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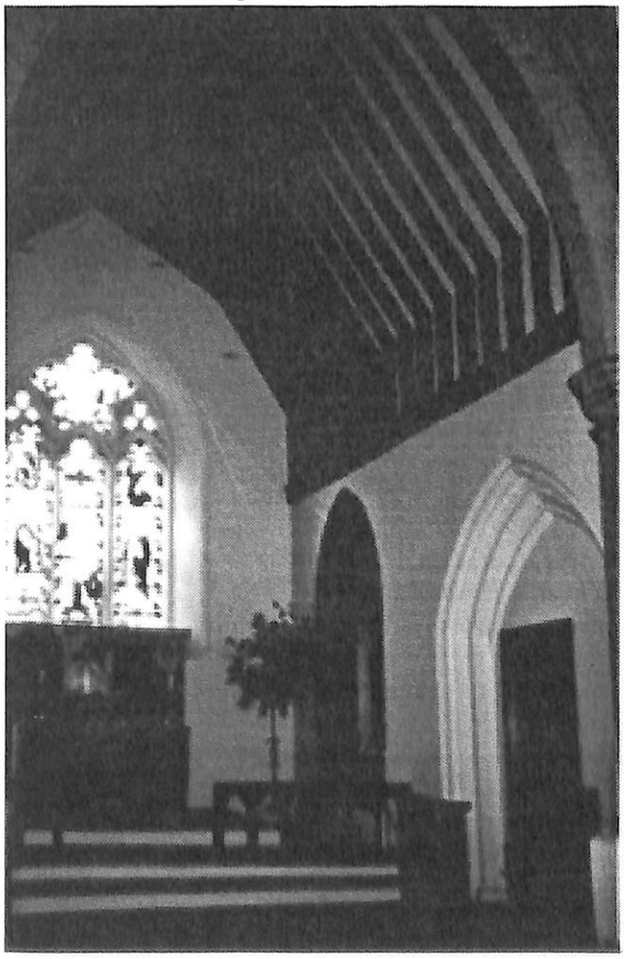
GEORGE WIGHTWICK: AN 'ENFANT TERRIBLE'

by Ros Reid

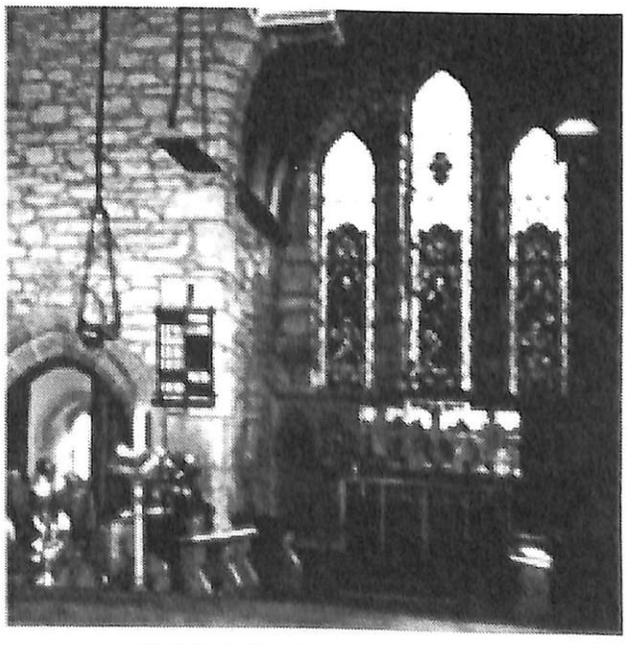
In Plymouth Wightwick is remembered as the architect second in stature to John Foulston, described by Summerson as one of the two more important provincial men promoting the Greek Revival in the provinces early in the nineteenth century.[1] Although, nearly two centuries later, Foulston's public buildings have almost all been destroyed, at the time they formed the key-stone of future architectural development in Plymouth. Unenviably it fell to George Wightwick - who took over Foulston's practice in 1821 until he retired in 1852 - to make his own mark in whatever way he could. As a man he drew attention to himself as a raconteur, humorist, lecturer and educator, described by W.F. Collier in his paper published in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* as a man of dominating presence, one who would 'stalk the streets, rather than walk them.'[2] He marketed himself ceaselessly, cultivating the acquaintance of the good and the great, attempting to influence public opinion through his oratory, his writing and his letters to the press. As an architect he was eclectic; he confirmed the classical tradition established by Foulston, going on to introduce Gothic design to his buildings, and later using his favoured Italianate style. His work is scattered throughout the West of England, country houses, public buildings and monuments, all of which represent both the man and his time.



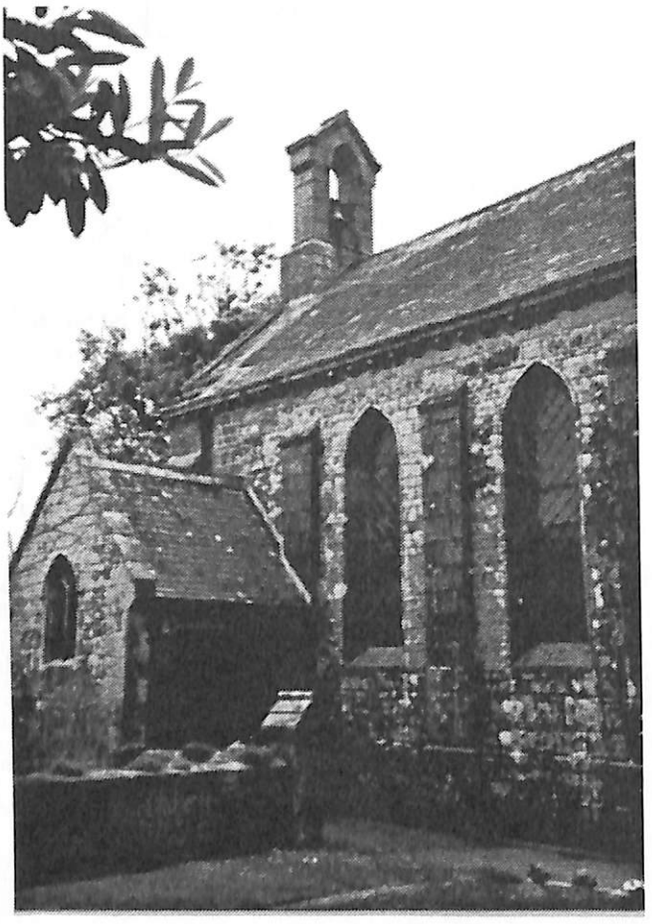
St Mark, Wyke, Ash, Surrey
Henry Woodyer

However, it was Wightwick's church designs that proved truly controversial and challenging to the ecclesiological movement. Not only did they reveal much about this lively and opinionated man, but more importantly they represented the schism that existed between the High Churchman of the Cambridge Camden movement and the evangelical Low Churchman. Such argument can be remembered today by reading contemporary comment in the pages of the *Ecclesiologist*, columns of both ecstatic approval and contempt side by side, a sure reminder of the depth of emotion that was aroused by the theory of church design.

During his working life in the West of England, Wightwick was the architect of nine churches, of which eight were built, as well as cemetery buildings in Plymouth and two chapels, one Baptist and the other Congregational, all designed between 1834 and 1848. With the exception of the first church which Wightwick designed - St Michael and All Angels Chapel at Bude, commissioned in 1834 by Sir Thomas Dyke Acland - all his churches were financed with assistance from the Incorporated Church Building Society, thus defining them as churches required to be built economically to meet the needs of expanding congregations, and often in areas of some poverty. His designs were influenced by his respect for Gothic and inspired by his own ecclesiological theories, but they did not conform to the increasingly ritualistic views of the established church, as Wightwick soon discovered. However, he never modified his opinions, and he struggled ceaselessly and hopelessly with the ecclesiological establishment. It is interesting to note, however, that while, in his sixty-second year, he was able to assert that he was 'in a state of absolute conviction and perfect ease as a Christian',[3] earlier in his life his religious convictions were



St John's, Treslothan, Cornwall
George Wightwick



St John's, Treslothan, Cornwall
George Wightwick

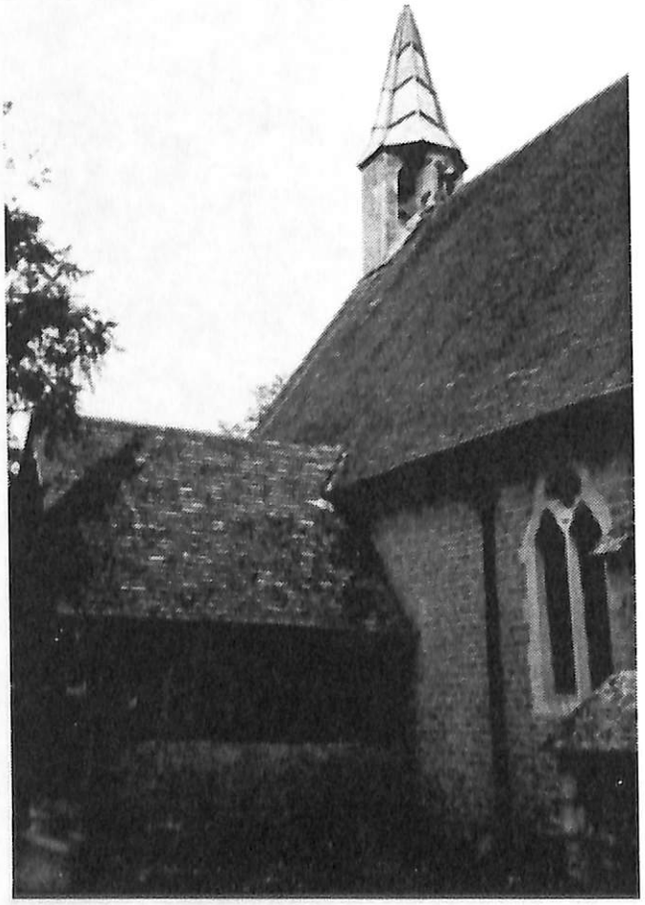
not so secure. Ten years previously he had been questioned as a potential member of the Plymouth Church Reform Association, formed in 1851 to check the advance of ritualism, on the grounds that he did not regularly attend any Anglican Church.

Nevertheless, the philosophy that guided Wightwick throughout his life was based on the alliance of principle and pragmatism that was confirmed in his church designs as well as in his writing. As he himself explained, he left 'the spiritual fight in more fitting hands', while he confined himself to 'the mere combat artistical'.[4] In his paper on *Ecclesiastical Architecture* Wightwick stated that, in the construction of a church mere utilitarian principle was not sufficient; indeed 'nothing shall be admitted which does not supply a convenience or symbolize a feeling'.[5] He discussed his views in *Weale's Architectural Papers*, stating that principles of convenience should ensure adequate space for public worship, within range of perfect hearing and with full and free sight of the officiating clergy, and that the chancel should be open to the general view, uninterrupted by either pulpit or desk, and not so deep as to render the clergy remote from the congregation. With his usual pragmatism Wightwick suggested that pillared aisles and an 'extreme longitudinal extent' could be 'hostile' to free sight and hearing, and that, when vision was obscured space could be occupied by 'the idle or dissolute'.[6]

This pragmatism translated directly into his church designs. Several of Wightwick's churches were designed with only a token chancel, and others without one at all. The clergy indeed were not remote from their congregation! Although he was forced by the precepts of ecclesiological doctrine to concede that the cruciform style historically symbolised the Christian faith, he continued to advocate that 'the head of the cross (formerly the choir and chancel), should be excluded from the main space, as invisible to persons in the transepts'.[7] This was a clear rejection of the edicts of the *Ecclesiologist*: his churches had neither chancels one third of their length with raised altars, nor were they cruciform in plan.

It was Wightwick's design for St John's Church at Treslothan in Cornwall, completed in 1842, that proved to be a watershed, and on which his reputation as a church architect was later judged. Among other perceived 'faults' in design, the absence of a chancel was particularly noted, and the *Ecclesiologist* commented thus:

> This is one of those cases in which no mercy ought to be shown to the architect, who, with unlimited funds at his command, has shown that his signal failure is owing to nothing but his own insufficient acquaintance with the art which he professes. The building is meant to be of the First-Pointed style. It is in form an oblong without aisles, not even pretending externally



St Mark, Wyke, Ash, Surrey
Henry Woodyer

> to a chancel. ... The area of the church is occupied by a row of open benches in the middle, and by pues at the sides. The font is at the west end: and there is a western gallery and organ. The roof resembles that of a railway station; and the lancets - our readers must remember the style - are about as large in proportion to the size of the building as the windows in King's College Chapel.[8]

Interestingly, the next entry in the *Ecclesiologist* refers to the church at Wyke in Surrey by Woodyer. The warm praise for the architect of this church is in marked contrast to the condemnation meted out to Wightwick, the depth of the chancel being particularly noted. The *Ecclesiologist* concluded with the remark 'On the whole, we have not seen a village church superior to this.'[9]

Mordaunt Crook, in his paper on *Regency Architecture in the West Country*,[10] suggests that Wightwick allowed the Gothic wing of his practice to become hopelessly out of date. Out of date his practice may have seemed, but in fact it was the nature and strength of Wightwick's personal beliefs that could not allow him to conform to the dictats of the Cambridge Camden Society. In Wightwick's view the restitution of Gothic as propounded by the Camden Society was a contradiction, and an empty pageant. Furthermore he made quite plain how strongly he felt that professional architects should be able to maintain that amount of independence which should appertain to them as professors, lest they become a mere body of architectural draughtsmen, with nothing but the laws of building societies to obey, and only"bookish theorick" to follow'.[11] This statement was significant for Wightwick. While he stubbornly, and perhaps legitimately, refused to allow his own carefully considered architectural principles to yield to contemporary doctrinal dogma, it could be argued that his inability to conform sprang from his own somewhat maverick personality and a deeper hostility to authority in general.

[Ros Reid has an MA and MPhil from the University of London, the works of George Wightwick being the subject of her MPhil thesis. She teaches on a part-time basis at Surrey University and undertakes independent research.]

[1] John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, London, 1953, p.310
[2] *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, Plymouth, July 1892, Vol. xxiv, p.93
[3] George Wightwick's Cuttings Book, 5 October, 1863, Local Studies Department, Bristol Public Library
[4] *Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, Vol.III 'Modern English Gothic Architecture', p.2
[5] George Wightwick, *Ecclesiastical Architecture; on the Determination of some Principles for the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Style of Architecture expressing the Reformed Church in England*, December 1844
[6] *Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, Vol.lll 'Modern English Gothic Architecture', p.2
[7] George Wightwick, *Ecclesiastical Architecture; on the Determination of some Principles for the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Style of Architecture expressing the Reformed Church in England*, December 1844
[8] *Ecclesiologist*, New Series (Vol l) Vol IV, 1842, p.184
[9] Ibid p.185
[10] J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Regency Architecture in the West Country: the Greek Revival', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June 1971, p.449
[11] George Wightwick, *Ecclesiastical Architecture; on the Determination of some Principles for the Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Style of Architecture expressing the Reformed Church in England*, December 1844

A NEW BOOK

For many years the recognised text on the Society, and its origins, has been that by J.F. White which was published in 1962. Now the Society has decided to bring matters up to date, and to support the publication of a new book on the Society.

Chris Webster is leading the project, which initially arose from an attempt to publish the speeches which were made during the 1997 Conference. However, it quickly became apparent that not everyone would allow their contribution to be printed, while for others the task of turning a talk into an essay was not as simple as it had at first appeared.

The result was a decision to create a new multi-author title which dealt with the Cambridge Camden Society, its foundation and the subsequent work of a number of its most favoured architects. To this basic format would be added chapters which created a wider focus, for instance chapters on ritual, on the effect of the Cambridge Camden Society on non Conformity, and on the Georgian heritage which played so important a role in creating the right environment for the infant Society, and one in which it was able to thrive.

So a range of scholars have agreed to contribute - including Gavin Stamp, Chris Miele, Christopher Stell, Simon Bradley, Geoff Brandwood - and Paul Watkins has agreed to handle the publication of what promises to be a fascinating addition to current knowledge. The book should be available towards the end of 1998, and a special discounted price will be available for members.

If any member would like to be placed on a pre-publication information list then please write to Chris Webster, School of Art & Design, Staffordshire University, Flaxman Building, College Road, Stoke on Trent, ST4 2XW.

RUSKINIAN INFLUENCES ON THE WORKS OF G.E.STREET: ST JAMES-THE-LESS, WESTMINSTER

by Dale Dishon

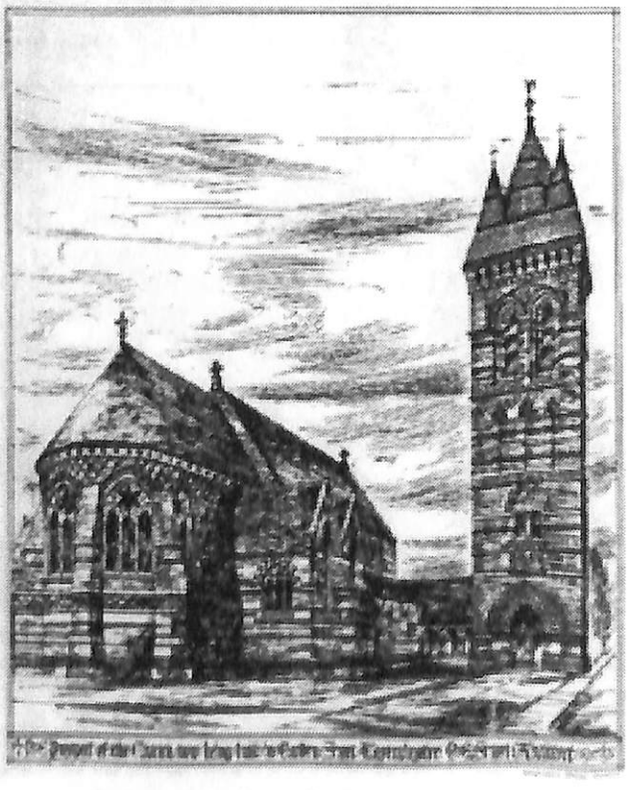
Sir Walter James, in evaluating the influence of architectural theorists in 1867, concluded that 'Pugin has most influenced us in structure, John Ruskin in ornament.'[1] Ruskin's most important contributions to architectural theory were the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849, and *The Stones of Venice* whose first volume appeared in 1851 and the next two in 1853. Unlike Pugin, Ruskin was not an architect, still less an engineer. His architectural theories were based on artistic judgement, imaginative power, social psychology and aesthetic philosophy. The overwhelming impact he had on his generation was made possible by his literary virtuosity. The dry and practical nature of architectural treatises had already been changed by Pugin's fiery polemics; Ruskin took the model a step further by capturing the emotional complexity of architecture and conveying it to his reader through impassioned prose.

In the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* Ruskin advocated the pursuit of a new style adapted from one universally accepted form. In actual fact he considered four styles to be suitable for this purpose: Pisan Romanesque, early Sienese Gothic, Venetian Gothic, and early English Decorated. Throughout his life he was to change his allegiance from one to the other; but after the publication of the *Stones of Venice* his name was forever linked with Venetian Gothic, and became synonymous with a particular kind of eclecticism known as "Ruskinian Gothic".[2]

The most widely-read and influential section of the *Stones of Venice* was the chapter on the *Nature of Gothic* which appeared in the second volume. In this chapter Ruskin attempted to classify the Gothic style, its external forms and internal elements. Externally he defined Gothic as the Architecture of the Gable. A fine Gothic building would have a roof rising in a steep gable, pointed-arch windows and doors with gables over them, cusped arches or foliated apertures, and arches carried on true shafts with bases and capitals.[3] The best kind of Gothic building would also have a roughness and largeness about it, would be of irregular design, the ornament would be perpetually varied, and the sculpture would be intelligible and interesting.[4] Ruskin believed the soul of Gothic to be also made up of internal, or moral, elements which he defined (in order of importance) as Savageness, Changefulness, Naturalism, Grotesqueness, Rigidity and Redundance.[5]

If Pugin had difficulty living up to his own ideals, and considered himself a failure in that respect, Ruskin's theories proved even more impossible to fulfil. Not being an architect himself, it was left to others to integrate his Utopian ideals into real architectural practice. The architects of the Gothic Revival found that Ruskin did not provide them with a practicable solution for the dilemma of style; they therefore absorbed his visual recommendations into their own notion of style. The result was that "Ruskinism" became largely independent of Ruskin himself and often developed in ways which he did not agree with. The architects of the 1850s who attempted to absorb and apply Ruskin's ideas - Benjamin Woodward, George Gilbert Scott, George Edmund Street, John Pollard Seddon, and Alfred Waterhouse - inevitably transformed his ideas in the process. So while the architects of the Gothic Revival moved from struggle to success, Ruskin himself proceeded from hope to disillusionment.[6]

George Edmund Street (1824-1881) was one of the few architects whose work Ruskin was proud to be associated with. He proclaimed him 'one of our quite leading Gothic architects' to whom 'we owe so much.'[7] He went as far as to pronounce Street's designs 'pure beyond anything he had ever seen in modern architecture, in exquisite propriety of colour and in fineness of line.'[8] Street began his career as a disciple of Pugin, influenced no doubt by his early years in George Gilbert Scott's office. His commissions as diocesan architect to the bishop of Oxford in the early 1850s were in the Puginian mould - picturesque and English. In 1850-51 he travelled to France, Germany and Belgium to study the forms of northern Gothic. In 1853, following the publication of the second volume of *The Stones of Venice*, Street travelled to Italy in Ruskin's footsteps. His impressions were published in 1855 as *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes on a Tour in the*



St James-the-Less, *Ecclesiologist* 1859

North of Italy. Unlike Ruskin, Street's interest was confined to architecture - he did not concern himself with other artistic or social issues - but Ruskin's presence dominates the book nonetheless. Street acknowledged his debt:

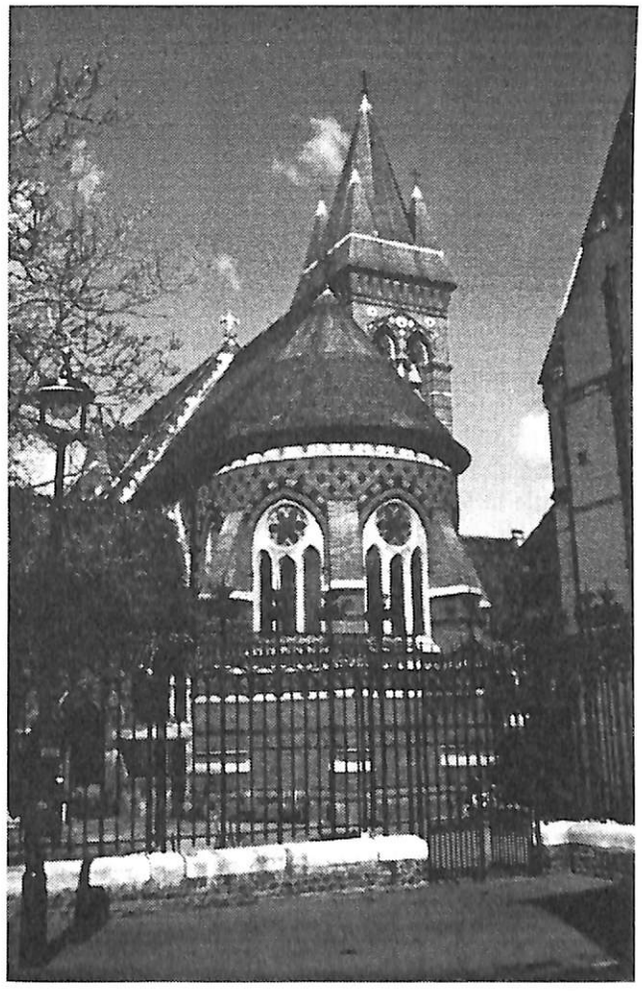
> It is impossible to conclude this Preface without mention of the obligations which not only all who travel in Italy, but all who are interested in good architecture, owe to Mr. Ruskin. No man need or can profess his acquiescence in every one of the opinions which he has propounded, but as an architect I feel strongly that a great debt of gratitude is owing to him for his brilliant advocacy of many laws and truths in which every honest architect ought gladly to acquiesce.[9]

Street was at first perplexed by Ruskin's preference for southern over northern Gothic. Judging Italian architecture by Puginian standards, he found it structurally clumsy, and on visiting Venice was slightly disappointed . He was bewildered by the exterior of St. Mark's: 'To a mind educated in and accustomed to the traditions of northern architecture, there is something so very *outré* in the whole idea, so startling in its novelty, that it is hard at first to know whether to admire or not.'[10] Ruskin later came to agree with him: by 1859 his views had altered sufficiently to declare that 'he entirely accepted the condemnation of Mr. Street with regard to St. Mark's. It was a building that certainly could not be compared in any respect with the magnificent cathedral of Chartres.'[11] Street was, however, totally captivated by the interior ornament of St. Mark's and concluded that it pointed 'most forcibly to the absolute necessity for the introduction of more colour in the interior of our buildings... Not till then, shall we see a satisfactory school of architects in England.'[12] The imagery he employed to describe the patterned floor which 'swells up and down as though its surface were the petrified waves of the sea'[13] echoes Ruskin's description of 'the waves of marble that heave and fall in a thousand colours along the floor.'[14]

Street was even more fascinated by Verona and its patterned coloured brickwork, stating that 'one feasts uninterruptedly there on all that can delight the eye in form and in colour.'[15] By the time he stood in front of Strasburg Cathedral at the end of his Italian tour, he had been converted to Ruskin's point of view concerning the merits of surface as opposed to linear Gothic:

> After seeing the simple unbroken façades of Italian churches, with their grand porches and their simple breadth of effect, there is something so entirely destructive to all repose in a front covered as this is with lines of tracery, panelling, niches, and canopies in every direction, that it leaves, I confess, a painful feeling upon the mind...[16]

Street's conclusion was that the future of Victorian Gothic lay in the synthesis of the colour and pattern of southern Gothic, learnt from Ruskin, with the structure and reason of northern Gothic, learnt from Pugin. The introduction of Italianate, or Ruskinian, elements would be particularly useful for urban secular architecture because 'there is perhaps no country in the world which excels Italy in the buildings which were erected for civic and domestic purposes.'[17] Street felt that the most important element to be gleaned from Italian Gothic was



St James-the-Less, Pimlico
Eastern End

> the introduction of colour in construction - which is managed generally with such consummate beauty, refinement, and modesty, that even where it accompanies faulty construction and unworthily sham expedients, it is impossible to avoid giving oneself up altogether to admiration of the result.[18]

These impressions proceeded to manifest themselves in Street's work, most prominently in the church of St. James-the-Less, Thorndike Street, Pimlico(1860-61).[19] The extraordinary existence of such an Italianate Gothic church in the heart of London - complete with trefoiled cusping, constructional polychromy and towering campanile - would have been unthinkable before the publication of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*. Eastlake considered the church a landmark in the Gothic Revival's departure from English tradition: 'The whole character of the building, whether we regard its plan, its distinctive features, its external or internal decoration is eminently un-English.'[20] He was particularly impressed by the tower:

> If Mr. Street had never designed anything but the campanile of this church - and its Italian character justifies the name - it would be sufficient to proclaim him an artist. In form, proportion of parts, decorative detail, and use of colour, it seems to leave little to be desired.[21]

In designing the tower, Street did not copy any particular model; instead he created a personal synthesis of several Italian campanili mixed with northern elements such as the roof. From the illustrations in his book it appears that his main sources were the campanile of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, which caused him to say that 'Italian campanili have quite a character of their own,'[22] San Giacomo del Rialto which he considered 'the best campanile in Venice.'[23] and his favourite, the campanile of the Palazzo Scaligeri in Verona which he described as 'a lofty, simple, and almost unbroken piece of brickwork', adding that Italian tower-building 'need give no fairer example of its power than this simple and grand erection.'[24] Street's admiration for the solid mass and breadth of Italian campanili is directly influenced by Ruskin. Massiveness was one of the qualities which Ruskin most admired and demanded, for it constituted the essence of sublimity:

> The relative majesty of buildings depends more on the weight and vigour of their masses, than on any other attribute of their design: mass of everything, of bulk, of light, of darkness, of colour, not mere sum of any of these, but breadth of them; not broken light, nor scattered darkness, nor divided weight, but solid stone, broad sunshine, starless shade.[25]

Street followed this principle not only in the design of the tower but also the main body of the church and the outer buildings. The exterior of the nave exemplifies Ruskin's belief that 'a building, in order to show its magnitude... must be bounded as much as possible by continuous lines.'[26] By adhering to Ruskin's principles on the power of architecture, Street managed to give the church an impression of great strength and magnitude in spite of its cramped urban site.

The influence of Italian models can be seen to greatest advantage in the church's brickwork, particularly around the windows. The windows of the narrow transepts have patterned voussoirs in a Veronese style, though apparently not copied from any particular model. The trefoiled cusping of the windows is based on a Venetian feature which was much admired and illustrated by Ruskin. A prominent Venetian feature which does *not* appear in this church is the ogee arch; Street considered it a debased form of the pointed arch and refrained from using it in his designs. The window which appears to be most closely based on one particular model is the circular west window; it bears a remarkable resemblance to the east window of Sant' Andrea, Vercelli - a church in which Street found himself 'in the rare state of mind (in an Italian church) of admiring without grumbling!'[27]

The interior of St. James-the-Less exhibits further Ruskinian influence; like the exterior, its style would have been unthinkable before the publication of the *Stones of Venice*. The masonry supplies the savageness and rigidity which Ruskin considered essential elements of Gothic buildings, while the ornament provides the naturalism, changefulness and grotesqueness he required. The love of change that Ruskin termed 'that strange *disquietude* of the Gothic spirit that is its greatness; that restlessness of the dreaming mind'[28] can be found for example in the aisle walls: each carved capital is different from the next, each marble column unique, each inlaid base of a different design. Ruskin's ideas on grotesqueness, or 'the tendency to delight in fantastic and ludicrous... images'[29] created by the disturbed imagination of the architect, manifest themselves in various carved capitals displaying dragons and devilish beasts.

Other carved capitals implement Ruskin's ideas on 'naturalism; that is to say, the love of natural objects for their own sake, and the effort to represent them frankly, unconstrained by artistical laws.'[30] Street agreed with Ruskin on naturalism, stressing the importance of 'a return to first principles and truth in the delineation of nature and natural forms.'[31] Naturalistic carving was also applied to parts of the pulpit and reredos. The magnificent reredos with its inlaid and applied marble illustrates Ruskin's view that 'the colours of architecture should be those of natural stones; partly because [they are] more durable, but also because more perfect and graceful.'[32] Coloured marble was also used to great advantage in the pulpit and as part of the beautiful patterns of the chancel floor. This corresponds with Ruskin's ideas on truth, i.e. the use of materials in their true form without recourse to surface deceit such as painting wood to represent marble,[33] ideas that were reiterated by Street:

> The principle which artists now have mainly to contend for is that of Truth; forgotten, trodden under foot, despised, if not hated for ages, this must be their watchword. If they be architects, let them remember how vitally necessary truthfulness in construction, in design, and in decoration, is to any permanent success in even the smallest of their works.[34]

Ruskinian influence in St. James-the-Less is summed up in the ornament of the north-west door and the porch that connects it to the tower. The polychromatic brickwork around the arches is vibrant and muscular. The carvings on the capitals and around the door are based on natural forms and display a high degree of skill, imagination and variety. Each material has been used to the utmost advantage, whether it be marble in the columns or ironwork on the door. The overall effect is truly sublime.

Having passed through a Puginian phase and a Ruskinian phase, Street ended his career in a vein which is best termed High Victorian Eclecticism. The Law Courts in the Strand (1868-82) were the crowning glory of his achievement, and in them he combined his favourite Gothic styles to create a new synthesis. The style owes much of its origins to French and English Gothic, but the influence of Ruskin

and Italian Gothic are still there, in the internal (or "mental") elements of Gothic as well as in the external ones. Ruskin believed that 'our building must confess that we have not reached the perfection we can imagine, and cannot rest in the condition we have attained.'[35] Street fulfilled this requirement by deliberately leaving an unfinished column in the Main Hall; it was his way of demonstrating his imperfection and humility before God. After his death, his son attested to the fact that

> his religion, not an acrid one nor ostentatiously worn, was intimately bound up with his work... This was the secret of his love for the men of the Middle Ages and their handiwork. He saw that those glorious monuments, which are the boast of Europe, owe their pure and exalted type of beauty to the devotional and self-obliterating faith of the men who built them.[36]

In this Street was in agreement with Ruskin, though he did not follow him down the path of social reform as did William Morris and the architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement. He preferred to confine his "medieval spirit" to architecture, creating an original style out of a wide range of Gothic influences, including Ruskin's. His success and talents were summed up by Charles Eastlake:

> The rich fertility of this architect's inventive power is only equalled by the sagacious tact which guides its application. He is not only master of many styles, but he can give original expression to every one of them. Where decoration can be afforded, he invests his work with sumptuous refinement which reveals itself in every detail. Where simplicity is required, he makes simplicity attractive. This faculty of design belongs to that rare order which unites artistic instinct with practical ability.[37]

But an even higher accolade for Street's work was Ruskin's pride in associating himself with it. Ruskin, who became increasingly embittered with the Industrial Age and disillusioned by the Gothic Revival, was reluctant to admit any connection with the majority of High Victorian architecture. He made an exception to the rule when he wrote to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1872: 'I am proud enough to hope... that I have had some direct influence on Mr. Street; and I do not doubt but that the public will have more satisfaction from his Law Courts than they have had from anything built within fifty years.'[38]

[Dale Dishon is studying for a PhD in architectural history at the Royal Holloway University of London.]

1 Sir Walter James, "On the influence of some contem porary writers on the architecture of the day", *Builder*, No. 25, 1867, p 483.
2 See J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, London: John Murray, 1989, p. 75.
3 John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II, Orpington: George Allen, 1886, pp. 228-9.
4 Ibid., pp. 229-31.
5 Ibid., p. 154.
6 Ruskin did approve of *some* of these architects' work. In a lecture at the RIBA on May 15, 1865, he stated that the work of Scott, Butterfield, Street, Waterhouse, Godwin and Woodward was 'original and independent' (John Ruskin, *Works*, Vol. 19, London: George Allen, 1905, p. 23).
7 In a lecture at the Royal Institution, January 29, 1869 (*Works*, Vol. 19, p. 255).
8 Introducing Street's lecture on Venetian architecture on February 15, 1859 (*Works*, Vol. 16, p. 462).
9 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. xvii.
10 Ibid., p. 152.
11 John Ruskin, *Works*, Vol. 16, London: George Allen, 1905, p. 463.
12 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 163.
13 Ibid., p. 159.
14 John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II, Orpington: George Allen, 1886, p. 70.
15 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 121.
16 Ibid., p. 360.
17 Ibid., p. 380.
18 Ibid., pp. 380-381.
19 This wonderful church is now open on a regular basis thanks to the support of Lord Andrew Lloyd Webber and the Open Churches Trust.
20 Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, ed. J. Mordaunt Crook, Leicester University Press, 1970, p. 321.
21 Ibid., pp. 321-322.
22 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 59.
23 Ibid., p. 187.
24 Ibid., p. 84.
25 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855, p. 91.
26 Ibid., p. 68.
27 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 332.
28 John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II, Orpington: George Allen, 1886, p. 181.
29 Ibid., p. 203.
30 Ibid., p. 181.
31 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 407.
32 John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1855, p. 126.
33 Ibid., p. 41.
34 George Edmund Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London: John Murray, 1874, p. 406.
35 John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. II, Orpington: George Allen, 1886, p. 181.
36 Arthur Edmund Street, *Memoir of George Edmund Street*, London: John Murray, 1888, p. 57.
37 Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, ed. J. Mordaunt Crook, Leicester University Press, 1970, p. 322.
38 John Ruskin, *Works*, Vol. 10, London: George Allen, 1904, p. 459.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ST BARNABAS CHURCH, OXFORD

[An article by Stephen Whitwell appeared in the September 1997 issue of *Ecclesiology Today* and provoked the following].

From Harry Coles

Is there anyone to defend Arthur Blomfield? He receives the appellation 'uninspired' just as lawns these days are always manicured, and people 'violently' sick!

Pevsner deprecated Blomfield's 1897 nave of Southwark Cathedral, London Bridge, as "a sadly uninspired copy of the chancel in which the C13 design had remained", pining over the fact that "the restorers had relentlessly removed all those surface qualities which make a building loveable besides being respected". It is questionable whether with that same nave now a hundred years old, all would still agree with those sentiments.

Yet, from his St Paul's Shoreditch of 1860 (since demolished), to his last opus in 1894 - the Royal College of Music, South Kensington - he was highly esteemed. Knighted in 1889, and in 1891 he received the RIBA Gold Medal! And that 'uninspired' architect Blomfield, according to Stephen Whitwell, produces a St Barnabas' Church in Oxford, a church which fulfills all the demands of Thomas Combe (who paid for it), served the spiritual needs of Combe's employees, and was a beacon of high piety in the Jericho slum and far beyond. He can't have it both ways!

6 The Chestnuts
Ollards Grove
Loughton
Essex

A MODERN LILY CRUCIFIX

From John Edwards

May I refer to the portion on page 10 of my article on this subject which you kindly published in your April edition, and which was headed "The Dedication". Both my collaborator, Mr. J. MacKechnie-Jarvis, and myself were puzzled by the fact that this mentions that the restoration of the east window at Ampney St. Mary became necessary in 1971, whereas one would not have expected this to be needed so soon after its installation in 1914. I am glad to say that we have now learnt from Mr. Alan Rome that the glass had unfortunately been vandalised in the 1960s, so that its premature restoration did indeed become necessary. I would like to express appreciation of the pressure exerted by Mr. Rome and the late David Verey which was needed at the time to ensure that the original window was in fact restored, rather than cheaper methods being employed.

While writing, may I add that I have now discovered that the Lily-Crucifixion referred to at the top of the second column on page 10 was removed in 1994 to form part of the east window in the Lady Chapel.

Encouraged by the suggestion on page 14 [of the April issue], I have informed the Editor of the *Buildings of England* series of this alteration, and have received an appreciative reply.

85 Jack Straw's Lane
Oxford OX3 ODW

LONDON GALLERY QUIRE

From Robert Barr

Members of the Society who wish to explore eighteenth century parish church music, described by Trevor Cooper in the April Newsletter, are invited to lend their voices or instrumental talents to the London Gallery Quire. The quire rehearses at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, generally every other Wednesday.

For further information, please contact the director, Francis Roads, at 0181-505-4381 or at his e-mail address which is Roding@ifroads.demon.co.uk. Alternatively contact Robert Barr at 0171 427 4216 (bbarr@ap.org).

Butler's Cottage, Church Road
Kings's Walden,Hitchin,
Herts SG4 8JX

CHURCH DEDICATIONS

From Henry Hely-Hutchinson

I am interested in all churches dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in England and all depictions of the event.

I would be very pleased to know if any of your members have particular interests in this field.

22 Kylestrome House
Cundy Street
London SW1W 9JT

ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, FREELAND, OXFORDSHIRE: A PERFECT ECCLESIOLOGICAL CHURCH

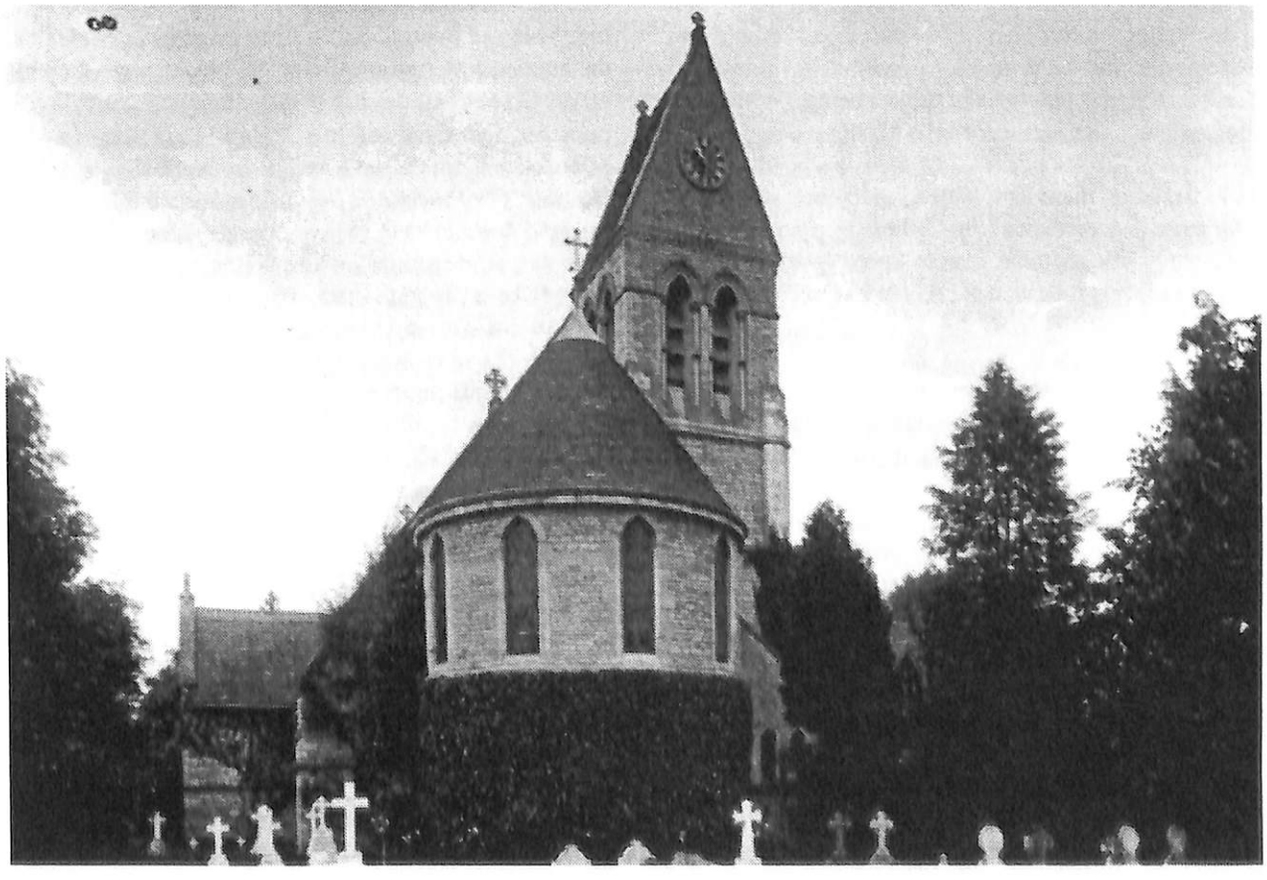
by John Edwards

As a newcomer to Ecclesiology, the present writer was naturally interested to come across the remark by Jennifer Sherwood in the *Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* that 'other London architects represented in [Oxon.] are the distinguished J.L. Pearson [1817-1897] whose St. Mary, Freeland, of 1869-71 is the perfect Ecclesiological church, complete with original fittings, in C13 style, with an apse.'[1] It seemed that to investigate this further would be a way of gaining greater knowledge of Ecclesiology, and might possibly be of interest to others at the same stage as myself.

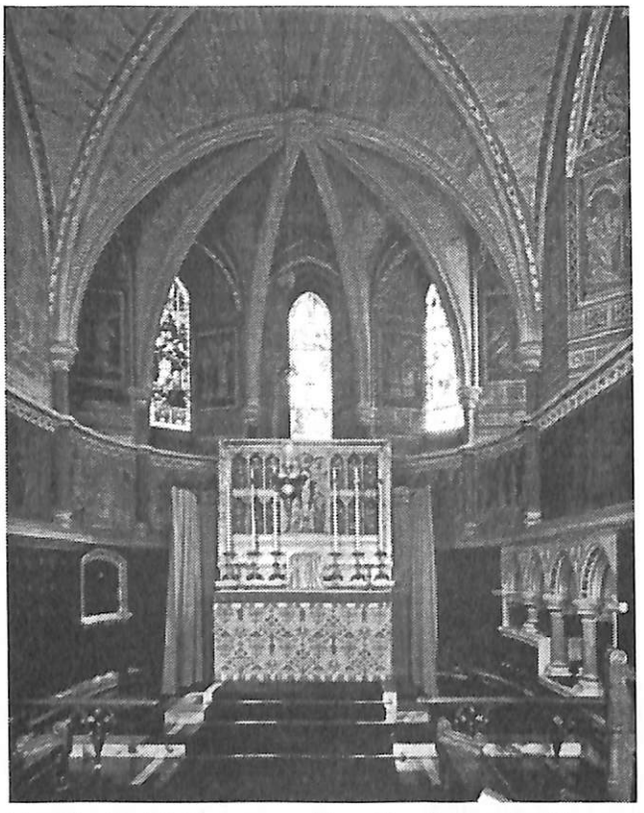
Much help is to be had from the Cambridge Camden Society's *A Few Words to Church Builders* of 1841,[2] which begins by emphasising that there are only two parts which are absolutely essential to a church, namely, the nave and the chancel, the former symbolising the Church Militant, and the latter the Church Triumphant.[3] Plate II, at the end of this work, contrasts plans of two churches, one of c.1250 and the other of 1835, to illustrate the importance our ancestors attached to a large chancel, as opposed to the negligible one of the 1835 "preaching-box".[4] A large chancel was particularly necessary, not only for the proper performance of the sacerdotal functions, but also to accommodate a large choir. The division between nave and chancel was to be marked, the chancel being narrower by about 4 or 5 feet than the nave, but should not be less than a third of the whole length of the church.[5] This is achieved at Freeland, the Church Guide stating that the apsidal chancel is 33 feet long, while the nave is 44 feet.[6] Inside the chancel, and behind the altar should be "the reredos [which], when wrought with all the richness of which it is capable, is one of the most beautiful ornaments of a church".[7] This view is however somewhat modified in a later edition of the *Few Words*, which advises against a reredos save in a large church.[8] The reredos at Freeland (presumably a large church) was most impressively designed by Pearson himself.

The recommended elevation of the chancel above the nave[9] is provided at Freeland by three steps, and of the altar above the chancel[10] by a further four. To emphasise the separation of the chancel from the nave, a rood screen, "that most beautiful and Catholick appendage to a church",[11] is provided at Freeland by a delicate wrought-iron black and gilt screen, surmounted by a large cross.

There are only two acceptable locations for the pulpit, either north or south of the nave arch; it should preferably be of stone, and may be sculptured or painted with "effigies



St Mary the Virgin, Freeland, Oxon (1900)
Photograph by courtesy of the Oxfordshire Photographic Archive,
Oxfordshire County Council



Reredos by J.L.Pearson, with wall-paintings by Clayton & Bell in the window-splays and round the apse (1968) Photograph by courtesy of the RCHME © Crown copyright.

of doctors of the church".[12] The pulpit at St. Mary's is of stone and to the north of what would now be called the chancel arch; it is painted, the subject being, perhaps more appropriately, the Sermon on the Mount.

As to the nave, there is no objection to one aisle only; "it is far more in accordance with Catholick principles to build one aisle as it ought to be, than to 'run up' two cheaply."[13] This principle is followed at Freeland, where there is only one aisle.

Stained glass is of much importance in giving "a chastened and solemn effect to a church,"[14] later to be confirmed in the *Ecclesiologist* which claimed that what was necessary was "the solemn and subdued light, characteristic of all Early English churches".[15] The stained glass at St. Mary's is by Clayton and Bell, "one of the most famous stained glass firms of Victorian times ... who produced work of a very high quality for ... J.L. Pearson ... among others".[16] The effect is certainly that, with all the lights turned off, the nave is "dark and sombre compared with the sumptuous chancel."[17]

As to externals, "next to the chancel, perhaps a porch is the most essential feature ... unless there be any strong reason to the contrary, it should be on the south side",[18] as is the case at Freeland. Though a tower is not essential, if one is provided, it does not have to "stand in the middle" and can be asymmetrically placed.[19] The latter is the case at Freeland, the tower having a saddle-back roof, reminiscent of the 13th-century bell tower at St. Lawrence's church at Caversfield, Oxon.[20]

As the church was designed after the publication of *A Few Words*, it does not include either any "pues"[21] (thought to be what would now be called "box pews") or a gallery,[22] both of which were greatly deprecated by the Ecclesiologists. Apart from a disparaging reference to very small apses,[23] *A Few Words* does not appear to mention them, but they were often a feature of Pearson's churches.[24]

In the foregoing, the present writer has concentrated on the first edition of *A Few Words* (1841), but by the third edition of 1844 it becomes clear that the dogma of the architect and designer, A.W.N. Pugin, (1812-1852), one of the principal inspirations of Ecclesiology, had by that date become a fundamental principle, namely, that "we are not now called upon to prove that Gothick is the only Christian architecture".[25]

Having devoted some study to English medieval wall-painting, the fact that the church contains paintings on the walls, pulpit, and font, is of special interest to the present writer, particularly as the tendency is to regard iconoclasm as the usual attribute of Victorian church-restorers where paintings are concerned. It is consequently gratifying to learn that this was not a characteristic of the Ecclesiologists, and in relation to the very first restoration they undertook, that of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Cambridge, the Committee of the Society recorded the raising of "considerable sums towards ... decorating the interior with fresco painting."[26] At the same meeting of the Committee the list of donations included a "coloured engraving of a Fresco Painting in St. Michaels'church, St. Albans."[27] In the Society's *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities* (1843) warning is given of the possible survival of medieval wall-paintings, and of the great pains to be taken in the removing of the whitewash over them; if any considerable portion of wall-painting is discovered, the Society should be notified immediately, so that "directions for its restoration" could be given.[28] The Society's *Few Words to Churchwardens* (1844) warns that if the remains of old paintings are found, some competent person should be notified, "as the cleaning of these paintings is a very difficult thing, and they are so curious that they ought to be looked to with great care."[29]

In addition to the stained glass, the wall-paintings at St. Mary's were executed by Clayton and Bell, the work not being completed until 1890. The simplest of these paintings are in a white outline against a background of red, as in the case of those on the font and pulpit. The upper portion of the former is square, and on the east side is a portrayal, very naturally, of the Baptism of Christ, while on the west side is shown Christ blessing little children, which is also appropriate. There are paintings on the other two sides representing the Flood and Moses commanding the Red Sea to engulf Pharaoh's army (Exodus 14:26). Nowadays the two Old Testament subjects would hardly

be regarded as symbols of baptism, but the early Church did in fact so regard them.[30] Which is in itself a tribute to Clayton and Bell's erudition. The last three subjects are unknown in the medieval wall-paintings surviving in England, while even paintings of Christ's baptism are very rare.

The fact that the painting on the pulpit shows the Sermon on the Mount is in marked contrast to medieval wall-paintings, since it is strange that this cornerstone of the Christian faith is not represented in any surviving in England. Below it are roundels depicting Jonah, Solomon, Isaiah, and St. John the Baptist, only the last of which can be found in medieval wall-paintings, Old Testament subjects being in any case particularly rare. Below the chancel windows are paintings of the entry into Jerusalem; Christ being anointed in the house of Simon; the Last Supper; Christ before Caiaphas; Peter's denial; the Mocking; The Flagellation; the Entombment; and Pentecost. All of these subjects are to be found in medieval work, though the Anointment and Pentecost are rare. The former, at Freeland, shows the anointing taking place on the head, so that it must be the occasion referred to in Matthew 26: 6,7. Unlike the paintings on the font and pulpit, which are in red and white only, this other series of paintings also include brown, green and blue; the latter was too costly for most medieval wall-painters, as it then involved the use of lapis lazuli, but the artists were capable of great ingenuity in creating the illusion of blue. Over the first-mentioned of this series at St. Mary's, on the north chancel wall, is an ambitious Transfiguration using all the colours already mentioned, with the addition of a gold background for the figures of Christ, Moses, and Elijah, who are each shown in a separate Gothic arched frame. This, it is suggested, rather spoils the effect of spaciousness one associates with this occurrence, and also the dazzling white light referred to in, for example, Matthew 17:2, and as effected in Raphael's painting of it in the Vatican Galleries. It is unfortunate that, for purely financial reasons, this painting had to be excluded from the general post-war conservation of the others, so that it is more difficult to make out than the rest. There are paintings of angels in the window splays of the apse.[31]

With regard to the "C13-style paintings of the Passion and the Transfiguration" the *Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* states that they are "in grisaille, with pink and red which repeat the colours of the stone".[32] But grisaille, as its name implies, is a "technique of monochrome painting in shades of grey"[33] and the Passion cycle includes the various colours already mentioned, with the addition of gold in the Transfiguration.

As to the technique actually employed, Messrs. Howell and Bellion, Church Interior Decorators, who have succeeded Peter Larkworthy, the great-grandson of Bell,[34] and who have been responsible for the conservation in 1991 of the wall-paintings at St. Mary's, have kindly informed the present writer that "the dado and the soffits of the apse windows are in oil paint and the rest is painted in tempera, using the natural stone as a background."[35]

It is hoped that the foregoing will show that Jennifer Sherwood's description of the Ecclesiological nature of this church, quoted in the opening paragraph of this paper, is amply justified.

Acknowledgements
The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. J. Peverel-Cooper, Churchwarden, for supplying a wealth of important information and is also grateful to Mr. K. Howell, of Howell and Bellion, for the crucial particulars of the painting methods of Clayton and Bell.

Notes
1. J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire*, (1974), 365. Similar views are expressed by Miss Sherwood at pp. 373 and 607.
2. *A Few Words to Church Builders*, first edition, (1841).
3. Ibid., p 5, paragraph 6.
4. Ibid., Plate II.
5. Ibid., p 6, paras 7 and 8.
6. K.Tiller & G.Tyack, *St. Mary the Virgin, Freeland, Church Guide*, (1992) p 12.
7. Ibid., Note 2, p 11, para. 20.
8. Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, third edition, (1844), p 15, para. 39.
9. Ibid., Note 2, p 11, para. 18.
10. Ibid., p 12, para. 24.
11. Ibid., p 19, para 35.
12. Ibid., pp 21 and 22, para. 44.
13. Ibid., p 7, para. 11.
14. Ibid., p 26, para. 54.
15. *The Ecclesiologist*, II (1843), p 120.
16. D. Welender, *The Stained Glass of Gloucester Cathedral*, (1985), p 68.
17. Ibid., Note 1, p 607.
18. Ibid., Note 8, p 9, para 22.
19. Ibid., Note 2, p 8, paras 12 & 13.
20. Ibid., Note 1, p 520.
21. Ibid., Note 2, p 20, para. 40.
22. Ibid., p 23, para 47.
23. Ibid., p 5, para. 6.
24. See the illustrations to A. Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*, (1979), passim.
25. Ibid., Note 8, p 5, para. 11.
26. Cambridge Camden Society, *4th Annual Report*, p 27.
27. Ibid., p 62.
28. Cambridge Camden Society, *A Few Hints on the Practical Study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities*, (1843), fourth edition, p 36, para. VI 18.
29. Ecclesiological Society, *A Few Words to Churchwardens*, (1846), fourteenth edition, p 12.
30. J. Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (1986), p 215 for Moses and p 225 as to the Flood.
31. Ibid., Note 6. The *Church Guide* has helped in the identification of the obscurer of these subjects.
32. Ibid., Note 1, p 607.
33. P. and L. Murray, *Dictionary of Art and Artists*, (1972), p 395.
34. P. Larkworthy, *Clayton and Bell, Stained Glass Artists and Decorators*, (1984), p 4.
35. Letter of 26th August, 1997.

THE WAGNERS OF BRIGHTON

by John Elliott

In the secular 1990s it is hard to appreciate how important religion was in Victorian Britain. An examination of the contribution made to Mid-Victorian Anglicanism by the Wagner family of Brighton - and particularly the part played by the Rev Arthur Douglas Wagner - may help to overcome the secular filter through which we now view the past.

Let us start with Henry Mitchell Wagner who was born in 1792, the second and youngest son of Melchior Henry Wagner, hatter to George III and the army, and himself the grandson of Henry Mitchell the Rector of Maresfield and Vicar of Brighton. H.M.Wagner married Elizabeth Harriott Douglas; they had one son, Arthur Douglas Wagner,[1] before she died in 1829. He then married Mary Sikes Watson in 1838, they had two sons, and she died in 1840. H.M.Wagner was Vicar of Brighton from 1824 until his death in 1870. He built six churches - All Souls (1833-34), Christ Church (1838), St John the Evangelist (1840), St Paul's (1844-48), All Saints (1847-52) and St Anne's (1863) - while also having a hand in a seventh - St Stephen's (1851).

His son Arthur Douglas Wagner was educated at Trinity College in Cambridge, where he became imbued with the ideals of the Cambridge Camden Society and all it represented.[2] He founded the Community of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1855, and built six churches, all Gothic, and all Tractarian. There was SS Mary & Mary Magdalene (1862), the Annunciation (1864), St Bartholomew's (1874), St Martin (1874), Holy Resurrection (1876-77) and St Mary's at Buxted (1885-87). In his *Some Brighton Churches* (1922), H.Hamilton Maughan describes A.D.Wagner as belonging 'to the generation of pioneers who... sought to translate the principles of the Tractarians into practice.'[3] He was Perpetual Curate of St Paul's from 1850, became its Vicar in 1873, and remained there until his death in 1902.[4]

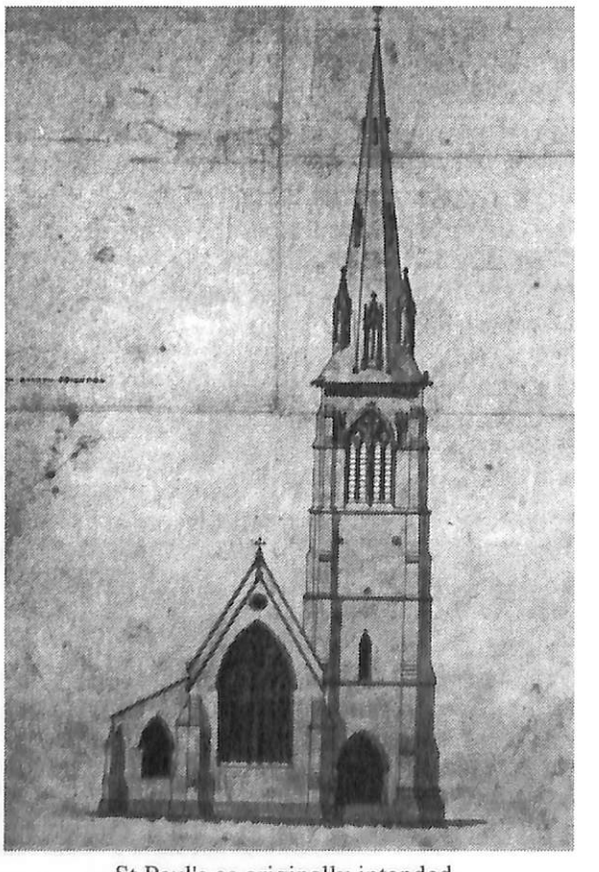
Both Wagners were especially active in the poorer areas of Brighton, where they epitomised the Anglican mission towards the poor. However, they held different liturgical views, the father being a robust High Churchman in the eighteenth century tradition, while his son was equally robust in his Tractarianism.

So having set the scene, let us look at the church Wagner senior built for his son - St Paul's in West Street - as this perhaps best epitomises the spirit of these two remarkable Victorian clerics.

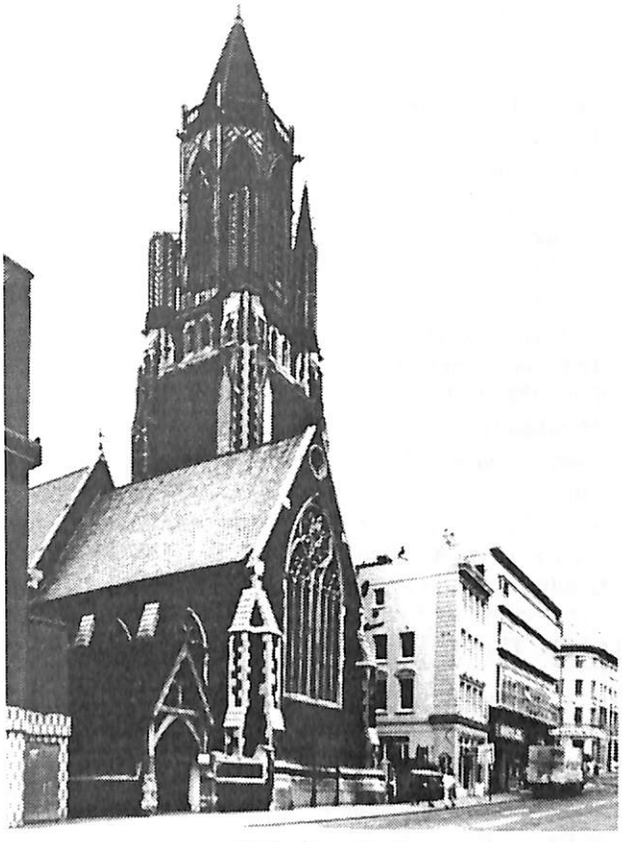
In 1839 the plan had been to build a church for the poor near the railway station. Then suddenly a cluster of public houses started to appear, and the idea was abandoned, religion and alcohol being seen as unsuitable bedfellows. An alternative site was sought, and in 1843 one in West Street was selected, an area in which there was a Bethel Chapel, a school, and a collection of small slum houses which were occupied by fishermen.

Wagner senior's initial intention had been to convert the Bethel Chapel into a Chapel of Ease, and to alter, or pull down, the the school building so as to provide a reading room. However, the Bethel Chapel was never designed for Tractarian worship, and its use would have required liturgical compromises, compromises which did not suit the ecclesiological ideals of Wagner junior. So ecclesiastical correctness overrode economy, and Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812-55) was commissioned to design a new church. Work commenced in February 1846, the building was ready for use in February 1848, and it was consecrated on 18 October 1849.

Unlike the Bethel Chapel, St Paul's was built to the design principles which had been advocated by the Ecclesiologists.[5] It was 'correctly' orientated with the chancel at the east end, even though this required an elaborate walk-way along the south side so as to present arriving worshippers at the western end.[6] The building was in the favoured middle-pointed style, using knapped flint dressed with Caen stone. There was a nave, two unequal aisles and a chancel, but no clerestory. Beyond the eastern end of the northern aisle was the tower, originally intended to be crowned with a 283 foot spire,[7] though the tower alone was built and then topped with a wooden lantern.



St Paul's as originally intended
Ecclesiologist 1846



St Paul's as Built
[The lantern was added by Carpenter's son in 1873-75]
Photograph by courtesy of the RCHME © Crown copyright

Writing in 1872, Charles Eastlake claimed that St Paul's was probably one of the first county-town churches to be erected in recognition of the changed ritual which followed the Oxford and Cambridge Movements.[8] Somewhat later Goodhart-Rendel aptly summarises the transformation which had occurred; in the pre-Tractarian church there were galleries, a high pulpit, and rented pews while at St Paul's there was a stalled chancel, a rood-screen, sedilia and piscina.[9]

As early as 1846 the *Ecclesiologist* gave its approval, saying that the intended church would ensure Brighton's 'hideous chapels are to be shamed.'[10] Then in 1848 it noted that the completed building was just as good as the initial design had suggested. While there were imperfections,[11] the structure combined remarkable architectural beauty and ecclesiological correctness, a combination which in a town like Brighton would stand as a beacon for others to follow.[12] Sadly not everyone agreed, and in 1919 Somers Clarke Jnr claimed that by wedging the church between the adjoining houses, by orientating it towards the east despite the difficulties of the site, and by conforming to the pseudo medieval precepts of the Cambridge Camden Society, Carpenter had simply 'screwed himself into a medieval coffin.'[13]

The form of service practised at St Paul's is well documented, the *Ecclesiologist* describing morning prayers on Tuesday 20 January 1852 thus:

> the organ played a voluntary, four priests and a choir of surpliced boys came up to the chancel, and entered it, one priest excepted, who turned into the... watch-box. The prayers are not usually intoned; although the choir follow on the monotone; a sad mistake. The said choir also, we understand, do not wear surplices on the Sunday; which gives a great deal of unreality to those that they do wear in the week. The Venite was given to an "Anglican" chant... and the Psalms followed in monotone... The Te Deum and Benedictus were both "Anglican".[14]

However, in the Victorian era any emphasis on liturgy or ceremony created sinister Popish associations in the mind of many.[15] So long before the great ritualist debates of the late 1860s, St Paul's attracted attention. With typical Victorian venom, an anonymous booklet of 1860 described Wagner junior and his form of religion. This, they claimed, was a combination which :

> may be seen in full dress every Sunday at St Paul's... in charge of its nurse - a rather stout, well-grown person, with a creeping, peeping, sneaking tongue, and no brains, and on the whole, as oily a piece of fluid tallow as ever mistook his way into a surplice, or a sewer.[16]

However, there were those who welcomed the development, including a steady stream of wealthy visitors who were anxious to experience the new fashion in worship in the comparative safety of a distant holiday resort. During Easter 1864, J.B.Dykes, who was the Vicar of St Oswald in Durham, visited St Paul's, and 'felt a strange mixture - delight and sorrow through all - delight at seeing such a glorious service in the Church of England, and such signs of life! - and sorrow at comparing all this with our shortcomings in the north.'[17]

Such were the delights of mid-Victorian Brighton, and such was the missionary zeal of two mid-Victorian clerics. Today the Wagners are long gone and largely forgotten. St Paul's has seen better days. In 1850 half the population attended church on a regular basis, and of those, half attended the Church of England. In 1850 St Paul's sat amidst a densely populated area, today the people have been replaced by shops, and the congregation has been dispersed. In many ways St Paul's is one of the great buildings of Brighton, and that is some compliment in a town which is noted for its architecture. It stands proudly as an icon of that mid-Victorian age and of the religious fervour which so gripped the period, an icon which is somewhat out of place in the modern consumer-led commercial age.

1 He was born at Windsor Castle on 13 June 1824 and baptised at Winkfield, Berkshire on 6 August 1824.
2 He was educated at Eton from 1835, and went to Trinity College, Cambridge between 1842 and 1845. He was ordained a deacon in 1848 and a priest in 1849.
3 Maughan, H.Hamilton, *Some Brighton Churches*, London 1922, p 23.

4 He died in Brighton on 14 January 1902, and was buried at the Lewis Road Cemetery on 18 January.
5 These were codified in *A Few Words to Church-Builders* (1849).
6 The *Ecclesiologist* commented in 1846 upon 'The plan, [which] necessarily [is] somewhat irregular from the exigencies of orientation and the difficulties of the site' (p 156). There is also a letter from Carpenter in the same issue, where he says difficulties connected with the site 'oblige me to place my principal entrance at the east end, there not being sufficient space on either the north or south sides for approaches' (p 203).
7 *Ecclesiologist,* 1846, p 203.
8 J.Mordaunt Crook (ed), Charles L Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival,* Leicester 1978, p 224.
9 H.S.Goodhart-Rendel, 'The Churches of Brighton and Hove', *Architectural Review,* 1918, p 27.
10 *Ecclesiologist,* 1846, pp 155-56.
11 Specifically they said the colour inside the chancel 'calls grievously for painted glass', and the doors of the pews, were 'so low that any one might easily step over them'. They disliked the pulpit being on the south, and the division of the nave into six bays; 'an undesirable number', while the west end 'is too plain, when compared with the other' - *Ecclesiologist,* 1848, pp 188-89.
12 *Ecclesiologist,* 1848, pp 188-89.
13 'Correspondence', *Architectural Review,* 1919, p 37 and 1918 p 109.
14 *Ecclesiologist,* 1852, pp 61-63.
15 H.Hamilton Maughan, *Some Brighton Churches,* London 1922, p 33.
16 Adam Bede, *The Natural History of Puseyism: With a Short Account of the Sunday Opera at St Paul's,* London 1860, p 5.
17 J.T.Fowler ed, *J.B.Dykes Life and Letters,* 1897, p 98 cited in Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* Vol 2, London 1970, p 317.

EMPIRICAL UNDERPINNINGS: ECCLESIOLOGY, THE EXCURSION AND CHURCH SCHEMES, 1830s-1850s.

by Rhona Richman Kenneally

By the mid nineteenth century, there were numerous incentives to travel through Britain for the sheer pleasure of the experience. The expansion of rail facilities throughout the kingdom enhanced access between villages and the metropolitan destinations of the trains, and the novelty of the then formidable speed of travel added a thrill especially for passengers in the luxurious first-class compartments. In tandem with developing railway links, a number of travel guidebooks—a genre which comes into its own during this era—enumerated the various stops which were worthy of attention along the lines, and encouraged such exploration as potentially rewarding for both pleasurable and pedagogical reason.[1]

Ecclesiologists throughout Britain also embraced the "excursion," as critical in the understanding of their particular target, the medieval church. Central to their strategy was the perceived need for adherents to develop a sensitive awareness of all the nuances of medieval church architecture, not simply by studying theoretical texts, but especially by on-site analysis of as many churches as it was possible to visit. Such excursions were an integral part of many of the ecclesiological societies of the day, including the Cambridge Camden/Ecclesiological Society and the Oxford Architectural Society.

It is possible to explore the experience of the church visit for ecclesiological purposes, by analyzing a unique collection of documents which record the event. From the late 1830s through perhaps to the 1850s, documents known as church schemes were made available by ecclesiological societies, to facilitate the process by which their members could locate, identify, and study isolated portions of church architecture, determine the age and identifying characteristics of the building, and understand how each church fitted into the prescribed architectural model of the day. The idea was that members would complete the schemes as part of the learning process, then return them to the societies to form a database of information. Schemes were blank, mass-produced forms on which were printed, by category, headings such as window, pier, roof, font, etc. Information was to be filled in during the actual visit, using a specially-developed coding system which encouraged uniformity, to enable effective comparative analysis either with schemes submitted by other visitors to the same church, or schemes of other churches.

Schemes themselves have never been studied exhaustively as a genre in their own right, although the ones issued by the Cambridge Camden/Ecclesiological Society have been alluded to by some historians; the present author has managed to locate a previously undocumented prototype for a similar form, designed for the Oxford Architectural Society in 1841.[2] I would like to argue that the church scheme was a significant pedagogical tool, one which reveals many ecclesiological strategies, most specifically the emphasis on the interrelationship between theory and empirical study. Theorists such as Thomas Rickman and M.H. Bloxam had already set down their models of medieval architecture, based on the classification of historical/stylistic periods such as Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular. Ecclesiologists were instrumental in applying and adapting these models on the basis of visits to the buildings themselves, thus reinforcing the link between theory and the actual buildings, a link which is documented in the form of raw data in the church schemes. Moreover, it can be argued that the arrangement of the scheme—the sequence in which the categories appear on the form, the size and shape of the blank spaces on which to write—served to guide the visitor to study the church in a particular way, to fill in the form in the prescribed manner, and, importantly, to understand the church as it is

depicted in the scheme, as a composite of individual, predefined components which collectively comprise the whole. Such an idea is consistent with a broader impulse which has been recognized in nineteenth-century culture, namely the application of scientific principles of analysis which promoted categorization and specialization.[3] Thus, church schemes, on which the arrangement of categories had a particular hierarchy, and on which entries were to be completed using a type of scientific notation, can be read as the architectural equivalent of laboratory notes of a biological dissection. In short, ecclesiologists were showing themselves to be inspired by contemporary information-gathering techniques in their effort to reinforce the religious significance of the Anglican church. Ecclesiology was a distinctly contemporary way to address a historically-based subject.

The "excursion" was a pivotal element in ecclesiology. A fictional account of such a journey, one no doubt constructed from actual events, is given by John Mason Neale, co-founder of the Cambridge Camden Society. Entitled *Hierologus*, or, the *Church Tourists*,[4] it is about two colleagues who travel throughout the country, compare and contrast churches, lament the poor condition of many, state their personal preferences and generally have a companionable time. Aside from delineating this general approach to learning about churches, the text suggests that little information—aside from that which could be gleaned from the architecture itself—was available on site: Neale describes one case where, rather than offering pertinent knowledge about a given church, its verger entertained visitors by rigging the effigy of a knight to jerk upright when he touched its leg.[5]

To heighten the impact of the learning experience of an excursion, ecclesiologists advocated group visits, whereby members could pool their expertise in reading the architecture. The *Ecclesiologist* outlines such a tour, and emphasises the experience as both entertaining and instructive. In answer to the question of how a person can best gain experience in ecclesiology, an article responds:

> If you are anything of an equestrian, do not fail to accompany the members of your Society on "Field-days". In these cases a route will be marked out with the special object of comprising as many and as interesting churches as can be seen within the limit of a day; and you will then have the benefit of the advice and suggestions of more experienced persons than yourself. You need not feel any reluctance in obtruding yourself on a strange party; for Camdenians are all friends and brothers, and will feel pleasure in assisting you.[6]

Church schemes themselves have a blank space to accommodate the names of visitors exploring a church together, and existing schemes indicate that such group outings were commonplace. Whereas it is virtually impossible to show the extent to which ordinary members of the various ecclesiological societies followed the advice to explore churches first-hand, a recent biography of Neale reiterates the centrality of "taking churches," visiting and recording or "registering" them, as a practice which "persisted throughout the [Cambridge Camden] society's existence."[7] The *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society* also refers to "travelling Committees" formed to visit churches beyond local boundaries, to collect "information upon their architectural beauties or peculiarities."[8] And an Oxford Architectural Society report of 1852 notes the decline in the number of excursions which took place under their auspices over the previous term, and admonishes.

> Our members should bear in mind that much more real architectural information is derived from the ocular inspection of a few good examples, than from the perusal of books however correctly and beautifully illustrated and in this lies the chief benefit to be derived from architectural excursions, such as these. It is to be hoped that some arrangements may be made by which these excursions may be placed on a more permanent footing and become a source of further advantage. Our Sister Society the Ecclesiological Society, while still appertaining to that University derived much advantage from these expeditions.[9]

Whether formal excursions such as those advocated above, or more casual visits taken alone or in small numbers, these investigations were of utmost importance as the basis of ecclesiological architectural knowledge.

Church schemes were the recording by written code of the experience of visiting mediaeval churches, the verbal sketches of people who did not sketch or chose not to do so. They allowed the user to document the stylistic features, arrangement, and individual characteristics of the church, and to do so quickly, using the jargon and symbols defined or promoted by Ecclesiology. There is no way to know how many schemes were amassed by the various ecclesiological societies, but the number must have been in the thousands. In February 1841, the Cambridge Camden Society reportedly sent hundreds of schemes, which had been filled in and sent back to them by their members, to the Oxford Archaeological Society as an information-sharing gesture; the Exeter Society also shared schemes with these two societies, and by 1847 had advocated its collection of schemes as a research tool for interested members.[10]

Even the blank scheme is interesting, for how it breaks down the information to be recorded. After giving space to the location of the church, it asks for what it calls a "ground plan," which, rather than a drawing, is a list of abbreviations noting whether the church has aisles, or chapels, or transepts, etc. Dimensions are asked for in the later schemes (but not usually supplied). The church interior is obviously meant to be examined first, given the sequence of the questionnaire, and the chancel, starting with the east window, is meant to be studied before any other part of the building. This is in keeping both with the religious priorities of the Society, and the reliance on shapes and details, especially of windows, as primary identifying and dating

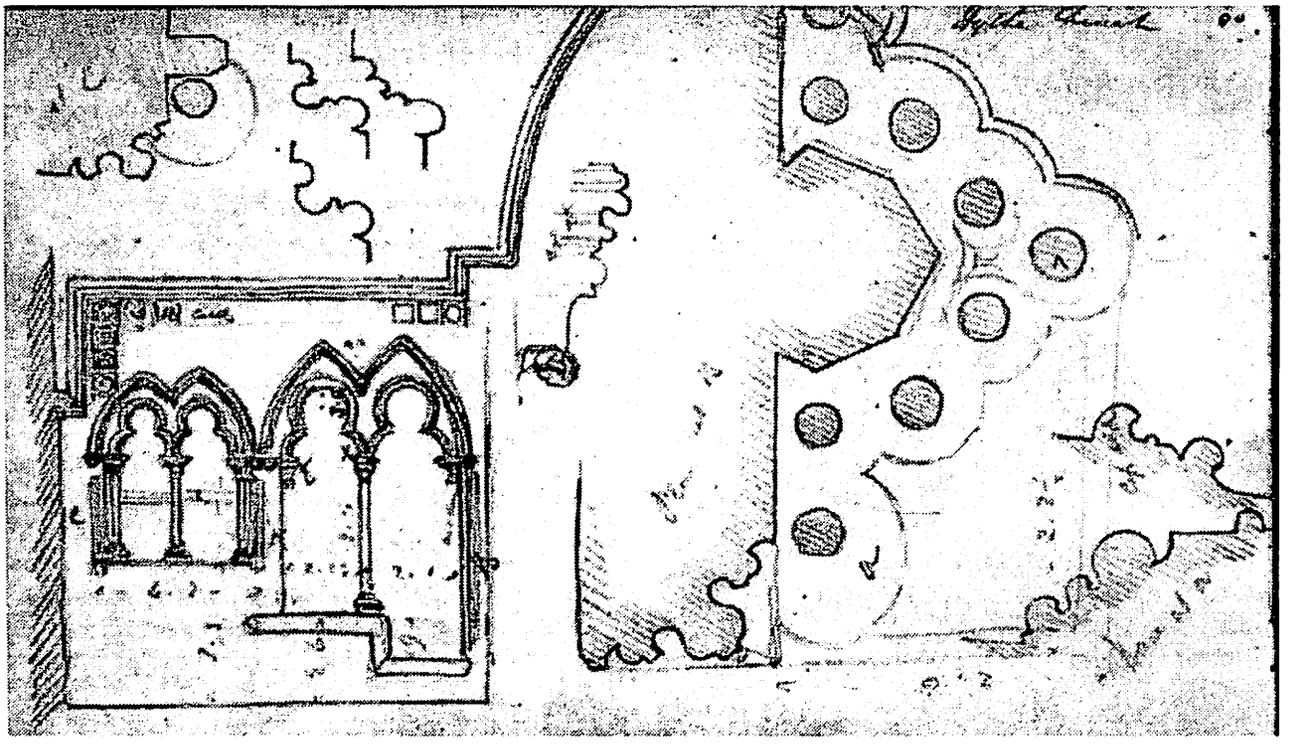


Figure 1:George Edmund Street, United Kingdom; Woodford, Essex 1824 - London, England 1881. Piscina and sedilia and plan details of Hythe Church, Kent; from a sketchbook of Norman and Gothic buildings in Kent, Sussex, and London, England, 1844. Graphite on wove paper album: 14.9 x 24.2 x 1.4 cm; sheets: 14.2 x 23.5 cm. DR 1990:0033:020v. Collection Centre Canadian d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

criteria for this paradigm. No specific categories are given to explore the building's social history, structural details other than the configuration of the roof, nor even the number of worshippers it could hold or whether or not services were held according to ecclesiological parameters. But there are separate categories to describe architectural elements that are directly related to worship: the font is given a whole descriptive section; piscinae and sedilia each warrant their own designated blank space to be filled in. This again reflects the primary concern as being the religious aspects of the architecture of this house of God, rather than what this house was made of and how it stood up.

As for the availability of completed church schemes, over five hundred Cambridge Camden submissions remain at two archives in London, providing a sufficient body for examination. The schemes are evidence of the attempt to apply a scientific approach to architectural historiography, and encourage a response in line with a predefined, specific system of codification. For example, the west window of Howden Church, Yorkshire is described as follows: "4L.transome.5f.top Ls.3f. 2>rLs; ea h.3 3fls, & above a 4f."[11]

The window thus consists of four cinqfoiled lights, above which is a transom, on top of which are aligned four trefoiled lights. Above those in turn are two lights described as angular, each of which has a head containing three trefoils; above them, is a quatrefoil. Through this description, it is possible to imagine the basic shapes that comprise the window, although such information as size, location of the window (how high or low it is situated in the wall), and, in this case, what architectural chronologic/stylistic period it belongs to, is not available. In other parts of this and other schemes, however, a D for Decorated, P for Perpendicular, etc., would usually precede the other information quoted above, and the element's origin (mediaeval construction or subsequent remodelling), whether it contained stained glass, and other such data, might also be given. Note, however, that just as the equation $2H_2 + O_2 = 2H_2O$ gives an accurate description but does not explain other aspects of the water molecule such as the angle of contact of the hydrogen and oxygen, the west window description also leaves out other details, for example how flat the cinqfoils in the lowest row happen to be. Nevertheless, enough information is provided to compare Howden with, for example, other Yorkshire churches, or other Decorated ones. It is clear, then, that the system, while supplying a substantial amount of information relevant to ecclesiology, can still never entirely replace a drawing, and indeed, was not meant to do so. It was intended to accommodate an observer who had only a limited time to spend in any one church (there are cases in which as many as five or six schemes are filled out by the same individual on the same day), and also takes into account the inability of most amateurs to sketch carefully enough to be left with a useful record. Notably, the scheme itself is not structured for drawing: there is not enough space for any but a small sketch. In a minority of the schemes, little rough sketches do appear, as do a few references to drawings that accompanied the schemes but must have been separated from them. Nevertheless, the central means of translation of information is through

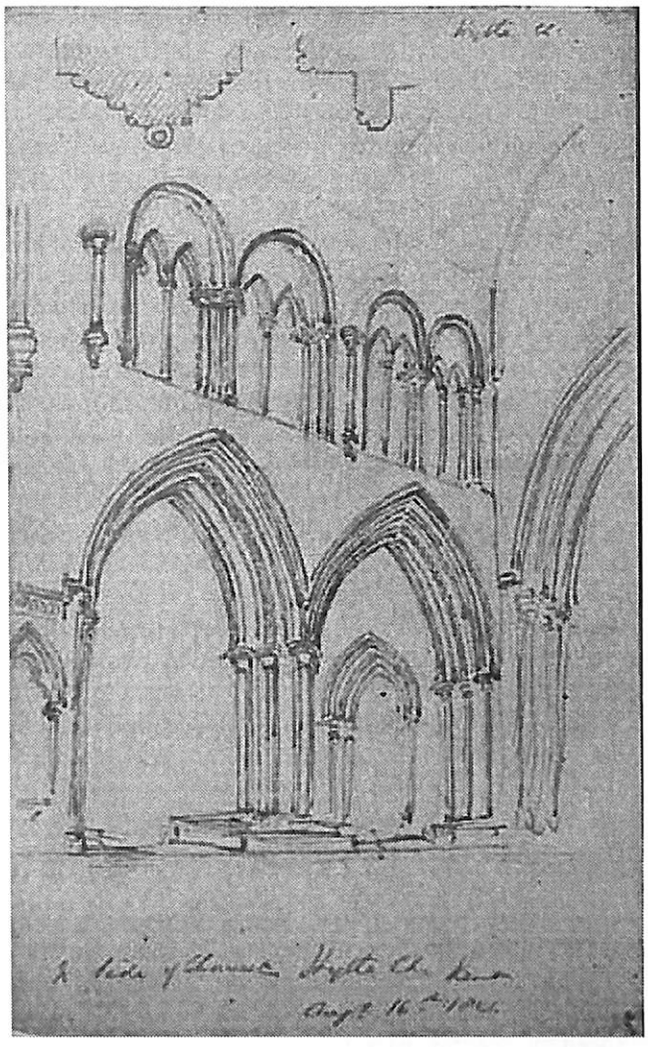


Figure 2:George Edmund Street, United Kingdom; Woodford, Essex 1824 - London, England 1881. Interior perspective of side of chancel and plan details, Hythe Church, Kent; from a sketchbook of Norman and Gothic buildings in Kent, Sussex, and London, England, August 16, 1844. Graphite on wove paper album: 14.9 x 24.2 x 1.4 cm; sheets: 14.2 x 23.5 cm. DR 1990:0033:023v. Collection Centre Canadian d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

words, many of which are in the code form introduced above.

A close study of the schemes reveals some surprises. First, given the science-oriented format, there is still evidence of subjectivity: the Howden west window is described as "Beautiful," just as its east window is a "Beautiful ruin," mouldings are "Good round Norman," and gurgoyles [sic] "excellent." Other schemes describe "debased" characteristics, or "poor" ones. The font at St. Peter's Church, Chester, Cheshire, is "disgusting, potlike." At times, the gaze slips into the picturesque, and the church at Erith, Kent, has the following general remark, "The Tower and all the N[orth] of the church particularly the C[hancel] covered thickly with ivy. Pretty from river."[12] Also, surprisingly, because they were filled in by researchers striving for meticulous detail, the schemes contain errors. The Howden west window is annotated as having, as noted above, "...2 >r Ls, ea h.3 3fls, & above a 4f."[13] Examination of both a drawing of Howden in made by Edmund Sharpe in 1848 as well as photographs shows that each head has two trefoils and a quatrefoil, not three trefoils.[14]

Indisputably, the Cambridge Camden/Ecclesiological Society had substantial influence over gothic-revival architectural design. Particularly noteworthy, is that at least one example suggests that Ecclesiology also helped determine the very perception of, or coming to terms with mediaeval architecture by a man who was to become one of its most influential architects. George Edmund Street joined the Society in 1845, and many of his numerous church commissions sprang from this association. A year previously, he had already been visiting churches with his brother, during George Street's time off from his work as an apprentice in George Gilbert Scott's office. It appears likely that Street's contact with Scott (who by this time had already been exposed to ecclesiology), and his imminent membership of the CCS, are evidence of his own familiarity with the ecclesiological paradigm.

A sketchbook by George Street resulting from these 1844 church visits, primarily in Kent and Sussex, is fascinating to analyse. Nine pages are devoted to Hythe Church, and document a young architect's absorption of ecclesiology and architecture in general. If we can assume that Street used the sketchbook pages in succession, rather than skipping back and forth, what we see is a sequence not unlike that in the Church Schemes, whereby the understanding of the church begins in its interior, specifically at the chancel, through the details, and then broadens out to explore the broader context, first of the inside of the church, and then the outside. Street, too, begins at the chancel, and the first image we see (Figure 1) is of the piscina and sedilia of the church, elements of the building whose ecclesiological significance was acute but which would probably not have aroused such initial attention in someone unfamiliar with Ecclesiology. These images have a fair bit of detail, and are dimensioned with a precise depiction of the profile of the pillars and capital. (Note how the extreme pillars of the sedilia in elevation are reproduced in plan at the right.) The next page has isolated details taken in the crypt under the altar. On the third page Street is back in the chancel and nave, and notes his surprise not to find dogtooth mouldings at the aisles—an expectation in line with architectural historiography of the day. By the fourth page, still preoccupied by the chancel and nave, Street is recording the east window, and both the corbel in the south aisle and the splayed window on the lower right of the page are rendered three-dimensionally. Thus the window can be perceived as 12-13th century in style—Early English—but here, it is possible to sense light entering the church from the narrow penetration. The fifth page has more interior excerpts, including a second piscina in one of the transepts. The sixth page has another revealing comment: at the top, Street has noted that there are eleven steps to the altar, an important ecclesiological variable. More drawings of windows on

this page finally bring Street to an interior perspective of the north side of the chancel on the following page (Figure 2), the culmination, it seems, of his close-up scrutiny. After additional work on window tracery, Street, finally, on the last page devoted to Hythe, moves outside the church for an exterior perspective, and then, seemingly as an afterthought, makes a quick rough plan of part of the interior (Figure 3). As is true in the order and categories of the church schemes, priority is given to recording the interior, the shapes of windows, moulding profiles, and religious furnishings, all of which comprise the domain of ecclesiology. No description of materials, no contextual information (although elsewhere in the sketchbook, when drawing other buildings, he does sometimes provide context), no real structural studies appear.(15) And yet, Street's method of recording the building is, at least to some extent, evidence of his professional concerns. The decision to draw rather than to describe verbally, the demonstrated attention to dimensions, the overlapping nature of the record (depictions of the same subject using both plan and elevation; the shifting scale which connects broad views with detailed ones, etc.) must have stood Street in good stead, since he was to restore the church in 1874-75.

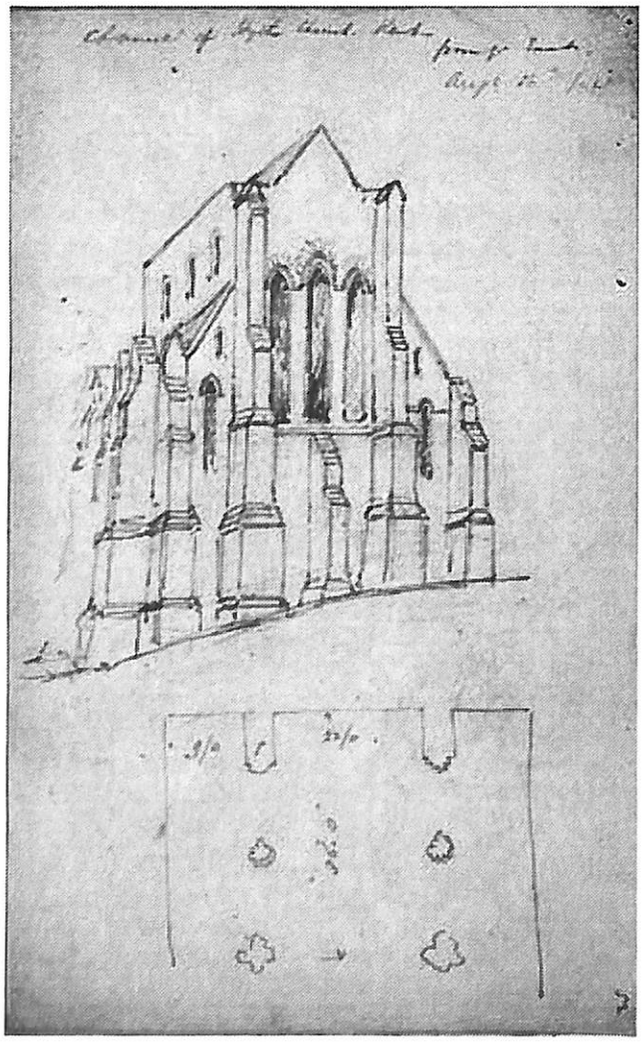


Figure 3:George Edmund Street, United Kingdom; Woodford, Essex 1824 - London, England 1881. Exterior perspective and measured plan of chancel, Hythe Church, Kent; from a sketchbook of Norman and Gothic buildings in Kent, Sussex, and London, England, August 16, 1844. Graphite on wove paper album: 14.9 x 24.2 x 1.4 cm; sheets: 14.2 x 23.5 cm. DR 1990:0033:024v. Collection Centre Canadian d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

More work needs to be done to understand the full significance of the Church schemes. Unfortunately, except for the holdings at the Royal Institute of British Architects and Lambeth Palace Library, they seem not to have been preserved in great number, perhaps because they appear to be raw sketchy data rather than finished works. There is evidence that other schemes have been catalogued according to the churches they record, making them inaccessible without checking every church reference in every archive in Britain. Significantly, existing schemes which have been located are those filled in by Society executives rather than by ordinary members, and any information about schemes filled out by the general ecclesiological population is anecdotal and cannot yet be substantiated. Nevertheless, church schemes are a rare record of first contact between a building and its viewer, and, as such, have much to teach the historian.

[Rhona Richman Kenneally is a doctoral candidate in architecture at McGill University, Montreal, Canada.]

1. Dissenters such as William Wordsworth—who feared the destruction of the visual landscape of England by railway lines—notwithstanding, the merits of train travel were soon recognized: John Mason Neale himself acknowledged the benefits. *Hierologus*; or, *The Church Tourists*. London: James Burns, 1843, p. 92. Initially in conjunction with the opening of railway routes, and later under the auspices of such institutions as Thomas Cook and John Murray, numerous guidebooks on travel in Britain entered the market beginning in the late 1830s. Sir Henry Cole, founder of the Victoria and Albert Museum and lifetime advocate of improving public "taste," was responsible for early versions. See, for example, *Railway Travelling Charts*; or, *Iron Road Books, for Perusal on the Journey: in which are noted The towns, villages, churches, mansions, parks, stations, bridges, viaducts, tunnels, cuttings, gradients, &c.*, [1845-7].
2. Sir Henry Dryden, "Notes on Churches," 12 August 1841. Bodleian Library.
3. The Cambridge Camden Society viewed its work specifically as the application of scientific principles to the study of architecture. See, for example, *The Ecclesiologist*, Nos. VI and VII, April 1842, pp. 87, in which an anonymous query of how best to attain knowledge of Ecclesiology "as a science" receives the response, "First, then, we say, by all means join the Cambridge Camden Society." Other organizations of the day also placed value on using forms for accurate field records: *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, the journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, emphasizes in 1846 its intention of following the lead of "some English antiquarian bodies," which used printed forms, "by which the antiquary will be greatly aided in his operations, from knowing what and how to

observe." Such "sets of instructions, questionnaires, or formularies" were apparently modelled after those utilized by the "French Government Commissions" which were compiling their own databases of ancient monuments. The forms were seen by the Cambrian Association research to be "carried on throughout Wales on something like a uniform plan; discoveries may be more easily compared, illustrated, and classified...." *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. I (1846), p. 15.

4. London: James Burns, 1843.

5. John Mason Neale, *Hierologus*, pp. 10-11.

6. 'How to Attain Some Knowledge of Church Architecture', *The Ecclesiologist*, no. VI-VII, (April 1842), p. 89.

7. Michael Chandler, *The Life and Work of John Mason Neale* (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing Books, 1995), p. 29; see also Eleanor A. Towle, *John Mason Neale, D.D.: A Memoir*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), p. 35.

8. *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, Vol. II 1847; Quarterly Report, 24 July 1845, p. 105.

9. Oxford Architectural Society, *Reports of General Meetings*, 16 June 1852, p. 217 recto.

10. Chris Miele, 'The Gothic Revival and Gothic Architecture: The Restoration of Medieval Churches in Victorian Britain.' Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1992, pp. 79-80.

11. Church Scheme, Howden Church, Yorkshire, Benjamin Webb, 3 July, 1840. Source: Royal Institute of British Architects.

12. Church schemes, Cambridge Camden Society, at the Royal Institute of British Architects.

13. My emphasis.

14. West Facade, Howden Church, Yorkshire. Edmund Sharpe, *Architectural Parallels, or, The Progress of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England Through the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries; Exhibited in a Series of Parallel Examples, Selected from the Following Abbey Churches....* (London: John van Vorst, 1848), n.p.

15. Wall sections, foundations, etc.

OBITUARIES

It is with much regret that we have to announce the death of the Ven. George Boorne Timms (1910-97) and George Watkins (1905-96). The Ven. Timms died on 15 November after long and distinguished service to the Church of England. As well as being the vicar of a range of London parishes, he was also a Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, the Rural Dean for Hampstead, an Archdeacon of Hackney and the London Diocesan Director of Ordination Training.

George Watkins died on 18 August last year aged 91. He had been a member of the Society for about twenty years, having been introduced by Cecil Chapman. In his youth George played hand bells and sang in the choir of Peterborough Cathedral. He is survived by his wife Poppy.

LONDON'S PARISH CHURCHES

by Paul Velluet

Over the last year or two, we have seen the publication of a significant number of books on London's churches. Gordon Huelin's *Vanished Churches of the City of London* and Paul Jeffery's *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren* have focused attention on the churches of the 'Square Mile', whilst in the very recently published Buildings of England volume, *London 1: The City of London*, Simon Bradley has provided an extraordinarily fine work of scholarship and some valuable new insights. Such works have served as an essential complement to earlier books such as Gerald Cobb's *London's City Churches* and Mervyn Blatch's *A guide to London's churches*. To these we can usefully add Dr John Leonard's recently published *London's Parish Churches* (Breedon Books £12.99).

Dr Leonard is a consultant physician in Shropshire; a member of the Society; and author of works on the churches of Derbyshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. In their joint forward to the book, the Bishops of London and Southwark warmly commend the volumn as a 'a companionable guide which will make London's heritage more accessible to the visitor and those who have the priviledge of living in its midst', In his own introduction, Dr Leonard suggests that the book may be used in two ways: firstly, as a narative account of the building of the capital's churches over a period of 1000 years; and secondly, as a reference book for some 122 churches.

On the issue of selection, Dr Leonard admits to limiting his study to Anglican churches; and with only two exceptions, to parish churches. He has also restricted his study to the old LCC area; only venturing further afield in his search for good modern churches. Despite these constraints, Dr Leonard has provided us with a profusely illustrated 200-page volume with a generous bibliography and references section, glossary and detailed index. However, one can only regret the absence of an annotated map showing the locations of the churches. This is a book which all those with a love for London's churches will wish to have on their shelves. It is probably Dr Leonard's chapter on London's twentieth century churches that sets this volumn apart, particularly as it embraces a number of churches only completed in very recent times.

Amongst Dr Leonard's 460 black and white illustrations are some really excellent and up to date photographes although some might have benefited from less converging verticals, tighter cropping and a more spacious and even setting on the page. However, these are but modest deficiencies in an otherwise excellent volume.

THE LIBRARY OF THE CARMELITE CONVENT

The library of the Carmelite Convent at Upholland, Lancashire, contains a number of books which are to be sold to augment the funds of the Convent. The books for sale date mainly from the 19th century but include one of great historical value thought by the librarian to have been printed at the Douay Abbey of St. Gregory in 1657. There is also a copy of Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* (1846) which weighs 9lbs (4.08 kilos)! Members interested should contact, in the first instance, Melody Ashby B.A.(Hons) M.A., Librarian, 6 Berwick Close, Beechwood, Birkenhead, Wirral, L43 9XA.

Old Books in Library

A very large Bible, Douay version, published in Preston, probably last century.
Fathers, Martyrs and Queen of the Holy Rosary by Abbe Orsini, Rev. Henry Formby & John Gilmary Shea LL.D. (19th century)
Pugin's Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume. (1846)
Very large volume of Roman Breviary, Pars Hiemalis. (Approbation 1862)
Memoirs of Missionary Priests, Martyrs to the Catholic Faith, by Bishop Challoner V.A.D. (1878)

French Books

Ouevres de M.de Boulogne (Eveque de Troyes) in 5 volumes. (1830)
L'Evangile, Medite, par Giraudeau in 9 volumes. (1826)
Oeuvres Spirituelles par Fenelon, Vols. 2, 3 & 4. (1828)
Actes Choisis des Saints Martyrs. Texte Grec. Annote Tome Premier. (1853)
La Connaissance de Dieu par A. Gratry. Tome second (1864)
Jeanne D'Arc par A de Lamartine. (1885)
L'Esprit de La Reverende Mere Emilie par M.l'Abbe Barthe, Tome second. (1864)
Pie X par M.le Docteur Louis Daelli (Translated into French). (1907?)
Recueil de Cantiques a l'usages des eleves du Pensionnat des Ursulines de Montaigu. (1900)
Vie de N.S. Jesus Christ par L'Abbe E.le Camus, not bound. (1897)

Other Books

Familiar Wild Flowers figured and described by F. Edward Hulme, in 9 volumes. (1910)
The Apparitions and Shrines of Heaven's Bright Queen by W.J. Vals, 3 volumes. (1904)
The Life of Fenelon by Charles Butler. (1810)
Spiritual Works of Louis of Blois ed. by John Edward Bowden. (1871)
Considerations upon the Doctrine and Practice of Christianity: or Challoner's Meditations for every day of the Year. (1809)
Contemplative Prayer by Dom.B. Weld-Blundell. (1907)
Lectures on Science & Revealed Religion by Cardinal Wiseman, 2 volumes. (1851)
Hassian's Conferences (trans. by Fr. Robert) 2 Vols (1867)
Butler's Lives of the Saints. 11 small vols. No.7 is missing, also vol.10 in another binding (1842)
Sancta Sophia or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation by Fr. Augustin Baker, Vol.1 (printed at Douay Abbey of St. Gregory. (I think 1657?)
Memoir of the Queen of Etruria by herself. Seizure and removal of Pius VII and memoirs of his journey to France etc. by one of his attendants. (1814)
The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation by the Venerable Bede. (In same binding) 2 vols.
The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living by Jeremy Taylor.

COMPLETION OF BURY ST EDMUNDS CATHEDRAL

by Paul Velluet

Many members will have been delighted and relieved to read in mid-November of the Millennium Commission's decision, taken at their final meeting to consider lottery bids, to make a £5.1m award for the revised scheme for the completion of the Cathedral at Bury St Edmunds.

As members will be aware, the Cathedral as significantly reconstructed and extended by our late President, Stephen Dykes Bower between 1959 and 1970, has lacked its central lantern tower since the completion of the bulk of the works twenty five years ago.

The latest design, prepared by Hugh Matthew, who worked as Dykes Bower's assistant in the 1960s, provides for a taller tower than the more modestly scaled scheme which was based on earlier Dykes Bower designs and advanced earlier this year by Alan Rome the Cathedral Architect (who also worked for Dykes Bower in the 1960s). Sadly, the more modest scheme was rejected for funding by the Millennium Commission in April, further to the setting aside of Dykes Bowers final (1961) design which featured a distinctly unconventional continental profile for the top stage.

The latest design will certainly provide the cathedral with a gloriously lofty lantern tower, but of very much more complex profile than the Dykes Bower-Rome design, distancing it from the remainder of Dykes Bower's work below and the East Anglian, late - Gothic tradition.

We look forward to seeing how the scheme proceeds.

BOSTON BOHEMIA 1881-1900, RALPH ADAMS CRAM: LIFE AND ARCHITECTURE BY DOUGLASS SHAND-TUCCI

A review by Stephen Oliver

Controversy has always surrounded the work of the American architect Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942). He is now best known, if known at all, for his adherence to late Gothic architecture (as demonstrated in his Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York of the 1920s) long after architectural taste was supposed to have moved on. Is he, then, the American version of our own Comper and the forerunner of Dykes Bower? I, for one, am eagerly awaiting the publication of the second part of this biography, *American Gothic*, to find out; for the present volume only covers the early years which are fascinating in themselves but touch only in passing on architecture.

The major part of the book concentrates on controversy and is an elaborate and detailed unpicking of the cultural life of late nineteenth century Boston, the Puritan capital, in which it would seem secret societies, socialism, black magic, drug taking and homosexuality (the latter is a major theme of this book) were practised by the artistic and intellectual elite. As art critic for the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Cram was certainly involved in this lifestyle - aesthetic, decadent and definitely modern - and so emerges in a different light to his old-fashioned traditionalist reputation. It may surprise some readers that this was not at odds with the highest Anglo-Catholicism. As well as art criticism, in which he was influential in popularising the Pre-Raphaelites, Cram was a playwright, poet, novelist and lyricist. For example, his poem *Nottingham Hunt* (1895) was set to music and when performed at Boston's Symphony Hall an encore was demanded. His collection of horror stories *Black Spirits and White* (1895) was singled out for praise by H.P.Lovecraft in a review of horror stories in 1945. Furthermore, Cram's architectural partner of these years, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, a designer of great talent in his own right, was also involved in this culture; his frontispiece to Cram's anonymous *The Decadent* (1893) implies that they were lovers, and he was also involved with The Visionists, a secret society. In fact the decoding of the secret language which the artistic elite in Boston at this time used is fascinating, but it leaves one gasping for breath between the abstruse connections. For example on p.321: 'Is it any wonder that Cram's first politics, the earliest expression of his youthful socialism, should be a form of Jacobite monarchism that fused American Federalism, socialism, and a forecast of the New Deal? I think not.' Do what?

In a sense these issues can be seen to have no effect on Cram's architecture. In building up such a complex web of different and interesting areas, this book then describes their downfall following the Oscar Wilde trial and its significant impact on Boston's artistic community. Cram and Goodhue's relationship ended with the latter's move to New York, and Cram's marriage. However, his architecture continued in exactly the same vein, and this point is not properly dealt with in the book.

However there is a great deal to interest the English ecclesiological student. As well as The Order of the White Rose (an order dedicated to the cult of King Charles the Martyr, of which Cram was North American Prior) and his Anglo-Catholic beliefs, Cram's connections with this country are manifold. Most important was the influence of the architect Henry Vaughan who had trained under Bodley and then moved to Boston. Presumably it was Vaughan who introduced Cram to the work of the English Goths as opposed to the Romanesque of H.H.Richardson which was then pre-eminent in Boston. Cram then travelled to Europe, principally to attend the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth, but he also encountered the architecture of his lifelong hero, J.D.Sedding, who was responsible for the coming together of the Gothic Revival and the Arts and Crafts movement, and is therefore a much more forward looking figure than we might imagine Cram being interested in. He became close friends with Sedding's successor Henry Wilson, met Walter Crane and Bodley's pupil C.R.Ashbee and later gave employment to both Wilson and Christopher Whall in America. These are some of the most progressive artists of their time.

What, then, can we say of the architectural work as represented in this volume? The poor illustrations are frustrating and those interested would be advised to refer to the excellent biography of Goodhue by Richard Oliver (MIT Press, 1983). Cram and Goodhue's most important work would seem to be the Church of All Saints, Ashmont, Massachusetts (1891 onwards). This does indeed compare with the best English work after it received Cram's superb rood beam and reredos (originally planned to contain a painting by Burne Jones). It also reflects the most progressive architectural theory of the time: that English architecture had developed steadily up to its un-natural death at the Reformation and this development could be built upon by emulating the work of the late Perpendular period. A century later we appreciate the wisdom of such theories as we now treasure the legacy of Bodley, Sedding, Comper, Temple Moore and Cram after their own developments were themselves un-naturally cut short by International Modernism. The question that remains is how we can best build upon their work.

University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1995. ISBN 1-55849-061-2, 569 pp., 114 plates. Paperback available in England at £15.95.

[Stephen Oliver MA, DipArch, RIBA is an architect practising in Cambridge, working mainly on historic buildings, especially churches. He works for the Surveyor to the Fabric of Norwich and Guildford Cathedrals, King's College Chapel and about seventy other churches in East Anglia. He trained at Cambridge University School of Architecture and is primarily interested in the Arts & Crafts Movement and the late Gothic Revival.]

BOOK REVIEWS

Christopher Wren and the Many Sides of Genius. Ed. Christian E. Hauer Jnr. Edwin Mellen Press, ISBN 0-7734-8546-5.

Contact in U.K. Edwin Mellen Press Ltd., Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, SA48 8LT, U.K.

The book is an apparently verbatim record of an academic symposium on Sir Christopher Wren held at Westminster College where the Wren fabric of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury complements the Winston Churchill Memorial and Library. The scene is well set but an apologia for the lack of illustration on the grounds of cost may in retrospect be a regrettable omission. It is true as the editor claims that most readers will have access to well known sources of illustrations of Wren Churches and gives a list of books available to further illustrate the lectures given over the course of the symposium. The talk by Robin Simon on Portraiture in the Age of Wren is indicative of the need for illustration. His text has almost continuous reference to visual material and is of a quality that one yearns for illustrations to follow up the detailed points made.

Members of the Society will be aware of the liturgical premises upon which Wren designed his City Churches and the lecture by James Doom carefully goes over well known ground and puts forward a particularly good analysis of the functional and liturgical links between Wren and Inigo Jones, both in some ways, Laudian architects. It is also pleasant to see that the strong generative influence of site and construction seen in Wren's planning is given ample coverage. The chapter which explores the scientific basis of Wren's philosophy is also of merit.

The last chapter by Robert Mark dealing with the Wren domes in relation to other great renaissance domes is a model of reporting and description based on academic scholarship. There is hardly a redundant phase and the rreader is left with knowledge of the problems of the construction of the domes, and their solutions, which does not require illustration.

Christopher Hauer is to be congratulated on surmounting the problems of production of this well presented volume. It is for an academic audience rather than for general readership.

Stained Glass in Rutland Churches, Paul Sharpling, ISBN 0-907464-24-6.

Contact Rutland Local History and Record Society, Rutland County Museum

The value of the work carried out by local historians has been frequently applauded in this journal. This publication by Paul Sharpling is an excellent model of what should be done to record the treasures that can be found in probably what is our greatest contribution to world heritage, the Parish Church. The study has its origins in a survey of stained glass in the Anglican Diocese of Peterborough. It also indicates what can happen to glass when its value is not recorded and it becomes neglected. An initial introduction deals with some aspects that can affect the durability of glass and is a useful reminder to those responsible for glass to ensure that due care is taken.

This is a beautifully presented booklet, the illustrations being particularly good. It is also encouraging to see that modern glass is not overlooked as an illustration of a 1934 Fazer Nash is shown on a memorial window to a Churchwarden in 1994.

The appendices are first class, allowing for cross referencing of Artist, Maker, Content and Chronology. All in all, this is a superb example of what local history societies should try to emulate in their own publications.

WORCESTERSHIRE & DUDLEY HISTORIC CHURCHES

by Bruce Watson

The Worcestershire & Dudley Historic Churches Trust was set up in 1993 with two aims. Firstly, to make grants for the preservation, repair and maintenance of any church within the diocese or county of Worcestershire. Secondly, the Trust aims to promote public awareness about the architecture and history of these churches. In 1995-96 grants totalling £19,500 were made to twenty churches for repair or restoration work.

Worcestershire contains a great number of historic parish churches which are much less well known than its city's cathedral or the remains of its great Benedectine abbeys/ priories at Evesham, Pershore and Malvern. The oldest standing fabric in many parish churches is Norman, yet the only known example of a parish church with probably Anglo-Saxon fabric is Sedgeberrow. Many parish churches contain internal features or fittings of considerable interest, including wall paintings at Martley; a Norman font at Chaddesley Corbett decorated with fierce, and intertwined dragons; or the late 12th century lectern at Norton which was found on the site of Evesham Abbey in 1813 and now restored to its original function. In 1997 to help people 'rediscover' the county churches the trust organised two Sunday afternoon tours which were led by Mike Wall.

Next year tours are planned to the churches of the Pershore and Stoke Prior area. Anyone interested in joining the trust should write to - Patrick Morton, 'Tree Tops', Dowles Road, Bewdley, Worcs, DY12 2RD.

ODDS & ENDS

Burne-Jones Centenary
Clergy and church wardens with Morris & Co stained glass may be interested in attending a conference on Burne-Jones which will be held at the University of Reading on Saturday and Sunday 28 & 29 March 1998.

1998 is the Centenary of the death of Burne-Jones and will be celebrated with at least two major conferences, one at Reading in the early part of the year, and one in Birmingham towards the end, plus a major exhibition which will visit Washington, Paris and Birmingham.

For further information on the Reading conference contact the Centre for Continuing Education, University of Reading, London Road, Reading RG1 5AQ (Tel: 0118-9318347).

The World Wide Web
Computer buffs may like to sample an electronic Churchcrawler. The address is:

http://members.aol.com/PMDraper10/homepage.htm

The Society is interested in establishing a web site and is investigating the possibilities. It would like to hear from anybody with the necessary experience who could assist with the project.

Summer Academy
The following courses may be of interest to readers:

4 July	Durham Cathedral
	Abbeys & Cathedrals of Wessex
18 July	Churches of East Anglia
25 July	Origins of Christianity in Britain
	Reformation & the Monasteries
1 Aug	Northumbrian Christianity
1 Aug	West Country Churches
	Celtic Christianity
	Art & Architecture in Victorian England
	Exploring Ancient Churches
8 Aug	Northumbrian Churches
	Wm Burges & the Gothic Revival
15 Aug	Canterbury a Cathedral City
	Heritage of Churches in Kent
22 Aug	Medieval Church

Fees vary between £370 and £460. The courses are held at various locations but details can be obtained from Andrea McDonnell, Summer Academy, Keynes College, The University, Canterbury, Kent CT2 7NP.

Church Tours by Jonathan Fryer
The first tour in 1998 will be in Kent. Later there will be tours in the Saffron Walden and Basingstoke areas, plus an autumn holiday in France. Details will be published in later issues of *Ecclesiology Today*.

The Kent tour will depart from Dover station at 10-20 am on Friday 17 April (to meet the 8.33 am from Victoria).

There will be visits to Guston (St Martin of Tours); Ringswould (St Nicholas); Deal (St Leonard); Sholden (St Nicholas) and Tilmanstone (St Andrew).

Lunch will be in Walmer or Deal, with afternoon cream tea at a hotel in Dover. The tour will end in Dover at about 6.00 pm.

The cost is £13.50 per person. Cheques should be made payable to J.K.FRYER and sent to him at 10 Coronation Road, Sheerness, Kent. Please send a stamped addressed envelope for your confirmation and enclose a contact telephone number.

These tours are privately run; they are not organised by the Society, though we do publicise them as they may be of interest to members. Jonathan Fryer has had a long association with the Society.

Gresham College Lectures
The following lectures have been arranged for the Spring of 1998 as part of an Art, Architecture & Religion theme.

2 March	The Grin Without the Cat Dr Mary Charles Murray
9 March	Speaking Stones Dr Lynne Broughton
16 March	Sacred Space: From the Temple to the Corporate Headquarters Revd Dr Martin Dudley
23 March	The Elusive Flight of Memory Patrick Reyntiens OBE

All lectures are free, they start at 1.00 pm, last one hour, and are held at Gresham College, Barnard's Inn Hall, Holborn (opposite the Prudential Assurance Building).

Church Clocks
When the minute hand fell from the church clock of St James, Bermondsey last September a parishioner abseiled down the tower and refixed it.

Little has been done to the bells of St John's Church at Waterloo since they were installed in the 1850s. How-

ever, the clock was stopped on July 19 and the mechanism and drive shafts have since been renovated and the bells retuned and rehung.

St Giles, Camberwell
This famous church by G.G.Scott has recently been awarded £966,000 from the National Lottery and £166,000 from English Heritage. The money will enable the spire - which is in danger - to be restored, the electrical wiring to be replaced and the interior to be decorated.

An earlier church was destroyed by fire in 1841, and then rebuilt by Scott & Moffatt between 1841-44. The east window was supposedly designed by Ruskin. The *Ecclesiologist* described the church as 'On the whole a magnificent work'.

Southwark Cathedral Organ
The Cathedral organ celebrated its centenary in 1997. It was built by Lewis & Co of Brixton and has many of its original parts.

Pugin's House
The Landmark Trust have bought Pugin's house (1843-44) which stands on the cliffside beside his Ramsgate church. As so often, the finance has been provided by the Lottery.

The house has been empty for some time and is much in need of restoration. The church - St Augustine's (mostly 1845-50) - continues to be used by the local Roman Catholic congregation, and by the monks who live across the road in the abbey which was largely designed by E.W.Pugin (1860-61).

Both the house and church are fine examples of Pugin's principles, being commissions in which he was free of the influence of a troublesome patron. Sadly he was not free from the economic realities of life, and so the church lacks the intended spire.

In a few years it will hopefully be possible for us all to experience a one-2-one with Pugin.

St Columba
A visitor centre has been opened at Fionnphort on Mull. It will introduce the public to Iona without causing damage to that rather special island. The opening ceremony was conducted by Mary Robinson, the Irish President.

Papal Knighthood
John Phillips, 70, the architect of Westminster Cathedral, has been given a Papal knighthood in recognition of his contribution to the Cathedral since 1976. In recent years he was responsible for panelling the nave.

Further Brighton Ecclesiology
Visitors to Brighton, including those of the political variety, may care to search out a few more of the interesting nineteenth century churches which so enliven the architecture of this seaside town.

In pride of place on the road into Brighton there is St Peter's which was designed in a picturesque form of Gothic by Charles Barry in 1824-28. As originally designed it had no chancel and was dominated by galleries and large pulpits. Subsequently the church was reordered, the galleries and pews being removed, while a new, very large, chancel was added by Somers Clarke in 1906.

More spectacular is St Michael & All Angels. This church started life in 1858-61 when G.F.Bodley designed what is now the south aisle, though as originally designed it comprised a nave, chancel, and two aisles. The congregations increased, and attempts were made to enlarge the church, though these were blocked because of the ritualistic practices which were supposed to go on there. Finally in 1893 the north aisle was demolished and a massive extension built to designs which had been produced somewhat earlier by William Burges.

Perhaps the most unusual Victorian church in Brighton is St Bartholomew's, a great barn of a church which is located just below the railway station. It was designed by a local architect - Edmund Scott - in 1872-74 and was funded by the Wagners. Again, like St Michael & All Angels, this church became involved in the great ritualistic debates, and there were plans to pierce the eastern wall and create a huge depiction of the Virgin Mary. These plans came to nothing, though even so what remains is a striking example of what the more enthusiastic high church vicars could achieve.

City Chamber Choir
Those who attended the 1996 will remember this excellent 40-strong choir. Their programme for 1998 is full of good things - the Kelly Crucifixion and Faure Requiem being performed on 31 March at St Bartholomew the Great. Phone for details of this and other events: Kate Cartmell, 0171 249 7368.

LATE NEWS

The 1998 Conference will be held on Saturday 3 October. Details will be given in the April edition of *Ecclesiology Today*.

At the most recent meeting of the Council it was decided to institute an annual Dykes Bower Memorial Lecture, in memory of our late President. This will be held at a prestigious London venue, and is likely to become a central feature of the Society's year. The inaugural lecture is currently planned to be held in December 1998. Professor Joe Mordaunt Crook (Professor of Architectural History at London University) has agreed to give the first lecture, his topic being Alexander James Beresford Hope, one of the founders of the Cambridge Camden Society.

DEADLINE FOR THE APRIL ISSUE IS 28th FEBRUARY