ECCLESIOLOGY TODAY

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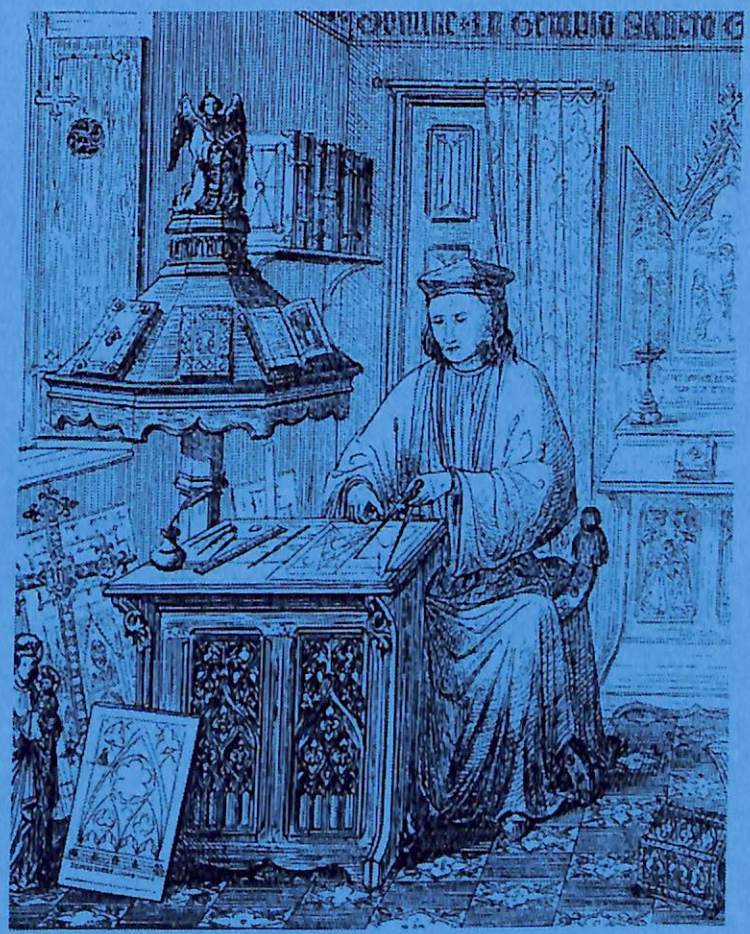

A W N Pugin (1812-52)

... they see the church, *id est*, they walk around, read the epitaphs, think it very pretty, very romantic, very old, suppose it was built in superstitious times, pace the length of the nave, write their names on a pillar, and whisk out, as they have a great deal more to see and very little time. (*Contrasts* 1841 p . 36)

SOCIETY NEWS

Post-reformation churches (1540 - 1660): formation of interest group

Following last year's conference, an interest group is being formed within the Society for those interested in post-Reformation churches, their interiors, and their use. Membership of the group is open to all members of the Society who have an interest in churches during this period, roughly defined as 1540 - 1660. You do not need to be an expert. This is the first interest group in the Society's 120-year history, and we look forward to seeing how it develops. If other members would like to explore the idea of forming other interest groups, please contact me or any member of the Council.

To find out more, telephone or write to me, or contact the convenor of the new interest group Matthew Reynolds. He can be contacted by email on mrr1640@AOL.com People who do not have email should contact me and I will forward a message onto him. There will be regular reports in *Ecclesiology Today*, advertising the group's activities.

Website

The Society's website has moved address. We are now at www.ecclsoc.org (note that we have got rid of the hyphen). The old address will stay live for the time being, and will link you across to the new address. Do visit the site if you are online.

Society job adverts

We need a news editor and we need newshounds. The news hounds will be people who are involved in organisations connected with churches, and don't mind being phoned a few times a year to see if there are any interesting stories.The news editor will chase up news stories (we can provide the initial leads), make sure the facts are correct, and write an unbiased paragraph or so for the newsletter. The person who did this a few years ago found that it took an hour or two a month on average, though he tended to do it in concentrated bursts just before a newsletter deadline!

You may recall that a couple of years ago we took the first steps towards setting up a register of members' interests. Some ninety members sent in their details. Unfortunately, a computer disaster meant that the register suffered an untimely death. We now wish to revive the whole idea, and are looking for a computer-literate member willing to take on the task. If you would like to explore the idea, please contact me for discussion of what it would entail. Do make contact if you would like to discuss what these jobs will involve.

Email

We want to start constructing a list of email addresses of members. Why? Well, we occasionally hear about conferences and such like at the last minute: for example, the Butterfield conference only just made it into the list of events published in January. And we sometimes receive interesting queries through our website which we could forward more widely with the click of a mouse.

If you'd like to register on the list, please email ecclsoc@aol.com. We will treat the list as confidential. And you will not be bombarded.

Events

A list of additional events is enclosed. In addition we have moved the date of the Henry Woodyer visit from 22 April to 21 October. Once again, our thanks to Chris Webster for co-ordinating the various events.

Annual General Meeting

Our Annual General Meeting is on Tuesday 20 June. You will find the agenda enclosed. Before the AGM there will be a lecture on the archaeology of St Bride's Church, given by Dr Gustav Milne who has recently written an important book on the subject. I and other Council members look forward to meeting you there.

Trevor Cooper
Chairman of Council

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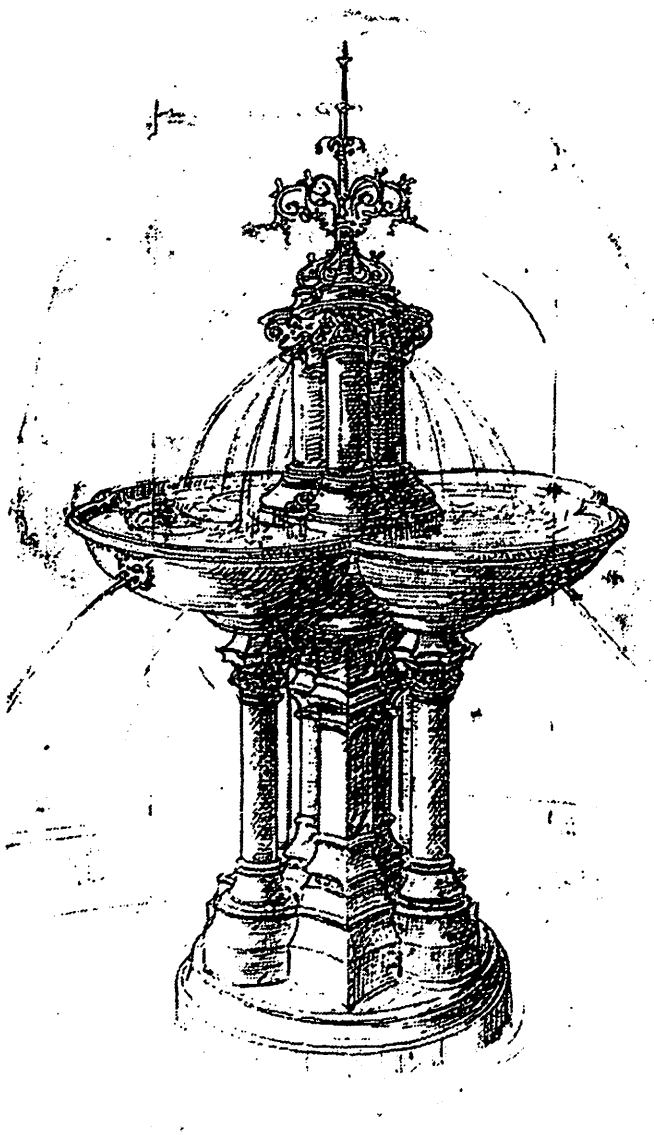
PUGIN, ST OSMUND AND SALISBURY

by John Elliott

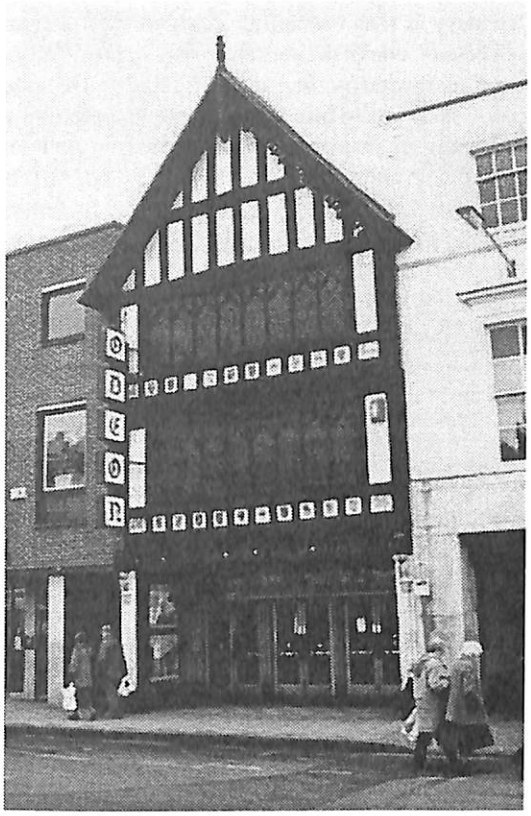
For most, the name of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-52) means the Victorian Gothic Revival, decorative detail within the House of Lords, his house and church at Ramsgate and St Giles at Cheadle which he designed for Lord Shrewsbury in 1841. Only infrequently does one think of Salisbury. Yet Pugin lived on the outskirts of Salisbury for a few years, he handled several architectural commissions in or near the town,[1] and it was in Salisbury that he converted to Roman Catholicism. It was also from Salisbury that he published his didactic comment on the supposed progress of the nineteenth century, *Contrasts*. This suggested, through a carefully selected series of illustrations, that the architectural works of the medieval period were far superior to those of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the cause of the degeneracy being the Reformation. So let us explore the link between Pugin and this Cathedral city in the light of these ideas, and especially his attempt to build within it a representation of his beloved Catholic medieval England.[2] Let us also consider some previously unpublished drawings by Pugin which are held by the Wiltshire Records Office.



Fountain designed by Pugin in 1836 for Col Baker
(Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office)

Having buried his first wife at Christchurch Priory during 1832,[3] Pugin had initially intended to build a house nearby.[4] However, his father persuaded him otherwise, and after marrying again in 1833,[5] and the arrival of another child in 1834,[6] he settled on a piece of land at Alderbury on the southern outskirts of Salisbury and began work building a new home - St Marie's Grange - there in 1835.[7] According to Pugin the site provided 'a magnificent view of the cathedral and city with the river Avon winding through the beautiful valley'.[8] It was here that Pugin created his own personalised brick and stone vision of a 'compleat building of the 15th century':[9] three floors, a spiral staircase, parlour, library, chapel, two bedrooms and domestic quarters, with stunning vistas across the Avon valley and down into Salisbury,[10] of which Pugin said 'I have never seen a pleasanter city.'[11]

We do not know why Pugin decided to live near Salisbury. Clearly its magnificent cathedral was an attraction to a romantic medievalist like Pugin. But Salisbury also had more than its fair share of surviving domestic medieval buildings, including one, which by 1834, had become an inn. This medieval house had been erected in the centre of Salisbury by a local wool merchant, John Halle, between 1470 and 1483, though in the succeeding centuries the great hall had been panelled and divided into two floors. In 1834 Pugin set about removing these changes and restoring much of the building to how he thought it would have looked originally, per-



John Halle's house. Restored by Pugin 1834

sonally decorating the chimney piece.[12] In a somewhat different vein he also designed a fountain for Colonel Edward Baker who lived in St Anne's Street.[13] Pugin's drawing is an excellent example of his very early design style and of an interest which included medieval inspired designs for metalwork.[14]

In the early 1800s Salisbury had an active Roman Catholic community; in fact the area around Salisbury had a strong recusant tradition. For many years there was a secret chapel in the manor house of the Webb family at Odstock,[15] and from about 1765 there was a Catholic presence in the centre of Salisbury. Mass was said at Mrs Arundell's house at the end of Rosemary Lane in the Cathedral Close,[16] then in an attic of a house in St Thomas's Square,[17] briefly in a house by the north gate of the Close until the Dean and Chapter objected,[18] in Chapel House on Brown Street from 1803,[19] and then, from 1812, in a more permanent chapel on the upper floor of a building in St Martin's Lane at the top of St Anne's Street.[20]

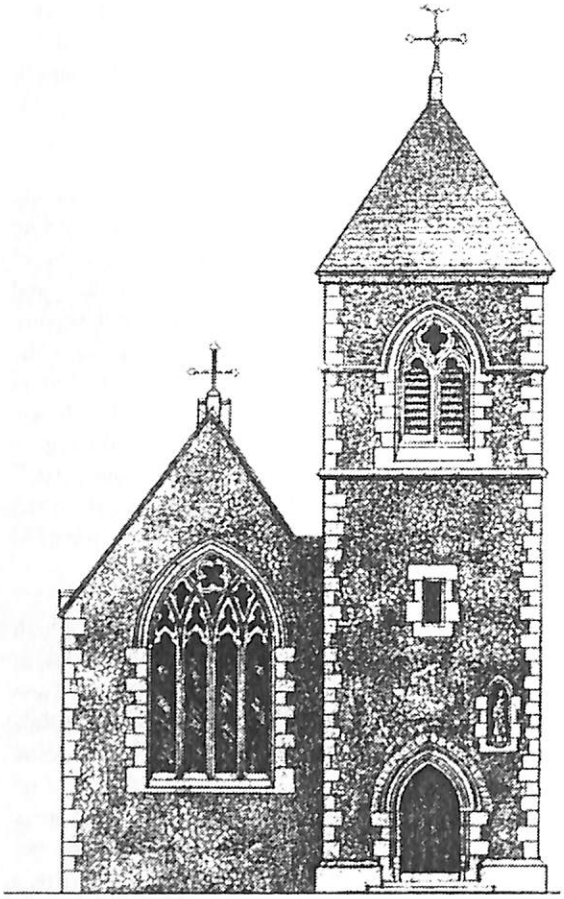
It was in St Martin's Lane, in the 'miserable room which served as chapel for the Catholics of Salisbury',[21] that Pugin was received into the Roman Catholic Church on 6 June 1835. He had become involved with Salisbury's Catholics shortly after moving to Salisbury, and had undertaken some improvement to their little chapel. By 24 March 1835 he had finished a new altar and in early June he started altering and painting the chancel, all of which was finished by the day he was 'received into [the] Holy Catholic church.'[22] Typically, his enthusiasm for things Catholic meant that he started assisting at Mass on the altar the next day and

> officiated as an acolyte having no youth in our congregation capable of serving with becoming decorum. Our dresses which are handsome and quite correct were worked by the ladies of the chapel and I assure you you would hardly know me when issuing from the sacristy door in full canonicals.[23]

Not surprisingly Salisbury was considered too remote from London for an ambitious architect, and, perhaps more importantly, Pugin's wife had been ill for much of the time they had lived there. So on 20 September 1837 the Pugin family left Salisbury for lodgings in Chelsea,[24] their house remaining empty until Pugin sold it for £500 in 1841.[25]

Pugin had, however, made many friends during his short stay in Salisbury. John Lambert (1815-92) was one of these, a Catholic of some distinction who became mayor of Salisbury in 1854.[26] As Catholic confidence grew there emerged a desire for a new and much grander chapel than the simple affair in St Martin's Lane and, in 1846, Pugin was asked to produce drawings for a chapel that would be erected on a piece of land on Exeter Street. This was to be the gift of two laymen; Lambert would finance the building and another local Catholic, John Peniston, would provide the land.[27]

The site on Exeter Street was not only immediately outside the Cathedral Close, but almost in line with the Cathedral's eastern end. The Cathedral held the shrine of St Osmund, so Salisbury's Catholics were determined to dedicate their church to him as well. This might seem rather odd to our current sensibilities but very logical to those who lived in the mid-nineteenth century and central to Pugin's claim for the English Catholicism he spoke of. Still writing in Pugin's romantic and nostalgic 'Catholic' mood Trappes-Lomax explained how:



St Osmund west end c. 1847
(Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office)

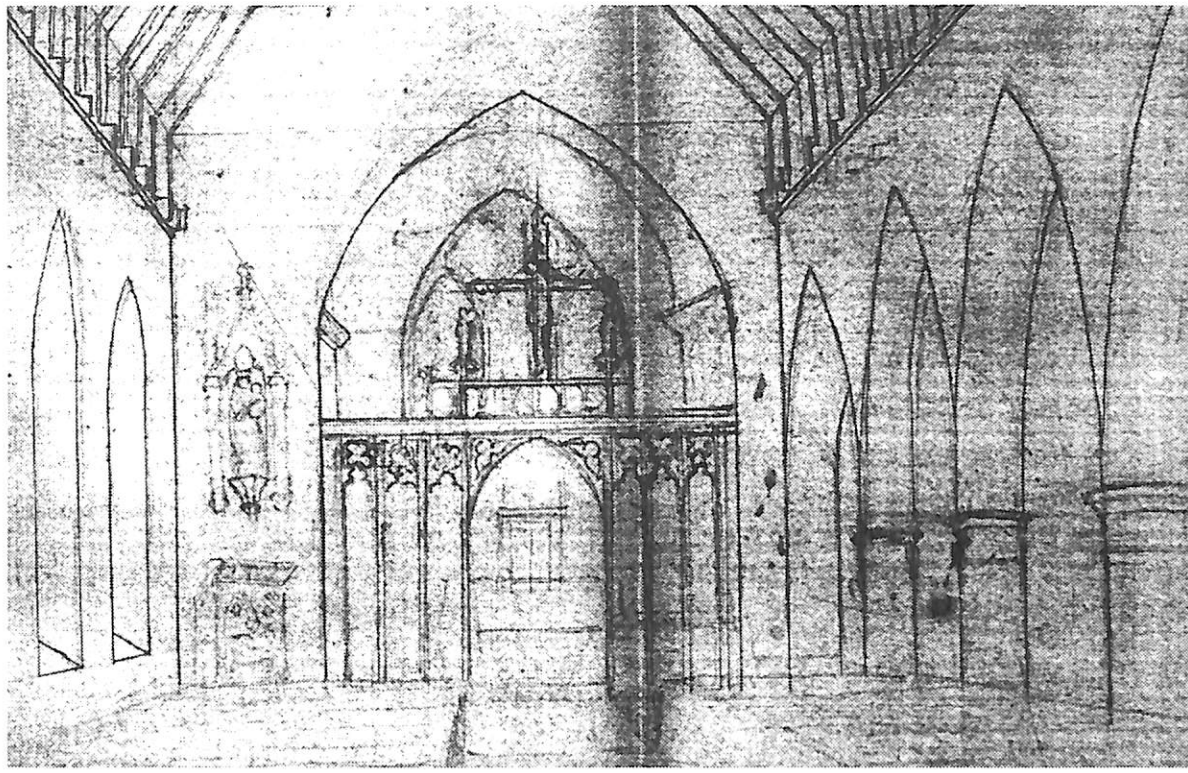
in Salisbury is that Cathedral, charged with a richness of beauty, one of the supreme works of the Catholic mind, mellowed by time and mutilated by the hand of man, which was to him [Pugin] both an inspiration and an agony: an inspiration, for it expresses the liveliness and adoration; an agony, for the wonder of its glass had been shattered by reforming zeal, its tombs and figures had been mauled and scrawled in the incredible vulgarity of sightseers, and over its fabric the fell energy of Wyatt and others had been allowed full sway. And in Salisbury is that little church of St Osmund, which was the best that Pugin was enabled to do to replace the Cathedral as a home of the Mass.[28]

So St Osmund's Catholic heritage, originally vested in the Cathedral, had been despoiled by the reformer's zeal and then, in 1789, savaged by Wyatt, whom Pugin described as 'this monster of architectural depravity'.[29] Having been given the opportunity to design a Roman Catholic church for Salisbury, St Osmund's became Pugin's attempt to right the evils which he felt had been done. The humble Catholic chapel was to replace the Cathedral as the 'true' symbol of Catholicism.

The foundation stone was laid by the Rev Dr Ullathorne, Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District,[30] on 8 April 1847.[31] In a somewhat propagandist report which was perhaps written or inspired by Lambert, the *Salisbury Journal* reported how 'numerous clergy' celebrated the event which was enhanced by 'an able choir' and the presence of local dignitaries, including Lord Arundell the Catholic peer, who laid the second stone.[32] A simple flint church with ashlar



The 'miserable room' in which Pugin converted to Catholicism



St Osmund interior c. 1847 (Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office)

stone dressings started to rise up: chancel, nave, south aisle, south aisle chapel, south western tower topped by a simple low broached spire and a sacristy beyond the eastern end of the south aisle with an organ gallery above. All in a style that the Salisbury Journal described as fourteenth-century *'decor*ated',[33] and the Builder, in a less gushing report, referred to as an 'Early Decorated style'.[34]

Pugin visited the site only once, on 14 October 1847,[35] presumably because he had complete faith in the builder and work was progressing rapidly. One particular drawing in the Wiltshire Records Office evidences his methodology as a designer and his relationship with the builder and his specialist suppliers. This shows part of Pugin's encaustic tile designs for St Osmunds, his designs f*or three types of* tile and the way these would be used. This particular *drawing* would most probably have been made during Pugin's visit on 14 October 1847 and then passed to either Myers, his builder, or Minton, his tile manufacturer. Having completed his design in outline Pugin was content to leave his trusted co-workers to execute what he had created.

On 2 September 1848 the Salisbury Journal announced that the church would be consecrated on Wednesday 6 September by the Rt. Rev Bishop Hendren and then opened with a solemn Mass of dedication on 7 September at 10-30 am.[36] There would be Vespers and Benediction in the evening. The Mass would be sung in plainchant of St Gregory, and while admission was free, those who wished to attend would require a ticket because demand was expected to exceed the supply of seats.[37]

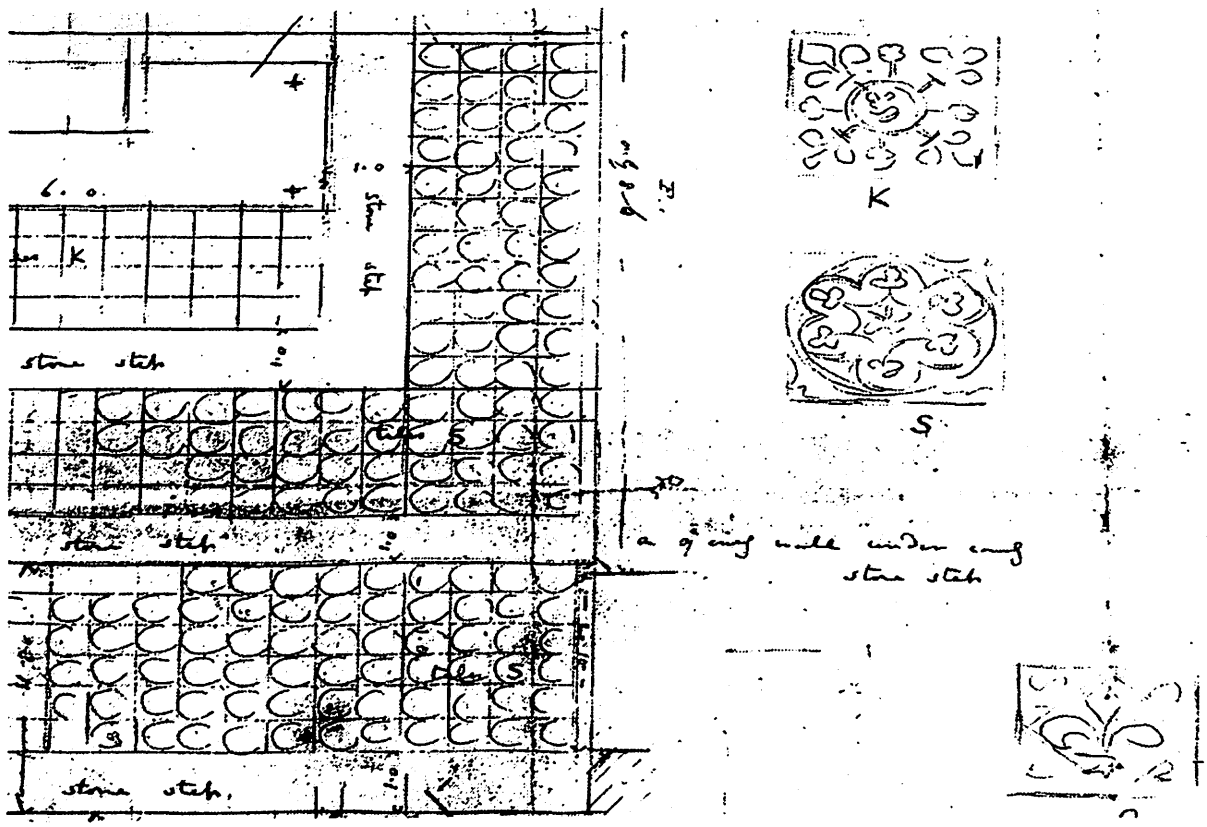
The resulting building is both beautiful and simple. Despite its limited size the proportions are wel*l balanced, the m*aterials simple and the overall effect one of beauty. Or as Trappes-Lomax put it 'In spite of its meagreness, St Osmund's has a certain charm - the charm of the inexpensive miniature'. The 'Arches [were] pleasing of proportions, the pillars sufficiently sturdy, the simple rood-screen stands before an unexceptional chancel. The impression given is of dignified poverty.'[38]

Outside the simple flint and stone were elaborated by a statue of St Osmund which stood in a niche above the western door. Inside, the separately gabled south aisle was illuminated by two-light windows, while there was a

four-light window at the western end of the nave and a simple three-light window above the altar at the eastern end of the chancel. The chancel and nave were separated by an oak screen topped by depictions of the Crucifixion, Mary and John, while the chancel was sub-divided into a choir and sanctuary with a sedilia and an organ loft which was no doubt a reflection of Lambert's passion for music. The walls were richly decorated, the ceiling painted and gilded, and the floor paved with encaustic tiles. A low stone pulpit, much like a reading desk, stood to the left of the chancel arch, and was decorated with a carving of the Lamb while above was a niche complete with a statue of Mary and the infant Jesus. The altar was of stone, the front with five niches, the centre one containing a statue of St Osmund, while the side niches contained depictions of angels carrying appropriate texts.[39] The Lady Chapel was also separated from the aisle by an oak screen, there was stained glass depicting the Annunciation and the whole was fitted out with furniture Pugin designed. The walls were decorated with azure blue, representing perfection, and fleurs-de-lys, or white lilies, for purity and innocence. The nave and aisle were fitted out with simple low benches with space for about 300. The Builder estimated the cost at between £2000 and £3000.40

Some of the windows were fitted with stained glass which was designed by Pugin and made by his friend, John Hardman of Birmingham. The Salisbury Journal described the glass as 'unsurpassed by any modern glass we have seen'.[41] Perhaps the depictions in the three lights above the main altar seem to challenge the belief that mid-nineteenth century Anglicans and Roman Catholics saw each other in hostile terms. The central light depicts St Osmund with the patron saints of the adjacent Anglican churches on either side: St Thomas of Canterbury on the right and St Martin on the left. However, it is perhaps more likely that the selection represented some sort of competition between *the denominations* over ownership of the saints.

In the chancel side window there is a depiction of Saints Peter and Paul, the early leaders of the church. There are three more stained glass windows in the south aisle and its chapel,[42] the most interesting, showing St John and St Veronica, was dedicated to John Lambert and his wife who had funded the church, and who are depicted in much the same way as medieval donors.



Pugin floor tile design (Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office)

The Salisbury Journal described the whole composition as 'small and unpretending', but it

> bespeaks itself as the production of one thoroughly conversant with the principles of Christian art; and we may add, that amongst the many beautiful edifices with which the skill and ability of Pugin has adorned our country, none more sustains his deserved celebrity than does the church of St Osmund, at Salisbury.[43]

The western window was set with stained glass in 1893[44] and a north aisle was added in 1894 by E Doran Webb (1864-1931). The style is largely sympathetic to Pugin's original work, though the aisle projects slightly beyond the nave at the western end. More importantly the south arcade and south wall were rebuilt, Pugin's two plain columns in the south arcade being replaced with three more elaborate ones to match those Doran Webb intended for the north arcade, while the southern wall of the south aisle was rebuilt with an extra set of windows.[45]

Since then some other changes have been made, though these have not destroyed Pugin's dream. The oak screens have been removed and, following Vatican II, a second wooden altar was erected at the eastern end of the nave. Pugin's pulpit is no more and the font has been relocated. The chancel walls were whitewashed in the 1960s but were repainted in the 1980s, largely as an exact copy of the original,[46] and stained glass commemorating the forty English Martyrs has been installed in the northern aisle.

So despite one hundred and fifty years usage the church remains much as Pugin intended it:[47] a statement of mid-nineteenth century Roman Catholicism within an area Anglicanism would have liked to dominate.[48] No doubt Pugin would also have claimed that the Anglican churches of St Edmund, Martin and Thomas all originated in 'Catholic' times and had not been much improved by subsequent Anglican occupants. St Osmund's would show the way forward, it would be a statement of Pugin's new Catholicism, of his architectural way forward: honest, simple and truthful. Just as Pugin's Contrasts set out to compare the correct with the incorrect, so also, for Pugin, St Osmund's did much the same: it provided a true 'Catholic' alternative to the now 'Protestant' Cathedral.

Notes

1 In addition to the commissions mentioned in this article he was also responsible for designing an Elizabethan style gate lodge to Clarendon Park for Lady Bathurst.

2 For a discussion of Pugin as a church architect see Roderick O'Donnell, 'Pugin as a Church Architect' in P Atterbury & C Wainwright, Pugin a Gothic Passion (1994).

3 Pugin and Anne Garnet (1814-32) had lived in Great Russell Street, London with his parents. She died on 27 May giving birth to their first child - Anne - and was buried in the north aisle of Christchurch Priory choir on 15 June 1832. The spot was later marked by a marble slab and Pugin also designed and presented an oak altar table to the church.

4 See Benjamin Ferrey, Recollections of A N Pugin and his father Augustus Pugin (1862; 1972 ed), pp 68-71.

5 Louisa Burton (c1813-44).

6 Edward Welby Pugin born 11 March 1834.

7 His diary entry for 26 January 1835 says that work had started on the house. The family had lived in Ramsgate prior to their move to Alderbury.

8 Phoebe Stanton, Pugin (1971), p 14.

9 Ferrey p 72.

10 Pugin produced two designs and the first of these is illustrated in Ferrey (p 72). The house was subsequently altered. For more details see Alexandra Wedgwood, 'Domestic Architecture' in P Atterbury & C Wainwright, Pugin a Gothic Passion (1994) pp 43-45; Ferrey (pp 72-4); Stanton (pp 15-18).

11 Letter to William Osmund, January 1834, cited in Ferrey p 86.

12 See Alexandra Wedgwood, A W N Pugin and the Pugin Family (1985) p 75; Ferrey p 100 and Stanton p 196. The house was incorporated into the Gaumont Cinema in 1931 and today forms the entrance foyer of the Odeon.

13 Pugin completed the drawing on 29 July 1836 and charged £3.8.0. See Wedgwood p 35.

14 In particular see Designs for Gold & Silversmiths (1836).

15 Two miles south of Salisbury. For an authoritative account of post Reformation Roman Catholicism in Wiltshire see Catholic Record Society volumeJ Anthony Williams, Recuscany in Wiltshire (1968).

16 John Peniston tells us that a Catholic chapel existed in Loders (no 23) in the Close in 1784 or 5 when Mrs Thomas Arundell lived there. See J Peniston, Religious Reminiscences (Wiltshire Records Office ref 451). John Peniston (c1779-1848) was an architect and friend of Pugin's. Many of his papers, including memories of Catholicism in Salisbury, are in the Wiltshire Records Office. For biographical details see H Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (1995) pp 747-8.

17 Peniston says that the house was occupied by Misses Portman and a chapel was created on the first floor.
18 Peniston says that this house was occupied by his father.
19 In 1798. Again a chapel was erected on the first floor.
20 See Catholic Records Society volume J Anthony Williams, Recuscany in Wiltshire (1968), Bernard W Kelly, English Catholic Missions (1909), St Osmund's and Catholic Salisbury (Salisbury 1997) which is available from the church £3 and the Victoria *History of the Counties of England: Wiltshire vol. iii pp* 87-98 & vol. vi pp 155-6.
21 Michael Trappes-Lomax, Pugin a Medieval Victorian (1932) p 59.
22 He began painting the chapel on 3 June 1835 and had completed the work by 6 June when he was received into the church. Wedgwood p 33.
23 Cited in Stanton p 23.
24 Their possessions followed in March 1838. See *diaries in Wedgwood 1*-3 & 7 March 1838.
25 His diary refers to the sale as taking place *on 21 June.*
26 Lambert was a Poor Law inspector in 1857; he superintended administration of *the Public Works Act 1865; was receiver of the Metropol*itan Common Poor Fund 1867; permanent secretary to the local Go*vernment board 1871-82; K*CB 1879; Privy Councillor 1885; and the author of several musical publications. See Dictionary of National Biography for further information.
27 Peniston died in 1848 and is commemorated by a monument which Pugin designed and which is located close to the church. Pugin's drawings for the church are still held by the parish priest. The total cost was £4,039 of which Lambert paid £3,367.
28 Trappes-Lomax p 51.
29 Ferrey pp 73 & 85 for details.
30 The Pope re-established a Roman Catholic hierarchy of Bishops and diocese in 1850; before then there were eight 'Districts' each headed by a Vicar-Apostolic.
31 Pugin was not there, *his diaries recording that he was* in France, travelling from Tours to Loches and back to Tours before travelling on to Poitiers. An account of the ceremony appeared in the *Tablet* 17 April 1847, p 247.
32 Salisbury Journal 10 April 1847 p 4.
33 Ibid 9 September 1848 p 3.
34 Builder 7 October 1848 p 490. This church was built at the same time as Pugin was erecting his own church, St Augustine's in Ramsgate. There are many similarities between the two: nave and single aisle, flint and stone, little articulation, separately gabled. In addition the west window of St Osmund has elongated pointed trefoils like the east window of St Augustine. This trefoil form was used by Pugin at Newcastle in 1844. [Information from Libby Horner and Gill Hunter].
35 He *returned after the* church was consecrated, on 21-22 September 184*8, when* he was en-route from Dorchester to Winchester and London. A description of the church, possibly by Pugin, appeared in the *Tablet* 30 Sept 1848, p 628.
36 Pugin was not present. He was in Scotland on his wedding tour visiting Belford, Edinburgh and Roslin on the 7th and Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and Stirling on the 8th. A description of the consecration appeared in the *Tablet* 9 Sept 1848, pp 579-80.
37 Salisbury Journal 2 September 1848 p 4.
38 Trappes-Lomax p 52. Pugin's desire for structural honesty is seen in the alignment of the nave and chancel, the latter being slightly off-centre because the pulpit was placed on the north side of the chancel arch.
39 The altar, pulpit and rood were executed by Myers.
40 For a description see the Builder 7 October 1848 p 490 and Salisbury Journal 9 September 1848 p 3. A model of the church was made by Mr Thomas Walter of Catherine Street. See Salisbury Journal 9 September 1848 p 3.
41 Salisbury Journal 9 S*eptember 1848 p 3.*
42 The window in the Lady chapel was presented by Pugin.
43 Salisbury Journal 9 September 1848 p 3.
44 By Mayer & Co of Munich. It depicts the baptism of Christ in the Jordan.
45 See Trappes-Lomax p 52.
46 Decoration was added to the front face of the chancel arch. Information obtained from Canon Thomas Atth*ill.*
47 It is one of three Roman *Catholic churches* in Salisbury. Mass is celebrated every day and three times on Sunday.
48 There were also several P*rotestant dissent*ing groups in the city.

[Thanks to Geoff Brandwood, Sue Branfoot, Trevor Cooper, Dale Dishon, Roy Hargreave, Libby Horner, Gill Hunter, Rory O'Donnell, John Pritchard and Rosamund Reid, all of whom read and commented upon an earlier version of this article. I am also grateful to the Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office for permission to reproduce certain drawings from their collection. I am especially grateful to Rory O'Donnell for his advice on recuscany in Wiltshire and for his observations on a number of drawings which are held in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office.]

DESTRUCTION AND RENEWAL: THE PHYSICAL IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION ON SUSSEX c.1540 - 1640

by Joan Barham

The Reformation is usually associated with the idea of loss and destruction of church property in dioceses across England and Wales. As the map indicates, this was clearly the case with Sussex. What is often not appreciated, however, is that maintenance, refurbishing and rebuilding - often on a large scale - took place well before the late seventeenth-century which is so commonly associated with the revival of the Anglican church. Furthermore, a considerable amount of the work preceded the alterations associated with the Arminians in the 1630s. These maps aim to illustrate a number of features of such repair work and rebuilding which can be identified in Sussex. The maps, based on parish boundaries known in the nineteenth century, reveal how the diocese was roughly coterminous with the county of Sussex; north Ambersham later united with the parish of Fernhurst and Lamberhurst became part of Kent. The diocese was divided into the archdeaconries of Chichester - comprising the deaneries of Midhurst, Boxgrove, Arundel and Storrington, and Lewes - comprising the deaneries of Lewes, Pevensey, Dallington and Hastings. There were also several peculiars, areas outside the jurisdiction of the Bishop; most belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury notably the Pallants in Chichester, and Pagham and Tarring where Archbishop Becket had palaces. Other peculiars belonged to the Dean of Chichester, as well as the royal peculiar of Battle, a particularly rich living.

The religious houses - abbeys, priories, friaries, nunneries and monastic hospitals - which existed throughout Sussex prior to the Reformation are marked; it is noteworthy that many were situated in the southern half of the county and near the main rivers like the Arun and the Adur. The exceptions to this were those in the wealden area of East Sussex near Frant and Salehurst and those in the north-west among the forested areas close to the Hampshire borders. Several of these were 'alien' houses governed from abbeys in Northern France. Sele Priory at Upper Beeding was an example of an 'alien' house under the jurisdiction of the Abbey of Seez.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries commenced with the closure of all religious houses whose value was less than £200, but by 1538 the larger and more valuable properties had also become targets for closure. The mid sixteenth century thus witnessed large-scale land transfer in Sussex from ecclesiastical to lay ownership. The map seeks to illustrate the findings of new research that reveals that Sussex churches benefited from greater care and attention between the Reformation and the Restoration than has been commonly thought. The process of adapting the church buildings to comply with the new requirements of Protestant worship was not an easy matter and involved parishes in a great deal of expense. However, the degree to which parishes were prepared to comply varied considerably; some embraced the new religion eagerly whilst others conformed outwardly only as much as was needed to avoid punishment.

Expenditure on church buildings has been shown on the map in three ways. First, work to the fabric of the church, all of which involved substantial, expensive building projects costing tens to hundreds of pounds. These include the alteration, strengthening or rebuilding of towers which could be connected to the way in which bell ringing changed at this time. Porches were also built or altered during this period for use as schoolrooms, or for marriage ceremonies and as 'offices' for the administrative work of the church. A number of chapels were added to existing churches, as at Slaugham.

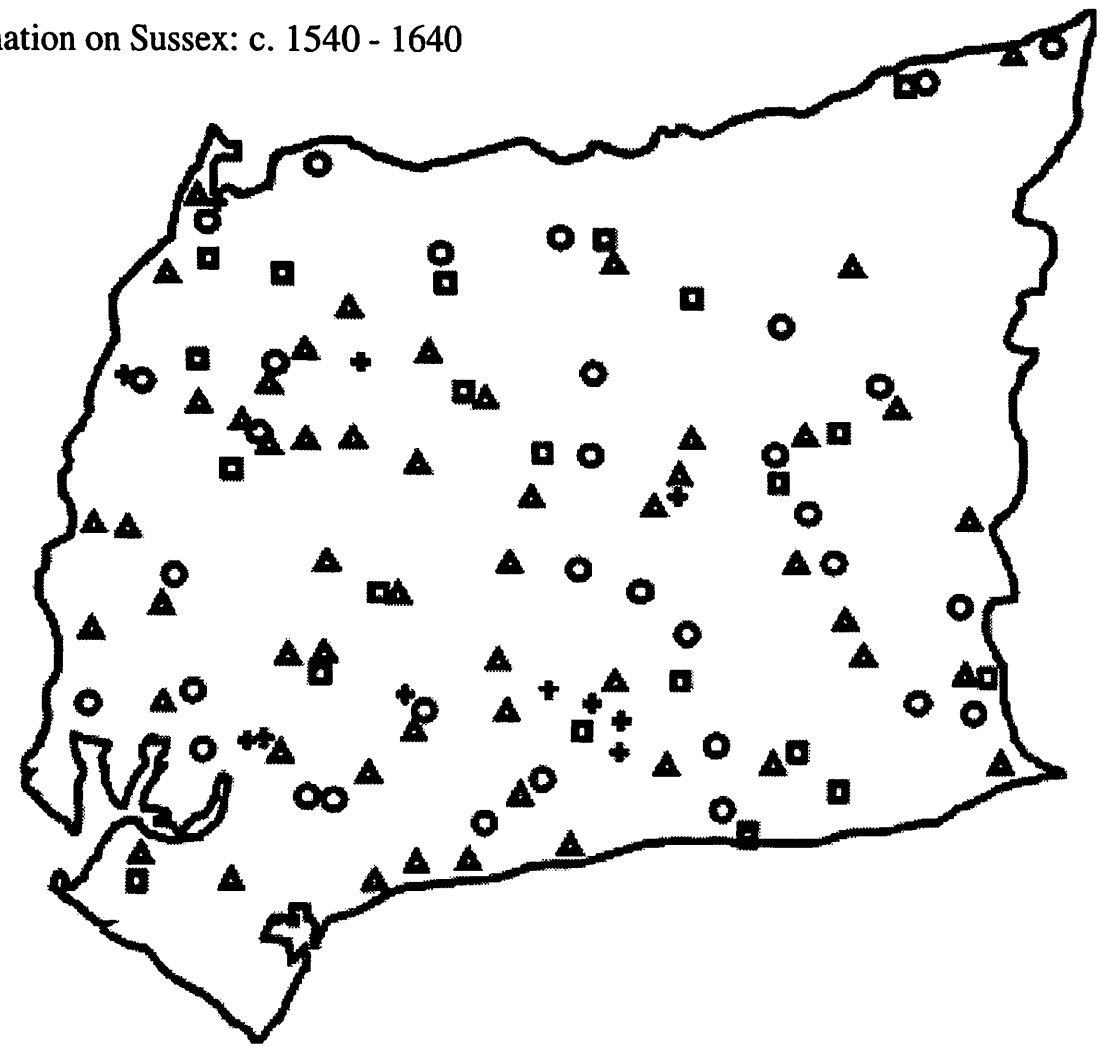
It is difficult to date church roofs exactly but it is clear that many were being replaced at this time by stronger materials such as Horsham Slab, a local building material quarried, as the name suggests, around Horsham. The number of churches affected by roof repair is significant. Although not known as a great period of church building, five churches were newly built in Sussex between 1520 and 1630, namely East Guldeford, Twineham, Milland, Tuxlith Chapel, Egdean and South Malling. The second way of showing expenditure concerns the furnishings of the churches. The map indicates buildings in which pulpits, altar rails, fonts and galleries can still be seen dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many churches had these items destroyed during the restorations of the Victorian period, however; several still survive. These changes may have cost little in comparison with the structural work, but they figured in some major liturgical controversies of the day.

The Physical Impact of the Reformation on Sussex: c. 1540 - 1640

First map: West Sussex

Second map: East Sussex

- Religious Houses lost at the Reformation.
- Church revealing evidence of repair to / building of towers, porches and chapels.
- Church revealing evidence of alteration to furnishings, including pulpits, altar rails.
- Churches with bells acquired during the late sixteenth / early seventeenth century.



Lastly, there is expenditure on bells. The number of parishes that bought new or additional bells was so many that they warrant individual recognition. The change in the use of bells at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the precursor to the uniquely English "sport" of change ringing which flourished during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The symbol indicating bells is the most prolific on the map. Bells were an expensive item, and expenditure did not only stop at buying the bells themselves. New bellframes were needed to take the different shape of the bells, which were shorter and fatter in order to revolve completely in the frame. This put a lot of pressure on the tower housing the bells, the consequence being that they may have needed strengthening or even rebuilding.

The map provokes many questions. For example, about the differences between east and west Sussex - there appears to have been more expenditure on churches in the smaller, less wealthy parishes to the west than in the larger, generally wealthier parishes to the east. Also, questions arise regarding the influence of the cathedral on the immediate region, as well as possible patterns relating to the wealth of livings and patronage.

In conclusion, the large number of symbols marked on the map suggest that the period from 1540 to 1640 witnessed continued healthy interest in the state of parish churches, possibly evidence of the success of the Protestant Reformation in England. Not only was money spent on the required liturgical changes but also on more costly, substantial building projects.

The article has arisen from current research for an M.Phil. thesis on The Impact of the Reformation on the fabric and furnishings of churches in Sussex c.1540 - 1640. It was distributed to those attending the Society's conference in 1999.

EN AVANT WITH THE PUGIN SOCIETY

by Catriona Blaker

As Hon. Secretary of the Pugin Society, I am delighted to have been invited by your Editor to write a short piece in *Ecclesiology Today*. It is surely very important that societies with like-minded and overlapping interests should work together harmoniously, thereby promoting their similar aims and areas of study. Pugin, in a sense the greatest Ecclesiologist of them all, is dear to our collective hearts, and I am particularly pleased that a brief account of the Society should be included in an issue in which A W N P appears not only on the cover but also as the subject of John Elliott's article on Pugin's connections with Salisbury. Indeed, this is an idea for an outing we have not yet broached - a pleasure in store, no doubt ...

The principle aim of the Pugin Society, as described by the Charity Commission, is 'to educate the public in the life and work of A.W.N. Pugin and of the other architects and designers in his family'. This gives us a very wide area of study, since not only was Augustus Pugin hugely prolific in many fields, but there is also his father, A. C. Pugin, to consider, and what about Edward, (1834-1875) his second child - in whom scholarly interest grows apace - his seventh child, 'Peter Paul' Pugin (1851-1904), and his son-in-law John Hardman Powell (1827-1895) who became chief designer for Hardman's on Pugin's death?

The Society also hopes, along with other interested groups, to assist in bringing pressure to bear on inappropriate use of Pugin buildings and to protect them and their contents whenever possible, and at the moment is closely involved in monitoring proposals for alterations at The Grange, Pugin's own home in Ramsgate, a building of innovatory architectural importance. Whenever possible, we try to publicise to our members the plight of any building by a member of the Pugin family which is in need of financial and moral support, such as Edward Pugin's St Francis, Gorton, Manchester, for example. We have also recently heard, with alarm, of the proposed re-ordering at St Colman's Cathedral (E.W. Pugin and G.C. Ashlin) Cove, Ireland, and hope to be able to assist and influence in this issue, with the help and advice of our experts. The Society is very fortunate to be encouraged by the leading exponents in the field of Pugin studies, without whom it could not function in the same way or hope to keep the same high academic standards, which we believe to be very important.

The Pugin Society started in 1995, following the splendid Exhibition at the V&A the previous year; this, though, was not the only trigger. Anyone reading *Pugin: a Gothic Passion*, the book which accompanied that exhibition, may have noticed that it was dedicated to Dom Bede Millard, OSB. 'Dom Bede', as many knew him, never faltered at Ramsgate in the task of keeping interest in Pugin buoyant, when the lights of enthusiasm were burning less brightly. He showed interested parties round the sites, maintained links to the world of scholarship beyond Ramsgate, and, with great foresight, built up much invaluable archival material. It was his untimely death, just before the exhibition, which caused one of our founder members to feel that we owed it to him to carry on, and another (myself) to think that this was a good moment to harness a recently-discovered interest (ie, Pugin) to the founding of a Society.

Much water has flown under the bridge since then ; we now have 247 members, some of whom are descendants of A.W.P. himself, and others in Australia - where Pugin's work can be seen in Tasmania, Queensland and New South Wales (what a Society trip *that* would be) - Israel, Ireland, Canada, New Zealand and USA. A Committee member has built a Pugin website (pugin.com), which has brought us new members and much Pugin-based correspondence, some of a most interesting and revelatory nature. We also have a biannual newsletter, *True Principles*, which happily seems to be almost self-propagating; there are never-ending aspects in our field to be mined, and it would appear that there is no lack of scholars and enthusiasts wishing to impart and share their discoveries with us and with each other.

The Society has enjoyed some wonderful residential outings, particularly under the leadership of Rory O'Donnell and Alexandra Wedgwood. These have included visits to Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Birmingham, and - most recently - Liverpool and Manchester. These are architecturally eye-opening occasions, and also times for shared pleasures and laughter. Exciting events are planned for the future, and our next away weekend will see us in beautiful Worcestershire - an excellent jumping-off point for Pugin and related sites - from 13th-16th July. Lectures and one-day events (our last in Canterbury, just before Christmas) are also enjoyable, and a tradition has grown up, in memory of Pugin's avidity for topographical watercolours, of a sketching day, when members draw and paint Kentish churches, and details thereof.

To conclude, as Alexandra Wedgwood points out in her introduction to her edited version of 'Pugin in his home' by John Hardman Powell (*Architectural History*, Vol.31, 1988) Powell refers to his memoir as 'a rude hasty portrait ... which would never have been made had not the memory of Pugin's work become dim in a quarter of a century'. The Pugin Society is committed to making quite sure that this will not happen again; we do not think it likely.

If you would like further details about the Pugin Society, please contact me at: 122 Grange Road, Ramsgate, Kent CT11 9PT, or tel: 01843 596401

THE PARISH CHURCHES OF NORWICH

2nd-4th June 2000 at Wensum Lodge, Norwich

(this is not an Ecclesiological Society tour)

Norwich, as is well-known, has the highest concentration of surviving mediaeval churches in Europe. Of an original 55, 31 are still standing - and eight are still in regular use as parish churches. The others have been converted to a variety of (usually) sympathtic uses - museums, arts centres, antique centres, etc.

This weekend course will examine this provision, and relate the churches to their urban landscape. Saturday will be spent on a tour of many of the churches - some of which are not usually accessible to the public. We shall also look at their history over the years, notable furnishings and events, and current solutions to the over-provision.

Nick Groves, who will lead the course, is a tutor in Extra-mural Studies at the University of East Anglia, where he teaches classes in church history, archaeology, and mediaeval language and literature. Full details and bookings etc from Vanessa Bowron, Wensum Lodge, King Street, Norwich, NR1 1QW; 01603-666021. Wensum Lodge is the adult education centre in the middle of Norwich. Accommodation is available.

CREATING A DIGITAL ATLAS OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE

by Cameron Newham

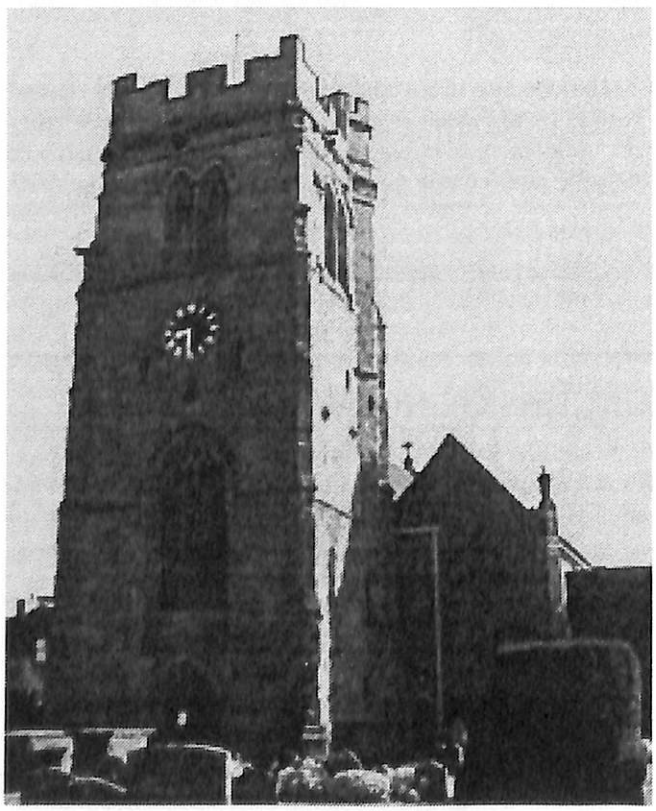
Imagine that you could turn on your home computer and have instant access to a photographic study and detailed information on all of the buildings of architectural importance in England. Also imagine that the buildings and their contents could be selected by entering search criteria. By typing a few key words you could compare the designs of Jacobean pulpits in Cornwall and Cheshire, examine the church towers of Somerset, or tour the buildings of the architect George Edmund Street.

A database such as this does not currently exist but in a few years it may become a reality. This article will examine various aspects in the creation of a database (or *digital atlas*) of English architecture and will look at the selection criteria, methodology and results of a project that is attempting to do this.

Why Create a Digital Atlas?

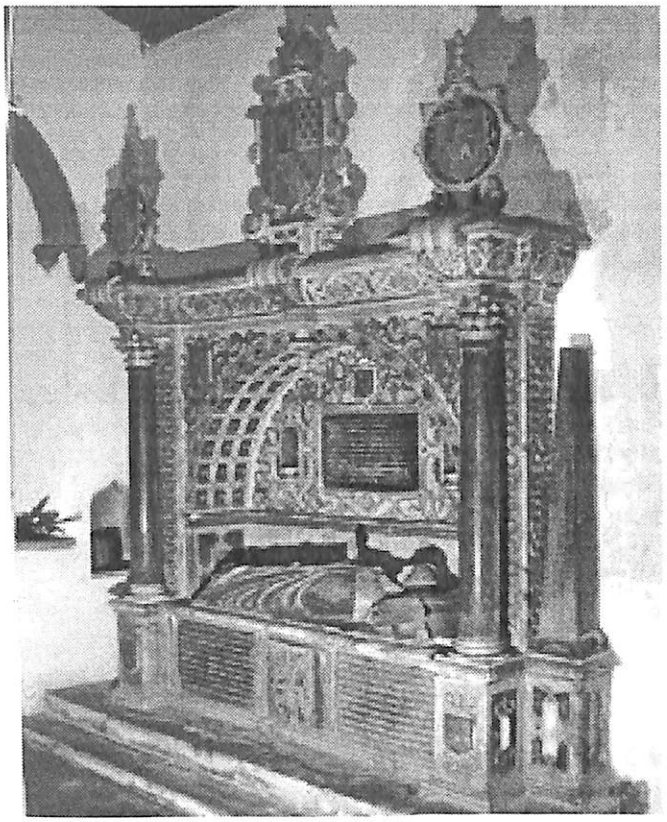
The ever increasing power and capabilities of personal computers have given rise to what is now known as the "Information Age". A wealth of information is available in digital form, both in global media such as the Internet and local media such as CD-ROMs. Everything from telephone directories, dictionaries and encyclopedias through to the complete set of NASA spacecraft images and the entire history of Wall Street are available for perusal at home. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find that there is very little information on English architecture available in digital form – especially in light of the ever-growing heritage industry in this country that relies so heavily on that architecture for its own existence.

The digitisation of the large national photographic collections is either not envisaged (e.g.: the Conway Collection) or is intended for archival reasons rather than for general publication (e.g.: the National Monuments Record). English Heritage recently launched the *Images of England* project to photograph all listed buildings in England but this will only result in one photograph of each building. The major reference works also suffer from not being in digital form. Dictionaries such as Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects*[1] or Gunnis' *Dictionary of British Sculptors*[2] would benefit enormously by being fully converted to (or at the very least indexed in) digital form. Even popular works such as *The Buildings of ...* series published by Penguin Books (better known as "Pevsner")[3] are only being produced in paper form. While this is adequate for fieldwork or display upon the bookshelf, the format of the information (by county and place name) requires that the user know exactly where to look for particular information. As the series doesn't provide a detailed all-volume index, searching for all examples of, say houseling tables would require reading all 46 volumes (although an excellent third-party CD-ROM index to the series is available that allows searches, using various criteria, to be easily carried out).[4]



St Peter, Dunchurch, Warwickshire. A general view of the building taken with a Sony Mavica camera

A digital atlas with tie-ins to specialist reference work would go a long way towards satisfying the need for publicly available information on the country's buildings in an easily accessible form.[5] With this goal in mind the author has started a



Monument to Lady Elizabeth Knightley (d. 1602), All Saints, Norton, Northamptonshire. Taken with a Nikon 950

project to record buildings of architectural significance and their contents using digital photography. These photographs, covering as much as possible at a reasonable level of detail, will form the basis for a complete digital atlas of England which could be distributed on high-capacity media such as CD-ROM or DVD.

Recording the Buildings: Problems and Solutions

With nearly half a million listed buildings in England a selection must be made in order to keep the recording time and budget to within reasonable limits. Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series perhaps provides the best selection possible for two reasons. Firstly, it was thoroughly researched with the idea of covering as much as possible and secondly, it had fieldwork of the same type as is required for photographic recording (namely visiting sites on a country-wide scale and recording what is there). The total number of buildings listed in the series is roughly 100,000, which, as Pevsner has shown, represents an achievable objective.[6]

Having made the selection, a photographic recording method has to be decided upon. A number of factors come into play at this point:

The cost of the recording medium per photograph.
The number of photographs of each building and its contents.
The storage of the photographs.
The conversion of the photographs to a digital format.

A large-format film camera would be ideal for taking permanent high-resolution images of the buildings, however the cost would be enormous even for one photograph per building. Standard 35mm film would also represent a sizeable sum for anything more than three or four photographs per building. The storage of such a huge number of photographs is also a problem; anything over one hundred thousand photographs would require a special library to house the negatives. On top of the cost and storage is the time spent in digitising each picture and that in itself would take years. Fortunately a convenient solution to these problems has become available within the last few years: the digital camera.

A digital camera works in much the same way as a conventional camera except that instead of film a Charge Coupled Device (CCD) is used to record light. When a picture is taken the output from the CCD is stored in a memory card. A computer can then read the card and the images can be saved on high-capacity media for later retrieval. Digital photography allows many thousands of photographs to be taken for the same cost as a 24-exposure 35mm-film cartridge. Other advantages are that the results can be time and date stamped without it being visible on the image, catalogued by using a unique file name,[7] stored and copied easily and, because they are already digital images, no conversion to digital form is necessary.

Digital cameras do have their drawbacks. The major disadvantage at the present time is the low resolution of the images compared to conventional photography. Digital cameras currently produce images in the range of several hundred to a couple of thousand pixels wide while conventional cameras have an equivalent resolution of tens of

thousands of pixels.[8] However, high fidelity is really the only advantage that conventional photography can provide. Digital images would most likely be viewed on relatively low-resolution display devices (e.g.: computer monitors) or, if printed, would give high quality pictures six inches or more across. Given this, the advantages of digital photography far outweigh those of conventional photography when used in an application such as discussed here.

The current project has always sought to record as much as possible, although picture storage capacity of digital cameras initially limited this. Over the course of time digital technology has improved thus allowing a broader range of subjects to be included and the quality of the images to increase. The imaging for a typical church now involves:

A general view of the building.
A complete sequence for the major external elevations plus additional views that show the relationship of the various parts of a building to each other.
External details such as arches, windows, gargoyles, and other unusual or interesting features.
Internal views along the main axes of the building.
Everything mentioned by Pevsner.
Royal Arms and armorial boards.
Hatchments listed by Summers.[9]
Brasses noted in le Strange[10], brass inscriptions of before 1700 and all figure matrix indents.
Misericords noted by Remnant.[11]
Monuments noted by Gunnis.
Wall paintings noted by Tristram.[12]
Fonts noted by Bond.[13]
Nearly all 16th, 17th and 18th Century monuments inside the building.

Presentation of the Data

While the raw images could be used on their own for research or general browsing, it would be time consuming and cumbersome. Each image has a unique identifier that uses a National Grid Reference but this can only place the subject of an image to within 100 metres on a map. A copy of both the original field notes and the relevant texts would also be required to identify the subject of an image. One of the future goals of the Digital Atlas project will be to provide a database with links to the images, brief descriptions of the subject matter and cross-references to other information.

The detailed design of the database is beyond the scope of this article, however the key aspects will be that it will:

be a cross-platform product that will run on most computers
allow the retrieval of images and information by searching on a wide range of criteria.

The first of these points will be addressed by writing the product in *Java*, a computer language that allows products to be written so that they can work on any Java-enabled computer.[14] This will enable the product to work on as many systems as possible and also allows for future possibilities such as hand-held or palm-top computers.

Search criteria will include place name, building name, construction dates, typology, personal name entries, date of death and object categories. In addition, provision will be made for limiting the searches to user-defined geographical areas (e.g.: counties or areas defined by National Grid References). Further enhancements could include plotting and selection from an electronic map. The aim is to allow images and information to be quickly and easily obtained through an electronic search form. The search will provide for both general and specific criteria and allow finding, for example, everything in a single building, monuments by a given sculptor between certain dates or all examples of a given architectural style.

Final Thoughts

The Digital Atlas project was started in January 1997. At the time this article was written (January 2000) over

35,000 images had been taken in a total of fifteen counties. Table 1 lists the counties with the most coverage. The Percentage Complete column shows the percentage of towns and villages that have been visited in each county.[15]

Table 1: Current Coverage

County	Year	Images Acquired	Percentage Complete
Northamptonshire	2000	3200	20
Berkshire (North)	1999	3800	100
Oxfordshire	1999	9100	100
Warwickshire	1999	7600	100
Cornwall	1998	~1700	10
Berkshire*	1997	1683	100
Hertfordshire	1997/8	~5100	100
Bedfordshire	1997/8	~3000	50

*Berkshire was a pilot study using the post-1974 county borders. Coverage within this area was not as extensive as in other counties with most churches only being recorded with four or five digital images (although more conventional photographs were taken). North Berkshire (the part that has been part of Oxfordshire since 1974) was completed to the full Project standards in late 1999.

Progress through a county is as rapid as Pevsner's fieldwork (averaging two counties per year). The current project is undertaken in the author's spare time: weekends, public holidays and time off work. Progress has been more rapid than originally anticipated – especially in light of the increase in coverage that has happened since the start of the project and the decrease in accessibility to buildings since Pevsner's visits 30 years ago.

In the final volume of *The Buildings of England* Pevsner writes "Fifteen years ago nearly all churches of the Church of England were open all day. Now in whole areas they are kept closed ... If this development goes on, it means that the work I have done could in future no longer be done in the same time."[16] Unfortunately church locking is more frequent than in Pevsner's time (although not to the extent that some claim).[17]

As this article has discussed, the Digital Atlas will be a searchable database of images with links to other resources. As counties are completed they will hopefully be released on CD-ROM for a small fee to cover media, copying and distribution costs. The raw images, while remaining copyrighted, will be free for limited non-commercial use. Commercial use of the images would require permission from and a royalty payment to the owners or representatives of the buildings in question. The text database and search application will be sold as a commercial product. The ultimate goal will be to cover all of England although limits to the author's own time, money and resources may constrain this. Nevertheless, a start has been made and the results should prove interesting and valuable to those with an interest in architecture.[18]

Notes

[1] Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, Yale, 1995.

[2] Rupert Gunnis, *A Dictionary of British Sculptors: 1660-1851*, London, 1964.

[3] Nikolaus Pevsner et al, *The Buildings of England*, Penguin Books, 1951-74.

[4] Michael Good, *A compendium of Pevsner's Buildings of England on Compact Disc*, Oxford University Press, 1995.

[5] Information on and photographs of buildings are publicly available in searchable form, the most extensive being the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments' facilities at Swindon and London. However, such resources cannot be considered to be "easily accessible". They also only provide selective detail; some buildings have had extensive studies made of them while many buildings have very little.

[6] The *Buildings of England* took about 25 years to complete with field trips made on a part-time basis. However, it must be remembered that Pevsner had a lot of help. In order to keep within a reasonable time and money budget, the Digital Atlas project has further constrained the selection to structures built before 1900 and excludes cities.

[7] The current project uses a National Grid Reference plus a three letter unique identifier for the image name. This, along with the internal time stamp, provides an exact chronological and geographical reference for each image.

[8] However it should be noted that the high resolving power of chemical film only relates to the film itself. Photographic prints or reproductions of the film in books and magazines will have a much lower resolution than the original negative

or positive. It should also be noted that there is no actual equivalent "pixel resolution" of film. The process by which light is recorded in the two technologies is quite different and the figure given is for rough comparison only.

[9] Peter Summers and John E. Titterton, *Hatchments in Britain*, Phillimore, 1975-94.

[10] Richard le Strange, *A Complete Descriptive Guide to British Monumental Brasses*, Thames and Hudson, 1972.

[11] G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain*, Clarendon Press, 1998.

[12] E. W. Tristram, *English Mediaeval Wall Painting* (3 volumes: *The Twelfth Century*, *The Thirteenth Century* and *The Fourteenth Century*), Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1944-55.

[13] Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, Oxford University Press, 1908.

[14] All of the major computer platforms are currently supported including Macintosh, Windows, Solaris and Linux.

[15] Each town or village is considered to have been "completed" when the Anglican church has been photographed both externally and internally and at least half the other buildings mentioned by Pevsner have been photographed. Many factors conspire against obtaining even one image of a building including public access, time constraints and dealing with the poor location information given in *The Buildings of England.*

[16] *The Buildings of England: Staffordshire*, page 16.

[17] The author has recorded church locking as a by-product of the field trips. The average number of churches open during the day is better than 50% for the counties studied.

[18] The progress of the project plus other useful information relating to photoecclesiology and ecclesiology in general can be found on the author's Web site: http://www.iinet.com.au/~cam/corbel/

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF CHRISTIANITY
A conference at the Victoria & Albert Museum
5th-6th May 2000

Throughout the history of Christianity, strongly differing views have been held about the physical sanctity of objects, images and places. For many Christians, the principle of 'the sacred in matter' is only fully realised in the Eucharist, often ritually presented in liturgical vessels and monstrances. From the earliest times, the physical remains of saints, invested with the power to heal, protect and bless, have been glorified in reliquaries, or inserted into images or altars to 'empower' them. Liturgical spaces have been specifically charged with a sense of the sacred by clearly recognisable features. But many Christian denominations have challenged the notion of sanctified objects, replacing them with more detached signs of respect and remembrance. In time, these too have acquired a potent specificity of their own. As these complex variations have unfolded, they have migrated across the world, adapting to indigenous forms of cultural life and developing new significances.

This conference aims to explore how the creation and use of images, objects and places has been employed to articulate a wide variety of theologies and beliefs and how they have been adapted to the changing circumstances of Christianity in the world. The focus will be on functional objects rather than 'fine art', covering sacramental vessels, reliquaries, vestments, altar ornaments and church fittings from all periods, as well as functional images, such as miraculous images, icons, and images used by missionaries: how have such artefacts and spaces been used as carriers of religious force in their own right, rather than as illustrations to teachings usually disseminated in words? The conference is international in scope and will span all periods, addressing origins as well as contemporary commissions for designs in churches and the significance of the Eucharist in contemporary art. It will challenge aestheticising and secularising attitudes towards religious artefacts, but will also address the political manipulation of religious belief.

In addition to the usual displays of liturgical and sacramental objects that are dispersed throughout the Museum, there will be a small display of specially selected Christian artefacts - one object from each Christian century - in the Main Entrance (Cromwell Road) from 21 February to 4 June 2000 and a display of Victorian catalogues of ecclesiastical wares, furnishing the nineteenth century church, on the National Art Library Landing, 3 April - 26 June 2000. An installation by the artist, John Newling, will be displayed in the Church Plate Gallery (Rooms 83 and 84).

Further Information & Bookings: 0171 942 2209 Administration: Francis Pugh - 0171 942 2191
General information: Andrew Spira - 0171 942 2470 e-mail: a.spira@vam.ac.uk

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE MEDIEVAL CHANTRY MOVEMENT

by Simon Roffey

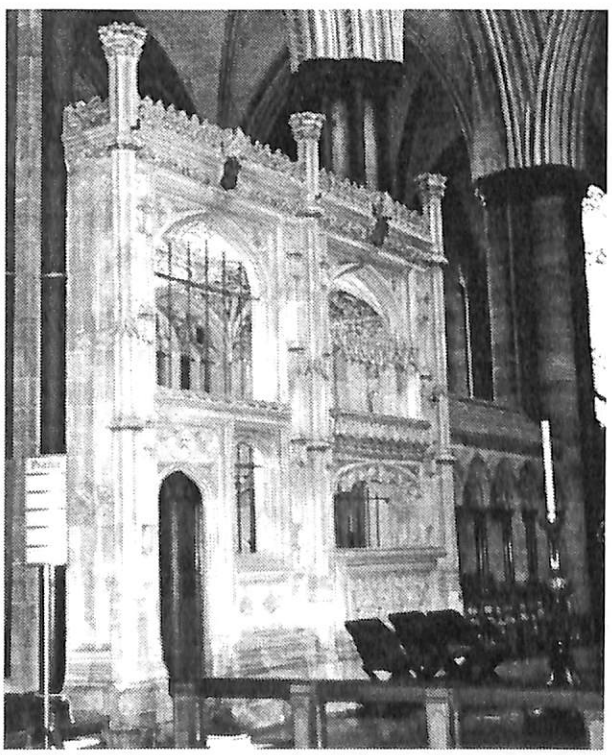
Introduction

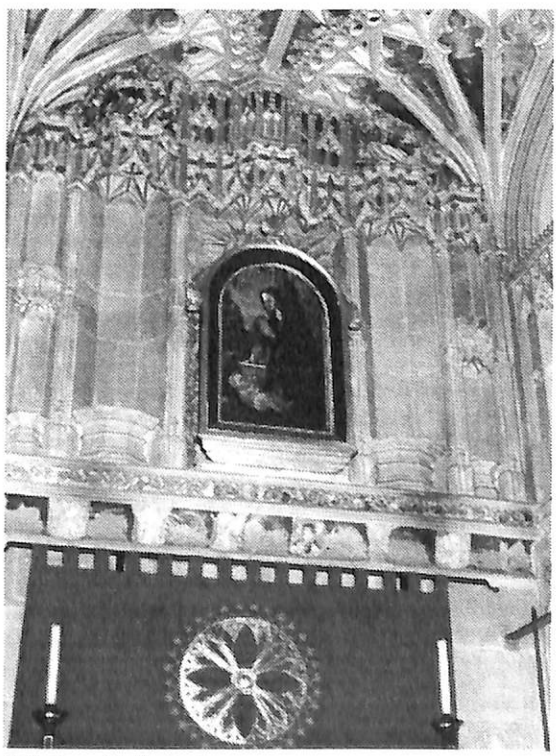
The reformation of the English church and people brought about a series of dramatic changes sweeping away a whole tradition of devotional practice and instigating the 'dismantling and destruction' of an entire 'symbolic world' (Duffy 1992:1). Archaeological study of the richness and complexity of religious life, both on the eve of the Reformation and after it, has received very little attention. The effects of the Reformation were cataclysmic for traditional religion and much of almost one thousand years of English cultural heritage was destroyed within the space of a few years. As Duffy notes, this was a period which brought about the 'necessity of destroying, of cutting, hammering, scraping, or melting into a deserved oblivion the monuments of popery' (Duffy 1992: 480). One of these 'monuments of popery' was the medieval chantry, the physical remains of which provide us with an archaeological dimension to this turbulent period to be read as 'text' by those equipped with the right approaches.

The chantry represented a concrete manifestation of medieval religious piety and devotion. It was, in essence, an individualistic foundation, but its implications and its popularity were far more universal. The chantry was in effect, like the church itself, a religious institution providing for the spiritual, and, social welfare of its parishioners.

The medieval chantry was a foundation and endowment of a Mass by one or more benefactors, to be celebrated at a specified altar, for the soul of the founder. Sometimes other individual souls would also be specified in the endowment, more commonly family members or the royal family. Chantry foundation can take a variety of forms from a mass celebrated at an existing altar, to one conducted in a separately defined, or newly constructed, liturgical space (for example, aisles, or separate adjunct chapels).

It has been claimed that, during the late medieval period, chantries were 'the most remarkable manifestations of religious belief in this country' (Cook 1947: XI). As a result, the evolution of the chantry movement appears to develop hand-in-hand with the inter-relationships between church and community, and subsequently, reflected





Figs 1 & 2. Audley Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral

modifications of church topography and fabric. It may be no coincidence that the most productive century of chantry foundation coincided with a period of great church rebuilding in the 15th century - a period when money had never before been 'lavished so freely on the fabric of the parish church' (Thompson 1947: 148).

The rise of the medieval chantry movement

Many of the major studies of the chantry regard its origins as lying within the late medieval period. The earliest recorded chantry being attributed to Bishop Hugh of Wells at Lincoln Cathedral c. 1235 (Cook 1947: 17). Though the term 'chantry' is a term indeed first in use from the 13th century onward, the 'chantry movement' itself was a much earlier feature of religious life.

The term 'chantry movement' is defined here as: rituals and practices associated with the after-life, utilising the concept of Mass as an intercessionary device, within a defined physical context (i.e. a liturgical area). This definition, although fully applicable to the late medieval chantries, can be related to the development, formation and evolution of the chantry movement in the Anglo-Saxon period, as is argued below. It is, therefore, possible to view the late medieval chantry movement as the culmination of a series of a historical process whose origins lie in the earlier Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods.

Some of the earliest English references to intercessionary practice are to the presentation of Eucharistic offerings to the dead (presumably at an altar), and the purgatorial Visions of 'Drythelm', recounted by Bede, and that of the monk of Wenlock, both from the early 8th century. Certainly the early lay patronage of monastic foundation had strong intercessionary motivation, as in effect, every form of benefaction carried with it the obligation of intercession (Rubin 1987).

The need for a physical context for such practice may be one of the reasons behind the evolution of the porticus as a lateral side chapel, particularly at many Anglo-Saxon minster churches; well known examples being Breamore (Hants); Bradford-upon Avon, (Wilts) ; Deerhurst (Glos) and Brixworth (Northants). Porticus it is argued, may have provided a placefor Eucharistic celebration. This development perhaps represents a time of a closer connection between such rituals and intercession for the individual souls of the departed. Similarly the evolution of proprietary, or private churches, from at least the 9th century, onwards, for example at Raunds (Northants) and Faccombe (Hants) (per comm: Andrew Reynolds), may be evidence for similar intercessionary motivations during the Anglo-Saxon period.

From the 12th century, increasing importance was attached to the Mass as a context for memorial liturgies, and this coincides with significant advances in the formation of purgatorial doctrine (Le Goff 1984) and the Gregorian Reforms, which dramatically curtailed the influence of lay lords upon the local church. Such events may have heralded a series of major changes that radically altered the topography of the local church. It is perhaps these two factors, above all else (including demographic factors), that can explain the introduction and function of the aisle founded within such a relatively short period of time. This would also relate to later evidence for the use of aisles as chantries and family chapels, and in fact what we term 'aisle' or 'chapel' may have upheld almost identical functions.

The late medieval chantry

By the late medieval period the medieval chantry movement had become one of the most important and influential religious movements. Once perhaps confined to the 'edges' of church topography, such as aisles and transept chapels, chantries, often perpetual, were increasingly found within the body of the church, particularly in the larger churches. Stone-cage chantries, such as the 16th century Audley chapel at Salisbury cathedral (fig 1& 2) and, the Gardiner chapel at Winchester, utilise space between arcade bays in the east end of the church. These highly visible monuments succeed also in appropriating liturgical space for other purposes. Chantries were also founded within other areas of the church, such as in or above the rood screen. Very often, side chapels were built onto the nave or chancel of a church such as at the Beauchamp chapel at St Mary's, Warwick and the 13th century Giffard chapel at Boyton (Wilts), with its elaborate circular window. In fact entire churches could be chantries. These kinds of churches, or colleges of priests, such as the Yorkist mausoleum at Fotheringay (Northants), harked back to the proprietary churches of old, but on a grander scale. They were distinct from parish or monastic churches by their primary role; that of intercession.

The late medieval chantry was often embellished by intricate architectural detail and symbolism. Such monuments give the impression of attempting to display the 'physical embodiment of an eternal and imperishable social order' (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994:3), and in a sense were ego-centred expressions of elitism.

However, far from being purely individualist monuments the chantry provided a context for public as well as private piety. Gramsci's theory of consensus between dominant and sub-dominant groups resulting in a general 'approval' of dominant values (Gramsci 1971), can be related to the role of chantries in providing more Masses in a period when the Eucharistic doctrine was becoming prominent. They relied on the prayers of the community, and they in turn benefited by the protective powers of the Eucharistic ritual and spiritual efficacy of the Mass in general. These effects included protection from sudden death and from ageing (Daniell 1996: 7).

On a broader level, the Mass was an important social institution in medieval society; providing a focus for communal piety and group relationships (Bossy 1983: 34). As a result, the chantry became central to the inter-relationships between religious and secular life and was pivotal to the growing influence of lay sympathies within parish church life and structure. The contribution of chantry foundation to parish life and its role in producing 'a well administered and socially active church community' has been noted, with special relevance to churches in London and Bristol by the historian Clive Burgess (Burgess 1991;1996) Far from being primarily elitist monuments, chantries were also of great significance to the lives of ordinary people. The role of the chantry, and its priest, in the inter-relationships between church and community was, therefore, dynamic.

The rising popularity of the chantry led to an 'enormous inflation of the number of priestly ordinations' and the establishment of a 'non-beneficed clerical proletariat' (Duffy 1992: 301). Assisting the parish priest, especially at busy times such as Easter, the chantry priest was often responsible for teaching local children, and distributing alms. Perhaps the greatest contribution to parish life from chantry endowment was the provision of charity and the establishment of a welfare system, including regular almsgiving and the establishment of schools. The foundation of many hospitals was as a direct result of chantry endowment, and such institutions have been referred to as 'superchantries' (Krieder 1979). At Ewelme (Oxon) parish church and hospital, for example, the inmates were kept at 'almost constant prayer' for the soul of the founder (Prescot 1992: 73).

Priests, including the chantry priests, were often accommodated in special houses (Pantin 1959) usually within close proximity to the church itself. At St John's, Terrington (Norfolk), however, the chantry priest accommodation might actually be within the church. Here, the tower is connected to the church by a multi-storeyed link containing a stairwell, rooms and a covered passageway (Pevsner 1962: 339). At the church of St Thomas, Salisbury (Wilts), a chantry priest's house was constructed against the north wall of the church.

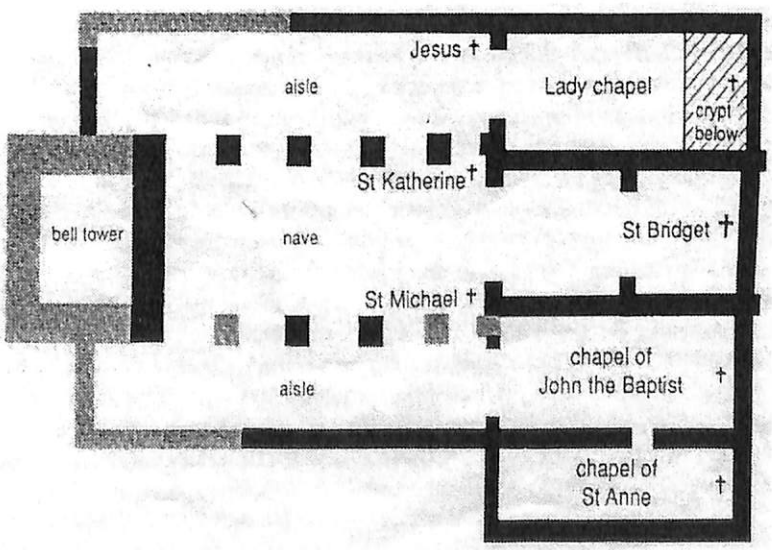


Fig 3. St Bride's, Fleet Street, London

Increasingly, chantries were transformed from being essentially individual foundations to co-operative ventures (Morris 1989:366). The evolution of fraternities and gilds in the medieval period reflected the corporate need for intercession with the introduction of gild chantry chapels, thereby making intercession more accessible to wider members of society.

Very often the presence of a gild chapel in a local church heralded the increasing influence of secularism within the parish church system. Gild chapels were sometimes used for non-memorial practice, such as the swearing in of the mayor of

Southampton in the north aisle gild chapel at St Mary's Southampton (Platt 1973).

The development of gild, or corporate chapels, within the existing fabric of the parish church, led to the re-negotiation of space. At St Bride's, Fleet St (Milne and Reynolds 1994; Milne 1997 [fig 3]), recent archaeological and historical work has revealed the extent of space taken up for such corporate and private piety.

The developing role of chantry foundation and practice, and the consequent increase in lay responsibility within the parish church, provided an impetus and raison d'etre for church re-building and embellishment (Platt 1981: Morris 1989). Bridbury has commented on the overall general increase in disposable wealth during the late medieval period and the resultant impetus in church building (1975), whilst Morris has identified a link between church extension and chantry foundation (1989: 366). The latter providing perhaps a particular focus and, in a sense, intermediary between disposable wealth and church embellishment.

Despite claims of a recession in the 15th century (Postan 1973), between 1300 and 1440 well over a half of parish churches were enlarged or rebuilt (Thompson 1947), a time when money was never more 'lavished so freely' on church works (Thompson 1947: 128). Furthermore the period from 1350 onwards witnessed the appearance of craftsmen specialising in 'chapels to order' (Morris 1989: 366) and royal master masons, such as Henry Yevele, built chantry chapels for lay patrons, such as the Gower chantry at Southwark priory in the early 15th century.

The role of the chantry in the evolution of architectural style, especially with regard to the introduction of more light and space from at least the 13th century, has received little attention. It may be argued that such developments may have been related and that the increasing presence of more chantries within church topography influenced the need for more liturgical space and light within the church, especially with regard to those chantries, such as stone-cage chantries, that were more centrally situated within the body of the church.

The fall of the medieval chantry movement

The abolition of the doctrine of Purgatory in 1547, and the subsequent dissolution of the chantries, dramatically changed the nature of communal and private piety at a local level. The colour, sound, light, and spiritual vibrancy that the chantries had brought into popular religious practice were extinguished. The emotive focus of the chantry altar adorned with burning lights and colourful images and the elaborate and vibrant Eucharistic rituals were forbidden. Many chantries were destroyed, with their idols desecrated and their screens torn down. A different religion, devoid of such emotive practice, was forcibly installed in its place.

The destruction and dismantling of the majority of chantries ensures that only an unrepresentative sample has been properly studied (i.e.; Milne 1997). The vast majority of parish church chantries can only be reconstructed fully by archaeology. It is possible using archaeological techniques to trace the position of chantry altars within present church topography, even though the Reformation process destroyed many of them without trace. Changes to a church fabric, for example, might reflect what has been termed 'technical determinism' (Morris 1989:296). One example of this is the placing of church windows to act as natural spotlights in areas of liturgical importance including the locations of altars.

The position of windows within particular areas might therefore indicate the former position of an altar. Other evidence might come from the church fabric in the form of evidence for piscinas and aumbries connected with Eucharistic worship, and for distinct partially enclosed liturgical areas.

Chantries can be identified by investigating, for example, changes in floor level within discrete localised areas (Peters 1996), evidence for screens, discrepancies between arcade piers, positioning of windows and squints, study of separate access routes into aisles and evidence for Eucharistic centred wall paintings and sculpture. A particularly good example of the latter is at St Michael's, Stoke Charity (Hants), where sculpture and painting featuring St Gregory celebrating a Mass was revealed in the 1980's (Edwards 1985). The context of the depiction is not explained, but it is fairly likely that it was a chantry chapel - the episode of St. Gregory demonstrating a literal example of transubstantiation to a doubter was a popular story (Rubin 1991; Daniell 1997). Many chantry chapels were converted to other uses, such as vestries, and therefore may survive in varying degrees of completeness. Studies of the material remains of the chantry can also be combined with documentary evidence, such as

wills and churchwardens accounts. In particular chantry certificates, compiled by the chantry commissioners during the dissolutions of 1547, contain details of individual chantries and their goods seized at the Reformation.

The evolution of the chantry movement therefore evolved hand-in-hand with significant developments within the inter-relationships between church and community, and subsequently, with modifications of church topography and fabric. Chantry foundation made a major, and wide-ranging, contribution to parish life, and church development, and far from being primarily elitist monuments, were also of great significance to the lives of ordinary people.

Such a contribution, it can be argued, had its seeds within the Anglo-Saxon period, and the impressive chantries of the later Perpendicular period were its final consummation. But it was from these seeds, the seeds of secularisation that germinated, and later flourished so productively in these later centuries, that were to also lay the roots of the Reformation, which was ultimately to destroy the chantry, and all that it had achieved.

[My thanks to Dr Andrew Reynolds and Gustav Milne for reading and commenting upon an earlier version of this article]

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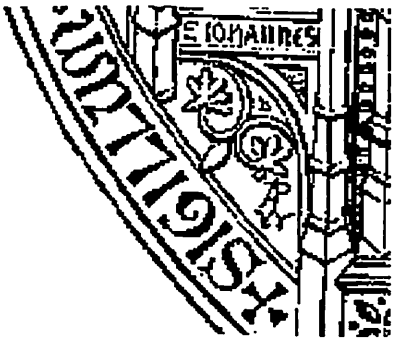
LETTERS



From Catriona Blaker

I noticed that the Society's web site says that the *sigillum* of the Ecclesiological Society was "probably" by Pugin. You can see his monogram below St John, on the left hand side of the seal. Is this not proof of his authorship? Also see Belcher, *A W N Pugin, an annotated bibliography*, p. 233.

Hon. Secretary of the Pugin Society
catblake@freeuk.com
[Our website has been updated. Ed.]

From Chris Hauer, Jr., FSA

Ecclesiological Society members may be interested to know that the repairs and enhancements to the restored Wren City Church of St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, which were a work still in progress when I reported to our City Churches conference in 1996, have been completed and were successful (cf. *Ecclesiology Today* 14 Sept 1997, pp. 9-11). The problem of infiltrating moisture has been solved. As a result, it has been possible to press forward with the restoration of the damaged interior plaster. That work is now done, and we believe that Dr. Wren would be quite pleased with the outcome.

Ecclesiologists and others visiting in the American midwest may wish to come to the Church, and to the Winston Churchill Memorial Museum and Library, on the campus of Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. Fulton is seven miles south of Interstate 70 (motorway) on US Highway 54, about half way between St Louis, Missouri and Kansas City, Missouri. You may write or telephone ahead to:

Dr. Gordon Davis, Director
The Winston Churchill Memorial
501 Westminster AV
Fulton, MO 65251-1299 (USA)
telephones:
college switchboard (573) 642-3361
direct (573) 592-5369.

2203 Cheshire Cir SW
Huntsville, AL 35803-4006
USA

Form Robert Webb

The European church has had a long-standing relationship with the organ. Studies in early medieval history reveal that St Augustine and his followers placed a high value on musical accomplishment in the liturgy and were probably the foremost influence for the organ in modern divine worship. Despite the Greeks having 'water organs' in antiquity, there are no records of organs in Christendom before the seventh century and none are recorded in Rome until 1095AD. Interested readers might like to read Professor Peter Williams' organ articles in the *BIOS Journals* (British Institute of Organ Studies). Research points to the church organs of the twelfth century, for example, the account of a 200 pipe organ at Winchester, as being 'sirens' rather than instruments of music. The reverberation of the organ in church could be heard for miles around and the sheer volume of noise, being far greater than the human voice, would have been truly awe-inspiring.

In spite of their being almost totally annihilated through Henry's power-wielding activities in the sixteenth century, the organ lived on in these islands mostly, it seems, through their association with religious activity now secretly practised in the private houses of the well-off. As religious and kingly rule tossed and turned in the seventeenth century, the organ re-emerged as an instrument suitable for both secular and sacred music-making, only now its tonal character owed much to the developments of continental organs.

The rapid development of London as a European (and world) trading centre in the eighteenth-century attracted a great many artists and craftsmen from abroad. The value of the organ in art music was given a welcome boost through the increased popularity of the chamber organ. This was undoubtedly due to the invention of the organ concerto by Handel, whose wreath (and occasionally portrait) live on in the surviving casework of many small church and stately home instruments.

Nineteenth-century developments, essentially louder instruments and greater numbers of stops and apparent variety, are far more familiar to us through the organ's significance as a symbol of national wealth and inter-social harmony. Many Victorian organs still exist (although now often in a bad condition) through their being large and immovable items of furniture, maintained over the years more through the sustaining of a tradition or value for their craftsmanship rather than any economic viability.

In the twentieth century, we have learned that the musical effect of 'the church organ' can be emulated (some will argue) using digital synthesis and electric amplification. An entirely new instrument of this kind can cost far less than just one renovation of an electro-pneumatic pipe organ, and it does not require periodic re-tuning. This has added a new dimension to the story of the organ.

Many of our organs, whether modern or historic, are in need of care. What will happen to our history and heritage? Sadly, our governmental leaders will probably throw a substantial sum of money in the direction of one or two selected sites. But by and large most organs will end up in skips at some point or other (some are going abroad via the Redundant Organ Rehousing Company, again, details in BIOS).

The good news is that society itself is a complex and organic fabric. It is able, often through the efforts of one or two individuals, to resist 'progress' if it is perceived as inappropriate to its localised issues. Small but numerous committees around the country, many connected to a church, are without doubt made up of people who remember the 'old world' and who are 'almost inexplicably' capable of moving mountains. They evidently wish to see that life-enriching facilities are retained in their environment often at little or no expense.

My own particular research is presently restricted to eighteenth-century organs. Quite incredibly these isles have about 350 organs which are either entire or contain elements of earlier pipework. My thesis, which is being carried out through Edinburgh University, is to record on location the sound of individual eighteenth-century organ pipes.

Once the sound information has been collected it can be analysed in the laboratory. This will enable us to come closer to understanding the character of English baroque music, both secular and sacred, and hopefully continue to stimulate an interest in the music of the period. If our culture continues to value and inculcate the music of Handel, Purcell, Stanley, Croft, Wesley and Boyce, then the extant organs stand a better chance of survival.

If any readers know of the existence of local organs containing eighteenth-century pipes then I would appreciate being notified.

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From Rev Brian Torode

May I ask for information - great or small - on the life and work of John Middleton, architect of Darlington and Cheltenham, with offices at Westminster and Newport, Pembrokshire. Middleton's dates are 1820-85. His early works in the Darlington area - 1845 to 1855 - were mainly to do with railway buildings. I am collecting information in preparation for a book on Middleton. His work may not be outstanding, but it is very much admired and respected in Gloucestershire and South Wales - especially in St David's Diocese.

23 Arden Road
Leckhampton
Cheltenham
GL53 0HG

From David Farrington

I read with much interest Peter Mountjoy's article on All Saints' Church, Cambridge ('The Life within the Shell: Ecclesiological Change in a Cambridge Parish, 1860-90'), however I wonder if I might be permitted to offer a short addenda to the footnote on page 27.

Having been declared redundant in 1973, the church was finally vested in what was then the Redundant Churches Fund in 1981. The Fund (now styled 'The Churches Conservation Trust') continues to maintain and to care for Bodley's great masterpiece. At present, we are unable to keep the church unlocked for visitors throughout the day but keys may be easily obtained from two local keyholders whose details are posted on the noticeboard at the side of the entrance gates.

The church is also used as an occasional venue for art and craft exhibitions and is visited regularly by various interest groups and historical societies.

Last year, over two thousand visitors came to marvel at this architectural gem. Working closely with the people of Cambridge, the Trust remains fervently committed to raising interest in, and appreciation of, this remarkable building and to identifying new arrangements for facilitating access.

Your readers may also be interested to learn that we have another, very different church in Cambridge - St Peter's beside Kettle's Yard (where the key is held) on Castle Street. This tiny mediaeval church is also very well visited and contains an extraordinary eleventh century font.

The Churches Conservation Trust
89 Fleet Street
London EC4Y 1DH

[A complete list of the churches in the care of The Churches Conservation Trust can be obtained by writing to the above address.]

From Dr N Earl Mawby

I am seeking an answer to a question which interests me and in which I have become involved in a parish church which has an altar of this type which was given by my parents.

An extract from a previous number of *Ecclesiology Today* which refers to a ruling in 1908 regarding dorsal curtains follows. I would like to obtain some information regarding this ruling and where it was given

A major change affecting the altar around the turn of the century was the revival of the Gothic or English altar. The distinguishing mark is curtaining on the north and south sides and also, if there is no reredos, behind it too. The curtains are suspended from riddel posts, on top of which usually stand angels, sometimes holding candles. The prime mover behind the re-introduction of this feature was J.N. Comper. Anthony Symondson, in the book to accompany the Comper exhibition earlier this year at the Heinz Gallery, says the first such altar to be revived was by Comper at a private chapel at St. Matthew's Clergy-House, Westminster, in 1891. He followed it by one at St. Wilfrid's, Cantley, Yorkshire, in 1894. However, it is interesting to note that in two illustrations in John Purchas' *Directorium Anglicanum* of 1858, curtains and angels appear. The only difference from Comper's work is a space between the curtains and the side faces of the altar: such, no doubt, was what was intended by this ruling allowing curtains in 1908 provided the celebrant could still adopt the north position.

Can anyone tell me why this ruling was made and under what circumstances?

23 Bertram Drive
Great Meols
Wirral
Cheshire

CAMERON ON CAMERAS

by Cameron Newham

Digital cameras are the biggest thing to hit photography in many years and they look set to replace conventional film cameras for nearly all uses in the future. Currently sales are modest when compared to film-based cameras but rapid advances in technology and lower prices will see digital cameras take an ever increasing market share. While digital cameras are not currently the best choice for everyone, here are some reasons to consider switching to digital photography in the future.

Falling prices. While the current crop of digital cameras are roughly twice the price of similarly featured film cameras, the price difference is reducing rapidly. The Internet is serving to fuel the demand for digital cameras as users increasingly use images on web pages or in their email.

Increasing quality. Until very recently the pictures taken by a digital camera were inferior to even the cheapest "point-and-shoot" film camera. However, intense competition and increased research and development by manufacturers of digital camera electronics have pushed image quality to the point were it is difficult to tell the difference between film and digital on a standard size print.

Costs are reduced. The result of a photograph is instantly displayed by the camera when it is taken thus allowing the deletion of unsatisfactory images without having to print them. In addition, digital images do not need to be processed; they can be enhanced and manipulated by software on a home computer.

While it may seem that digital cameras are only for those with computers, this is changing too. Ink-jet printers are now coming to market that will print directly from a camera and Kodak have announced that they will provide a digital printing service alongside their conventional film services.

Don't forget the Annual General Meeting on Tuesday 20 June and the lecture on St Bride's church

CHEAP & CHEERFUL: WILLIAM WHITE IN HAMPSHIRE

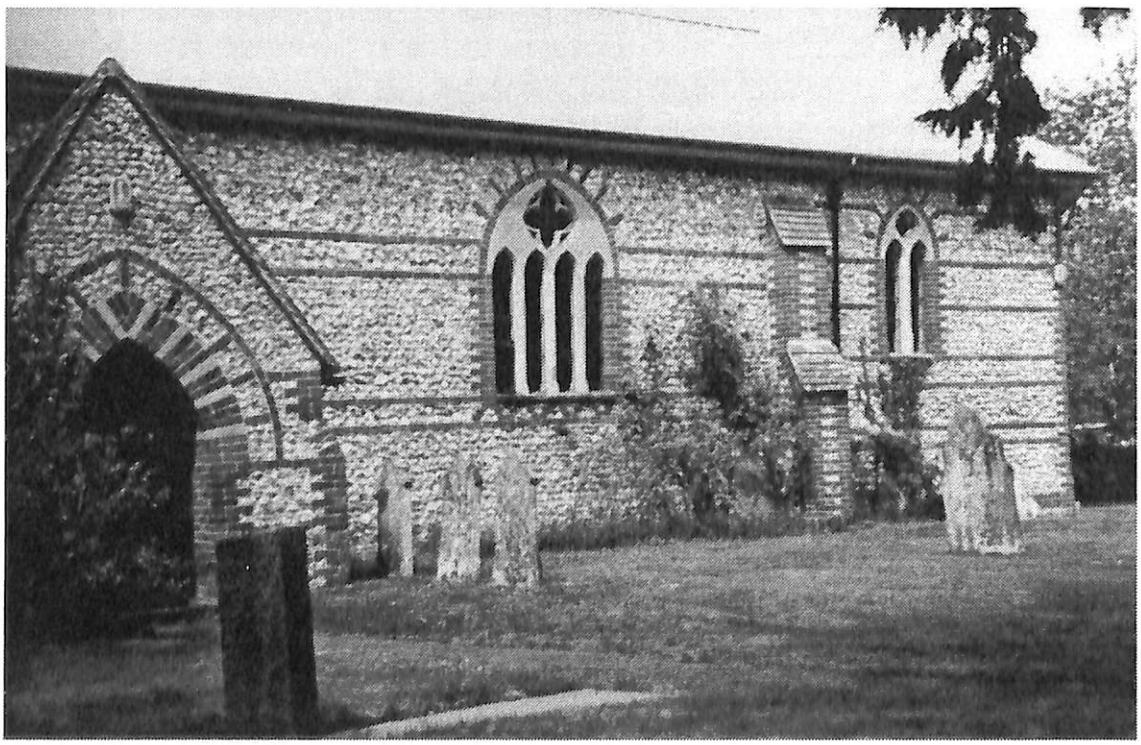
by Gill Hunter

William White has been described as an eccentric nineteenth-century architect striding about the Alps with his patent knapsack.[1] He was, indeed, a keen mountaineer who scaled the Jungfrau in 1872,[2] as well as an exponent of a system of Swedish gymnastics.[3] He was also a staunch ecclesiologist and antiquary. An examination of some of his commissions in Hampshire reveals his belief in the symbolism of church architecture, his espousal of Pugin's principles of truthfulness to function and materials, and his attention to detail, however modest the contract.

William White was born on 13 May 1825, the third son of Francis Henry White. Francis White was curate, and later vicar, of Blakesley, Northamptonshire, and nephew of the naturalist, Gilbert White of Selborne. In 1840 White was apprenticed to Daniel Goodman Squirhill, an architect and surveyor of Leamington, later claiming that although he was taught 'some of the principles of construction, of quantities, and of the supervision of work', he learnt 'little in the way of design or drawing'.[4]

White joined the Ecclesiological Society in 1849, perhaps encouraged by Street who had been a member since 1844. White fully supported the Society's regard for symbolism in the design of churches, concluding that 'when due regard is paid to Symbolism in a Church, the general effect of the structure is more pleasing, and of the ritual more impressive, than when it is disregarded'.[5] *The Ecclesiologist* published most of White's early papers, in which he reiterated Pugin's theories of convenient planning, but also pointed out that modern buildings should not be 'servile imitations of ancient models', but should take account of 'our altered habits and our many scientific acquirements.'[6] White called for a balanced approach to architecture, 'a science to be prosecuted, as well as an art to be practised.'[7]

George Gilbert Scott's father had acquired the living of Wappenham, close to Blakesley, and through this family friendship White left Leamington in 1845 to join the practice of Scott and Moffat. Also working for Scott were George Frederick Bodley and George Edmund Street, both of whom became White's close friends. In 1847

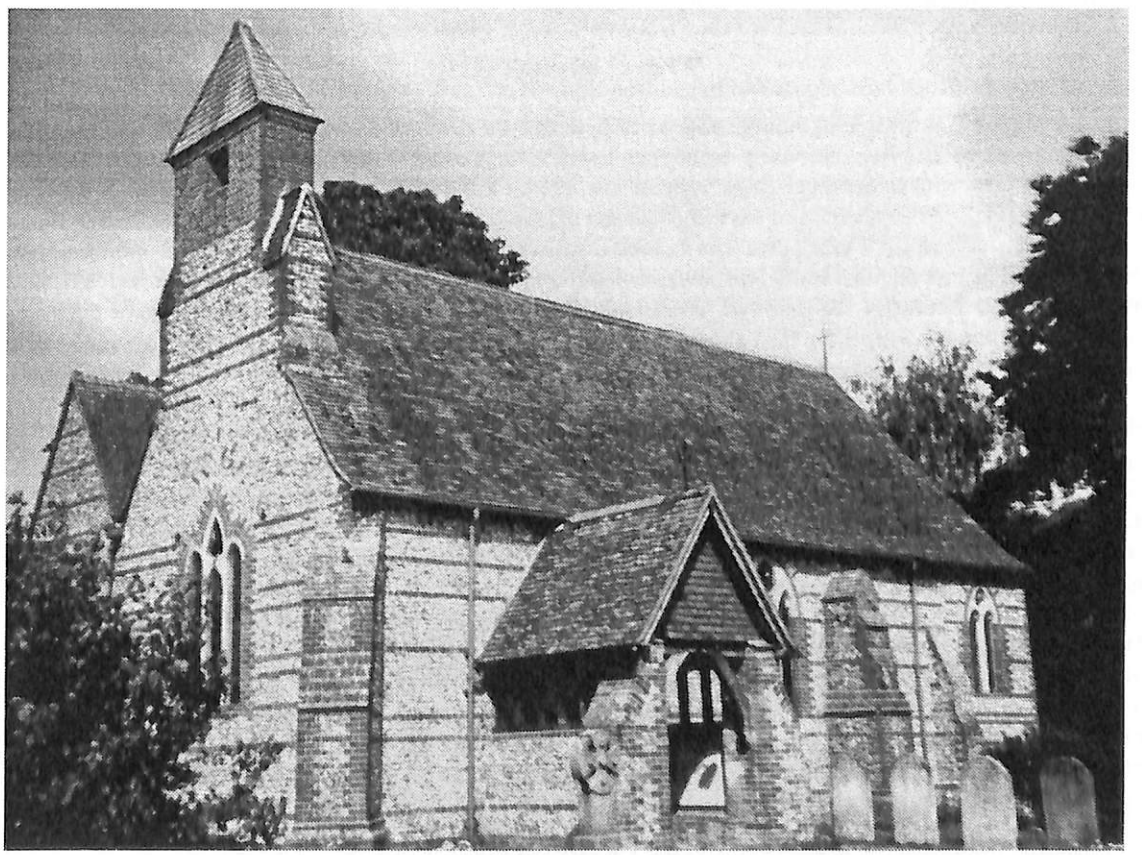


Christ Church, Hatherden (1857) - south porch

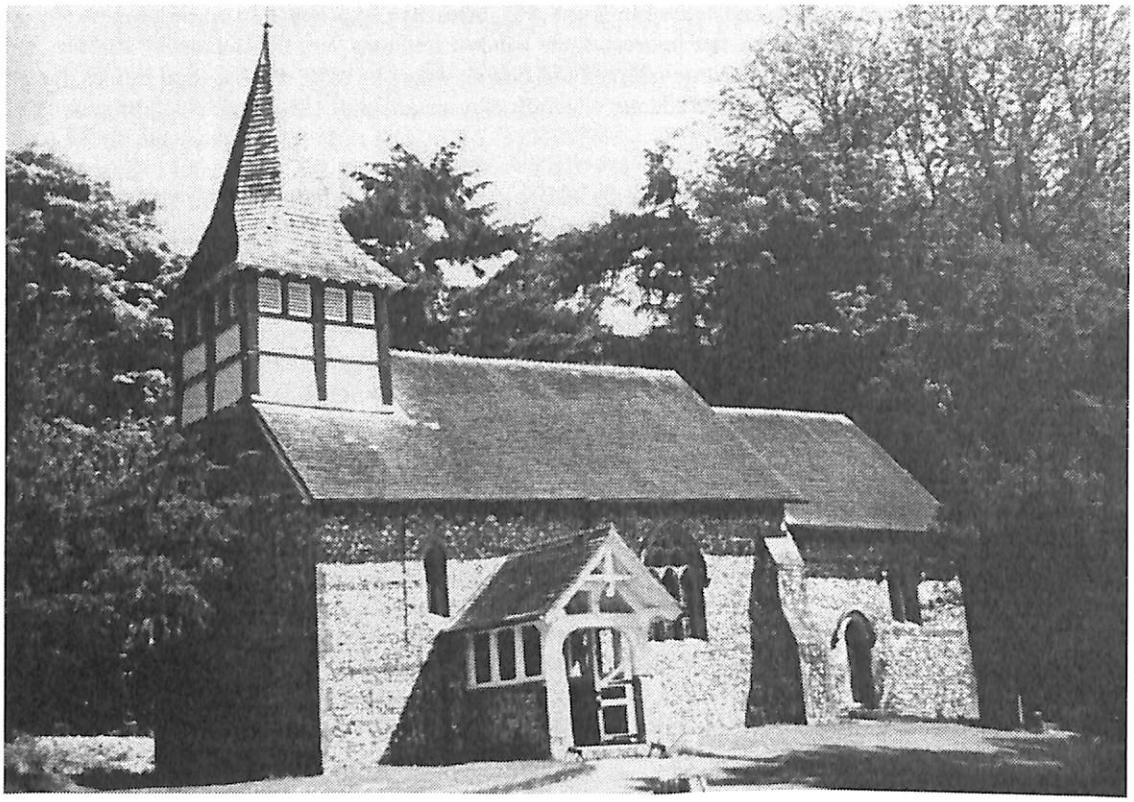
White left Scott's office and established himself in Truro. His distinctive style began to emerge in the rebuilding of the church at St. Gerrans, no plinth, few buttresses, the window mullions very flat in the wall surface, and an overall emphasis on breadth. In 1852 White returned to London, where in 1859, after several moves, he established his office at 30A Wimpole Street, an address which Bodley shared until 1863, and which became White's professional address until his death.

White's earliest new buildings in Hampshire were two 'chapels' endowed by Winchester College in the 'most destitute hamlets of Hatherden and Smannell, in the parish of Andover, in 1857'.[8] They gave White the 'opportunity of putting to a practical test the relations of cost to the simple-parallelogram and to the subdivided church'.[9] White claimed that the most pleasing, as well as the most symbolically correct, proportions were based on the equilateral triangle.[10] Applying this theory, 'a steep roof over a broad building must run up to a considerable height', however, by dividing up the same area into nave and aisles, the height and span of the main roof would be considerably lower, thus reducing costs.[11] The fact that the single cell building at Hatherden, accommodating 160, cost £700, whilst that at Smannell which included a lean-to north aisle and accommodated 176, cost £648, proved his argument.

Both churches are simple in plan, with walls of coursed, unknapped flint, a common building material of the Hampshire Basin, and brick dressings. Irregularly-spaced bands of brick provide decorative richness and emphasise the horizontal, which White believed necessary for a sense of repose. White favoured plate tracery, perhaps inspired by the examples he had seen on his travels to northern France in 1850, set flush with the external wall surface. His original plan for both churches was for wooden tracery, since there was no local stone or stonemasons. However, the Incorporated Church Building Society refused to release its grants unless the windows were of stone. 'This prohibition will be advantageous to the appearance of the chapels; for Mr. White's fanlight wooden windows are anything but beautiful', was the verdict of *The Ecclesiologist.*[12]



Christ Church, Smannell (1857)



St Peter, Linkenholt (1871)

A disastrous fire following a lightning strike in 1975 destroyed much of Christ Church, Hatherden, but a fragment of the old roof survives adjoining the tall bell tower at the western end.[13] Old photographs show it to have been of clay tiles, with an unbroken ridge from the tower to the apsidal east end, thus fulfilling Ruskin's theory of a 'bounding line'.[14] The division of nave and chancel is indicated externally by single flint and brick buttresses to north and south, whilst a pair of shallow buttresses run the full height of the west wall to support the double bell-cote with its hipped, tiled roof. Red bricks are used like sun's rays to form voussoirs to the windows and to the south porch. Internally, the west end, unscathed by the fire, displays the original polychromatic decoration; yellow bricks banded with red, which also form voussoirs to the doors and arches to the splayed windows. The builders were Messrs. John and Mark Hillary of Longparish.

At Christ Church, Smannell, the single bell-cote has gabled buttresses, north and south, above the roof line. There are more numerous horizontal brick bands and the brick dressings of the west window are more fussy than at Hatherden, with some of the bricks appearing to have "escaped" into the coursed flint walls. The roof is of clay tiles, the chancel being indicated by crested ridge tiles, frequently to be seen in White's work. A delicately ornamented, wrought iron cross surmounts the apex of the apsidal east end. The south porch is of timber on brick walls, substantially buttressed, as the ground falls away.[15]

The original lean-to north aisle was replaced in 1894 by a larger gabled one, with a choir vestry forming a transept, and a small priest's vestry north of the chancel, all to White's design. This resulted in an interesting collision of shapes at the east end. The aisle windows have flatter arches of moulded brick and cusped mullions, which, together with the smoother flint walls, present a more mechanical appearance. Internally, the arcade between the two-bay nave and the aisle is formed by red brick arches supported on contiguous low, tapered, square brick piers, patterned with occasional courses of blue brick.

The roof is a through-purlin tie-beam truss construction with 'vee' struts. The internal walls are of red brick to dado height, creamy-yellow banded with red above, similar to those at Hatherden although executed by a different

contractor - Messrs. Gue & Son of Andover. In the chancel, this polychrome brickwork is over-painted with a delicate design of scrollwork, with stylised flowers and coronets, executed to White's design in 1894.[16] The wide splays of the chancel windows are painted with a stronger pattern of blue lozenges containing consecration crosses, angels and stylised trees.

The stained glass in the three single lancets of the east window commemorates William Earle (d.1887), while that in the large three-light trefoiled south window is in memory of Thomas Hughes Earle (d.1891), both benefactors of the village. It was 'Our Lady Squire (Mrs. Earle)... [who] most generously offered to find the £385 for the new gabled North Aisle extension', leaving the Churchwardens to raise funds for the 'Decoration of the East End ... half-a-dozen new hanging Lamps ... [and] also the laying with Encaustic Tiles the Sanctuary which is now paved only with the commonest Kitchen bricks'.[17]

White had strong views on conservation, condemning reproduction as like a 'lifeless body; the spirit has taken its flight'. He felt the best solution was a 'scrupulous regard for all that has gone before, in order that it may be handed down as intact as possible to future generations'.[18] White believed that where destruction was necessary 'all traces of old work ought, if possible, to be re-inserted carefully, and exactly in their original position ... for the benefit of those who may come after; for we have no right to deprive them of the benefits that we may have derived from the remains of ancient work, which will still tell their own story to posterity, in a manner far superior to any that we can urge'.[19]

Having sold the advowson of the rectory in 1870, the lord of the manor, Mr. Colson of Swanage and Dorchester, determined to rebuild the decaying Early English Church of St. Peter Linkenholt on a new site further from his manor house. The Bishop of Winchester 'strongly recommended' the new site, despite the additional £100 cost.[20] White's plan for the new church, dated 5 November 1869, may indicate that he was involved in the decision to rebuild.

Overlooking the village green, St. Peter's Church is a simple building of unknapped flint with horizontal bands of red brick and tiles, and stone dressings. The nave and chancel are separately roofed with clay tiles and White's customary crested ridge tiles, as is the gabled south porch, protecting the billet-moulded doorway from the old church. There is a tiny lean-to vestry on the north side of the chancel, whilst at the west end a small oak-shingled broach spire surmounts a low, wooden tower supported on stone corbels. A single buttress at the south-east corner of the nave emphasises the narrower and lower chancel. The plate tracery of the east window is of a simple, vertical design which almost overwhelms the cusping and trefoils. A slender lancet from the old church is inserted in the north wall of the nave and a similarly shaped window on the south wall, is each decorated with a 'Shepherd's Crown' of fossilised sea urchins found in the surrounding chalk and believed to be a symbol of good luck.[21] (White was, after all, the great-nephew of a naturalist!)

Internally the walls are simply rendered and whitewashed and the roof is of crown post rafter construction. The chancel arch is broad, with simple moulded capitals, its breadth accentuated by the dark cross beam above, and by the widely splayed east window. Canon Clarke notes that the glass in this window is by Clayton and Bell, with Powell supplying that for the nave south window, and Burlison and Grylls that for the north.[22]

Even so small a church is ecclesiologically correct, with steps up to the chancel and again into the sanctuary, which has a simply patterned floor of red, yellow, black and white tiles enlivened with a few encaustic specimens. A niche with a gently curved stone hood mould forms a credence table. The chancel screen is of stained and varnished deal with sturdy gates including simple, muscular wrought iron work. The diminutive wooden pulpit is similarly well-detailed.

The west end of the church is dominated by the massive timbers supporting the tower, under which is the drum-shaped font with zigzag decoration, another relic of the old church, for which White provided a unpretentious oak cover surmounted by a simple cross.[23] The Bishop exhorted the parishioners to 'make use of the neat little sanctury [sic] on the hill', and it must surely have been a pleasure to do so.[24] The contract price with Messrs. Hillary was £730, which was raised by public subscription and included a grant of £35 from the Incorporated Church Building Society.[25]

White believed that cheap churches were 'a necessary evil, a mere substitute for something better'.[26] He seemed to respond to the tight brief, seeing it as 'in one sense a school of art. It teaches us the best, the most natural, the most simple modes of construction'.[27] He cared passionately about his work, believing that:

> there is no branch of Art so comprehensive, or which does so continually come before us, and has the power so forcibly, or so often, of intruding itself (so to say) upon the notice, as Architecture. Whether it be good or bad, the Architecture cannot be hid. It meets us in our every day walk; in our going out and coming in it is almost always with us in some shape or other. No one can escape.[28]

Notes

1 Mark Girouard, *The Victorian Country House*, London, 1979, p.252
2 *Alpine Club Register*, 1864-1876, p.308
3 'Aesthetical Sanitation', *The British Architect*, 22 July 1881, pp.363-4
4 *The Builder*, 31 October 1885, p.623
5 'Symbolism, Its Practical Benefits and Uses', *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society*, Vol.IV, 1852, p.320
6 'Upon Some of the Causes and Points of Failure in Modern Design', *Ecclesiologist*, New Series, Vol.IX, 1851, p.309
7 'Neglect of the Science of Architecture', *Ecclesiologist*, New Series, Vol.XI, 1853, p.314
8 *The Builder*, 5 December 1857, p.709
9 *The Building News*, 11 March 1881, p.259
10 'Neglect of the Science of Architecture', op.cit., pp.313-330
11 *The Building News*, op.cit., p.259
12 *Ecclesiologist*, New Series, Vol.XIV. 1856, p.154
13 A metallic roof, of a much lower pitch, replaces the original
14 John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849, III, 6
15 Further work was necessary in 1893: 'Two buttresses on South Side to strengthen the Church. Tye-rods across inside to prevent building from spreading which has been the case with the walls unfortunately for some time ... The whole work is under William White's direction and skill.' Letter from Rev. E. T. Coles dated 20 November 1893, Smannell and Enham Alamein Church, Extension of N. Aisle, etc. 1894, 21M65/336F/1, Hampshire Record Office
16 See White's drawing for the decorations to the east end, 21M65/536F/1, Hampshire Record Office. A similar scheme of over-painting is to be found in White's church of St. Saviour's, Aberdeen Park, Highbury, 1865-6, now leased to the Florence Trust
16 21M65/336F/1, Hampshire Record Office
17 *RIBA. Transactions*, Vol.14, 1863-4, p.39
18 'Notes on Newland Church, Gloucestershire, with Remarks on Church Restoration and Arrangements', *RIBA. Transactions*, 1st Series, Vol.14, 1863-4, p.40
19 Application for grant for new church, 21 January 1871, ICBS 7222, Lambeth Palace Library
20 The precedent for this may possibly be the fourteenth-century carvings of ammonites on the arch between the sacristy and the Berkeley Chapel in Bristol Cathedral, where Street was working at this time.
21 Rev. B. F. L. Clarke, unpublished notes for Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century, 1938, held in the Library, Council for the Care of Churches
22 Pevsner dates all these fragments of the old church to c.1200. However the VCH states that there is no mention of a church here in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291, the earliest reference being during the episcopacy of John Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, 1323-33.
23 'Linkenholt. Consecration of the New Church.', *The Marlborough Times and Wilts and Berks County Paper*, 14 October 1871, 109M70/P21, Appendix 20, Hampshire Record Office
24 Statement of Accounts, 109M70/PW6, Hampshire Record Office
25 *The Building News*, 11 March 1881, p.260
26 *The Building News*, op.cit., p.260
27 'Architecture, and its Practical Benefits to Man', *Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of Lincoln, Bedford and Worcester*, Vol.3, 1854-6, p.46.

ICONOCLASM OR EVIDENCE: MEDIEVAL SCOTS LITURGICAL MUSIC?

by Steve Atkins

Picture momentarily, if you would, an England where the sole remaining architectural heritage of an archbishopric seat was the glorious minster of York, while the magnificent cathedral of Canterbury lay in ruins. Continue this nightmarish scenario by imagining a number of our great English cathedrals, either in a similar state to that of Canterbury or partially converted into modest parish churches. Inside these humble dwellings of Our Lord, the furnishings are plain or defaced with little indication of their former glory. The stone sculptures have either been removed or made anonymous in terms of features and attitude, and the splendid medieval carpentry has suffered a similar fate. The beautiful, luminescent stained-glass windows have been smashed in, long since replaced with plain windows or poor-quality reproductions. This, then, is the scene for architectural enthusiasts.

Musicians, with an interest in the great English polyphonic tradition, imagine that your only point of reference for study and performance is the *Eton Choirbook*, of which there is no definitive, edited publication, only piecemeal editions in a number of disparate sources. For students of medieval liturgy, there is a feasible reconstruction of the Sarum Rite, but a number of other important traditions, such as York or Hereford, lie languishing in library stacks with little acknowledgment of their significance. Consider the hypothetical scene briefly where little has been done to reconstruct the elaborate ceremonies of the English Medieval Church, and virtually nothing has been covered in terms of contextual research.

Consider the impact of this unimaginable situation on our knowledge about the rich life of Insular medieval worship. All eyes would be focussed on the Continental tradition, and we would only be able to hint at the former glory of the Medieval English Church. It is scarcely possible to think this possible, and yet the scenario described above hints at the situation as it stands in Scotland. The former counterpart of Canterbury Cathedral, the Cathedral of Saint Andrews, lies in "a very ruined state".[1] Meanwhile it is possible to compare York Minster with Glasgow Cathedral, which "has survived largely complete".[2] Save for some heavy nineteenth-century restoration this splendid building remains, not only in Scotland but throughout Europe, one of "the most instructive cathedrals"[3] to inform us about late medieval ecclesiastical life. Other Scots cathedrals, however, have not fared so well. Only five out of thirteen have survived structurally intact, while three have been converted, in part, into parish churches. A similar fate has befallen Scots abbeys and other ecclesiastical buildings. Some have been lucky enough to survive the ravages of time and the Reformers' zeal in a structural sense, but the interiors depict a less fortunate situation.

There are occasional traces of fine, well-preserved stonework, such as the "the rich variety of foliage" at the Benedictine Priory of Coldingham,[4] and evidence of splendid medieval carpentry in the three, extant canopied stalls at Dunblane Cathedral.[5] The remains we have hint, then, at the former glory of Scots religious houses, and there is enough documentary evidence to indicate that Scots ecclesiastical buildings contained "furnishings of high artistic worth", accumulated "over generations and even over centuries".[6] Much of Scotland's architectural past has, then, been reconstructed so that we are able to make a significant contribution to medieval discussion, and on a par with other Insular and Continental research. Scots medieval liturgo-musicology, however, has not fared so well. So much has been written about the tragic loss of liturgical manuscripts that it would be counterproductive to reiterate the depressing message here. But it seems quite incredible that circumstances have, whether at the hands of the Reformers or due to unfavourable political actions and climactic conditions, construed to execute such an effective job as the apparently virtual elimination of liturgical manuscripts north of the Border. The result has been a serious dearth of research into Scots liturgical music to date.

The reader may recall my reference to *The Eton Choirbook*,[7] of 112 leaves containing 64 motets and magnificats, that splendid collection of compositions by great English composers from the period 1470-1500.[8] It is a manuscript which has been extensively researched and written about, one which has a counterpart in Scotland. *The Carver Choirbook*, formerly *The Scone Antiphoner*,[9] is one of Scotland's few remaining manuscripts that attests

to the wide repertoire of polyphonic music which must have been the diet of religious houses throughout the country in the Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Period. *The Carver Choirbook* contains a fascinating combination of items from the polyphonic repertoire, including works by the English composers, Cornysh, Fayrfax, Lambe and Nesbett, concordant with pieces in the *Eton Choirbook* and other sources. There is also a "Missa L'homme arme" setting by Dufay and a number of anonymous compositions.

More central to my discussion here, however, is the corpus of music by the Scottish composer, Robert Carver alias Arnot. Research into this fascinating composer only began in earnest around the middle of the twentieth century,[10] and "there is much remaining to be done".[11] Regrettably, our chief pioneer in the music of Robert Carver and Medieval Scots Liturgical Music, Dr Isobel Woods Preece, passed away a couple of years ago leaving her very own words from the previous sentence ringing in the ears of Scots musicologists. It can only be hoped that Isobel's inspirational work in re-constructing the past has provided the springboard for a more concentrated endeavour to unravel the mysteries that surround the Scots pre-Reformation Church. Fortunately, enough has been retrieved from her research, and Dr. Warwick Evans of Glasgow University is currently preparing for publication materials on music in the early Scottish Church.

We live in a revisionist age. Many of our pre-conceived notions and ideas about the past are being challenged, so that we no longer may make assumptions about the past until we have examined as many different perspectives as possible. Eamon Duffy, in his controversial, revisionist book, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580,*[12] challenges the pre-conceived idea that the English Reformation was welcomed by a popular laity disillusioned by the corrupt and decaying Church. As he points out, "a good deal of writing about late medieval religion is dogged by disciplinary or chronological divisions of labour".[13] A multi-disciplinary approach is called for in this, and other books. The Editor's foreword in *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis,*[14] discusses, in particular, the new field of Liturgical Musicology.[15] While heacknowledges that liturgy and music should never be separated, he suggests that there are difficulties because the terminology and tools for the two separate disciplines do differ. Difficulties that must be overcome if we are to present an accurate representation of our past.

This is particularly true in the study of Medieval Scots Liturgical Music, if for different reasons to those cited above. In the following paragraphs I hope to describe the multi-disciplinary nature of the studies made by musicologists in Scotland, including my own research into a fragment from South West Scotland. I suggested different reasons for the need to adopt a multi-disciplinary approach has been acknowledged by those in the academic world. But other reasons support my argument for a revisionist approach in Scotland. The Scots repertoire, in terms of surviving manuscripts, appears to be pitifully small. For this reason, we must work with what remains. To do this we need to include other resources or additional information to supplement what we do have to work with. By including what we know about Insular liturgy, the organisation of religious orders, monastic and ecclesiastical organisations and local history, it is possible to construct a framework for liturgical music in Medieval Scotland. A few studies have already worked towards this goal.[16] The first two publications contain much fascinating material, but tend to be at two extremes. Some macrocosmic and too general, the other microcosmic and too subject-specific. The articles by Allenson and Woods provide better context and clearer insight on liturgical music in Medieval Scotland.

Allenson provides a telescopic glimpse at the simple and elaborate music for the Holy Week processionals, which may have been used at Inverness Parish Church. He also discusses the possibility of their use as single folios in the "Sang Schule", in all probability, attached to the same church. By using secondary sources, such as knowledge about liturgical uses, ceremonial procedures, parish church economics and watermark provenance, Allenson has reconstructed important aspects of ecclesiastical life in NE Scotland.

Woods also uses many sources to provide a glimpse into the harsh monastic life at Inchcolm Priory Abbey in the Firth of Forth. Working with only two folios of music, but a variety of sources, she establishes an inhospitable environment where the priory has been re-modelled so that living quarters on the first floor offered some protection from pirate incursions. In a musicological context, Dr Woods discusses the uniqueness of the chants found within the manuscripts pointing towards a distinct and local use. The four leaves with *Offices for Corpus Christi*

and *The Feast of Colum Cille* (St. Columba), backed up with a number of other sources, provide enough information to establish a local variant of Insular and Continental Uses in fourteenth century Scotland. Another point of interest is that some of the *Colum Cille* antiphons may, by dint of their melodic structure, have originated from the Celtic Church. Such a notion makes stimulating reading, given that many had assumed Celtic practices in Scotland to have been stamped out by the end of the eleventh century.[17]

The question of "use" in Scotland has attracted some attention in the literature. Different uses at different times has been the garbled message but, with the increased "anglicisation" of Scotland from the eleventh century onwards, the swing was definitely towards Sarum. There is mention, however, of Rome, Lincoln and York all part of the equation, but too little research has been carried out to demarcate with any degree of certainty chronological and regional divisions. Our most complete and definitive source to date is the *Aberdeen Breviary*, printed in 1507, according to "Our Awin Scottis Use".[18] This important Scottish service book [19] was commissioned by James IV of Scotland and is, in the words of Isobel Woods, "the only surviving concrete example of the attempt to codify and standardize Scottish use".[20] Woods continues by indicating that Sarum Use is apparent in the Temporale, but points out the addition of about fifty-five Scots saints in the Sanctorale. The offices of insular saints have received much attention by the scholar, Andrew Hughes.

Let us return briefly to our discussion of Scottish use. The area now known as Dumfries and Galloway was for centuries independent of Scotland, more prone to the expansionism of Anglo Saxon nobles ruling from York than their northern counterparts.[21] Along with political influence came ecclesiastical domination, and the Scottish bishops of SW Scotland, particularly at Whithorn, swore their allegiance to York until at least 1472. This may be apparent in a fragment from Sweetheart Abbey, which is definitely according to York Use.[23]

Let us turn now to research on *The Stranraer Fragment*, ST1/7/0-B. Discovered "in the late 'forties or early 'fifties"[24] as the cover for a protocol book (land transactions) of James Glover, Town Clerk of Stranraer, this fragment has languished in the archives of Stranraer museum for nearly half a century. As a single folio, it presented tremendous challenges in terms of musicological research, but a multi-disciplinary approach has certainly helped shed light on its context and its importance.[25] This approach has included knowledge about medieval chant and liturgy, paleographic styles, religious establishments in the area, and local history and politics.

Because it was used as a cover, there has been some damage inflicted on the fragment. The outside (the recto of the original folio) is extremely darkened, rendering the music and text virtually illegible. The fragment had also been folded in two to form the cover of the protocol document, and the de facto spine drilled or pierced in order to thread binding twine through the entire document. In spite of these handicaps on the recto, the verso is remarkably clear and very easy to decipher. Notes contained in the storage box suggested that it was from a noted breviary, probably from the nearby Cistercian Abbey of Glenluce and that it contains the greater part of Matins for Good Friday. The latter statement is undoubtedly true. By holding the dark side of the manuscript to various different light sources it is possible to discern the chants, text and rubrics for the great responsaries and verses contained within the latter part of the first Nocturn. The antiphons and psalms of the second Nocturn continue the service on the dark recto side, then the fully legible, final part of Nocturn II and the antiphons and Psalms of Nocturn III are revealed on the verso.

The suggestion that it was from a noted breviary is problematic. A breviary, noted or otherwise, usually contains all the texts for the Offices of the Hours. This fragment, however, contains only rubrics for the lessons to be read and the first few words for each text. Since the chants for the antiphons, versicles, responsaries and verses are quoted in full notation, this fragment must have come from, what we now call, an antiphoner or antiphonal.

The question of use comes next. Consulting definitive sources,[26] it was possible to establish that the fragment is most definitely of Sarum Use. This raised a number of questions. The fragment, if of local provenance, may have been presumed to be of York Use. Also, if it came from the Glenluce Abbey, the fragment should have reflected Continental practices, since the Cistercians tended to follow the orders of their mother house in Citeaux in southern France.[27] Another fact helps to unravel this mystery. Stephen Allenson establishes that there was no reason for manuscripts to have travelled far from their place of provenance to a new location.[28] The Stranraer

Fragment was not used by a professional bookbinder, but rather as an impromptu cover for some relatively unimportant town council records. For this reason, it is most likely to be of local provenance.

It is possible that this folio came from a local establishment such as a parish church in Stranraer, or possibly the local Premonstratensian Abbey of Soulseat. It is difficult to ascertain where with any degree of certainty, because the Offices for the Triduum were "pared down to their bare essentials".[29] This means that monastic and ecclesiastical services were almost identical in structure at this time in the church kalendar. Since the Premonstratensians tended to follow the monastic Rule of the Cistercians, but observed secular Augustinian Use often based on local practice,[30] it may be deduced that this fragment could well have orginated from Soulseat. The definitive edition of Sarum contains chant from the Augustinian house of Barnwell, supporting the Stranraer Fragment's link with Soulseat. There were Augustinian houses at Canonbie and St Mary's Isle,[31] but these are perhaps too far away to be viable alternatives.

The paleographic style provides further clues. The style of the text is Gothic Textura and would point towards the late medieval period with relatively discrete letters, in contrast to the earlier style of close and identical, vertical strokes for a number of different letters. A late style is also indicated in the square neumes, some of which lean to become almost diamond shaped. These features, then, would date the Stranraer Fragment to the late 15th or early 16th century. One additional feature is the single ornamented letter "A", which announces the first antiphon of the third nocturn, "Ab insurgentibus in me". The ornate, almost paisley-like style of this letter may, by studying other manuscripts, provide further clues on the origin of the Stranraer Fragment.

There is one final, tantalising clue to be found in this fragment. The Triduum (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter Saturday) represented the most austere juncture in the calendar of the Roman Catholic medieval church. Although practices differed widely, the following rituals may have been observed.[32] Altars were stripped bare and washed down with a mixture of wine and water. Candles were extinguished one by one with each antiphon at Matins and Lauds until the church was in total darkness. It was often customary to omit the celebration of mass from the Wednesday of Holy Week until Easter Sunday. The Stranraer Fragment, then, contains the office for the "lowest" point of this penitential period, and it seems a curious circumstance that it should have escaped the reformers' zeal. Of course this may be pure speculation but, in a symbolic sense, the survival of this folio makes one pause for thought.

It is possible, then, to make a feasible reconstruction of the past using this multi-disciplinary approach. This is not a new idea, but it is one that needs further development and use in the field of Liturgical Music in the Medieval Scots Church. One writer has suggested that it is dangerous to draw parallels between the reform movements of England and Scotland.[33] The difference between the reasons for the disappearance of the monasteries in the two countries provides sufficient evidence for this theory. A safe comparison, however, would be to note the tragic loss of church books in both countries. Conservative estimates, for example, place the survival of antiphoners in England at one in a thousand.[34] The situation in Scotland can be no better or worse. In spite of the fact that there was no systematic destruction of the books on a par with Edward VI's "Order in Council", most of Scotland's liturgical books have been lost forever.[35] But how much is left? A brief search on the web-site of the National Library of Scotland reveals an extensive list of antiphonals, breviaries, missals, ordinals and, not surprisingly, numerous psalters.[36] All this, in one Scottish establishment alone.

The Scots repertoire deserves the attention that the remaining Insular and Continental repertoire has received. An up to date inventory would be a good start so we could have, at least, an idea what is available for study.[37]

It has been suggested that there is a need for the different disciplines to work together and for scholars to use the tools of different research areas. This is true and the process has already begun. But there is a more powerful tool at hand - the Internet. By searching the wealth of information at our disposal on web-sites and using the numerous mailing groups to communicate with each other in our global community, we can gain the knowledge required to help us in our research. We live in an ecumenical age where we can share our knowledge and reconstruct the past; history recalling not only the iconoclastic events.[38] One that helps us learn about, and from the past, providing context and accuracy so that we do not repeat the iniquities of our ancestors.

Notes

1. Fawcett, R. *Scottish Abbeys and Priories*, (London, 1994) p. 26.
2. Ibid. p. 36.
3. Ibid. p. 100.
4. Fawcett, R. *Scottish Abbeys and Priories*, (London, 1997) p. 50.
5. Ibid. p. 84
6. McRoberts, D., ed. *In Essays on the Scottish Reformation: 1523-1625*, (Glasgow, 1962) p. 455.
7. Windsor, Eton College Library, 178, transcr., *Musica Britannica X-XII - The Eton Choirbook*, ed. F. L. Harrison (London, 1956-61)
8. Randel, Don. Ed. "Sources (pre 1500)", *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, (Cambridge, 1986) p. 777.
9. *The Carvor Choirbook*, The National Library of Scotland, MS Adv.5.1.15. Other contemporary manuscripts include *The Thomas Wode Partbooks* (Dunkeld Partbooks, now attributed to Lincluden Collegiate Church) and *The Douglass Fisher Partbooks.*
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11. Woods, op. cit. p. 233.
12. Duffy E., *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, (Bath, 1992) p. 1.
13. Ibid. pp. 1-2
14. Flynn, W. T., "Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis", *Studies in Liturgical Musicology*, No 8 (Maryland, 1999) xix-xxi.
15. Ibid. p. xix.
16. Purser, J. *Scotland's Music: A History of the Traditional and Classical Music of Scotland from Early Times to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh, 1992); Ross, op. cit.; Allenson, S. "The Inverness Fragments: Music from a Pre-Reformation Scottish Parish Church and School", *Music and Letters*, Vol. 70, No. 1, (Feb 1989) Woods I, "'Our Awin Scottis Use': Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland", *Journal of the Royal Musicological Society*, 112 (1987). The ideas expressed within this paragraph are not entirely original. The call for a multi-disciplinary approach may be found in: Woods, I. "The Scottish Medieval Church: sources and information", *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference in Musicology*, 11-15 May 1988, 71 (Stockholm, 1992) p.107-116.
17. Malcolm III's English princess wife, the saintly Margaret, was instrumental in establishing Sarum Use in Scotland: Duke, A. *History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation. Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1937) p.71-77.
18. Woods "'Our Awin Scotis Use': Chant Usage in Medieval Scotland", p. 21.
19. Recently reprinted, *Breviarium Aberdonense*. Blew, W. ed., preface by Laing, D. (Edinburgh, 1855) reprint (Edinburgh, 1976).
20. Woods, op. cit., p.22.
21. Oram, R. D. The Christian Heritage of Wigtownshire, from *A Journey Through Time* 1, produced by The Whithorn Trust & The Dumfries & Galloway Tourist Board, (place of publication and date unknown) pp. 1-4.
22. Brooke. D, *Wild Men and Holy Places: St Ninian, Whithorn and the Medieval Realm of Galloway*, (Edinburgh, 1994) pp.171-2.
23. Discovered in a 16th century binding from Sweetheart Abbey in Galloway, now in Edinburgh University Library, MS 101 (olim D.b.iv.7), and discussed in D. McRoberts, D. *Catalogue of Scottish Medieval Liturgical Books and Fragments* (Glasgow, 1953). Also printed in *The Innes Review*, X, (1952) pp. 49-63. The Sweetheart Fragment does not provide conclusive evidence of York Use in the area, since it may not have originated from that establishment. See p. 7, no. 27.
24. Truckell, A. E. "Early Stranraer Records" from *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural Historian and Antiquarian Society*, LXVII, 1991. p.91
25. A fuller description of the MS will appear shortly in *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural Historian and Antiquarian Society.*
26. Frere, W. H. (ed.) *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, (London 1901-24, repr., Farnborough, 1966), Vol I-VI; Procter, F. and Wordsworth, C. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, (Cambridge 1879-86, repr., Farnborough, 1970) Vol I-III; and Lawley, S. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, (Surtees Society, 1880) Vol.71 & 75.
27. Harper, J. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, (Oxford, 1991) p.29.
28. Allenson. p. 18
29. Harper, pp.40-1.
30. Harper, p.30.

31. Information on Scots religious houses was taken from R. Fawcett. See notes 1-4.
32. Hughes, A. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a guide to their organisation and terminology*. (Toronto, 1982) Chapter 9.
33. Ross, A. "Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland", in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, D. McRoberts, ed. (Glasgow, 1962) p. 212.
34. Edwards, O. T. *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day: the medieval office of the Welsh Patron Saint* in National Library of Wales MS 20451 E. (Cambridge, 1990) p.143.
35. Isobel Woods suggests that the books of the Chapel Royal could well have been lost on the merchant ship "Elizabeth" during the Restoration when 85 hogsheads of Scottish papers were being returned to their country of origin. The ship foundered off Cockle and Winterton with the loss of all cargo. See Woods, "The Scottish Medieval Church: sources and information", p.108.
36. The singing of metrical psalms became the staple diet for worship in the Scots Reformed Church
37. The last complete inventory was made nearly half a century ago in D. McRoberts, *A Catalogue of Scottish medieval liturgical books and fragments*. See note 23.
38. Lines, M. *Sacred Stones, Sacred Places*, (Edinburgh, 1992). Gordon Strachan, in his foreword.

ALL ABOUT VICTORIAN CHURCHES STUDY DAY

Saturday 28 October 2000

Don't know the difference between your Scott and your Street or Butterfield and Bodley? Well - this is the day for you! This event, led by Dr Geoff Brandwood, will be held jointly with the Victorian Society and is a repeat of a highly successful study day run by that society last year. The programme looks at churches before the restorers, at the background to how and why the great Victorian gothic revival took place. Special emphasis wil be placed on the role of the Cambridge Camden Society. We will then look at the distinctive contributions of the major Victorian church architects. Held at the Linnean Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1 (equidistant between Green Park and Piccadilly Tube stations). 10.30 a.m. (finishing at approx. 4.30). To keep costs down refreshments and lunch are not included but there are many cafes and restaurants in the immediate vicinity. Price: £18 + s.a.e. Applications to Geoff Brandwood, 46 Northampton Road, Market Harborough LE16 9HE. Please make cheques payable to the Ecclesiological Society.

WHAT IS ARCHITECTURE?

In 1846 the *Builder* magazine ran an article written by Robert Kerr entitled 'The Young Architects of England - by One of Themselves'. After a long introduction Kerr asks the question 'what is Architecture?' He offers several ideas which he dismisses as not representative of architecture before starting on the following diatribe

> Architecture is then, the Camden Society sort of thing; pots for holy water, altars, pixes, piscinea, stained-glass, old manuscripts, bishops, rubbing of brasses, images scarcely decent, pictures horribly worse, madonnas, crosses, queer illegible kinds of printing, freemasonry, curious locks and hinges, and - all sorts of funny old things, isn't it? O dear no; that's not Architecture, that's Archaeology mon cher - the Science of Rubbish.

After more debate he finally concludes that 'Architecture is THE ART OF THE BEAUTIFUL in buildings.'

[Thanks to Sue Branfoot for unearthing this masterpiece]

Sorry we are late with this edition but we have had computer problems which have caused delays.
The technology has been unable to keep up with the contents!

CLEWER CONVENT UNDER THREAT

by John Pritchard

The idea of a "House of Mercy" in Windsor came about in 1849, when Mrs Tennant, widow of a clergyman, offered to take into her own house a girl who had been found "living in peculiarly grievous sin" by the vicar, Revd TT Carter.[1] Within three months, eighteen girls had been admitted to Mrs Tennant's care, and the need for a more permanent establishment had become clear. The presence of a large Army contingent in Windsor ensured ample opportunities for girls to "fall", although a number of those rescued came from London.

Whilst Carter had not intended to found a convent, he soon came to the conclusion that a Sisterhood was 'the only practicable instrument',[2] as the work was too great for any one person, and he felt it should be based in a community operating on religious principles.

An estate of 15 acres on Hatch Lane was purchased for £2400 in 1851, with a house and outbuildings which were adapted for the immediate needs of the new community. In 1853, Henry Woodyer prepared plans for a purpose-built complex of buildings. (Woodyer was an old Etonian, TT Carter's brother having been his contemporary there, and both the Provost of Eton and Woodyer's former tutor were on the Council of the House of Mercy.) He agreed to provide designs without charging a fee, 'a truly magnificent gift'[3] – especially considering the difficulty of working for a committee which had too little money, but nevertheless interfered consistently in the design.[4]

The original Clewer House of Mercy was a quadrangle in plan, to be built entirely in red brick, with no stone dressings, in keeping with its "institutional" function. The north range provided accommodation for 50 penitents; a dining room and classrooms on the ground floor, a dormitory (with rooms for Sisters) on the first floor, with an attic, lit by dormer windows, above. The western range, fronting onto Hatch Lane, contained the entrance as well as a large laundry – the penitents were to earn their keep by washing and needlework – and a kitchen with a lofty octagonal lantern. The south range included rooms for the Sisters, rooms for penitents 'who at one period belonged to superior classes of society', and a chapel as the eastern extension of the wing. The quadrangle is closed by a covered passageway on the eastern side. Despite Revd Carter's talent for extracting donations, funds were inadequate for the full scheme to be built at once: the south, east and west ranges were built in 1854-5, at a cost of some £5900, with the eastern range and chapel following in 1857-8 at a cost of £4500.[5]

The contractor for the first phase, Loe & Sons of Guildford, proved to be rather unsatisfactory and Woodyer recommended Messrs Wheeler of Reading for the second contract. Wheelers had a reputation for high-quality workmanship; the east window of the chapel, in particular, was described as "one of the finest specimens of gauged brickwork in the country"[6]. The red and black polychrome brick of its western doorway is also a notable feature.

The Ecclesiologist described the House of Mercy as 'a work of high art' and commented that '... we never yet saw a building which gave us the idea of greater pains and more workmanlike thought having been bestowed on its minutest details, as well as on its general design, than this.'[7] Woodyer had given careful attention to practical matters. A cloister and corridors provided covered access to all parts of the building, and room to walk in wet weather. A water tower – foursquare with a pyramidal roof – supplied the laundry, water from a well being lifted by a steam pump; the tower also housed the staircase, arranged around a central shaft which provided ventilation for the dormitory, a draft being created by a furnace which also heated water for a bathroom. Water closets were installed next to the tower. The original plan included hot water heating throughout the building, an advanced idea which was vetoed by the committee. The infirmary had an oriel window into the adjacent chapel, to allow the sick to hear the services. However, Woodyer equipped the infirmary with one of his favourite spiral staircases, which proved awkward at the best of times, and impossible with a stretcher.

In 1860 the attic storey of the north range was fitted out as another dormitory, allowing a total of 75 penitents to be accepted. The need continued to grow; in 1872 a block (the "Magdalens' Wing") was added on the north-eastern side, and in 1874 a further wing was built to the south, facing Hatch Lane.

By this time Clewer was the headquarters of a Community active in running Houses of Mercy, orphanages, hospitals and schools, and in mission work at home and abroad, with well over 100 Sisters. The old chapel was too small, and the Community decided to build a new one. Henry Woodyer prepared plans for an astonishing piece of High Victorian grandeur, and one of his most notable works. Built in red brick, with Uttoxeter red sandstone dressings, it tones with the convent buildings but towers over them. The plan comprises a choir, to accommodate 100 Sisters, with an apsidal east end, and a nave and aisles of four bays with very tall piers, all under a single roof, the chancel arch being marked externally by a bell-turret. The choir is vaulted in timber and painted canvas, springing from carved stone corbels; the nave roof is open. The windows of the choir are tall, with Decorated-style tracery in the head – each different: externally they are surmounted by gable-like crocketed triangles, rising through the parapet. The east window is blind, and bears a large crucifix on the outside (carved by Nicholls); inside there is a lofty reredos representing Christ in majesty surrounded by angels, also by Nicholls. Externally the walls are decorated with moulded brick and terracotta, internally there is striking use of black and red polychrome brick, with patterns of terracotta panels in the choir. Nave and choir are separated by a carved oak rood screen and gallery, with fine wrought-iron gates. The builder was again Messrs Wheeler, who were responsible for what 'must be one of the greatest feats of virtuoso brick-laying in England.'[8] Stained glass in the choir is by Hardman, and that in the nave by Clayton & Bell; floor tiles are by Minton, ironwork by Mason & Co. of Guildford, and brasswork by Hardman.[9]

In 1883 a fire destroyed the laundry in the west range. A new laundry block was built in 1886 to the north, and the west range rebuilt to house a dining-hall with bedrooms over. This was Woodyer's last contribution to the Clewer complex: he died in 1896, and is commemorated by a plaque on the outside of the Chapel. Although the south-west wing was extended in 1926, the outside of the Convent building remains generally very much as Woodyer planned it, and the chapel also retains nearly all its original decoration and fittings.

Now the Sisters have decided to move out, and the future is uncertain. The buildings are listed as Grade II, though the quality of the 1881 chapel surely deserves the highest grading – we understand that the Victorian Society is appealing to the Secretary of State for it to be regraded, and hope this is successful.

This is a major Victorian complex with an exceptional chapel. Let us hope that a new, sympathetic use can be found before Woodyer's masterpiece is lost.

Notes

1 T.T. Carter, "The First Five Years of the House of Mercy, Clewer" (2nd Edition, 1856)
2 Carter, *op cit*
3 The *Guardian* Vol. XIII (7 July 1858) p. 537-8
4 Correspondence in the Convent archives, quoted in Valerie Bonham, *A Place in Life* (Windsor, 1992). Woodyer's original contract drawings for all the Clewer buildings are also in the Convent archives, with photographic copies in the National Monuments Record, Swindon
5 The *Guardian* Vol. IX (28 June 1854) p. 508 - foundation stone; The *Guardian* Vol. X (5 Dec 1855) p. 895, the *Builder* Vol. XIII (15 Dec 1855) p.611 - opening; the *Builder* Vol. XVI (24 July 1858) p.507
6 The *Guardian* Vol. XIII (7 July 1858) p. 537-8
7 The *Ecclesiologist*, Vol. XVII (1856) pp. 37-41
8 Ian Richards, *Abbeys of Europe* (1968) p.174
9 The *Guardian* vol. XXXVI (26 Oct 1881) p. 1525 - report of dedication service.

Why not go on one of the Society's visits?
Details enclosed.
Just ring the appropriate co-ordinator and book your place.

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