think the book should have said a little more about the reduction in the number of stipendiary (that is, full-time 'salaried') CofE clergy. Their number has been drifting down for years, falling by roughly 1% per year – more or less in line with the drop in Sunday attendance. This is forecast to continue. (It is noteworthy that the number of church buildings has not dropped nearly so fast.) There are now about 8,500 full-time diocesan clergy, approximately 5,000 fewer than in the mid 1960s. There is thus roughly one full-time cleric for every two church buildings, on average. With the help of retired (about 4,500) and non-salaried (about 2,500) ministers, together with Readers and others (about 10,500), CofE churches are coping.[10] But will non-salaried clergy be as committed to the maintenance of historic church buildings?

What needs to be done?

I still feel that my decision not to make recommendations (except for a few essentially mechanical ones) was correct. I wanted the book to be non-controversial and I thought that recommendations of any substance would generate debate, and so draw attention away from the core factual material. In addition, the concluding section of the book was written in something of a hurry; I was still drawing together my thoughts and I did not want to say anything which I might later regret. Some people found the lack of positive recommendations puzzling, but I think it was the right move.

Since then I have been trying (with varying degrees of success) to suggest a way forward in certain areas. One of these is long-term grants policy. Another is pews, a topic which exercises many people: their history and future will be the subject of a forthcoming edition of *Ecclesiology Today*. A third area were I am trying to move things forward relates to Friends groups: these are sprouting up everywhere, and it would surely be sensible to provide them with national support, which would also give them a voice.

I have also been trying to encourage debate about the possibility of ownership of churches by local trusts (perhaps with a supervening nationwide trust), for those churches where there is agreement that this is the best way forward. The building could be rented to the parishioners for worship. It seems to me that this would provide a new type of future for some church buildings, especially for those parishes without the capacity to organise a lease for third party use of the building. As far as I can tell, the seeds of this idea were first floated in the 1980s, so it is by no means new. In 2005 it was supported both by English Heritage, and by the Bishop of London (in his role as Chairman of the Church Heritage Forum) who proposed exploring 'a different model of ownership, involving the wider local community'. Until recently I had assumed that a change to legislation was required, which would have taken many years to achieve, but it has recently been pointed out that it is possible in theory for a building to be declared redundant and on the same day handed over to a local trust and licensed for continued worship by the parish.[11] Perhaps this would be worth testing.

The aim must be to keep as many of our historic churches as possible in use for public worship or, where they are no longer needed for this, in use for some other purpose which preserves them as public spaces. In my view, private use is very much second best: although it saves the building, public access is inevitably restricted.

I must end by saying that there are still some rather important unanswered questions, which can sometimes make it hard to agree on the best way forward, and to know where to put resources. In particular, we do not know what is happening to small church congregations and whether church closure can ever be avoided or even eased. Nor do we know how robust is the support of non-churchgoers and how can it be encouraged.

However, much is clear, and, despite the uncertainties, I like to think my book provides a currency for discussion between the various parties as thinking develops on how to achieve our common aim.

Notes

1 In the *Annual Report* of the Churches Conservation Trust, 2002.

2 The model would be easy enough to build and populate, but any 'what-if' analysis would almost certainly lead to such a wide range of possible outcomes as to be useless, especially given our lack of understanding of what is really happening in very small congregations.

3 These are the known mistakes. On p. 18 col. 1, average adult attendance on Sunday in 2001 was 67 per parish, 53 per church building, so lower than stated. Figures in graph 2.1 include Europe (this makes a minimal difference, about 10,000 people). In graph 2.3, the figures for 1975 were interpolated, and should not have been shown as data points. In table 4.6, the number of churches in

greater Norwich is 60, not 20 (the body of the text is correct on this point). Finally, despite what I said (p. 49 col. 2), it is not entirely clear that the Bridges Commission underestimated the future number of redundancies, as it was some nine years before their recommendations came into effect.

4 I was particularly sorry to have overlooked Douglas Davies, *The Rural Church Project* (four volumes, Royal Agricultural College, Centre for Rural Studies, 1990), an extended and well-executed research project too little-known, which was summarised in Douglas Davies et al., *Church and Religion in Rural England* (Edinburgh, 1991); this would have enriched the evidence in my section on rural churches. I also missed the Grove booklet by Paddy Benson and John Roberts, *Counting Sheep: Attendance Patterns and Pastoral Strategy* (Cambridge 2002), which provides what I believe is still the best published material on the frequency with which people attend church. This could have helped me engage slightly better with the difficult question concerning the number of people supporting church buildings on pages 18 and 19 of my book and in Appendix G. Finally, I am still cross with myself for not knowing of the analysis of open and locked churches at www.digiatlas.org.

5 See, for example, the recent Tear Fund survey, *Churchgoing in the UK* (Teddington, 2007), Figure 10, and Peter Brierley (ed.), *UK Christian Handbook Religious Trends No. 6* (Christian Research, London, 2006), Table 2.7.1.

6 The Archbishops' Council commission a one-off question to be added to the standard returns completed annually by parishes. In 2003 this question related to outstanding repair needs of churches. The results were published in summary form in *Church Statistics 2003/4* (published 2005), Table 65. I was kindly allowed access to the raw data, though the fact that they are *parish* rather than individual *church* records causes difficulty, and there were more null returns than is credible. More recently, English Heritage have revisited the churches reported on by Geoffrey Claridge in his *Churches Needs Survey* in 1994/5, and the results are reported in the *Fabric Needs Survey 2005;* a summary is available (in February 2008) online on the English Heritage website. It is unfortunate that the detailed report of this *Survey* has (to the best of my knowledge) not been published.

7 Sources for Table 1: Paul Walker, *Church Building* magazine, March/April 2006, except: Church of England (Cooper, *Parish Churches*); Synagogues, website of Jewish Heritage UK; mosques, personal communication, English Heritage. The figures for the United Reformed church were adjusted to allow for missing returns. The total of 37,000 is from *Religious Trends 6*, Table 12.2.3

8 Source for Table 2: *Religious Trends 6*, Table 12.2.3. Attendance for CofE corrected from Cooper, *Parish Churches*.

9 Based on material in Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660–1851*, rev 2nd edn.,(London, n.d. but *c.*1963) and Diane Bilbey, *British Sculpture 1470 to 2000* (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 2002). Interestingly, Michael Good's Index to Pevsner only shows 119 ecclesiastical entries for Flaxman, including cathedrials (C. Newman, personal communication).

10 For number of clergy etc., and forecasts, see *Church Statistics, 2003/4*, Tables 26, 27 and 38.

11 Christopher Donaldson floats the notion of local management committees for church buildings in *The New Springtime of the Church* (Norwich, 1992), chapter 12; this book is apparently a revised version of *Rising from the Roots (*Beaminster Area Team, 1985), which I have not seen. For EH support in 2005, personal communication; for Church Heritage Forum support, see *Review of Clergy Terms of Service: The Property Issues Revisited* (being The First Report of the Implementation Group), (Archbishops' Council, 2005: GS1593), 23. For redundancy and licensing, see the mention in Sally Gaze, *Mission-shaped and Rural* (Norwich, 2006), 92, (where the example described did not in fact come to fruition (personal communication)) and 114, referencing a document on www.freshexpressions.org.uk entitled 'Processes for the creation of a community centre in a church building which is also licensed for worship'. Note that one expert has (in private conversation) cast doubt on the fine detail of this document, though not necessarily its broad principle.

Realising the inspiration

Richard Halsey

ON 10 MAY 2006, English Heritage (EH) launched its *Inspired!* campaign at a candlelit dinner in the crypt of St Mary Magdalene, Paddington.[1] Over the next week or so, there was huge media coverage, with articles in most English newspapers across the country, and numerous interviews on local, national and even international radio and television. It was the most successful campaign launch that EH had mounted. 35,000 copies of the booklet were printed and posted to as many religious leaders as could be located from nationally held address lists, as well as to local authorities, all MPs and members of the House of Lords and heritage organisations.

The headline story was the familiar one of the potential loss of the country's ecclesiastical heritage, but unlike some previous and subsequent campaigns, *Inspired!* was not threatening imminent disaster, or pinpointing a bad guy. 'This campaign is about tackling the problem before we reach a crisis and taking action to avoid it', said Dr Simon Thurley, chief executive of English Heritage in his introduction. He had sown the seeds of the campaign soon after being appointed in 2002 by asking me to create an EH 'strategy for places of worship'. He saw that places of worship were likely to be the next major challenge for heritage organisations, not so much because the buildings were in a state of collapse, but from his personal experience on an inner city PCC, he was well aware that the effort, as well as the costs, of keeping all the churches going was beginning to defeat the best intentions of decreasing congregations.

The campaign was therefore aimed especially at 'helping people to help themselves', by proposing five initiatives aimed at making places of worship easier to manage. Apart from maintaining the historic level of funding for the Churches Conservation Trust and the Historic Chapels Trust, the initiatives had emerged from the EH strategy adopted by its Commissioners in March 2004 and recent research (particularly that of the Society's chairman, Trevor Cooper). Two initiatives proposed new grant schemes for small repairs and for maintenance, one the rewriting of list descriptions to help congregations understand the significance of their building and the fourth proposed the creation of 'historic places of worship support officers'.

Although politically correct, this latter was not the snappiest title for a simple concept that had worked well in other contexts. The main beneficiaries for such posts were the lay people in the congregations charged with looking after the fabric. A typical job description was created on the *Inspired!* website, but

denominations were encouraged to consider a support post that best fitted into their known historic building needs. The example was given of Tim Hatton, the Historic Church Buildings Officer in the Manchester Church of England diocese; other supported posts existed in London, Chichester and Exeter dioceses.

People unfamiliar with the organisation of places of worship (especially journalists!) still presume that places of worship belong to the denomination (often described as 'wealthy') with the priest or minister personally responsible for looking after the buildings. But apart from particular individuals, priests had only ever been in the forefront of building and restoring churches during the heady days of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival – often prompted by the predecessor of this Society, of course. Thus it was part of the *Inspired!* campaign to make the real position clear, so emphasising the need for everyone to help sustain these truly 'community' buildings. There was a page devoted to 'What the public can do?', including the statement 'we shouldn't expect small congregations to do it all for us'.

However, the particular target was of course, Government.[2] It was well known that the next 'comprehensive spending round' (CSR2007) was going to clamp down on public spending and that heritage support was far from the top of any government list of priorities. The large increase in the level of funding that the Church of England was aiming at (50% of repair costs to listed churches)[3] would not appeal in such circumstances. It was not politic either to ask for an increase in the Department of Culture Media and Sport's funding of EH to some historic level, as the Department could not demonstrate to the Treasury that the total budget for the ecclesiastical heritage (including the Listed Places of Worship grant scheme) had appreciably declined. In any case, the top EH priority for new money was funding to pursue the Heritage Protection programme of legislative reform.[4]

The *Inspired!* campaign therefore requested a modest total of £8 million per year over the CSR2007 three year period and a one-off payment of £2.52 million for rewriting outdated list descriptions, a total of £26.52 million. This dismayed many (including the Church of England)[5] who thought that only a major injection of new money would do, especially as rumours abounded about the cost of the London Olympics being met by Lottery funds. In fact, in December 2006 – before their new strategic plan had been finalised – the Trustees of the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) committed themselves to supporting the places of worship grant scheme in England operated with English Heritage until 2011.

However, the campaign was stopped in its tracks when the Government announced that the whole CSR process was being

postponed for a year, partly in connection with the retirement of Tony Blair as Prime Minister. English Heritage funding for the interim year 2007–08 remained at the same level (so in effect, a small cut), and the existing grants scheme with the HLF was extended for another year. There was therefore little financial room for manoeuvre.

Nevertheless, the success of the *Taking Stock* exercises in the Roman Catholic dioceses of Lancaster and Arundel and Brighton led to an increase in that budget and the start of similar programmes in four other Catholic dioceses and two in the Church of England. These surveys aimed to evaluate the architectural and historical interest of all churches in an area, which, when linked to other clergy reviews or mission strategies, enabled a diocese to take the significance of the building and its adaptability properly into account. Such an exercise could be the first task of a support officer (or provide the basis for creating one targeted on an issue or area identified as being in particular need of extra support). The individual entries could also be used as the basis for list review to new Heritage Protection standards and most importantly, give congregations a better understanding of the significance of their churches.

Other activities that came about from *Inspired!* were debates in both Houses of Parliament and the forming of an All Party Parliamentary Group for historic places of worship, an exhibition in the Upper Waiting Room of the House of Commons, a programme of training days on Changing Churches for local authority members and planning officers under the HELM project, a study of the effects of redundancy on listed places of worship (forthcoming), and an extension of the Aggregates Levy Support Fund for one year to religious sites and buildings at risk.

The CSR2007 announcement was finally made in October 2007, giving English Heritage a modest increase in funding over 2008–2011, a real achievement given the continuing pressure on public expenditure. In welcoming these extra funds, the EH chairman, Lord Bruce-Lockhart, stated that the implementation of the Heritage Protection Bill and places of worship would be the main recipients.[6] It has subsequently been decided to implement grants for support officers and maintenance from April 2009, but details are not yet available. These will pursue the campaign's objective of 'helping people to help themselves', though the funding will be well below the sums originally requested.

A business review would conclude that the *Inspired!* campaign failed to meet its main financial objective, but I believe that it did appreciably raise awareness of the core issue – how to sustain England's rich ecclesiastical built heritage. Arguably some of the

revitalisation of other organisations was happening in any case, for instance the creation of the National Churches Trust out of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust,[7] but *Inspired!* must have helped to boost public interest. It certainly encouraged those already involved in supporting places of worship, like private charitable trusts, to think about how they might enhance or refocus their existing activities. What the campaign did unfortunately highlight was the fragmented nature of the sector and the lack of cohesion and will to work together. In this respect, the campaign did fail to present a united front, especially to Government. In his personal crusade for a 'National Trust for Churches', Sir Roy Strong criticises the plethora of church preservation bodies,[8] though this has not stopped him from supporting yet another campaign, *Save our Churches*, promoted by the Sunday Telegraph, and initiating a competition for *Country Life*.[9]

It remains the case that there are too many interests competing at national level for more government and charitable funding for a cause that remains an essentially localised issue. This is where I believe *Inspired!* got it right. It is dedicated support at a local level that will determine the future of many places of worship by assisting congregations to find a solution that fits the particular circumstances – recognising, of course, that another generation may well think differently. Unless of course we follow the solution adopted by many other European countries and the State takes over the physical care of nationally important places of worship. However, that is altogether another subject.

Notes

1 The text of the booklet, wrtten principally by myself and Anya Matthews, is available on the English Heritage website at www.english-heritage.org.uk/inspired

2 A postcard addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer was enclosed with the booklet and nearly 3500 were sent in to the Treasury by members of the public.

3 General Synod papers GS1610, 1610A &1610B, February 2006 http://www.cofe.anglican.org/about/gensynod/proceedings/feb2006/r4f06.pdf The progress of 'Funding Church Buildings; Next Steps' is reported in the Building Faith in the Future Bulletin www.cofe.anglican.org/about/builtheritage/buildingfaith/index.html

4 'Valuing our heritage: The case for future investment in the historic environment' (report prepared by Heritage Link, English Heritage, the National Trust, the Historic Houses Association and the Heritage Lottery Fund, as a contribution to the Government's forthcoming Comprehensive Spending Review).

5 Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England, *Annual Report* for 2006

6 http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/ConWebDoc.12243

7 www.historicchurches.org.uk

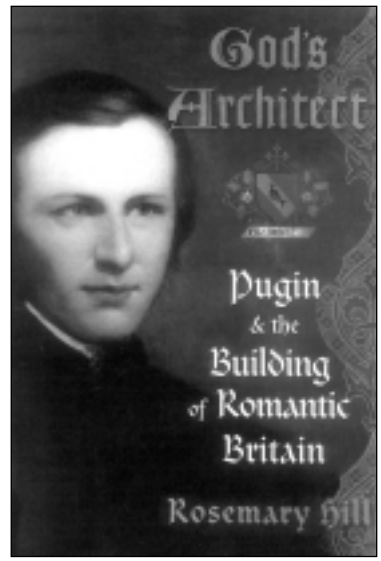
8 *The Beauty of Holiness and its Perils (or what is to happen to 10000 parish churches?)* Gresham Lecture, (30 May 2007) www.gresham.ac.uk

9 www.telegraph.co.uk/saveourchurches; *Country Life*, 20 December 2007

Review Essay

by Anthony Symondson, SJ

Rosemary Hill, *God's Architect: Pugin & the Building of Romantic Britain*. Peguin, 2007, 602 pp., 46 col. pls, 61 b&w pls, £30.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 713 99499 5.



'Strange as it may appear to some,' wrote Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) in a letter published in *The Tablet* on 2 September 1848.

> '*Rome has been, and ever will be, the corner and key-stone of pointed architecture* [his italics]. Every Gothic church throughout the world was erected when the signet of the Fisherman was the talisman of Christendom, and the foundation of every vast abbey and mighty cathedral is based on the Rock of Peter.'

Pugin's letter was written in defence of rood screens at a time when he was disillusioned by the coolness of Catholic bishops and clergy towards his aims. He was dismayed by the adoption of Italianate architecture, devotions and worship by Newman, Faber and many of the converts to Rome and their ill-disguised distaste for medievalism and the Gothic style. This dispute is well known but what is rarely emphasized is their point of unity. What made these factions one was a common loyalty to the Papacy; what divided them was the style and form in which their fidelity was expressed. Papal Catholicism was the foundation of Pugin's perception of faith, held by him as strongly as the ultramontane convictions of the Italianizing party.

Pugin was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1835 at the age of twenty-three; he died seventeen years later in 1852 at the age of forty, exhausted, broken and mad. His early experience of religion was Presbyterian in a charismatic form under the influence of Edward Irving. He declared that he 'had crowded a century's work in forty' and had transformed British architecture in nineteen by moving the revived Gothick style from a picturesque, ornamental, literary form into one informed by scholarship and the structural logic of Gothic. No architect had more influence on the Gothic Revival than him; scarcely a medieval or new Victorian church escaped the consequences. When the vicissitudes of Pugin's life are considered the acceptance of two factors is necessary in order to understand him: his youth and his consent to receive Catholicism not merely as a vehicle of taste and architectural opportunity but as revealed truth. The two were inseparably associated and to divorce or reduce one at the expense of the other is to distort the fundamental motivation of his life, work and principles.

Archbishop Ullathorne, writing to Ambrose Phillips de Lisle on 10 October 1852, said 'I wish very much to see something written about Pugin to show how completely his genius sprang from and was directed by religion'.

With the exception of Michael Trappes-Lomax's study of Pugin, published in 1931, Pugin's religion has been an embarrassment to his biographers. If you want to learn more of Pugin the Catholic, read Trappes-Lomax, if only because Pugin is given a voice; his words are quoted extensively and maintain the narrative drive. Benjamin Ferrey did not welcome Pugin's Catholicism and reflected the mid-Victorian prejudices of the year of its publication: 1861. Phoebe Stanton's short book on Pugin is valuable for being an architectural inquiry and for paying attention to his work in Ireland, in 1971 something of a revelation. Surprisingly, *Pugin* and her excellent articles are not included in the select bibliography, though there are unattributed references to her theories. While *God's Architect* is not an architectural study, Rosemary Hill has accomplished the fullest and most complete modern biography so far published; it will be hard to supersede and is likely to be regarded as the orthodox view of Pugin for the foreseeable future. I have never before read a book about an architect as substantial as this more quickly and with such pleasure; when finished I experienced a palpable sense of loss. Pugin's religion is, however, seen as part of a greater whole rather then the driving force of his life.

Pugin is, by now, a familiar Victorian architect due to *Pugin: a Gothic Passion*, the exhibition mounted by Clive Wainwright and Paul Atterbury in 1994 which caused a sea-change in the public appreciation of his work. It was a controversial exhibition that presented Pugin in terms of the applied arts at the expense of architecture and began a subtle process of secularising his life, work and influence on the development of the Gothic Revival. Despite a central display of church plate and other religious artefacts (some of which were not designed by him but were manufactured by Hardman in his style) the emphasis was more on his early years as a theatrical designer, his principles of design, his furniture and ceramics, his influence on the later Arts and Crafts Movement and his perceived, if erroneous, role as a precursor of the Modern Movement.

God's Architect is partly a fruit of this enterprise. It was then that Hill began research on a biography of Pugin and Wainwright's views had a strong influence on her in the early stages. The problem with Wainwright in relation to Pugin was that he was an atheist who had little sympathy with and no understanding of Pugin's religious views and their powerful motivation on his understanding of the Gothic style and social

reform. In his lectures we had Pugin the sailor, the pirate, the womaniser, his supposed lack of interest in Catholic doctrine, his misreading of Catholic politics, his eccentric dress, his functional principles, his influence on the applied arts, his role as a proto-High Victorian. Pugin the Catholic was played down, Pugin the character emerged; a secularist, post-Christian understanding of Pugin was established.

Engaging though *God's Architect* is to read it is under-girded by a sequence of questionable angles that motivate Hill's thesis and fit Pugin's life into a pre-determined pattern. These I want to address. Early in the narrative it is suggested that Pugin was syphilitic and this affliction was the cause of progressive madness. In the epilogue she acknowledges that syphilis 'can never now be determined with certainty' yet she consistently maintains this inference to the point of fact as an explanation of his erratic behaviour, emotionalism and madness. Alternative medical opinion is disregarded, the evidence presented by the birth of Pugin's many healthy children ignored. Pugin's early involvement with low life in the theatre is not only identified as a possible cause of the infection but as an explanation of his later planning. As a youth he worked with the Grieve family, the leading scene-painters of the day, at Covent Garden. This experience is pinpointed as having had a fundamental influence on many of his later architectural solutions rather than a study of medieval precedent and liturgical function.

We know from Pugin's writings, as well as his command of the grammar and vocabulary of Gothic design, that he had an unrivalled grasp of medieval architecture and detail. The theatrical interpretation is not only forced but untenable. It reaches over-confident lengths in her understanding of the plan of St Barnabas', Nottingham (1841-4), where the choir and sanctuary are described as a 'freestanding space within the larger volume' and described as 'the perfect Picturesque interior landscape, the three-arch effect he had learnt at Covent Garden from the Grieves, made solid, sacred, "real".' Hill includes no plans but one of St Barnabas' would demonstrate comparison with many medieval English cathedrals and collegiate churches. The same applies to the T-planned chapel at St Edmund's, Ware (1845-53). She believes that the stone screen, with its integral altars contained beneath the overhanging, vaulted loft, is derived from the Grieves' 'old three-arch device from Covent Garden, but made more dramatic, not merely theatrical'. It is, rather, a close copy of the fifteenth-century screen in the Liebfraukirche, Oberwesel, on the Rhine, which Pugin described as 'one of the most perfect, as well as the most beautiful screen in Germany'. Ware provided the only opportunity to use the precedent.

Multiple altars were needed in a collegiate institution; the choir had to be enclosed; the screen provided a liturgical solution. Pugin himself deplored theatrical effects in church design.

There are also other debateable architectural assertions founded on a selective use of evidence. Of these the most significant is the maintenance of Wainwright's claim that Pugin anticipated the High Victorian style and his work would have developed on the lines of his immediate successors. Evidence for this is found in the occasional use of strong masonry, asymmetry in planning and offset arches, and the plan and structure of St Mary's, Rugby (1847). Consistently Pugin's churches were in the Decorated style with occasional works in Early English and Perpendicular. Off-set arches were a structural rather than stylistic solution and in the case of the unexecuted designs for St Peter Port, Guernsey (1845), which Hill describes as an exercise in imagining 'more complex space', this implementation can be seen in medieval English churches such as SS. Peter & Paul, Aylesford, for purely practical reasons. The realization of this plan occurs if separately expressed chancels and eastern chapels are designed using a common party wall, often with an arch or arches therein. It is a pragmatic engineering solution, not something 'quite original, mysterious and uneasy'. The reason why it was not built was because the Guernsey priest wanted a larger church; there is no evidence that he thought the design 'too peculiar, or too expensive'. Equally, strong masonry used in other buildings was related to cost rather then choice and in the cases where it was used economic factors explain the difference. In her desire to establish Pugin as a proto-High Victorian the evidence is pressed too far.

Hill depends heavily for her understanding of Pugin's varying attitudes to the Oxford Movement, the Church of England and the proleptic ecumenical implications on Margaret Pawley's book, *Faith and Family: the Life and Circle of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle* (1993). Pawley's work is marred by an anachronistic understanding of nineteenth-century ecumenism, derived from experience of the ecumenical developments following the Second Vatican Council, 1962-5. These she had known through her husband, Canon Bernard Pawley, Archdeacon of Canterbury, an Anglican observer at the Council and a founder of the Anglican Centre in Rome, and she projects them onto the early-Victorian age. It is impossible to interpret the nineteenth-century ecumenical forays between Anglicans and Roman Catholics of Pugin's time in this way because they had no official backing and relations were confined to infrequent meetings, correspondence and occasional pamphlets.

Yet Hill's belief that Pugin was intent on belonging to an 'English Catholic Church' in the way that the Tractarians understood it is misleading, reflects her own moderate High Church position, and a shaky understanding of ecclesiology. Assisted by the research of Dr Daniel Rock, Lord Shrewsbury's learned domestic chaplain (whose acquaintance Pugin made in 1836, a year after his conversion), and drawing upon his detailed knowledge of English medieval liturgical furniture, Pugin sought the revival of an English liturgical rite and ceremonial and furnished his churches accordingly. This was the restoration of the Sarum Use which mysteriously Hill describes as 'that continuous, native Catholic tradition, a tradition in communion with but independent of Rome.' And she believes that for Pugin after his conversation Salisbury alone was 'now confirmed as the hub not just of his own world but of the true English Church, past and soon to come.'

The Use of Salisbury was a local medieval modification of the inessentials of the Roman Rite (of which many variants existed throughout the Western Church prior to the Counter-Reformation) used in Salisbury Cathedral, traditionally ascribed to St Osmund (d. 1099) but really much later. The Customary was not compiled until c1225 by Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, to coincide, after receiving papal approval, with the building of the new cathedral. By the late Middle Ages the Sarum Use was followed, in whole or in part, in other English dioceses, and in 1457 was stated to be in use in nearly the whole of England. In addition there were also the uses of Bangor, Hereford and York. But to see it as a 'continuous, native Catholic tradition' represents a world of make-believe that ignores the conversion of England by St Augustine in 597 at the instigation of St Gregory the Great, and the Synod of Whitby in 664 when the young St Wilfrid, Bishop of York, secured the replacement of the existing Celtic usages by the Roman Rite, and Celtic by Benedictine monasticism. St Bede the Venerable saw this as the turning point of his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Tutored by Rock, Pugin's liturgical ideals were essentially Gregorian, from the chant onwards. He included St Gregory and St Augustine with St George in the stained glass windows of his private chapel in the Grange, Ramsgate. Given his allegiance to the Papacy, it is impossible to squeeze him into an incipient High Church mould, however sympathetic he was to the aims of a significant minority in the national Church, with whose rhetoric he sympathized. Though Pugin enjoyed working for Tractarian clients, and (with Wiseman and a few others) had hopes enkindled by the Oxford Movement, he, and they, could no more have been Anglicans than Drummondites.

What was Pugin's legacy beyond being the father of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival in England? In an epilogue Hill maintains that 'he was largely forgotten by the end of the century' and when Herman Muthesius published *Das Englische Haus* in 1904-5, Pugin was 'all but invisible'. She identifies the limitations of Muthesius's understanding of the significance of Philip Webb, W. E. Nesfield and Norman Shaw as the fathers of modern domestic architecture by ignoring, or not recognizing, the fact that they were Pugin's immediate inheritors and that it was 'he, not they, who invented the English House that Muthesius so admired' and leaves it there. In domestic architecture echoes of Pugin's influence survive to this day, but what of the main body of his work and interest: church architecture?

After the abandonment of a design in the Early French Gothic style, in 1863 G. F. Bodley designed All Saints', Cambridge, in the fourteenth-century Decorated style verging on the Perpendicular preferred by Pugin, and brought the brief parenthesis of High Victorianism full circle. After visiting Germany in 1845 Pugin wrote to Bishop Sharples that he believed 'that something even grander than most of the old things can be produced by simplicity combined with gigantic proportions', and that 'lofty arches & pillars, huge projecting buttresses grand severe lines are the true thing'. Hill sees this as an anticipation of High Victorianism but it is a prediction of the mature achievement of Bodley & Garner at St Augustine's, Pendlebury, (1874) and George Gilbert Scott Jnr at St Agnes', Kennington, (1877) rather than the restless northern Italian constructional polychromy and solid mass of Butterfield and Street and the powerful Early French structure of Burges; forget what J. T. Micklethwaite (another of Pugin's successors) described as the 'loud, coarse, vulgarity' of Teulon, Bassett Keeling and E. B. Lamb and the developments of E. W. Pugin and George Ashlin, both of whom certainly embraced what is known as 'High Victorianism'. Had he lived, Pugin's work could well have developed on Bodley's and Scott's lines; he was the father of the late Gothic Revival.

In 1886 J. Wickham Legg, the liturgiologist, wrote an essay, 'On some ancient liturgical customs', published in the *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, and said 'I am sure we must raise the cry *Back to Pugin*, to the principles Pugin advanced' in his campaign to apply authentic medievalism to Anglican worship and church architecture. These views also motivated Edmund Bishop, the leading English Roman Catholic liturgiologist, who, like most of his generation, was uncritically devoted to Pugin and pugnaciously English in his ecclesiastical preferences. Legg founded the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society to further his aims in 1879; Bishop and others the Guild of St Gregory and St Luke 'for

the purpose of promoting the study of Christian antiquities and of propagating the principles of Christian art' in the same year. Pugin's Gothic romanticism and scientific liturgical research were, in company with Wickam Legg's goals, their watchword. Under the Guild's influence, Pugin's theories found a recrudescence in late-Victorian Catholic church architecture, principally in the work of J. F. Bentley (with the exception of Westminster Cathedral), Leonard Stokes, J. A. Hadfield, Thomas Garner and F. A. Walters (all of whom were members). The school of Bodley, most notably in the early work of J. N. Comper, brought Puginism to its ultimate fulfilment, reinforced by the church architecture of Temple Moore, the sole pupil of the younger Scott. These architects all revered Pugin and achieved his potential.

In a wider sphere, Paul Waterhouse recognized the roots of the late-Gothic Revival in Pugin in a serialized biography of him published in the *Architectural Review* under the editorship of Henry Wilson, illustrated by some of the leading architectural draughtsmen of the day including F. L. Griggs. This prestigious monthly magazine was founded in 1897 and published all that was best in British architecture, regardless of style, and was in the vanguard of taste. From 1901 onwards newly-discovered drawings by Pugin and correspondence were published intermittently and these reflect continuing interest in his work and principles. At the turn of the century Pugin was far from invisible.

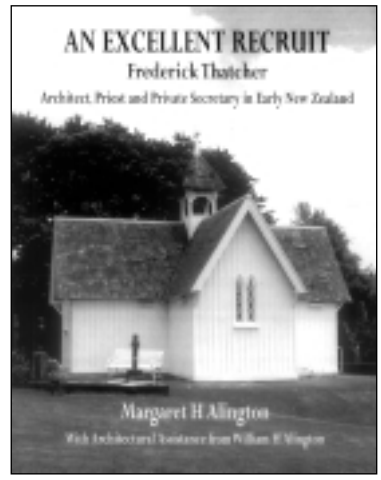
The strength of Hill's book lies in her depth of research, especially in the beginning, and the way that she sets Pugin's life and achievement into the panorama of early-Victorian England. For this I and others are grateful; she lays bare a forgotten world. In nearly 500 pages Hill presents an epic narrative of the times in which he lived and the influence he had upon contemporary architecture and taste. She relieves him of the reputation of being seen as the father of twentieth-century functionalism and repudiates Henry Russell Hithcock's opinion that this development constitutes 'the core of Pugin's long-term significance as a theorist'. She believes that as a theorist 'he has no "long-term" significance at all' and that is true as far as Modernism is concerned. Her research into the lives and ancestry of Pugin's parents casts new light on his origins in France and the minor tributaries of the Lincolnshire gentry. Auguste Pugin's harmless pretensions to an aristocratic lineage are uncovered without censure and the facts of his French kinship extensively researched. Above all, Pugin's mother, Catherine Welby, is rescued from the derision to which she was subjected by Ferrey and later jovially disseminated by Trappes-Lomax. A difficult, intensely religious and over-bearing woman, unsympathetic to her husband's pupils, the Belle of Islington emerges as an intellectual

in her own right and a positive influence on her son. The treatment of the Barry-Pugin controversy in the design of the New Palace of Westminster is judicious, and her skills of characterization exemplary. She deals with Pugin's volatile opinions well and writes perceptively of his marriages and relations with women.

But, above all, it is in the power of writing that Hill's book succeeds and will be found by many to be persuasive. *God's Architect* (a title that I dare say suggests the wit of a spirited dinner party rather than an accurate description of the subject; Pugin made no such claims) is an outstanding achievement, a landmark in architectural biography, and will find a place among the best-written biographies of the present time. But its literary merit is also a hazard because it subtly masks the biases from which it is written and is, I regret to say, more likely to misrepresent an understanding of Pugin's life and achievement than otherwise.

Book Reviews

Margaret H. Alington, *An Excellent Recruit: Frederick Thatcher – Architect, Priest, and Private Secretary in Early New Zealand*. Polygraphia, Auckland, 2007, 297 pp., 130 illust., £34, pbk. [incl. international package and handling], ISBN 978-1-877332-44-9.



In recent years the study of modern British history has changed significantly. The advent of 'imperial history,' then 'Atlantic history,' and now 'world history' has opened up whole new perspectives on how we view Britain's past. Historic phenomena that were once viewed in relative isolation are now seen as part of much broader networks or 'fields' of social, economic, and political activity that spread from the 'old' world into the 'new' and back again. Within this ever-expanding historical purview the study of Protestant Christianity and its global extension has become (and will continue to be) an important subject.

This broader historical shift has important consequences for the study of ecclesiastical architecture in Britain. The reform of the Church of England during the 1830s, for example, was not restricted to England, but spread far and wide through Britain's ever-expanding colonial empire. In fact, the reinvigoration of the Church's missionary agenda was very much part of Anglican renewal. Architecturally speaking, this concern was reflected in the mandate of the Ecclesiological (former Cambridge Camden) Society, which considered the development of 'colonial ecclesiology' to be a fundamental and necessary part of its work.

Although numerous studies have been made of nineteenth-century Anglican ecclesiology, too few have dealt with this wider dimension. Margaret Alington's new book *An Excellent Recruit: Frederick Thatcher – Architect, Priest, and Private Secretary in Early New Zealand* will therefore come as a welcome and important addition to this field. It chronicles the life and work of an émigré architect who must be considered not only one of early New Zealand's most significant architects but also one of the more interesting and innovative architects working for the Anglican church anywhere during the nineteenth century. Thatcher's skill, range, and flexibility as a designer was extraordinary under the circumstances, and his numerous stone and timber churches (among other building types) are easily comparable in terms of quality and 'correctness' to those of that other extraordinary early New Zealand architect, Benjamin Mountfort.

Arriving in New Zealand from Hastings in 1843, Thatcher worked for much of his career under the auspices of the first Anglican bishop of New Zealand, George Augustus Selwyn (1809-78). This is significant because Selwyn was one of the great champions of the extension of the Church of England abroad, and, being a man of moderate Tractarian persuasion, was keen to implement 'proper' and disciplined church practices. In order to achieve this he required not only an able architect but a technically competent one as well, one who had fully absorbed the fundamental tenets of Anglican ecclesiology. Although Selwyn knew a

great deal about 'correct' church architecture, Thatcher was the man of the moment, arriving at just the right time to assist the bishop in rolling out his vision for Anglicanism in New Zealand. Perhaps Thatcher's single most impressive achievement was his development of a remarkable and unique brand of wooden, Gothic Revival architecture that made extensive use of native timbers. He designed numerous churches, parsonages, hospitals, and school buildings in this distinctive style, which reached its apogee in the Anglican cathedral of St. Paul's, Wellington (1864-6)—a church that has one of the most elaborate and beautiful timber interiors I have seen anywhere in the former British empire.

Alington's account of Thatcher's life and career represents over half a century of painstaking study and research, and it shows. It is as meticulous and complete in its use and assessment of the sources as it is sensitive and insightful in their presentation. It also contains the most extensive collection of historic photographs of the so-called 'Selwyn churches' yet produced. Indeed, Alington's account is an important missing link in the history of New Zealand colonial architecture and is the most detailed and comprehensive study of Christian architecture in early New Zealand since Ian Lochhead's monograph on Mountfort nearly ten years ago (1999). The biographical and largely chronological nature of the text makes for a straightforward read and also renders the book a very useful reference and research aid for anyone working on the history of British colonial architecture. Alington's *An Excellent Recruit* is a book that anyone interested in the development of Anglican architecture during the nineteenth-century will find both fascinating and rewarding.

Alex Bremner, University of Edinburgh

Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology.* Studies in Medieval Religion, 34, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2007, xiv + 189pp, 76 b&w pls, £40 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 84383 334 5.

The last book-length thematic study of chantry chapels was G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (1947). A volume dedicated to the study of such chapels, particularly those in parochial churches, and especially one which concentrates on physical evidence still contained in the buildings, is therefore long overdue. A reviewer, even one who disagreed with points of interpretation, might therefore expect to welcome a work which addresses precisely this area. Sadly, that is not possible.

The first problem is that Roffey does not understand the significance of the pre-Reformation Mass. On pp. 86-7 he gives an accurate one-sentence definition of transubstantiation, but he never sees its implications – four pages earlier he has stated that the Passion was re-enacted 'symbolically' at the elevation (p. 82); nor does he ever mention salvation by works, of which the Mass was most potent. Instead, the Mass is reduced to a 'device of intercession' (p. 26) and chantries to part of 'strategies for intercession' (*passim*). While intercession was certainly important, it was never the sole, or even main, purpose of a chantry, and

the subtleties of the relationship between living and dead are missed. This runs like a sore throughout the book; in addition, it leads to unnecessary puzzlement in Chapter 2 concerning the reasons for the emergence of chantries in the 13th century (shortly after the maturation of eucharistic doctrine) and a postulation of greater similarities with the earlier middle ages than in fact exists.

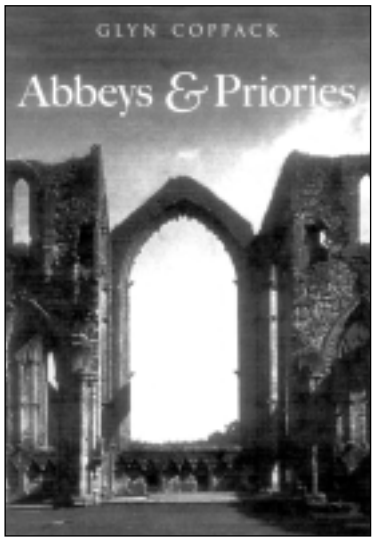
Despite so grievous a defect, those parts of the book which concentrate on the reading of physical evidence could still be of value. Here also, however, there are problems. The explanation of the archaeological method of reading built fabric takes no account of the fact that stylistically datable doorways were often bodily moved into later walls, or that windows were often inserted into earlier ones. The discussion of early aisles (p. 37) does not mention their nature – the fact that they were often narrow and low – when considering their function, so that one wonders if the author understands how different they were from their later counterparts or has thought about why. The analysis of chapels and churches later is not always sufficiently detailed, even in relation to three expanded case studies in Chapter 8, for it to be possible to assess its reliability.

The lack of understanding of the fundamentals of medieval religion and the uncertainties concerning the sophistication of the archaeological method employed mean that, at best, one has to take on trust the results of the main line of enquiry. This relates to the question of inter-visibility between chapels and altars, and the architectural features (particularly squints) which render such inter-visibility possible. There is an interesting subject here, but even if the foundations of discussion were more sound, the conclusion, that chantries performed a function for a community wider than that of their founders, is so jejeune as to be hardly worth the effort.

In addition to these major difficulties, there are others. First are further problems of fact: to take but two, both from the glossary (pp. 164–5): an Easter Sepulchre is stated to have been 'to display a symbol of Christ during Easter', rather than to hide ('bury') the cross and/or host during the latter part of Holy Week; and Purgatory is stated to be a place where 'those who have died must spend time', over-simplifying the complex understanding that only souls, not bodies (or, therefore, persons) went there – a fact with implications for the way the living could assist the dead. Errors such as these could have been easily rectified by wider reading in easily accessible literature. Second is the structure of the book: the archaeological method is explained in Chapter 4 but partly repeated in Chapter 5, and Chapter 5's explanation of visual analysis would be better in Chapter 4; the case-studies in Chapter 8 are not so significantly more detailed than the material in Chapter 5 that they could not have been absorbed within it. There are also odd uses of words, as when the 'orientation' of chapels refers to their location on the north or south of the building rather than the alignment of their altars (*e.g.*, pp. 99-103), and a clutch of split infinitives. Even the apparatus of the book is flawed: the glossary is uneven ('pier' is defined, but not the 'column' with which it is contrasted), and in the index half the churches are found under place-name and half under dedication.

There is no purpose in labouring the point. The question is: how has a book like this come to be published? The author is clearly ultimately responsible for content, but others should either have saved him or halted the process. Where was the series editor? Where was the publisher's reader? Where the copy editor?

P S Barnwell, Kellogg College, University of Oxford



Glyn Coppack, *Abbeys and Priories.* Tempus, 2006, 192 pp., 21 col. pls, 110 b&w pls, £17.99 pbk, ISBN 0 7524 3022 X.

This book inspires the reader with the confidence that its author is supremely at ease with his material. This is not surprising since Abbeys and Priories revisits a subject which Coppack has already explored in his 1987 book of the same name but with considerable rewriting and with the benefit of the fruits of nearly twenty years archaeological activity on monastic sites in England. The result is a polished account, full of information relayed at an easy pace, which demonstrates persuasively the unique and crucial contribution made by archaeology to our understanding of the past.

The main contents are neatly framed between an opening chapter which surveys the history of monastic archaeology and a closing chapter which discusses the process of dissolution, destruction, remodelling and reclaiming of sites since the sixteenth century and finishes by returning to the book's starting point – the origins of scholarly monastic archaeology. In between, four chapters address the subject by considering the different parts of the monastic complex, beginning with the church and ending with sanitation and water systems. The text includes many fascinating discoveries made in the process of digs, such as the worn floors of choir pavements indicating the path of routes taken in liturgical processions, skeletons of monks revealing how their bodies were prone to a spinal condition caused by obesity as a result of too sedentary a life style, and cannabis growing in a friary garden in Hull. Some of these discoveries may as easily have been discovered by reading contemporary records, but the main appeal of this book is its evocation of the physicality of archaeological exploration, the sense of the hand-on-the-place which literally enlivens the discovery.

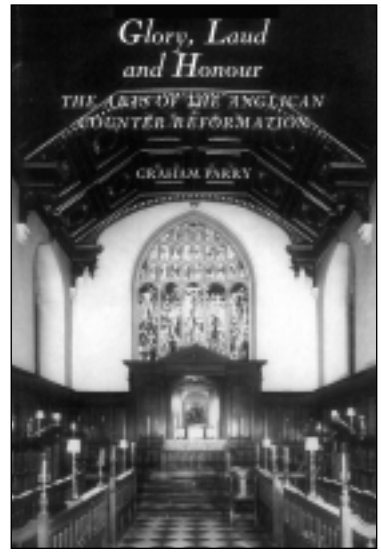
It is a narrative account which systematically sets out the major stages in the uncovering and interpretation of monastic sites. These are selected from many hundreds of possible examples on the basis that those chosen are the most revealing and demonstrate typicalities rather than exceptions. Along the way different tendencies in building practices according to the various kinds of communal life practised by the various monastic and mendicant orders and according to period are remarked upon.

On the whole Tempus books do not include references. Sometimes these are missed by the interested reader, but in this case because Coppack is updating a narrative rather than advancing a new line of argument, and because the text itself names the scholars and the dates of the work which are referred to, the lack of footnotes does not seem so

crucial. The book is also helpfully illustrated with plans and the author's photographs both in black and white and colour. These are essential to allow the reader's imagination to negotiate its way around the often quite complex sites, both in terms of space occupied and the building phases over time, which are described. Abbeys and Priories is informative and very useful, both in itself and as a starting point for pursuing the study of particular sites or aspects of monastery buildings and their settings.

Cathy Oakes

Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour. The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*. Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, 2006, 207 pp., 26 b&w pls, £19.99 pbk, ISBN 978 1 84383 375 8.



In this attractively illustrated, interdisciplinary study Graham Parry describes the development of the arts in England in the first four decades of the seventeenth century and the ways in which Archbishop Laud and his followers employed them to achieve their vision of the beauty of holiness in the English church.

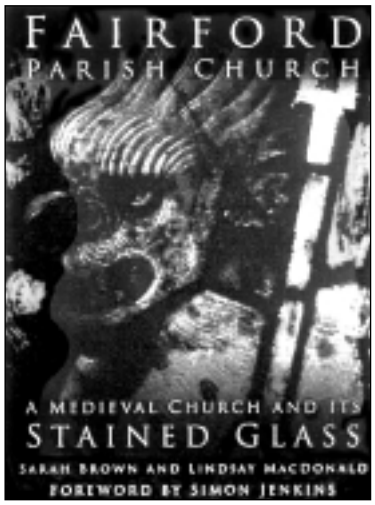
Even in the Elizabethan period not all churchmen had subscribed to the Calvinist consensus, and in the reign of James I under the inspirations of Lancelot Andrewes a school of anti-Calvinist theology emerged, which its detractors anachronistically labelled as 'Arminian'. Little by little in the 1620s the arch strategist Richard Neile succeeded in advancing members of the party, and on the accession of Charles I they won the support of the monarch, cementing an ultimately fatal alliance between believers in divine right episcopacy and the divine right of kings.

After summarising the rise of the Laudians, in subsequent chapters Parry demonstrates how certain disciples of Andrewes, foremost among whom were John Cosin, Matthew Wren and William Laud himself, beginning with cathedrals and college chapels began transforming the interiors of churches to accord with their sacramental theology. Since the Reformation the holy table had customarily stood north-south in the middle of the chancel; the Laudians moved it back to east end and railed it in so that it once again looked like a sacrificial altar. They adorned altars with rich vessels and furnishings, emphasized the distinction between the chancel and the nave with elaborately carved screens and gilded ceilings, bestowed pinnacled canopies upon fonts and commissioned new painted windows. Intricate choral music and organs contributed to the solemnity of services, and the era saw an efflorescence of devotional poetry and prose.

Throughout the study the author wrestles with the problem of distinguishing between specifically Laudian church art and that which could loosely be seen as reflecting the cultural climate of the age. Milton admired 'storied windows richly dight', Bishop John Williams rebuilt St John's College chapel at Cambridge in the current taste; neither man can by any stretch of the imagination be designated a Laudian. These difficulties could perhaps have been avoided had the volume received a less contentious title and sub title. However much his innovations may

have troubled his ideological opponents, Laud was emphatically not aiming to reunite the Church of England with the Church of Rome.

Claire Cross, University of York



Sarah Brown and Lindsay MacDonald (eds), *Fairford Parish Church: A Medieval Church and its Stained Glass.* Sutton Publishing and University of Gloucester, 2007, 175 pp., 35 col. pls, 75 b&w pls, £19.99 pbk, ISBN 978 0 7509 4692 6.

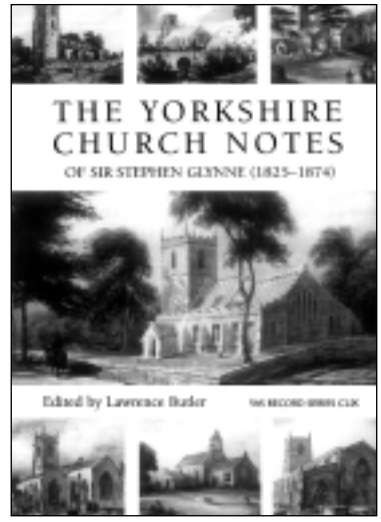
At the turn of 2008, Renaissance stained glass is in the ascendant. 2007 saw the reunion of some of the best examples of Rhenish stained glass from the monasteries of Altenberg, Mariawald, and Steinfeld in an exhibition at the Schnutgen Museum in Cologne, with pieces returning from as far away as England and the USA. This was followed later in the year by the opening of an exhibition at the National Gallery, juxtaposing German Renaissance paintings with comparable stained glass from the V&A. The new paperback edition of the multi-authored volume on the sixteenth-century glass at Fairford, published in May 2007, is therefore felicitous. While part of a larger trend, the book has its own story to tell. Ten years on from the original hardback version, the conservation of the medieval glazing scheme at Fairford Parish Church is nearly complete.

The survival of a full set of late medieval windows in their original architectural setting of St Mary's Fairford is extremely rare in this country and even abroad. The Perpendicular style church was built under the patronage of John Tame, and glazed at the behest of his son Edmund in the early years of the sixteenth century. Edmund contracted Barnard Flower, a stained glass artist from the Netherlands, to produce the series of twenty-eight windows. Sarah Brown's chapter on the windows provides useful insights on how to 'read' his work according to the medieval layout of the interior, while her chapter on stained glass artists and the craft remains an excellent account of the social and artistic context. Now available in the more affordable paperback format, the present volume also provides an update on the work of the project since 1997. Keith Barley reports on the conservation of the three west windows, the most challenging of the project, and on rediscoveries of Fairford glass outside the church. While the anorak may want to seek out the original version with CD-ROM, the book on its own offers complete coverage from a variety of perspectives.

Fairford is a singular gem, and is particularly deserving of this type of exhaustive monographic treatment. The book is ostensibly about stained glass, but is an exposition of the different areas of skill and expertise that can be brought to bear upon this marvellous monument. While the project is undeniably conservation-lead, the book delivers theological, historical, architectural, iconographic, anecdotal, and art historical insights in quick succession. Its particular charm is this inclusiveness, both in recognising the players (ranging from the National Monuments Record officer to the local resident guide) and in bringing together different academic disciplines. This compendium of expert accounts will draw you in to this community of stained glass enthusiasts as well!

Rosie Mills, The Stained Glass Museum, Ely

Stephen Glynne, edited by Lawrence Butler, *The Yorkshire Church Notes of Sir Stephen Glynne (1825-1874)* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society and Boydell Press, 2007, 520 pp., 32 col. pls, 220 b&w pls, £30.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 903564 80 6.)



According to Professor Crook, the ecclesiologists 'succeeded in transforming the appearance of nearly every Anglican church in the world', 'and not before time', its supporters would have chorused. Certainly many fine rebuildings were the result as well as overdue repairs elsewhere; inevitably, much of value was swept away in the name of Camdenian 'restoration' as zealots tore out post-Reformation pulpits, pews and galleries, and sought to recreate an often fanciful medieval past. Mark Chatfield could find only 64 substantially unaltered interiors for his *Churches the Victorians Forgot*, and there was little he overlooked. Thus *Notes* like Glynne's are a rare and invaluable source of information about the form and appearance of churches prior to their makeovers. In the course of 50 years of tireless travelling, this moderately wealthy baronet visited over 5,500 churches throughout England and Wales, occasionally venturing into Scotland. He was thus a perceptive commentator as well as a careful observer and diligent recorder of the structures he encountered, most interested in Gothic and High Church principles, but equally valuable to us as an observer of that which he found offensive.

This volume brings together his notes on 400 Yorkshire churches. He had relatives in the county and would visit once or twice a year, sometimes revisiting churches he had seen many years earlier. Here we can read Glynne's account of the great churches – York and Beverley Minsters, the ruined abbeys at Kirkham and York and the major parish churches at Halifax, Hull and Wakefield. And Glynne recorded his thoughts on Doncaster's fine church, totally lost in the 1853 fire, as well as Huddersfield's and Leeds', demolished for rebuilding in 1834 and '37 respectively. Of the more modest examples, we are presented with fascinating records of well-known examples like Bolton Percy or the subsequently much altered Hemsworth. Occasionally, he would inspect a new church – he visited Christ Church, Leeds, in 1827, just a year after its consecration – but generally it was the medieval ones that attracted him. From the beginning, he tended to pass by the post-Reformation examples and as a committed Ecclesiologist, his tone becomes more strident after about 1840 when he discusses Georgian innovations and 'preaching-box' layouts.

The text is enhanced by the illustrations, all carefully chosen to record, as closely as possible, the buildings at the time of Glynne's visit. Many of the prints are reasonably familiar, but included are some rare drawings and thirty-two fascinating watercolours, most of which have never been published before.

Although most of the *Notes* appeared in print one hundred or more years ago, Butler has done an exemplary job as editor, adding previously omitted or overlooked material, providing an insightful set of introductory essays, tracking down the illustrations and generally making this valuable material available for a new millennium. He and his

publishers are to be congratulated for producing a volume at least as valuable for the church visitor as for the serious researcher.

Christopher Webster, formerly at Staffordshire University

T. McNeill, *Faith, Pride and Works. Medieval Church Building.* (Tempus, 2006, 253 pp., 103 b&w plates, £19.99, pbk, ISBN 0 7524 3643 0)

This succinct and clear survey of a large and complex subject provides the non specialist reader with a sense of the shape of late medieval ecclesiastical architecture not only as it developed through a period of seven or eight hundred years but also as it was manifested in most areas of Western Europe. McNeill himself describes his undertaking as 'rash' but nevertheless he largely succeeds in his stated aim to supply a 'general book[s] of explanation of church building in the Middle Ages'. He does not attempt on the whole to consider the embellishment of church buildings or to explain the appearance of the architecture with respect to contextual issues such as liturgical developments or the political imperative which lay behind such great monuments as St Denis or Westminster Abbey. This would have made the task unmanageable although the choice of the main title perhaps suggests that such approaches would be included. Nor does he cover all of Europe – Spain and Italy are not included – which makes the subtitle a little misleading too. It is however a bonus to have generous space given to the architecture of Scotland and Ireland which in past books of a similar type has often been marginalised. To further contain the subject he understandably focuses only on the great churches of Europe.

Each chapter is devoted to a stylistic phase and divided up into different geographical areas. Whilst the link between these chapter sections is not always clear, the analysis of the structures and their basic engineering is admirably handled, clarifying this rather specialised and often dry aspect of architectural history for even the most non technical reader. A particularly rewarding section in this respect is the 'Excursus' on arches, vaults and buttresses which is the only chapter which steps outside the chronological formula.

There are a few disappointments in the appearance of the book, perhaps because of budgetary issues and time pressures, which unfortunately spoil something of the final impression. Although generously illustrated, all the pictures are monochrome and quite a few not of the best quality, being out of focus or oddly angled. Two captions are wrong and there are a few inaccuracies and typographical errors in the text, maybe a result of hasty proof reading. It is a pity too that the decision was made not to include footnotes. McNeill sometimes challenges long held views of his subject and references here would have opened up the more discursive elements of the book enabling the reader also to engage in the issues raised.

Nevertheless books of this kind are rare nowadays as its subject retreats further into the specialised circles of academia, and this is going to be a useful, comprehensive, crisply delivered and generally reliable book for readers who wish to gain a broad picture of medieval church building.

Catherine Oakes, Kellogg College, University of Oxford

… and a number of books on individual churches

Eric Cockain, *Christ's Church a DIY guide to detecting antiquity.* Natula Publications, 2008, 80 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £9.95 pbk, ISBN 9781897887653. (Available from Natula Ltd 01202 480569.)

Eric Cockain, *The Saxon Face of Christchurch Priory.* Natula Publications, 2004, 46 pp., many b&w pls, £3.95, pbk, ISBN 1 897 887 47 7. (Available from Natula Ltd, 01202 480569.)

Eric Cockain and Ken Tullett, *The Saxon Church of the Holy Trinity Thuinam.* Natula Publications, 2003, 48 pp., 14 b&w pls, £3.50 pbk, ISBN 1 897 887 33 7. (Available from Natula Ltd 012202 480569.)

Victoria Nutt, *Salem Chapel* [Devon] *a history and guide.* Historic Chapels Trust, 2008, 16 pp., 12 col. pls, 5 b&w pls, £5.80 pbk inc. p&p, no ISBN listed. (Available from the HCT.)

Three devastating fires…

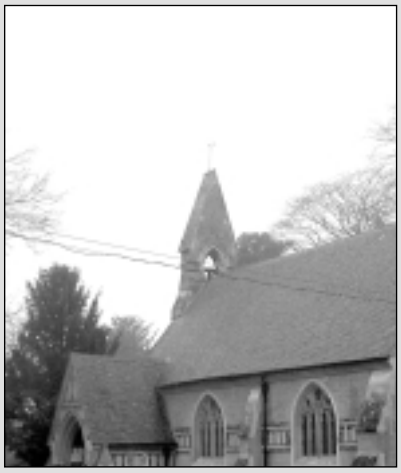
Within a week of compiling the last edition of *Church Crawler*, there was an arson attack which devastated a Lancashire church. Vandals set fire to an oil storage tank at St Thomas, Newhey, east of Rochdale on 21 December which spread to the chancel

destroying the organ and roof, leaving the rest of the church badly affected by smoke. (We have taken our photo from the parish website.) Within days police had arrested a 14-year old boy and charged him with arson. Repairs are expected to cost £2m and take 12 months to complete. The church was built in 1876 to the designs of H. Lloyd, a replica of his Holy Trinity at Weston-super-Mare, Somerset, built 15 years earlier. As work progresses the church will be open for guided tours on the first Saturday of every month and regular Sunday services will continue at the primary school on Huddersfield Road. Councillor Keith Swift, whose wife June is churchwarden said: 'This devastating fire has galvanised not only the Newhey village community, with collections and raffles being held in the pubs and fund raising events planned for the summer months, but also people from far and wide who have loved ones buried in the churchyard. There is a determination to see that St Thomas church will be restored to its original splendour. The original patterned tiles in the chancel have been hidden beneath carpet for over thirty years.' Councillor Irene Davidson remarked: 'Obviously it is the first time I or many other people will have seen these wonderful tiles, once cleaned and restored the colours will be quite vibrant and a joy for everyone to see.'

In the early hours of Christmas Eve firefighters were called to a blaze at St Nicholas church at Peper Harow near Godalming, Surrey just hours after

parishioners had enjoyed the annual carol concert. The church dates back to Norman times but was largely C14 and C19, the work of A. W. N. Pugin. The tower seems to have borne the brunt and by the time the fire was extinguished, just before 4am, 80% of the 19th-century roof had been destroyed. The vicar, the Revd John Fellows, revealed that the only stonework obviously damaged by the intense heat was the north arcade 'The inscriptions of the Lords Prayer and the Ten Commandments high up on the nave wall seem to have been burnt away and some of the plaster has fallen off, but we have good photographs of these that will help to replace them faithfully,' he added. Some of the pews also look like they are salvageable, also the font and pulpit. The delicate stonework and the round Norman arch has in the most part survived as did the chancel and the Midleton Chapel, which got away with only smoke and water damage. The larger stained glass windows also seem undamaged, but the small ones were either melted by the heat or have been opened up by the fire brigade to get water in.'

Fire completely gutted the village church at Radford Semele near Leamington Spa, Warwickshire in the early hours of 16 March.



The Revd Martin Green, the vicar of St Nicholas, said: 'People started to hear the popping of the roof tiles at around 6am. It is always a shame when something like this happens because there is nothing you can do about it – you have to watch it burn. There

are references to a church being here in the Domesday Book. The church as it stands dates back to the 1450s. There were some very old plaques inside the church and the village war memorial. It's dreadful that a church that has stood for so many centuries has burnt to the ground in a few hours.' Initially thought to have been caused by an electrical fault it now seems that the cause was arson, although this did not emerge until May when part of a graveyard memorial was found inside the church under the remains of a window. The church was one of at least three in the area targeted by arsonists during the Easter period. Arson attempts were made on two other churches in the area. St Edith in Monks Kirby was targeted between 24 March and 15 April and St John the Baptist in Brinklow had a near escape on March 24 – Easter Monday. In both cases candles were used but damage was minor.

…And a false alarm

Officials at Norwich Cathedral were a little red-faced after members of a 400-strong congregation at an Easter Saturday service had to be evacuated after lighting candles to symbolise Jesus's resurrection. A cathedral spokesman explained 'New Christians were baptised and confirmed by the Bishop of Norwich and the cathedral was filled with light from the candles and incense. Sadly, it was all a bit too much for the fire detection system and half-way through the Eucharistic prayer we were interrupted by the fire alarm and an automated voice telling us to evacuate the cathedral. Clearly fire detection systems can't cope with the Resurrection of Jesus! The congregation were ushered out of the cathedral and the fire brigade arrived in minutes. They looked somewhat bemused to be greeted by the Bishop and the Dean in full vestments, but they were soon able to establish that there wasn't a fire, and the service resumed.'

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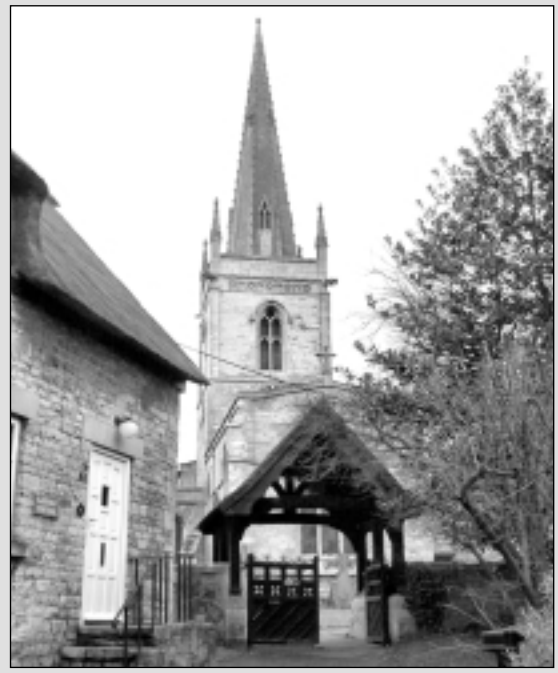
The earth moves again

I am rather surprised to be reporting again about another UK earthquake and damaged churches. Measuring 5.2 on the Richter scale and widely felt across England and Wales, this tremor was the largest since 1984 when an earthquake measuring 5.4 shook the Lleyn Peninsula. The epicentre of the earthquake on 27 February was in Market Rasen, Lincolnshire. Close by St Mary's church at Walesby was shut after a large

crack appeared in the tower which serves as the main entrance and masonry fell inside the church. Built in 1913 to the designs of Temple Moore, St Mary's has been damaged before when a 1930s hurricane dislodged its 'candle snuffer' spire resulting in its eventual removal. St Thomas at Legsby also lost an C18 pinnacle but worst affected was St Peter at East Stockwith where the quake damaged the turret-like steeple but before repairs could

be instigated high winds blew it over causing parts to fall onto the church damaging the organ and altar rail. The church, which is set alongside the River Trent, dates back to 1846. Parishioners and visitors to St Andrew's church at Leasingham led a charmed life because cracks near the top of its spire were not noticed until mid-May by a couple out bird-watching. The Revd Alan Littlewood said: 'Because the damage is so high up it could only be seen with binoculars, which is why we weren't aware of it before now.' In June a heavy crane raised steeplejacks up to the top of the spire where they carried out emergency remedial work by securing wooden batons around the spire and binding in place with webbing. They found that a sizeable section of the spire will have to be removed to enable restoration work to commence, hopefully before winter sets in.

Further afield Leicestershire's St Mary Magdalene's church, in Waltham on the Wolds, was cordoned off after 30ft-long cracks were discovered following the tremor.



The alarm was raised by bell- ringers who spotted debris inside the church. Church authorities now face an estimated £60,000 repair bill for the Grade I listed building. The Revd Beverley Stark said: 'We are now all hoping our insurance can cover the repair costs.' The church architect examined the damage and builders had to wait for the high winds to end before setting up scaffolding. Parish councillor Richard Snodin said: 'I was shocked at how deep the cracks were. There has been some talk that the spire may have to be demolished and then rebuilt, but it will have to be very sensitively done.' However perhaps the most famous church to be damaged is St Patrick's in Patrington east of Hull where the earthquake caused £200,000 worth of damage to the 189ft spire. Steeplejacks examining the church after the quake found a fracture right through the stone, effectively detaching the top 12ft of the spire. The tremor also caused one of 16 stone pinnacles to fall off and damaged another. Repairs here will also involve the top of the spire being taken off and rebuilt, but will not start until early 2009. All the pinnacles, each measuring 5ft, will also need to be repaired.

The Revd Duncan Harris, vicar at the church for 10 years, said: 'St Patrick's has suffered storm damage in the past but nothing on this scale.' Mr Harris, who worked as an engineer before becoming a vicar, added: 'People have said to me that an earthquake is an Act of God, I believe it's an Act of God that no one was hurt. If the spire had come down it would have destroyed the chancel causing massive damage. The cockerel sat on top of the spire is as big as a donkey.'

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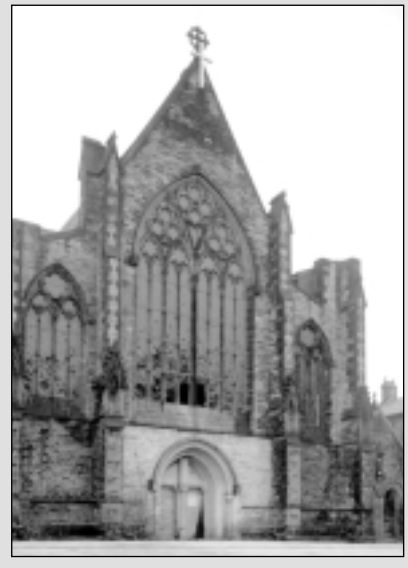
Other news in brief

Although not used as a church for many years, the prominently-sited former parish church of Gateshead (St Mary) is once again undergoing a conversion. The medieval church, close by the Tyne Bridge and next to the silvered Sage Centre was gutted by fire twice, in 1854 and 1979, and was converted into an auction centre, then tourist information centre involving the insertion of a mezzanine floor in the chancel and over the aisles. In a £1.2m project the church is to become a Heritage Centre. The mezzanine floor, constructed in 1990, has been removed, interior walls have been demolished and

staircases and modern floor coverings taken out, revealing for the first time in decades a space which would have been familiar to centuries of worshippers. Peter Udall, head of design services for Gateshead Council, said: 'By taking away everything modern from its interior, we have at last been able to reveal the full majesty of this simple yet beautiful church. Evidence of the huge fire which gutted the church in 1979 has been made more visible. Quite a lot of the stonework which was hidden by the mezzanine floor shows clear signs of smoke and fire damage. It would be tempting to restore it all but we won't, because the fire is now part of the building's long history so deserves to be preserved.' The building is to have a new glazed entrance, visitor facilities, a reception area and an education suite. Repair work to the exterior of the building has been ongoing for some time. Until 1857, St Mary's was the only Anglican church in Gateshead and the only place in Gateshead where people could legally be married.

A controversial scheme to demolish a key part of an important **Leeds** church and convert it to flats has cleared a major hurdle as councillors have backed a plan to breathe new life into Mount St Mary's RC church, in Richmond Hill, which has seriously



deteriorated since it closed in 1989. Under the scheme the nave and aisles of the Grade II* listed building, designed by Joseph Hansom and begun in 1852, will be knocked down and replaced by a similar-sized extension of 62 flats. The chancel and transepts – designed in 1866 by architect Edward Pugin – will be retained and restored. The presbytery, a Grade II listed building, will be demolished to make way for a five-storey block of 109 flats. Leeds City Council's planners voted to approve the application in principle and accepted the argument that unless development took place soon, the Catholic church faced complete demolition in the years ahead. Mount St Mary's was built in the 1850s for Irish people who had moved to Leeds to escape the potato famine. Because the buildings are listed, the plan will be referred to the Communities and Local Government Office who can 'call it in' for determination. If they do not, the council will grant approval.

David Thornton reports that St James church at **Baildon** near Bradford has been successfully moved 30 metres as part of a scheme to release land for the building of ten houses which in turn will pay for the move and some new badly needed community facilities alongside the renovated church. This is not the first time the church has moved, as it was originally built at Great Warley in Essex in 1892 but was moved to West Yorkshire on the back of a traction engine in 1904. This time it was carefully dismantled and re-erected on the new site. Developer Mr Brendan Hudson said he remembered the church from growing up and was happy he was helping save it for future generations growing up in the village. He said: 'It's always been a landmark. Everyone knows it as the Little Church on the Prairie. I'm just happy that by buying the land I'm helping the church to move on and be in Baildon for many more years to come.'

Officials at one of Essex's finest churches, St Thomas at Navestock, have an unusual

headache and one that is testing their patience with God's creatures. In a bid to impress potential mates, dozens of amorous woodpeckers have hammered nearly 200 holes in the church's proud wooden spire. 'We know they are only doing what woodpeckers do, but they really have overstayed their welcome,' said churchwarden Mary Enkel. 'Their mating call sounds like a drill – it really goes right through you,' added Peter Adams another churchwarden. The trouble began around three years ago when the birds, Great Spotted Woodpeckers, flew in from local woodlands and began their early morning assaults on the eardrums of the villagers. A theory that they were pecking for insects was soon dispelled by local ornithologist Colin Miers, from Blackmore, who revealed they were simply showing off their house-building prowess to the local females. Some of the holes in the cedar tiles are so big they are clearly visible from the ground, and they have left the structure open to infestations by insects and at risk of substantial damage from wind and rain. The churchwardens' patience has run out after an architect estimated the damage at the Grade I listed building will cost £30,000 to repair. Mr Adams speaking of the spire said 'We are very proud of it and the church as a whole which we consider to be one of the most beautiful in the local area. But we need to hire a steeplejack or erect scaffolding to fix this and it is going to be an uphill battle to pay for that.'

Exeter Cathedral is the latest to introduce an admission charge for visitors. It joins those at York, Lincoln and Chester, but at £4 seems reasonable when compared to £7 at Canterbury and an extortionate £10 per head at St Paul's Cathedral in London.

Campaigners announced plans on 18 June to save a landmark Victorian church tower and spire from demolition. Preservationists have opposed plans to demolish St John the Divine church, in Holly Road, Fairfield, Liverpool. The PCC said the church needed to be bulldozed

because of its dangerous state. A spokesman added: 'Structural engineers have advised that there are major problems with the church spire which make it a very serious health and safety risk. The repair work could cost anything up to £500,000 and would need to start immediately, so the church council felt we had no other option.' Local Berni Turner says she had asked English Heritage to recommend the building be listed. The church was built by Victorian architect W. Raffles Brown and has been a landmark since it was consecrated in the 1850s. The Victorian Society said that, as many of the Victorian houses to the south of the church are due to go as part of the Edge Lane widening scheme, demolition of the tower and spire could strip Fairfield of one of its last historic features. David Garrard, Historic Churches Adviser of the Victorian Society, said: 'The loss of the tower and spire would be a great shame. It is one of the last surviving markers of Fairfield's affluent past, as well as being a significant landmark today.' Preservation campaigner Jonathan Brown said: 'This is a highly prominent historic feature on the main highway approach to the city along Edge Lane, and forms part of a unique ensemble of ecclesiastical landmarks that punctuate the journey into Liverpool from the motorway network.'

The Heritage Lottery Fund have granted £3.3m towards the development of Bolton All Souls, a church whose future was discussed in detail in the previous edition of *Ecclesiology Today.*

On Monday April 28 St Martin-in-the-Fields held a special Thanksgiving Service to celebrate the completion of its major building project. This has lasted some two years, at a cost of £36m. The church has been renewed and modern facilities have replaced what were once Victorian burial vaults. The building project was the subject of the Society's 2006 Dykes Bower Memorial Lecture held in the church

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And finally…

Thank you to all the readers who send me snippets of information between editions. Although not all of them make it to the final feature, often due to space constraints, they are appreciated and can be discussed on *'ChurchCrawling'*, an Email group at Yahoo (details via the Society's website).

The views expressed in the article are not to be taken as those of the *Ecclesiological Society* itself.I can be contacted at churchcrawler@blueyonder.co.uk or by conventional means – Phil Draper, 10 Lambley Rd, St George, BRISTOL BS5 8JQ. Please note that photos or cuttings sent to me can only be returned if accompanied by an SAE.

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