ECCLESIOLOGY TODAY



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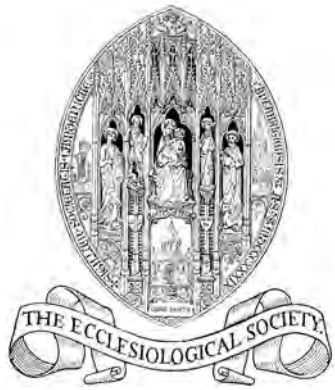

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Cover image: St Patrick's, Donegall Street, Belfast. Designed by Timothy Hevey and Mortimer Thomson, it was completed in 1877. (Photo: John Goodall)

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Editor's Introduction

It is very rare for *Ecclesiology Today* to venture across the Irish Sea, but in this edition I am pleased to be able to bring you two articles on Irish subjects. As one might expect they reveal a mixture of the familiar and unfamiliar: English ecclesiology absorbed by Irish architects and well-known English architects meeting the liturgical and aesthetic requirements of Irish patrons.

In our opening article, Julie Taylor surveys the nineteenth-century churches of Belfast built by Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian congregations. Her article charts the growing influence of the Cambridge Camden Society and A. W. N. Pugin on church-building in the booming Victorian city and reveals the differences and similarities between the three denominations in their adoption of Gothic Revival architecture.

While the architects of Belfast were taking on board English influences, elsewhere in Ireland there were English architects who were active in church-building, perhaps none more so than the Yorkshireman, George Goldie. Caoimhín de Bhailís introduces Goldie's work in Ireland with a focus on the west of the country and in particular the dioceses of Elphin and Achonry, where his churches and conventual buildings were a means of renewing the Catholic presence in the landscape following Emancipation.

Returning to England, David Parsons looks beyond the familiar story of Victorian church restoration to examine changes made for what he terms 'pre-Tractarian' worship, in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. He shows how a combination of different forms of evidence can reveal past changes even where the physical evidence may have been eradicated by later restorers. Perhaps some readers will be inspired to follow the research directions David suggests at the end of his article.

Finally, I am honoured to be able to bring you a review essay by our President, David Stancliffe, who brings his considerable knowledge of Christian architecture and liturgy to bear on Allan Doig's recent book, *A History of the Church through its Buildings*.

Nick Chapple
editor@ecclsoc.org

Church-Building in Nineteenth-Century Belfast

JULIE TAYLOR

In the year 1800 Belfast was fast emerging as a major industrial centre, and industries such as ship-building and linen and cotton manufacture drew large numbers of people from rural Ulster and beyond. Belfast had already begun to develop rapidly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when a blueprint was set for a 'New Georgian Town', and old buildings were demolished to make way for new houses, civic buildings and roads. This process continued into the nineteenth century, as industrialisation and the development of commercial and financial facilities transformed the Georgian town into a Victorian city. During this period, church-building also developed rapidly, until it peaked in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, when the greatest period of church building in the city's history took place.

Ecclesiastical architecture in Belfast evolved from the austere vernacular forms of the eighteenth century, to a variety of more sophisticated historical revivalist styles, as industrialisation in the city gathered pace. From the middle of the century, the Gothic Revival flourished and was embraced by all Christian denominations – not only Anglicans (Fig. 1) and Catholics, but also the Presbyterians, who had no historical links to Gothic architecture, and whose bibliocentric form of worship was not obviously suited to medieval building forms. This architectural consensus prevailed in spite of increasing polarisation between the Catholic and Presbyterian communities in the city.

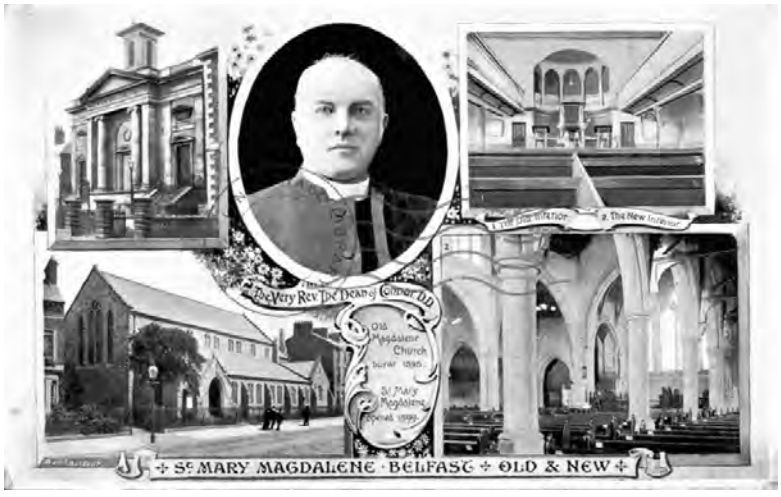

Fig. 1: Church of St Mary Magdalene, Donegall Pass, a microcosm of Belfast's ecclesiastical revolution: in 1899 the classical church of 1839 was rebuilt in Gothic style. (Linen Hall Library)

This article is based on a study of 90 churches constructed in Belfast between the 1770s and 1900 by the three largest denominations: Presbyterian, Church of Ireland (Anglican) and Catholic. It sets out the religio-political background and then traces the development of architectural styles and building forms in each of the denominations. In doing so it highlights the impact of A.W. N. Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society on ecclesiastical architecture in Belfast and attempts to account for the perhaps surprising adoption of Gothic by Presbyterian congregations.

A brief religio-political history of Belfast

Presbyterianism was the largest dissenting denomination in Ulster, and Belfast in the latter half of the eighteenth century was home to a successful class of Presbyterian merchants, traders and cotton manufacturers, who held most of the town's wealth. At this time, the Catholic population only constituted 6.5 per cent of the population, and their generally lower-class status resulted in them having limited societal influence. Relations between both Presbyterian and Catholic communities were generally cordial at this stage, which can be chiefly attributed to the continuing resentment that *both* communities felt over the control that aristocrats and Anglicans had of church and state. It was the era of the 'Protestant Ascendancy', and both Catholics and Presbyterians in Belfast shared a desire for self-government and an overthrow of the landlordism and privilege that was bestowed upon the minority Church of Ireland.

At this stage, the Church of Ireland tended to be politically conservative, whereas Belfast Presbyterians were generally liberal and this is reflected in two of the three Presbyterian meeting houses in existence at the time being occupied by 'new light' congregations. 'New light' Presbyterians were a breakaway sect, that generally espoused liberal views theologically and politically, and in doing so, were in constant disagreement with their traditionalist and Conservative/Calvinist 'old light' counterparts. Both 'new light' Presbyterians and Catholics (who were striving for full political rights), eagerly absorbed radical ideas coming from America, France and Scotland, which drove the spirit of the United Irishmen in their fight for religious and political equality.

By the time of the building of St Patrick's Catholic church in 1815, however, relations between the two denominations were already deteriorating. Belfast's rapid industrial expansion was changing the religious demographic of the town, as thousands flocked to it from impoverished rural areas. A large proportion of these migrants were Catholic, and by the 1830s, the Catholic population in Belfast had risen to one in three. These rising numbers began to undermine the

Presbyterian sense of security and directly challenged Belfast's identity as a 'Presbyterian town'.

After emancipation in 1829, Catholic political power in Ireland rose dramatically and Catholic predominance in most Irish constituencies was established in a short space of time; due to this, a new Irish Catholic national identity was forming. At the same time Irish nationalism had ceased to be an important element within Liberal Presbyterianism, as they associated the establishment of the Union with the great and growing prosperity that came with industrialisation.

One of the most influential preachers of the era, Henry Cooke (1788–1868) (Fig. 2) was a Conservative Presbyterian and an instrumental figure in leading many Presbyterians away from their old alliance with Liberalism and Catholics, towards a new alliance with the Conservative, Unionist Church of Ireland (Anglicans) under a Protestant Unionist banner. Cooke played to Presbyterian fears by interpreting growing Catholic political power in Ireland as an act of 'papal aggression' and 'political popery'.[1] This further enhanced Presbyterian support for maintenance of the Union, as they viewed it as their protection as a vulnerable minority against a growing Catholic tide.

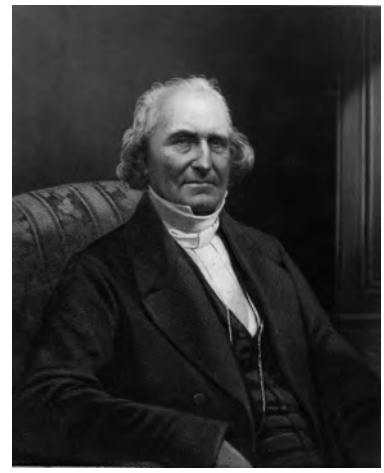

Fig. 2: The Revd Henry Cooke. Mid nineteenth-century engraving by W. Holl from a photograph. (© National Portrait Gallery)

Tensions were further heightened between Protestant and Catholic communities due to the sectarianism that rural migrants brought with them in the form of the Orange Order and Ribbon societies. This resulted in Catholic and Protestant migrants moving into increasingly segregated working-class areas in Belfast, where inter-communal rioting erupted throughout the nineteenth century. By the time W. E. Gladstone's Liberal party had introduced the first Home Rule Bill in 1886, support for the Liberal government had largely depleted within Presbyterian circles, and the political alliance between the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterians was secure. By the end of the nineteenth century, religio-political polarisation was complete under Catholic Nationalist and Protestant Unionist identities.

Belfast churches in the Georgian period

In the mid-eighteenth century, ecclesiastical building in Belfast was rudimentary and consisted of a 'dilapidated' Church of Ireland parish church, three austere Presbyterian meeting houses and a Catholic 'mass station'. As industrialisation gathered pace, however, church-building began to develop, with large galleried churches emerging that were generally constructed in Classical styles (Fig. 3), or occasionally in an un-archaeological, Georgian style of Gothic.

These 'preaching-box' or 'auditory' churches were suited to the worship needs of the Church of Ireland and Presbyterian congregations



Fig. 3: St Anne's Church (now Cathedral), Donegall Street, 1776. (George Benn, *The History of the Town of Belfast* (1823), p.138)

of the time (Fig. 4). Both denominations followed a Calvinistic or evangelical approach, which were preaching-centred theologies; and other factors such as ritual observation and the use of Christian art and symbolism were generally non-existent. Catholics, however, also constructed their churches in this manner, partially due to the internal layout being able to accommodate many people within the least amount of space, without excessive cost. Due to the importance of sacramental worship within Catholicism, however, an altar took centre stage rather than the pulpit.

The Pugin effect

Mid-nineteenth-century Ireland saw a revolution in church architecture, in which the Classical and 'Gothic' designs of the Georgian era were replaced by a range of more sophisticated historical-revivalist designs.

Principal among these was the Gothic Revival, which completely changed the face of ecclesiastical building for the rest of the century. What made this 'modern' Gothic Revival different to the 'faux' Gothic styles that had gone before was that a new scholarly approach was applied to ecclesiastical design. This resulted in more authentic, historically-informed Gothic architecture, with the layout of the buildings dictated by pre-Reformation liturgical practices. These replaced the preaching-centred Classical auditory designs that were popular in the late Georgian period. The Gothic Revival made such an impact that, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it established itself as the definitive 'church style' in the popular consciousness.[2]

In Ireland, as in England, this transformation was fundamentally influenced by the Cambridge Camden Society (founded in 1839) and the architect A.W. N. Pugin (1812–52). The Cambridge Camden Society 'sought to denigrate' the church buildings and churchmanship of the early nineteenth century 'and this they did very effectively'.[3]

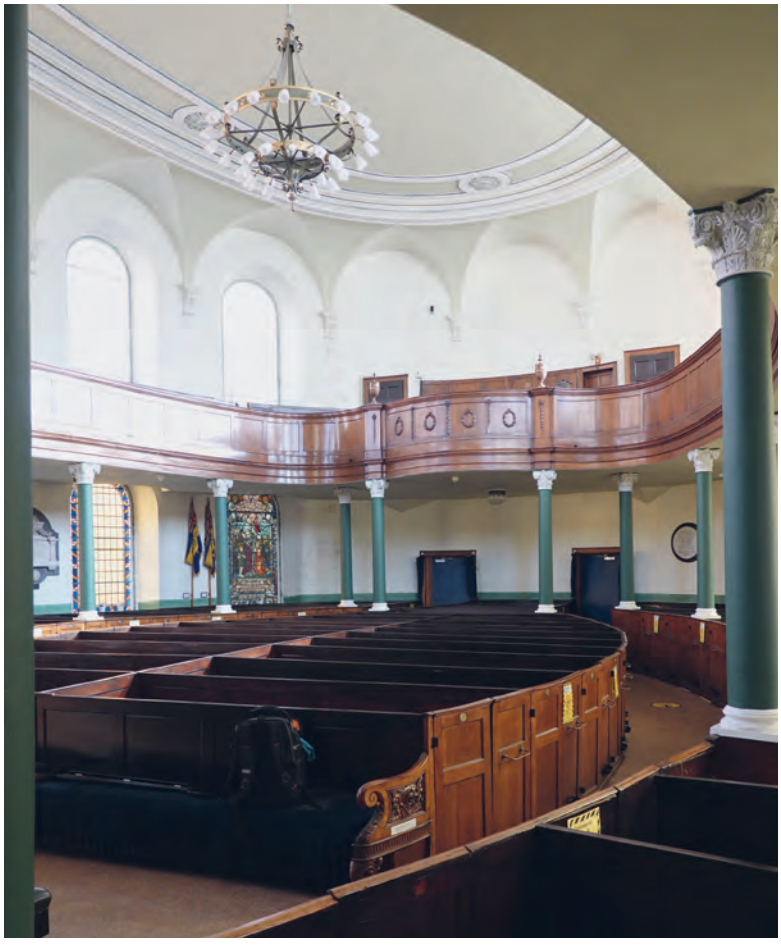

Fig. 4: First Presbyterian Church, Rosemary Street, 1783. (Photo: John Goodall)



Fig. 5: St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral in Armagh, 1854. (Photo by John Armagh - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, Wikimedia Commons)

Their focus was on the reform of the liturgical practices and buildings of the Church of England, inspired by the doctrines of the Tractarians. Pugin by contrast had been received into the Catholic church in 1835 and felt 'perfectly convinced that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true one, and the only one in which the grand and sublime style of architecture can ever be restored'.[4] Nevertheless, ties were formed between the Cambridge Camden Society and Pugin, who quoted Camdenian publications extensively in his controversial articles in *The Dublin Review* in 1842 (republished as *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*, in 1843). These were widely distributed in Ireland, to Catholics and Anglicans alike.

Pugin also set up an extensive ecclesiastical practice in Ireland, bringing his passion for Gothic architecture across the Irish Sea through his designs for buildings including St Aidan's Catholic Cathedral in Enniscorthy (1839) and St Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Killarney (1842). His style of building was enthusiastically received in Ireland and his influence resulted in the Catholic church largely abandoning Classical styles. This zeal was carried northwards and championed by renowned architects such as J. J. McCarthy (1817–82). McCarthy was often referred to as 'The Irish Pugin' and examples of his work in Ulster include The Church of the Most Holy Trinity in Cookstown (1854) and St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral in Armagh (1854) (Fig. 5).

Tractarian ideas were also brought to the Church of Ireland in Ulster by the Church Accommodation Society, which was strongly associated with the Cambridge Camden Society. The Bishop of Down and Connor Richard Mant, a member of both societies, delivered the first of two controversial lectures at the Down, Connor and Dromore Church Architecture Society's monthly meeting on 7 February 1843. In these, he advocated for liturgical correctness to be incorporated into church buildings, and also that provision should be made for the proper administration of sacraments.[5] Mant's remarks came at a time when the minority church felt increasingly under threat from growing Catholic political power, however, and the least suggestion of sacraments and symbolism was interpreted by many as 'rank popery'. This resulted in Mant coming under severe pressure from his critics and he was forced to recant his remarks and resign from the Cambridge Camden Society.

Catholic churches

Catholics in early eighteenth-century Ulster suffered extensively from poverty, persecution and displacement under penal legislation. As a result, the scattered Catholic families that resided in the Belfast hills resorted to worshipping at open air 'mass stations', or occasionally

'mass houses' built in a rudimentary vernacular style. A relaxation of laws in the Catholic relief Act of 1782 restored the right to Catholics to purchase land and restrictions on Catholic clergy were also rescinded. This, coupled with the steady stream of Catholics coming into Belfast, resulted in the construction in 1784 of the town's first Catholic church.

The church of Old St Mary's on Crooked Lane (now Chapel Lane) was an unimposing building that resembled the vernacular style of the Presbyterian meeting houses of previous decades. Nothing is known about the architect, but the prominently displayed crosses, including the cut stone crosses that were positioned on the front gable and two adjacent wings, may have been used to distinguish the building as a Catholic church. The church building was situated well back from the pavement on Crooked Lane and a small sacristan chapel was also constructed directly in front of it. The positioning and design of the building is reflective of the sanctions imposed on Catholic church building under the Catholic Relief Act of 1782, which included prohibitions on the use of steeples or bells. It also highlights the self-effacement and insularity that Catholics had become accustomed to, due to their social and cultural life being marginalised after years of discrimination and prejudice.

By 1808, the Catholic population of Belfast had reached 4,000 and it was becoming increasingly difficult for St Mary's to handle such large numbers. Plans got underway to construct a new church, and Old St Patrick's in Donegall Street opened for worship in 1815 (Fig. 6). In contrast to St Mary's, St Patrick's was boldly positioned, facing on to Donegall Street, and only a few hundred yards from the Anglican church



Fig. 6: Old St Patrick's Church, Donegall Street, 1815. (Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

of St Anne's. It was also the first ecclesiastical building in Belfast to be built in a (Georgian) Gothic style, and the façade of the church was dressed in Gothic detailing to Classical proportions. When the English novelist William Makepeace Thackeray visited Belfast in 1842, he described the building in his *Irish Sketchbook* as 'an exceedingly unprepossessing building of the Strawberry Hill or Castle of Otranto Gothic'.[6]

Little is known of the interior, but it is clear from the exterior and the mention of galleries in some literature that the building was typical of the large galleried churches that dominated ecclesiastical architecture at the time.[7] The move to Gothic attributes, however, when both the Church of Ireland and Presbyterians were generally still favouring Classical styles, established a Gothic identity for Catholic church-building within the town.

After Emancipation in 1829, Catholicism started to enter the mainstream of religious activity. Despite the building lull during the Great Famine of the 1840s, Catholic church building across Ireland escalated and became increasingly conspicuous in style and site, with 'historically correct' Gothic churches beginning to make an appearance. Catholic church building in Ireland at this stage was funded entirely by its members and was supported significantly by an increasingly prosperous Catholic middle class. However, unlike the rest of the island, church building in Belfast developed at a much slower rate, and by 1844 only three Catholic churches had been erected in the town. This was largely due to there being no significant Catholic middle class within the region, and a large proportion of Belfast's Catholic community at the time lived in poverty.

When St Malachy's church, Alfred Street, was built in 1844 it set a new architectural precedent for Belfast, as it was the first church to be constructed there in a Tudor Gothic style. Despite the novel exterior of the church, it displayed within a typical galleried arrangement, as this was still the best way of housing the most people at the least expense (Fig. 7). The design was the subject of a competition and the winning entry was supplied by Thomas Jackson (1807–90), junior partner of Thomas Duff (*c.*1792–1848) who was the leading Catholic architect in Ireland between Emancipation and the Famine. Duff is noted for building in Tudor and Perpendicular Gothic styles, as seen in his designs for St Patrick's, Dundalk (1842), and Newry Cathedral (1842), and his unexecuted design of St Patrick's Cathedral in Armagh.

It took another two decades after St Malachy's for the next Catholic church to be constructed in Belfast, and by that stage Catholic church building on the rest of the island was heavily influenced by Pugin. St Peter's Pro-Cathedral (now Cathedral), which opened for worship



Fig. 7: St Malachy's Church, Alfred Street, 1844. (Photo: John Goodall)

in 1866, is a strong reflection of Pugin's ideals and a strong contrast to the Tudor Gothic, galleried St Malachy's. It was designed in a French-influenced fourteenth-century Gothic style by Fr Jeremiah McAuley (d. 1873) (who trained under Thomas Jackson), with John O'Neill (1828–83) taking over as supervising architect in 1866. The two spires were added in 1886 under the direction of Mortimer Thompson. Internally, a central aisle leads up to the deep apsidal chancel and raised altar, and at the time of construction, each aisle terminated at a side chapel, one for the 'Blessed Virgin' and one for 'the Most Blessed Sacrament' (Fig. 8).

As church-building slowly began to pick up pace for Catholics, the design of churches in Belfast for the remainder of the nineteenth century followed three main trajectories: Gothic, Romanesque or a hybrid of the two. Old St Mary's was extended and refurbished in the mid-1860s in a Continental Romanesque style. Neither exterior nor interior displayed any features of Gothic Revival architecture and the church kept its galleried interior layout (and an apsidal chancel was later added, in 1939). The next two Catholic churches constructed offer a mix of both Romanesque and Gothic Revival styles. Timothy Hevey (1846–78) was the architect responsible for the design of both the rebuilding



Fig. 8: St Peter's Cathedral, Albert Street, 1866. (Photo: Fr Martin Graham)

of old St Patrick's on Donegall Street (1877) (cover image), and the new church of St Joseph's in Sailortown (1880), which was completed after his death. It is clear that Hevey's designs were heavily influenced by his old employer Edward Welby Pugin (1834–75, son of A.W. N. Pugin) of Pugin & Ashlin in Dublin. Both churches bear a strong resemblance to the younger Pugin's design for the Church of St Augustine and St John, Thomas Street, Dublin. Out of the five remaining Catholic churches built in Belfast during the nineteenth century, three were firmly in Gothic Revival styles, while the remaining two combined round arched windows with decorative and structural elements from medieval Gothic.

Ten Catholic churches were built in Belfast in the nineteenth century, with styles evolving from the repressive forms of architecture of the penal era, to more elaborate and eclectic designs as the century progressed. By the latter decades of the century, Gothic Revival architecture had become the dominant style within Catholic church building. The large galleried churches of previous decades had all but disappeared and planning and layout followed the lead of St Peter's Cathedral of 1866, in the use of functioning chancels, raised altars, central aisles and side chapels, which were all in line with Pugin's architectural principles.

The Church of Ireland

In contrast to the Catholic church, the Church of Ireland had reached the zenith of its political and ecclesiastical status in eighteenth-century Ireland. It was the era of the 'Protestant Ascendancy' and the established church had taken over the medieval churches post-Reformation, thriving on the income from large estates, government funding and tithes. Many church buildings, however, lay in a state of disrepair, as funds provided from the Board of First Fruits for the construction and repair of churches was wholly inadequate. This is reflected in the only Church of Ireland church that existed within Belfast at this time, the 'dilapidated' old Corporation Church, which visiting clergyman Archdeacon Richard Pococke of Dublin described as a 'very mean fabric for such a considerable place'.[8]

As Belfast began to prosper in the late eighteenth century, the large, galleried church of St Anne's (1776; demolished in stages, 1900–22) (Fig. 2) was constructed, to the designs of the English architect, Francis Hiorne (1744–89). Although Hiorne was known as a Gothic architect,[9] St Anne's was built in a Classical style, harmonising with the Georgian terraces of the expanding town. The choice of style may also reflect the tastes of the patron, the 5th Earl of Donegall, but galleried Classical-style churches were common to all Protestant denominations in the late-Georgian period, as it suited their bibliocentric form of worship. Before the influence of Tractarianism, the Church of Ireland had essentially been a Protestant Church dominated by Calvinistic clergy, and worship methods were centred around the Book of Common Prayer. The next three Church of Ireland churches to be built in Belfast – St George's (1816) (Fig. 9), Christ Church (1833) and the Church of St Mary Magdalene (1839) (Fig. 1) – all conformed to the 'preaching box' model, with galleries, box pews and high pulpits inside and Classical temple fronts on the exterior.

An abrupt change can be observed from the early 1840s, as church design moved decisively away from the Classical styles of Belfast's earlier churches, to Gothicised styles, beginning with the construction of Trinity Church in Hope Street (destroyed in 1941). Built in 1843, the year after the publication of Pugin's controversial articles in *The Dublin Review,* it was commissioned by the Down and Connor Church Accommodation Society and designed by prolific architect and engineer Sir Charles Lanyon (1813–89) (also responsible for St Mark's in Ballysillan, 1854), who was an active Anglican churchgoer and offered his services free of charge. Its design appears to owe more than a little to Pugin's church of St Mary, Derby (designed in 1838).



Fig. 9: St George's Church, High Street, 1816. (Photo: Julie Taylor)

These first Gothic churches were built at a time when black-clad clergymen (such as the Revd Charles Seaver) still read communion from the pulpit and the evangelical ethos which pervaded Church of Ireland thought had no time for transepts, developed chancels, or art or symbolism of any sort. More so than the Anglican Church in England – where the Catholic church posed less of an existential threat – the Church of Ireland had developed a siege mentality after Emancipation, and was anxious to distance itself from any actions that might be construed as 'popery'. Many Church of Ireland members were deeply suspicious of the ornate and dramatic presentation of worship that the Tractarians proposed. Campaigns against acts of 'popery' were therefore prevalent and a cautious approach was initially applied. This was evident at St Paul's, York Road (1851), where the gable crosses that were gifts from the church's architect, W. H. Lynn (1829–1915), were taken down and smashed and the architect had to replace them with large stone finials. In an open letter to the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Viscount of Dungannon, Arthur Hill-Trevor (1798–1862), described the vandalism as 'an act of barbarity', claiming that 'because a certain object or ceremony was part of Catholic spirituality' did not mean that 'it cannot find a place within Protestantism.'[10]

Nevertheless, by the 1860s, Church of Ireland architecture in Belfast was becoming increasingly ecclesiological, and transepts, developed chancels and baptistries began to make their way into the fabric of church design. This is especially evident at St Mark's church in Ballysillan; initially designed by Lanyon as a Gothic-style 'preaching box' church in 1854. It was refurbished by W. H. Lynn in 1866 to include transepts and a fully-functioning chancel, and in 1886, architect J. J. Phillips (1841/42–1936) further extended it to include a baptistry and organ chamber.

At the time of its disestablishment in 1871, Belfast's population numbered 174,394 and according to census returns of 1871, the number of Church of Ireland members in the city had risen to 48,043,[11] and constituted the third largest church membership behind the Presbyterians and Catholics. This, coupled with the compensation they received, totalling £7,500,000 in contemporary money,[12] resulted in a Church of Ireland building boom in the 1870s. By this time, much more convincingly Gothic designs, notably W. H. Lynn's St James's, Antrim Road (1871), and St Mark's in the fashionable suburb of Dundela (1878 and 1891), were being built. This latter church was designed by the prolific English architect (and Tractarian) William Butterfield (1814–1900) and bears all the hallmarks of his strong beliefs, both architectural and liturgical (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10: St Mark's Church, Dundela, 1878. (Photo: John Goodall)



Fig. 11: St George's Church, High Street, as extended and decorated in 1882 and with the Rood screen of 1885. (Andreas F. Borchert, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons)

Like Butterfield's St Mark's, St Mary's on the Crumlin Road (1868) and St Thomas's in Eglantine (1870) have the built form of High Victorian Gothic churches, but inside they lack the art and symbolism that might be expected to go with that architecture, and none possess Rood screens. The only church in Belfast to fully embrace the trappings of Tractarianism at this time was the old galleried church of St George's, which had first opened for worship in 1816. St George's began to incorporate Tractarian elements into the interior of the church in 1882, when a raised chancel and an organ chamber were added. The chancel walls were decorated by Alexander Gibbs, and depict scenes of saints such as Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel. In 1885 a Rood screen designed by Edward Braddell was added (Fig. 11). The highly decorated chancel is on par with many Tractarian interiors in England. Choir stalls were also introduced into the chancel area and archivist and historian Lavens M. Ewart (1845–98) stated in 1886 that it was the only church in the Connor Diocese that offered choral services.[13]

The 1880s saw no new Church of Ireland churches built in Belfast, but in the following decade there was another building boom, when ten churches were constructed (including one re-build). At this stage, the

Gothic style had established itself within Church of Ireland building, and all ten of these churches – including the tin church, St Matthias, erected by Harland & Wolfe in 1892 – were designed in Gothic Revival styles. The dominant Church of Ireland architect for the period was Samuel P. Close (1842–1925), who started off his career articled to Lanyon, Lynn and Lanyon in 1862, and maintained close links to the firm after establishing his own office in 1872. Close designed six of the ten Church of Ireland churches built in Belfast during the 1890s (all of them Gothic) and he continued to design Anglican churches in the city well into the twentieth century.

Close's later designs include the red brick St Aiden's, Blythe Street (1895), St Michael's Craven Street (1899) and the rebuilt St Mary Magdalene's on Donegall Road (1900). These buildings are all rather rudimentary Gothic buildings built in newly industrialised areas with poorer populations, but the liturgical layout of developed chancels, choir stalls and high altars is present, with some also boasting transepts, baptistries and stained-glass windows. Arguably his finest work came at the very end of the nineteenth century, when the foundation stone was laid for St Peter's, Antrim Road, in 1898 (Fig. 12). Finely built of Scrabo sandstone, which is left exposed on the interior, it was designed in a rather free Gothic style, using elements of medieval design from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The interior was furnished and ornamented to a high standard, especially the chancel, which features a superb east window by Heaton, Butler & Bayne, choir stalls and organ case by Harry Hems of Exeter (1842–1915) and a carved-stone reredos containing a terracotta panel ('The Empty Tomb') by English ceramic



Fig. 12: St Peter's Church, Antrim Road, 1900. (Photo: Julie Taylor)



Fig. 13: St Peter's Church, Antrim Road: altar and reredos, with terracotta panel by English ceramicist George Tinworth. (Photo: Julie Taylor)

artist George Tinworth (1843–1913) (Fig. 13). An unusual feature of the chancel is an aumbry, believed to be one of only three to be found in Church of Ireland churches, the others being at St George's (Belfast) and Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin.

St Peter's is the only Church of Ireland building in Belfast, apart from St George's, to have fully adopted High Church art and symbolism. The Revd Dr Richard Breene, Dean of Connor (incumbent 1926–63), described the church as having 'an appearance and dignity which is rarely met' within 'other local ecclesiastical structures' of the era.[14] On the whole however, while Camdenian and Tractarian influences changed the architectural style and liturgical arrangement of the Church of Ireland church buildings in Belfast, the introduction of overtly Anglo-Catholic art and symbolism was resisted due to the surviving evangelical, anti-Catholic tradition in the Church of Ireland.

Presbyterian churches

Until the end of the eighteenth century, Presbyterians tended to worship in plain, unadorned preaching houses and like their Catholic counterparts this was partly due to restrictions laid down in penal legislation. The distinct lack of colour and symbolism in contemporary worship spaces also reflected the puritanical principles that permeated Presbyterian worship practices at this time. Exteriors were usually plain rectangular structures that were whitewashed and generally housed simple square or round headed windows. An extra wing was sometimes added to create a 'T' plan and galleries were often installed to accommodate larger congregations. The interior of the building concentrated on the two essentials of Presbyterian worship practices, which were preaching and administering communion. Internal arrangements usually consisted of seating that was focused on the pulpit, with a long wide aisle situated between the pulpit and pews, that ran to entrance doors at either side of the building. Tables would have been placed in this aisle to facilitate the administering of communion.

As Belfast began to prosper in the late eighteenth century, larger galleried churches began to emerge within Presbyterianism (Fig. 14), and vernacular designs gave way to more formal architectural styles. Presbyterian meeting houses were refurbished to include Classical temple fronts which showed a luxurious face to the prosperous congregations entering for worship. The refurbishment of the First Presbyterian meeting house in Rosemary Street in 1783 is evidence of these changes. Designed by Roger Mulholland (1740?–1818), who had assisted Francis Hiorne in building St Anne's Anglican church, it



Fig. 14: May Street Presbyterian Church, 1829, built for the Revd Henry Cooke, as recorded on a plaque over the main entrance. (Photo: Jill Maxted)

is an elliptical red-brick galleried building that was refurbished and given a sophisticated Classical façade. The Second Presbyterian meeting house was also rebuilt in 1790 and, like St Anne's, the design has been attributed to Francis Hiorne. It too followed a Georgian-Classical ethos in the building's exterior. No images of the building's interior are known, although in his publication concerning historic buildings in Belfast, Charles E. B. Brett stated that it was a typical galleried church with 'remarkable acoustics'.[15]

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, Presbyterian churches in Belfast increased in grandeur. Following the example of Fisherwick Place Church, 1827, by Thomas Duff, imposing Classical temple fronts of dressed and carved stone became standard, although they often concealed plain brick boxes behind. May Street Church (1829) (Fig. 15), Alfred Street (1832) and York Street – along with the rebuilt Third Presbyterian church in Rosemary Street (1831) – were all constructed in this manner.

In the 1850s, dramatic changes took place within Presbyterian church architecture and for the next twenty years it became remarkably eclectic. Classical architecture was not entirely abandoned – indeed Classical churches continued to be built by Presbyterian congregations into the 1880s – but churches were also being built in Italianate, Byzantine and Romanesque styles, as well as various forms of Gothic.

The Great Revival of 1859 – a Christian revival that spread out from Ulster and witnessed many thousands of new adherents to the faith – combined with Belfast's ever-expanding population, resulted in church-going in Belfast significantly increasing, particularly among the middle



Fig. 15: May Street Presbyterian Church, now Central Belfast, a church plant from Carnmoney Church. (Photo: John Goodall)



Fig. 16: Duncairn Presbyterian Church, Antrim Road, 1862, now the Duncairn Arts Centre. (Photo: Julie Taylor)

classes and the respectable working class. Due to this, more and larger church buildings proliferated in the developing suburbs. Two examples include the Venetian Gothic Sinclair Seamen's Presbyterian church by Lanyon and Lynn, and Elmwood Presbyterian church (now Elmwood Hall, part of Queen's University), which was designed in an outlandish mixture of northern Italian styles by amateur architect John Corry.

It is at this stage that the first Gothic Revival building is introduced to Presbyterian architecture in Belfast. Duncairn Presbyterian Church (1862) was constructed amongst the middle-class housing that was proliferating along the Antrim Road and was designed by William J. Barre (*c*.1826–67) (Fig. 16). Barre was known for his dislike of Classical architecture and is credited with bringing the Gothic Revival to Presbyterian church building in Ulster, when he designed the Presbyterian church in Newry in 1853.

It was not until the 1870s, however, that the Gothic Revival became dominant in Presbyterian church-building. St Enoch's (gutted by fire in 1985 and later demolished) in Carlisle Circus opened for worship in 1872 and set a precedent for Gothic-style Presbyterian churches (Fig. 17). It was designed by Anthony Jackson (1838–1917), a former articled pupil of Ewan Christian in London and the son of Thomas Jackson who designed St Malachy's Catholic church and many other buildings around Belfast. It was claimed that St Enoch's was the largest Presbyterian church in Ireland, and it was one of only two churches on the island that featured two tiers of galleries, with the other being the Plymouth Brethren's Merrion Hall (1863) in Dublin.



Fig. 17: St Enoch's Presbyterian Church, Carlisle Circus, 1872, built for the Revd Hugh Hanna. It was devastated by fire in 1985 and later demolished. (Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

Fig. 18: Presbyterian minister, the Revd Hugh Hanna. 1876 portrait by Augustus George Whichelo. (National Museums Northern Ireland)



The church was built to house the congregation of 'Roaring' Hugh Hanna (1821–92) a popular but controversial evangelical preacher who fervently opposed Irish nationalism and Home Rule (Fig. 18). The size of St Enoch's and its prominent location could be seen as a defiant gesture by Presbyterians at a time when the Church of Ireland was going through a massive church-building programme in Belfast and the Catholic church was also establishing itself in the city, with the new and refurbished churches, and the establishment of Catholic orders, schools and a hospital.

If Barre is credited with introducing Gothic to Presbyterian church architecture in Belfast, then it was Robert Young (1822–1917), his son Robert M. Young (1851–1925) and John Mackenzie (1844–1917) who established it firmly as *the style* of Presbyterianism. Out of the 32 Presbyterian churches built in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, 26 were built in Gothic Revival styles and sixteen of those Gothic churches were designed by the firm of Young and Mackenzie. The majority of their churches were designed with a tower and spire at the west end of either north or south aisle (although in some cases only the base was built and they remain uncompleted). This formula was followed by the practice from Crumlin Road in 1872, via Fitzroy



Fig. 19: Fitzroy Presbyterian Church, University Street, 1874. (Photo: John Goodall)



Fig. 20: Crescent Church, University Road, 1883. (Photo: John Goodall)

Church (1874) (Fig. 19) to Woodvale in 1899 and was emulated by other architects such as John Bennie Wilson at Crescent Church (1883) (Fig. 20) and Samuel P. Close at Fisherwick (1900).

These ornate Gothic edifices were all built in the newly affluent areas of Belfast, as the growing town became a city in 1888. Several were built by congregations that moved from the centre of town to the proliferating middle-class suburbs. Church-building was also developing in the inner-urban and working-class industrialised areas, but as in the Church of Ireland, Presbyterian churches in poorer areas were less elaborate and were generally constructed in red brick rather than stone.

Arguably the most 'ecclesiologically correct' Presbyterian Gothic church in Belfast was built at the very end of the nineteenth century. Fisherwick Presbyterian on the Malone Road (opened in 1901) was, like



Fig. 21: Fisherwick Presbyterian Church, Malone Road, 1900. (Photo courtesy of Fisherwick Presbyterian Church)

the earlier Fitzroy church, built to accommodate an earlier city-centre congregation (Fisherwick Place Church, 1827), which was moving into the suburbs. The church was designed by Samuel P. Close, who was responsible for most of Belfast's Church of Ireland buildings in the 1890s. Close's Church of Ireland background is highly evident in the building of Fisherwick (Fig. 21). The form of the building resembles the established Young and Mackenzie model for a Presbyterian church, but with more clearly expressed 'transepts' creating a cruciform external shape. Inside the church these 'transepts' are barely distinguished from the aisles, which are separated from the nave by arcades with slender round piers and pointed arches. To the east of the nave is a raised, apsidal chancel, in which a communion table takes centre stage, flanked by choir stalls. The pulpit is located to the south of the chancel arch, rather than centrally as would be customary in Presbyterian churches. The only gallery was a small west gallery, much like those to be found in many Anglican churches.

Why did Gothic Revival architecture become popular within Presbyterianism?

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Presbyterian churches readily adopted Gothic-style exteriors. Except for Fisherwick, however, they did not introduce separate chancels and most churches were still galleried around three sides like their Georgian predecessors. Why then did Presbyterians adopt Gothic architecture despite its unsuitability to their bibliocentric form of worship and despite its Catholic associations, at a time when anti-Catholic sentiment was rife among Nonconformist denominations?

One major problem that Nonconformists in the United States, Britain and Ireland had to overcome by adopting Gothic architecture was its historic associations with medieval Catholicism. Due to this, attempts were made to sever Gothic architecture from strictly Catholic links and place it under a more generic Christian identity. John Ruskin, the prolific nineteenth-century art critic was arguably one of the most influential voices in this regard. The son of a Puritan, Ruskin developed a social origin of Gothic that strayed from its entanglement with medieval Catholicism and focused on the life of medieval crafts and guilds.

Ruskin also stated that Protestants made a grave mistake in the Reformation period, when they cast ecclesiastical art out of their buildings, along with the 'heresies of Rome'. In doing so, Ruskin claimed that Protestantism 'injured its own character'. He criticised church-going Nonconformists and asked how they could 'enrich their own chambers' with 'all manners of costliness', and then go to church and 'endure the bare walls of a mean compass'. Advocating the use of Gothic in Nonconformist church-building, he urged people to build 'pleasurable memorials to him (God), who gave both strength and reward'.[16]

Other ways in which the Gothic was made accessible to Nonconformists was by seeking a deeper essence of the style through English nationalism. This created a broader sense of Protestant heritage and resulted in Nonconformists tending to adopt English designs, rather than continental designs when constructing their Gothic churches. Other attempts at disassociation included promoting an organic view of Gothic that linked elements of Gothic to nature's forests and caves, while other, less popular theories pointed to Palestinian traditions, biblical commands, and some even associated Gothic architecture to 'some vague universal language'.

Attempts to disassociate Gothic from Catholicism were also pursued practically, as Nonconformists adapted the style to suit their own worship requirements. Presbyterians needed a centralised space that accommodated large congregations a short distance from the minister, and the correct ecclesiological plan would block the view of the minister for many within the congregation. Presbyterians tended to build Gothic churches according to the simple oblong plans of the earlier galleried churches, with the pulpit the focus rather than the altar (Fig. 22).

This did not come without its problems, as many experts of the age such as Protestant church planner James Cubitt argued that Nonconformist Gothic buildings that were not built to the correct medieval ecclesiological plans were 'the mere copying of Gothic forms' which in his view would 'only lead to shams and absurdities'.[17] Many

other scholars have also criticised the Nonconformist use of Gothic, with Richard Oram stating that it created the 'wrong sort of space', and that 'architects had to involve themselves in all sorts of contortions to make their designs work'.[18] In his historical study of Protestant Church architecture, A. L. Drummond stated that medieval Gothic plans were 'too organic to be severed' and if the 'oblong box' layout was too shallow, the Gothic lost its 'soaring character', and if the box were too tall, the church looked 'flimsy' without aisles and transepts to support it .[19]

Gavin Stamp argued that Presbyterian Gothic buildings in Scotland often enclosed 'mean, starved, unremarkable auditoria, on plans which were thoroughly incorrect and unmedieval'. He continued further stating that the Gothic was applied to Presbyterian church building without the 'intellectual and theological basis, which underpinned the best work of the English High Victorian Anglicans and Catholics'.[20] As a result of these criticisms, Charles Brett stated that Presbyterian Gothic church building in Belfast 'lacked conviction' and 'accordingly displayed an almost universal mediocrity'.[21] However, Harron stated that while these criticisms are not without merit, it would be unfair to assume that the architects that designed these buildings were 'not scholarly'.[22] Harron's view is based on his research into leading Ulster Presbyterian architects Young and Mackenzie, who were trained both in the design of new ecclesiastical spaces and in church restoration. Young in particular was



Fig. 22: Fortwilliam Park Presbyterian Church, Antrim Road, 1885, now occupied by the Institute of Christ the King. (Photo: Julie Taylor)

not only influenced by the aesthetic qualities of Gothic architecture but was also alert to the developments of the Tractarian movement of 1833 onwards, and the periodical *The Ecclesiologist* from 1841. Examples of authentic Gothic churches that were designed by Young and McKenzie, include Fitzroy Church (1874), Dundela Church (1875) and the grand edifice of Windsor Church (1887) on the Lisburn Road.

Cross-denominational architectural connections

Despite tensions between the religious communities in nineteenth-century Belfast, architects appear to have been willing and able to work across denominations without any difficulty. There are numerous instances of links between architects with different religious backgrounds and with those who specialised in working for other denominations. It is likely that these connections, made within the relatively small architectural world of Belfast, contributed to the spread of the Gothic Revival across denominations in the city.

William J. Barre is a renowned pioneer of Gothic architecture within Presbyterianism, but he was articled in his student years to Thomas J. Duff. Duff was the leading Catholic architect in Ireland between Emancipation and the Famine and is highly regarded for his Perpendicular Gothic designs, which include both Newry and Dundalk Cathedrals, along with unexecuted designs for Armagh. Andrew Jackson (1838–1917), who was responsible for the design of the remarkable Gothic edifice of St Enoch's Presbyterian church, was the son of the notable architect Thomas Jackson (himself a Quaker from Waterford) who was responsible for the design of St Malachy's Catholic church.

There are also direct connections between Presbyterian church-building and predominantly Anglican figures. Robert Young of the leading Ulster Presbyterian architects Young and Mackenzie was articled to prolific Anglican architect Charles Lanyon and may well have been influenced by his architectural ideals and principles. John Mackenzie also had connections through his father, the Revd Joseph Mackenzie, who was closely associated with the Conservative Presbyterian preacher the Revd Henry Cooke. Cooke was an instrumental figure in bringing Presbyterians and Anglicans together politically, under a Protestant Unionist banner.

The design of Fisherwick Presbyterian church (1899) to an 'ecclesiological' church plan was the work of Samuel P. Close, who was articled to Lanyon, Lynn and Lanyon, the leading practice for Anglican church-building in the mid-nineteenth century (Fig. 23). In due course, Close himself became the leading designer of Anglican churches in Belfast, but this clearly did not prevent him entering –



Fig. 23: Fisherwick Presbyterian Church, Malone Road. (Image courtesy of the National Library of Ireland)

and winning – the competition to design Fisherwick church for a Presbyterian congregation. Fortwilliam Presbyterian church, which was also the subject of an architectural competition, was designed by Henry Chappell (*c.*1832–1924), an architect who also worked for the Church of Ireland's Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A similar phenomenon was also observed in Scotland, where Gavin Stamp documented that many Presbyterian Scottish churches wanted their architects to implement the high standards of the English Gothic Revival, as seen within church building in Anglican circles. Due to this, Stamp states that Presbyterian church building in Scotland gradually became more 'Anglophile' in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the same phenomenon can be observed in Belfast.[23]

Conclusion

The ideas of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society had a profound effect on Belfast church architecture in the nineteenth century, across all three main denominations. While all moved away from Classical styles of architecture as the nineteenth century progressed, they adopted Gothic at different times throughout the century and modified it to suit their own specific theological traditions and worship requirements.

Catholics were the first to introduce Gothic architecture to ecclesiastical building in Belfast, although initially in Tudor and Georgian Gothic forms, before the more 'correct' Puginian Gothic came into play. Belfast's Catholic churches were in line with the architectural developments for Catholic building in the rest of Ireland at this stage, where the first wave of Catholic Cathedrals built before 1837 were mostly built in Tudor or Perpendicular Gothic styles. Belfast's first recognisably Puginian Catholic church was built in 1866 and by the end of the century, all Catholic churches were being constructed in such a manner, with developed chancels, side chapels and central aisles in accordance with Pugin's principles.

In the case of the Church of Ireland, Gothic architecture replaced Classical architecture in Belfast from 1843 onwards, becoming more 'ecclesiologically correct' as the century progressed. It must be noted, however, that High Church Anglicanism, which was widely embraced in England, was somewhat stunted in Ulster. The intrinsic Catholic associations of the ornate and dramatic presentations of worship that the Oxford Movement proposed did not sit well with many members of the Church of Ireland, who felt threatened by the growing political power of the Catholic community. This largely resulted in a rejection of High Church or Anglo-Catholic art and symbolism within most Church of Ireland churches in Belfast.

Presbyterians began to adopt Gothic Revival architecture in Belfast in the 1860s, but it only became popular from the 1870s onwards and it never entirely eclipsed other styles. While Presbyterians adopted Gothic exteriors, however, they generally retained the galleried interiors of previous decades. This was because ecclesiologically correct interiors were not suitable for Presbyterian worship practices. It is therefore clear that the principles of Pugin and the Tractarians were not the main drivers for the adoption of Gothic within Presbyterianism. Instead, there were other factors at play, such as an increasing sense of market-based materialism coupled with a relaxation in strict Calvinistic principles, resulting in disillusionment with the austere and chaste buildings of previous decades. Thus, demand for more ornate and elaborate places of worship grew within Presbyterian circles. Wealthier congregations were more susceptible to these developments and they drew inspiration from the ornate Gothic buildings that their Catholic and Church of Ireland neighbours were constructing in the city and its suburbs.

Ultimately though, none of these changes could have been put in place without the architects themselves. Most of the architects designing churches in Belfast were based in the city and the spread of Gothic architecture across denominational divides probably owes much to the personal and professional connections of these men. In Ireland, as in England, the nineteenth century saw the rise of the specialist ecclesiastical architect, who was not just trained in practical and artisan construction but was also learned in history and archaeology. They were thus equipped to bring the architectural and liturgical principles of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society into contemporary ecclesiastical building. The outcome of this was that they dramatically changed the face of church building in nineteenth-century Belfast, just as their contemporaries did throughout the English-speaking world.

Notes

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2. A. L. Drummond, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism: An Historical and Constructive Study* (T & T Clarke, 1934) p. 64.
3. Christopher Webster 'Late Georgian Churches: 'Absolutely Wretched' or the Triumph of Rational Pragmatism?' in *Architectural History* 60 (2017) p. 147.

4. Roderick O'Donnell, 'Pugin and a Church Architect' in Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright (eds.) *Pugin, A Gothic Passion* (New Haven and London, 1994) p. 63.
5. The two lectures were delivered on 7 February and 7 March 1843 and were published in pamphlet form, entitled, *Church Architecture considered in relation to the mind of the Church since and before the Reformation* (Belfast, 1843).
6. W. M. Thackeray, *The Irish Sketchbook, 1842* (Chapman and Hall, 1857) p. 308.
7. C. E. B. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast 1700–1914* (C. Tinling & Co. Ltd., 1967) p. 11; also B. Colgan, *St Mary's Chapel Lane, Belfast 1784–1984* (Ronan Press Ltd., 1984) p. 15.
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11. J. F. MacNeice B. D. *The Church of Ireland in Belfast* (William Mullan & Sons, 1931) p. 8.
12. Church of Ireland House, *Disestablishment: The Church of Ireland*, https://www.ireland.anglican.org/cmsfiles/pdf/Information/apck/Disestablishment.pdf (Dublin, 2019).
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14. B. Barton, *A History of St Peter's Parish, Antrim Road, Belfast*. (Ulster Historical Foundation, 2009) p. 128.
15. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast,* p. 6.
16. J. Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* (Geo. Allen, ed. 1898), p. 23 and appendix 12, J. Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Geo Allen ed. 1901 p. 29 and 30); also A. L. Drummond, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism: An Historical and Constructive Study* (T & T Clarke, 1934) pp. 71–73.
17. G. Stamp, 'The Victorian Kirk: Presbyterian architecture in nineteenth century Scotland' in C. Brooks and A. Saint (eds.) *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester University Press, 1995) p. 103.
18. R. Oram, *Expressions of Faith: Ulster's Church Heritage* (Colour Point Books, 2001) p. 13.
19. A. L. Drummond, *The Church Architecture of Protestantism: An Historical and Constructive Study* (T. & T. Clarke, 1934) p. 66.
20. Stamp, 'The Victorian Kirk', p. 99.
21. Brett, *Buildings of Belfast,* p. 42.
22. P. Harron, *Architects of Ulster: Young and Mackenzie, A Transformational Provincial Practice 1850–1960* (Ulster Architectural Society, 2016) p. 139.
23. Stamp, 'The Victorian Kirk', p. 115.

George Goldie, 'a rampant Gothicist' in Ireland

CAOIMHÍN DE BHAILÍS

The York-born architect George Goldie (1828–87) was involved in the design of numerous churches and convent buildings in Britain during the nineteenth century including St Wilfrid's, York, and St Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, as well as church furnishings such as those in Salford Cathedral (Fig. 1).[1] Along with his work in Britain – as well in France, the United States and South Africa – Goldie was among many English architects, perhaps most notably Pugin, father and son, who participated in an expansive church-building programme on the island of Ireland in the aftermath of Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the Great Famine (1845–9). For an architect so active in Ireland during the period neither he nor his output have received the attention they merit, although a recent article by the present author in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* sought to address this lacuna by discussing his work in Co. Cork and expanding on his biographical information.[2]

Working in both urban and rural settings throughout the island, Goldie had a particular impact on the architectural landscape in the west of Ireland and especially in the Dioceses of Elphin and Achonry. In this article I would like to identify and outline a brief history of some of the churches Goldie built in Elphin and Achonry, demonstrate how some of the most prominent churches, particularly Sligo Cathedral, sought to dominate the landscape and overshadow Established Church buildings, and offer some further context to the buildings and their meaning in areas that had suffered extreme poverty and religious oppression. Finally, an attempt is made to put on record Goldie's output in Ireland to allow for further research and expansion.

A Catholic architect

Goldie was an ardent Catholic from his early days. His father was active in the Catholic Emancipation movement and his maternal grandfather was Joseph Bonomi, a successful neo-Classical architect and member of another noted Catholic family. With the exception of one brother, who became a painter, his other siblings became nuns or priests, one of whom would become a Monsignor and Canon of Leeds. George himself would marry Marie Madeleine Rose Simeon Stylite Sioc'han, a part of a prominent Breton Catholic family. He contributed to *The Month*, a



Fig. 1: George Goldie, depicted in the stained glass of Salford Cathedral. (Photo: Alex Ramsay)

Jesuit publication, on no less than eleven occasions. In these articles he wrote not just on architecture but spoke ardently and eloquently on the importance of Roman Catholicism and of its endurance through the centuries following the Reformation. In 1877 Pope Pius IX awarded him the Cross and Order of St Sylvester for his work 'as a Catholic architect'.[3]

In 1845 Goldie was articled to the Sheffield-based architectural practice Weightman and Hadfield, and in 1850 he became a partner. Goldie had been recommended to Weightman and Hadfield by A. W. N. Pugin, whom Goldie had met as a pupil at Ushaw College, Durham, while Pugin was working there on the chapel complex.[4] He continued the practice with Hadfield after Weightman's withdrawal in 1858, but left at the end of 1860 to set up his own firm based in London.[5] In 1867 he formed a new partnership with Charles Edwin Child; in 1880, Goldie's son Edward joined the partnership, which became known as Goldie, Child and Goldie.[6]

Described by fellow-architect J. F. Bentley as a 'rampant Gothicist',[7] Goldie was identified by Eastlake as part of a group of architects including Burges, Godwin and Seddon, who were strongly influenced by a study of French Gothic architecture and demonstrated 'accurate knowledge of its details, skilful adaptation of its characteristic features, and intimate acquaintance with its hagiology and iconography'.[8] Nevertheless, he was able to design successfully in other styles, as he did at the Church of St John of Jerusalem and attached hospital and convent in London (1864, demolished c.1898 and partially re-erected at the Hospital of St John and Elizabeth, St John's Wood, London), and – as we shall see – in various works in Ireland.

Goldie in Ireland

Goldie was involved in upwards of forty complete builds, alterations or completions in Ireland, spread across eleven counties (see Appendix). Only one example – the Loretto Convent, Omagh, Co. Tyrone – was in what is now Northern Ireland. His earliest works in Ireland were built while he was working with Weightman and Hadfield, but the greater part of his output in Ireland occurred after 1860, when he had commenced his solo practice. Even in the earlier projects he appears to have taken the lead: he is known to have attended the foundation stone-laying and opening of many of the churches, such as St Nathy's in Ballaghaderreen. Whereas Charles Hadfield and Goldie were identified as the architects at the awarding of the contract for the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Ballymote, Goldie was identified as the architect throughout the build and on completion.[9]

The vast majority of Goldie's churches in Ireland were Gothic, but on occasion – mainly when responding to the style of the existing building – he could adopt, and master, other styles. In Clonmel and in Cork there are examples of interior decoration and fittings in Classical styles, in particular his altars at St Mary's, Clonmel, and St Mary's, Cork. In Sligo, he added an Italianate porch to St Patrick's Convent of Mercy, and built the Neo-Romanesque cathedral, his principal non-Gothic work in Ireland. The crozier he designed for the Bishop of Elphin is decorated in Celtic designs.

This article focuses on his work in the west of Ireland and in particular the dioceses of Elphin and Achonry. Elphin comprised parts of the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Westmeath, and Galway while Achonry consists of parishes in Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo. Goldie's effect on the landscape in the rural west of Ireland was not just topographical, it was also a means of re-asserting the Catholic faith and its renewed status after Emancipation. His church buildings in the west

of Ireland were varied in size and in style. The form of the building was typically dictated by finance and by the requirements of the local parish. The extent of Goldie's output in the area provides the opportunity to look at this variety from diocesan cathedral to local parish church.

County Roscommon

In Roscommon Goldie designed the Cathedral of St Nathy's, Ballaghaderreen (1854–60), St Baoithín's, Tibohine (1861) (Fig. 2), the Immaculate Conception, Strokestown (1860–3), St Joseph's, Boyle (1876–82) and St Patrick's, Castlerea (built 1893–6 to designs by Goldie). He is also reputed to have made additions to the former courthouse in Roscommon town after it had been converted to use as a church.[10] Goldie also designed a memorial to the late Bishop of Achonry, the Revd Dr Browne, for the same church, which consisted of a complete sanctuary layout including altar, reredos and tabernacle.[11] A new church



Fig. 2: St Baoithín's, Tibohine: west front. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

for Roscommon town was built in 1903 and the church containing Goldie's work went through a number of guises and continues now to operate as a bank. The present author is currently attempting to verify if the altar and other parts of the 1903 church are those by Goldie from the original church building.

Cathedral of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin and St Nathy, Ballaghaderreen

When the Cathedral of St Nathy's was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St Nathy on 11 November 1860 it was far from complete. *The Freeman's Journal*, and others, carried reports of the work in progress and the circumstance of the building along with descriptions of the design and interior furnishings.[12] The foundation stone had been laid on 9 August 1854, the feast day of St Nathy, patron saint of the Diocese of Achonry.[13] According to *The Roscommon Weekly Messenger*, the architect at the time was not George Goldie but John Sterling Butler of Dublin (*c.*1816–85). *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* informs us that the initial course of block work had been commenced to the designs of Butler but that work ceased and the project was then taken over by Goldie – the new architects were 'very much crippled in carrying out their design' for the site as a result (Fig. 3).[14]

The Cathedral was to replace a chapel which had been deemed 'unfit for the sacred purpose for which it was applied'.[15] According to Liam Swords, the previous church was a 'square barn like place … hidden away in a gloomy part of the town.'[16] Moving out of the 'gloomy part of the town', this new Cathedral could clearly be seen, both visually and metaphorically, as a symbol of a re-emerging Catholic Church even at a time of extreme poverty. Goldie's new St Patrick's in Bandon, Co. Cork (1855–61), was similarly designed to replace a 'rather mean looking edifice, situate in a back street' which, when compared with the Protestant church in the town, exhibited the 'remarkable contrast between the state of Romanism and Protestantism.'[17] One of the prime reasons for St Nathy's Cathedral being uncompleted at the time was a lack of funds. Such a conclusion should not come as a surprise given the perilous state of the area during and after the Famine.[18] Newspaper reports of the dedication of the Cathedral all testified to the poverty of the parish. *The Freeman's Journal* stated that the 'large and beautiful Gothic church, which, though erected in the poorest parish in Ireland, would grace the richest and most prosperous locality in the country.'[19] The same newspaper pointed out to its readers that the Cathedral had been built in a remote area, out of the reach of railway lines, in a wide expanse of bogs and in 'a comparatively sterile country'.

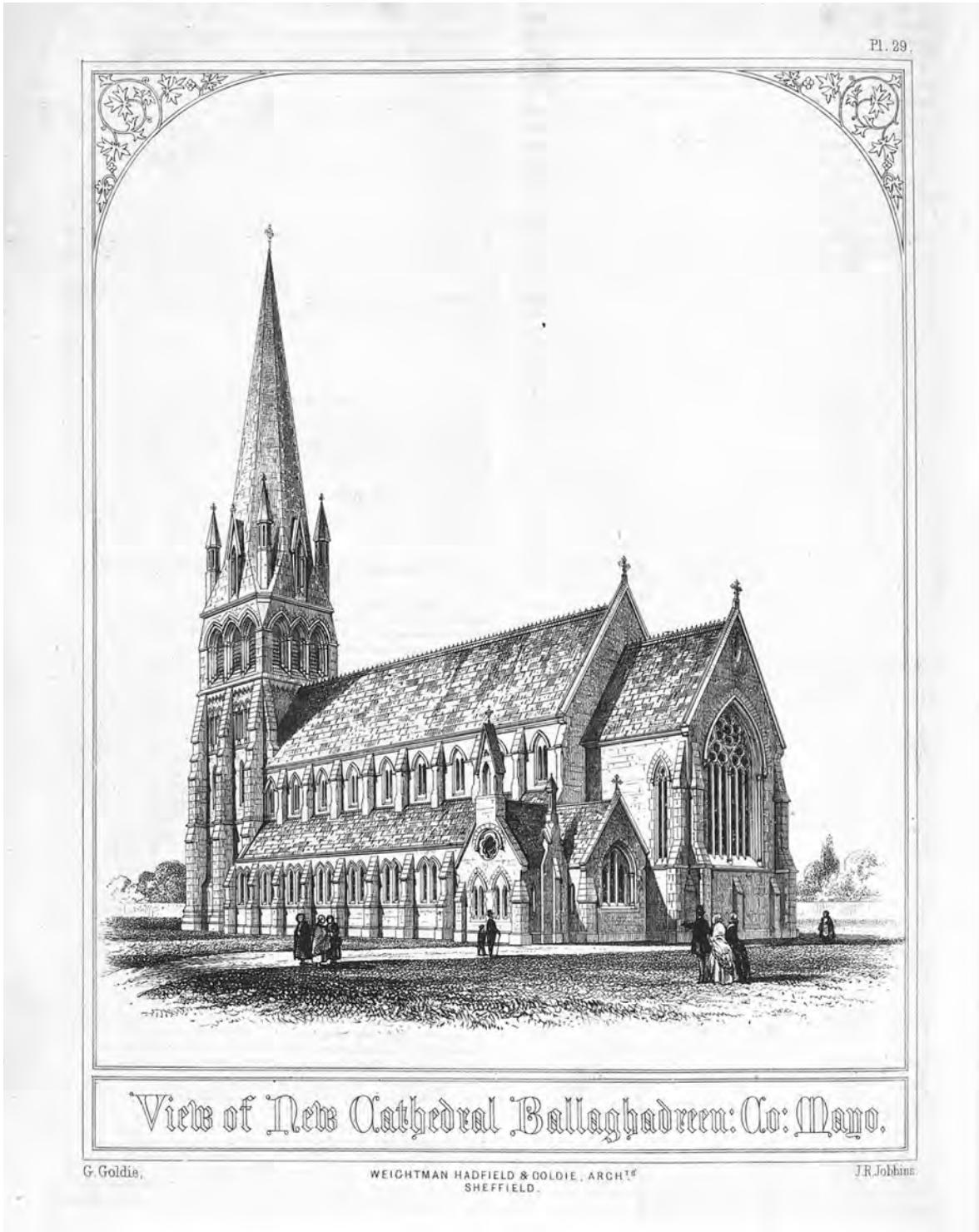


Fig. 3: Goldie's design for St Nathy's, Ballaghaderreen. (*The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Vol. XIX, 1856, p. 333)

One of the legacies of the Famine was a massive decrease in the population of the Diocese of Achonry and of the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo, due to a combination of emigration and mortality. Swords tells us that some parishes had population decreases of 30 per cent while others had a loss of upwards of 60 per cent.[20] In some of the parishes in which Goldie built there was a relatively low loss of lives and population: Gurteen, Ballymote, Charlestown and Ballaghaderreen all had losses of between 20 and 30 per cent.[21] In most of these towns the landlord was Viscount Dillon, who donated the site on which the Cathedral was built and also supplied the limestone material from quarries on his estate.[22] Dillon's agent was Charles Strickland, whose relative, Thomas Strickland, had studied at Ushaw College at the same time as Goldie. (Thomas Strickland's son is also known to have spent time with Goldie when he was studying in London). There is no conclusive evidence that Goldie received the commission due to this connection, but the Cathedral was one of his first projects in Ireland and these associations may well have helped him in being awarded the contract. Peter Galloway suggests that St Nathy's Cathedral was designed by Goldie's partner, Matthew Hadfield, because he had corresponded with A.W. N. Pugin in 1849–50, but Goldie's connections with the Stricklands might be a more realistic assumption.[23]

St Nathy's was finished by William Henry Byrne of Dublin (1844–1917) who completed the tower and spire in 1899–1904, but the rest of the body of the Cathedral remains as Goldie designed it. The tower built by Byrne is very different from Goldie's: the buttresses are reduced in number as are the wall arcades and the lancet windows and spire lights are incorporated into the spire, as a result, losing a sense of definition (Fig. 4). We do not have a view of the front of the tower as envisioned by Goldie but the additional height to Byrne's tower suggests that he needed more room for the larger pointed window and clockface while the belfry added an extra tier not included in Goldie's design. Galloway has suggested that Byrne's tower and spire are at odds with the proportions of the body of the church and perhaps if Goldie's design had been continued it would have been more unified.[24]

Goldie's design displays many of the elements that can be found in his other churches. The gable at the east-end is very like his work in the Presentation Convent, Bandon, Co. Cork (1856–8), and the chapel exterior of St John's College in Waterford. The same rock-faced masonry can be found in St Patrick's, Bandon, and carved limestone tracery are typical of churches by Goldie in the west of Ireland, such as at Bohola (1858–9) and St Baoithín's (1861). The reredos and altar are very much in keeping with many of his churches, both elsewhere in Roscommon



Fig. 4: Tower and spire of St Nathy's, Ballaghaderreen, completed by W. H. Byrne. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)



Fig. 5: St Nathy's, Ballaghaderreen: nave interior looking west. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

and throughout Ireland. The high altar was made to Goldie's designs by Henry Lane of Dublin, and Caen stone and Irish marble were used for the altar and reredos. Goldie believed that the church should be a place that would inspire those who entered and allow them to leave the temporal world behind as they entered the sacred space.[25] The lofty heights of the reredos and ceilings, the light from the clerestory windows and the heavenly reach of the pointed arches would certainly have brought such an effect to the congregation as they left the profane world behind them (Fig. 5).

County Sligo – Goldie and Bishop Gillooly

It is almost impossible to consider Goldie's work in Sligo, or more particularly in the Diocese of Elphin, without reference to Elphin's Bishop Laurence Gillooly, appointed to the bishopric in 1858. According to Canning, Gillooly was involved as bishop in the construction of thirty churches, along with many convents and schools, and several of these were designed by Goldie.[26]



Fig. 6: The crozier designed by Goldie for the Bishop of Elphin. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

Gillooly was a Vincentian and was educated in the Irish College in Paris.[27] He may have become aware of Goldie's work during his term as Coadjutor Bishop of Elphin (1855–6) while still Superior at St Vincent's, at the time that Goldie was working on St Nathy's cathedral.[28] Alternatively, it may have been Goldie's enlargement of the Vincentian church in Sheffield (1856) which brought him to Gillooly's attention. He was engaged by Gillooly to complete work on St Vincent's church in Cork (1856–9) and on the attached Vincentian presbytery (1867–72). Other Vincentian projects in Ireland that involved Goldie included St Peter's, Phibsborough (1857–61) and Castleknock College (1866).

It is difficult to definitively state how the connection between Goldie and Gillooly came to be, but whatever the root of the friendship it would lead to a very fruitful partnership between the architect and the bishop. When giving a public lecture in Sligo in 1866, Goldie stated that he was in some way trying to 'repay a debt of gratitude contracted and accumulating for some – I may say many – years, under the unchanging kindness and consideration I have received from venerated Bishop.'[29] Goldie worked on two convents and three churches in Sligo, including the Cathedral, as well as Gillooly's residence; he also designed the bishop's crozier, which is still in use to this day (Fig. 6).

Sligo Cathedral

The architecture of Sligo's Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (Figs 7 and 8), built in 1867–73, has been somewhat under-appreciated: Maurice Craig felt that Goldie's building was 'a work of little-recognised originality'.[30] It is noted briefly in Curl and O'Neill's *Irish Cathedrals, Churches and Abbeys* (which is so broad in coverage that it allows only short entries for each building).[31] Jeremy Williams meanwhile suggested that it had been 'relegated to obscurity' due to the advent of the Celtic



Fig. 7: Sligo Cathedral: view of the west (liturgical north) side, with the sacristy in the foreground. (Andreas F. Borchert, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons)

Revival.[32] For all this, it is agreed by Williams and Craig that the church is both innovative and exceptional.

The first Catholic parish church in Sligo town stood where the Church of Ireland cathedral of St Mary the Virgin and St John the Baptist now stands. The Protestant cathedral was built in the early eighteenth century, incorporating some elements of the earlier Catholic church, and was substantially enlarged during the nineteenth century. When maps of the period are examined it stands out as the dominant building in the area. At the same time the Catholics of Sligo town worshipped in an outlying district known as the Abbey Quarter, having been displaced from St Mary's after the Reformation. Gillooly described the church located at the Abbey Quarter as 'lowly and insecure.'[33]

With the building of Goldie's Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, however, the topography of Sligo changed drastically. Located within metres of the Church of Ireland cathedral, the Catholic cathedral very much overshadowed its Protestant counterpart in both style and extent. The foundation stone for the Cathedral was laid in 1868; it opened in 1875, was completed in 1882 and dedicated to the

Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1897. One of the unusual features of the building, remarked upon by Craig, Curl and O'Neill, and Williams, is the architectural style of the Cathedral. It is the only example of a nineteenth-century cathedral in Ireland built in the Norman or Romanesque style.[34]

Inside the church there are three aisles with three-stage naves, consisting of clerestory and gallery. The gallery layout was a particular highlight for Craig as they stretched across the transepts, very unusual for the period.[35] In the lecture which Goldie delivered in Sligo in 1866 he made specific and laudatory mention of the interior of the Basilica of St John in Rome and, although on a greatly reduced scale, in terms of size and cost, one can see his attempts to incorporate the basilica layout in the interior. The *Dublin Daily Nation* reported that 'The dim religious light so conducive to solemn thoughts, admitted through the narrow windows, pervades the interior of the Cathedral.'[36] The same newspaper made favourable comparisons with the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, and, indeed, there are many visual similarities between the two, both in structure and in details.



Fig. 8: Sligo Cathedral: interior looking north (liturgical east). (Andreas F. Borchert, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons)

The altar and baldachin are made in hammered brass and the biblical scenes in the predella are of The Last Supper (Fig. 9). On either side of the Tabernacle are carvings of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek made of alabaster and their translucence adds to the glow that emits from the entire sanctuary area. Directly behind the reredos is a large statue of the Virgin Mary, also in alabaster, looking down on the altar.

Before departing from the Cathedral locale, it is opportune to briefly examine the nearby Bishop of Elphin's Residence. Built in 1878–80, the Bishop's Residence was commissioned from Goldie by Bishop



Fig. 9: Sligo Cathedral: High altar. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

Gillooly. The building was completed in time for Bishop Gillooly's twenty-fifth anniversary as Bishop of Elphin.[37] The building was described as a 'massive square stone building of three stories', but the façade of the building is offered relief from the idea of a 'massive square' by the addition of an engaged tower to the east and two-storey bay to the west and the stonework details around doorway and windows. The small chapel is very subdued and consists, primarily, of wood panel work and carvings. The Stations of the Cross are also very simple and are reminiscent of those in the Loretto Convent in Letterkenny, also by Goldie.

There has not been any alteration in the commanding view that the presbytery has over the town of Sligo and its bay, and it remains in line with and above the Cathedral.[38] The presence of such a monumental palace for the bishop coupled with the imposing structure of the cathedral must have spoken in the strongest architectural and typographical terms to the Protestant community whose church was now overshadowed by rising Roman Catholic control of the urban landscape.

The bishop's crozier designed by Goldie and carved from Irish bog oak remains in use today. At his Ordination in 2014, the present Bishop of Elphin, Kevin Doran, described the crozier as a symbol of 'continuity and communion'.[39] It was carved by Arthur Hayball of Sheffield, notable for his other carvings after Goldie designs.[40] The design was discussed, with illustrations, in *The Builder* in 1867 and the descriptions in the article let us know that the crozier has remained as when it was first delivered to Bishop Gillooly.[41]

Church of the Immaculate Conception, Ballymote

The site for the Ballymote church (Diocese of Achonry) was granted rent free by the owner of the town, and grandfather of Countess Markievicz, Sir Robert Gore-Booth.[42] The first tender invitations for the building of the church were advertised in 1859.[43] By October 1859, the same newspaper was discussing the merits of the church building, describing it as thirteenth-century Gothic in style with 'a rose window of most beautiful and novel form.'[44] It was also mentioned that the cost of the church would be £3,000, without including the tower and spires.[45] *The Evening Freeman* declared in 1861 that the beauty of the church was not due to any elaborate ornamentation but came as a result of its 'graceful and harmonious outline and proportion.'[46] The building, although based on thirteenth-century Gothic, sported none of the elaborate decoration that could be found on the exterior of such churches but was adapted to the properties of the local materials and circumstance and displayed 'simple geometric forms' (Fig. 10). [47]



Fig. 10: Church of the Immaculate Conception, Ballymote: view of the south side. (Andreas F. Borchert, CC BY-SA 4.0, Wikimedia Commons)



Fig. 11: Church of the Immaculate Conception, Ballymote: interior looking east. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

In June 1861, a report from Goldie to the building committee was carried in the *Sligo Champion*.[48] The report outlined the progress on the building, the finances expended and the urgent requirement of additional funding to complete the roofing phase of the project. In June 1862, the Parish Priest of Ballymote, Fr Tighe, the individual responsible for the endeavours to build the church, wrote to the *Sligo Champion* outlining how the work had progressed and mentioned some of the financial supporters that helped see the task through to completion.[49] In 1869, Tighe again wrote to the *Champion* to report on the addition of the tower and to thank the many benefactors who had assisted in the past and were continuing to do so.[50]

The dedication of the church took place in September 1864 and was covered widely in the press at the time. The church was described as 'one of the most spacious, most substantial, and at the same time one of the handsomest temples of Catholic worship to be found in the country districts of Ireland' (Fig. 11).[51] Again, the press of the time reported on how the Catholic Church had moved in such a short space of time since Emancipation from 'concealed and unsightly structures' to the buildings that were now deemed to be 'worthy'. [52] The Archbishop of the Tuam diocese delivered the sermon at the dedication of the church and he continually made reference to the 'times of persecution when they [Catholics] worshipped in secret and secluded places'.[53] The church buildings were not being seen as just a place of assembly but a symbol of reclamation of a previously-denied presence in the landscape of the country.

St Patrick's Church, Gurteen

The church of St Patrick (Figs 12 and 13) was built in Gurteen in 1866. Smaller than the Sligo churches we have already discussed, it was nonetheless typical of Goldie's Gothic style, albeit on a reduced scale. The name of the parish in which the church was located is Kilfree and this is how the church was referred to in newspaper reports of its dedication in November 1866. According to the parish website the church designed by Goldie replaced an earlier church on the same site built in 1829, just after Catholic Emancipation had been achieved. The earlier church was described by Lewis as 'a large chapel.'[54] Goldie's church was described as 'in the pointed Gothic style' and able to accommodate 1,200 parishioners. The foundation stone for the church was laid in May 1866 but by August the building of the church ran into difficulties due to a lack of funding to complete the roof.[55] The permission given by the Bishop of Achonry to allow the parish priest, Roger Brennan, to seek support and financial assistance outside the parish was due to the impoverishment of the people of the area, unable to raise adequate funds



Fig. 12: St Patrick's, Gurteen: view from the south, including the 1980 narthex on the south (liturgical west) front. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

themselves.[56] Even with these difficulties, the church was completed by November of the same year.

Some early photographs of St Patrick's indicate the presence of a reredos akin to the design by Goldie in other similarly-sized parish churches, an example being that of Ballincollig, Cork (1865–6).[57] There were alterations to the church carried out in 1919 which appear to have been additions to the sides and rear of the church, with a further extension in 1980 of a porch to the south gable of the church. If we can imagine the church stripped of these extensions (which is easy enough to do) we can, as with St Baoithín's, see the resemblance to such noted early expressions in the Gothic as Newman's church at Littlemore. In



Fig. 13: St Patrick's, Gurteen: interior looking north (liturgical east). (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

other smaller churches the simple pointed Gothic is present where the more elaborate combinations of the Norman-Romanesque, and Gothic could not be achieved, whether due to finance or the local population's demand. The early photographs show that, although the altar appears to have been changed, much of the interior remained largely unaltered. Goldie's reredos and other interior ecclesiastical furnishings have been lost due to renovation, reordering and removal; a situation that is not confined to Irish churches, or indeed Catholic churches. Fortunately, although this destruction has taken place, some wonderful examples of Goldie's reredos do remain as they were, (with the obvious Vatican II diktat of detaching of the altar table). Notable reredoses in the Redemptorist Church of St Alphonsus, Limerick (Fig. 14) and St John's, Waterford, give us some indication of what has been lost.



Fig. 14: Redemptorist Church of St Alphonsus, Limerick: High altar. (Photo: Caoimhín de Bhailís)

Conclusion

Although limited in scope, these examples demonstrate the range of Goldie's architectural output in just one part of Ireland. It highlights a much-neglected architect who had a remarkable impact on the Irish landscape in the nineteenth century; an architect who is worthy of revisiting not just in Ireland but in his output in the United Kingdom and further afield. Although he was granted only the smallest of mentions in Clarke's *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, and his work and reputation has rarely been examined since, it is hoped that this cursory introduction to some of his churches might spur a renewed interest.[58]

APPENDIX: Ecclesiastical and related works in Ireland by George Goldie

The works are listed chronologically by county. The author would be pleased to learn of any additions or corrections to the list. Email: caoimhin_debhailis@hotmail.com

Cork

- Bandon, St Patrick's Church (1855–61)
- Bandon, Presentation Convent Chapel (1856–8)
- Sunday's Well, Cork, St Vincent's Church. Rebuilt and completion and interior decoration including sanctuary area, High altar, reredos, side altars, windows, etc. (1856–9)
- Farran, Church of the Immaculate Conception (1860)
- Ovens, Monument to the Revd Canon Walsh, in St John the Baptist's Church (1865). Monument removed and now lost.

- Douglas Street, Cork, chapel for the Convent of the Presentation Sisters (1865). Also possible build of Alms House building within same complex.
- Ballincollig, Church of St Mary and St John (1865–6)
- Cork city, St Finbarr's South Chapel (1866–77) Church originally built in 1776. 1866–77 major extension, new High Altar and reredos, extensive internal redecoration.
- Sunday's Well, Cork, St Vincent's Presbytery (1867–72)
- Pope's Quay, Cork, St Mary's Dominican Church (1868–72) Sanctuary, Pulpit, High altar, Baldachin, side altars, Our Lady of Grace's Reliquary. Church built in 1832 by Kearns and Deane.
- Wellington Road, Cork, St Vincent's Orphanage including chapel (1877) Now a private school with many additions and chapel interior removed.

Donegal

- Letterkenny, Loretto Convent including chapel (1860–61)
- Letterkenny, Clock Tower (1861). Removed mid-twentieth century.
- Convoy, St Mary's Church (1866). Rebuilt and interior renovations. The chapel is now closed and only the front gable, bellcote and part of the nave remain standing.
- Letterkenny, St Eunan's Cathedral. Goldie submitted designs and foundations for the cathedral had commenced (1866) but work was halted. William Hague built the present cathedral.

Dublin

- Phibsborough, Dublin, St Peter's Church (1857–61). Tower demolished and replaced early twentieth century.

Limerick

- Limerick, Cathedral of St John (1856–61). Pulpit, windows and bishop's throne and perhaps other internal decoration.
- Limerick, Dominican Church of St Saviour (1865–70). Complete rebuild, interior and exterior.
- The Crescent, Limerick, Church of the Sacred Heart (1870–76). Internal redecoration including paintings, Stations of the Cross, new chapels and side altars.
- Mount St Lawrence Cemetery, Limerick, (1867–9). Small mortuary chapel. Now damaged both internally and externally but under protection.

- Limerick, Redemptorist Church of St Alphonsus (1865) Contributions to interior and exterior. High altar and reredos. Chapel of Our Lady of Graces (1876–8). Tower and spire. Possible new oratory for same complex (1866)
- Limerick, Good Shepherd Convent (1866–?) Now part of the Limerick Institute of Technology. In 1866 Goldie was working on the chapel of the convent; in 1877 significant redesign of the convent took place, most likely by Goldie.
- Monaleen, St Patrick's Church (1868–73)

Mayo

- Charlestown, Church of St James the Apostle (1858–60)
- Bohola, St Joseph's Church (1858–9)
- Ballina, Convent of Mercy including chapel (1863–7)
- Killasser, Church of All Saints (1868)

Roscommon

- Ballaghaderreen, Cathedral of St Nathy (1854–60)
- Strokestown, Church of the Immaculate Conception (1860–3)
- Tibohine, St Baoithín's Church (1861)
- Roscommon Town, Court House conversion to church (1864–9). As of beginning of twenty-first century operating as a bank. This is the likely site of a parish church that contained a High altar, reredos, and other furnishings including the memorial to former Bishop of Elphin Revd Dr Browne, all designed by Goldie.
- Boyle, St Joseph's Church (1876–82). Burned down 1977.
- Castlerea, St Patrick's Church (1893–96). Likely to be from designs by Goldie realised posthumously.

Sligo

- Ballymote, Church of the Immaculate Conception (1859–62)
- Sligo, Ursuline Convent of St Joseph (1862–3) Extensions, façade and chapel.
- Sligo, St Patrick's Mercy Convent (1862). Addition of porch and belfry. Possibly also the chapel (later rebuilt).
- Gurteen, St Patrick's Church (1866)
- Sligo, Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (1867–73)
- Sligo town, Bishop of Elphin's Palace (1878–80). Including bishop's crozier.

Tipperary

– Clonmel, Church of the Assumption (1867). High altar.

Tyrone

– Omagh, Loretto Convent (1860–61)

Waterford

– Waterford, Ursuline Convent of St Mary and St Joseph's School (1868–70). Convent chapel (Church of the Sacred Heart) (1872–4)
– Waterford, Diocesan Seminary of St John (1868–71)
– Waterford, Dominican Church of St Saviour (1874–8)
– Waterford, St Dominic's Industrial School (1874–8)
– Waterford, Good Shepherd Convent (dates uncertain). Now part of Waterford Institute of Technology.
– Waterford, St John's Church (1879). High altar and Reredos.
– Waterford, Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (1881–3). Almost total interior refurbishment including High altar, reredos, pulpit, side altars, choir screens, etc.

Westmeath

– Athlone, Elphin Diocesan Seminary (1860)

Notes

1. Goldie's altar and reredos were removed from Salford in the late 1980s as part of a Second Vatican Council re-ordering scheme. See also *Ecclesiology Today* 38 (May 2007) pp. 29, 30–1.
2. C. De Bhailís, 'George Goldie – A Catholic Architect in Post-Famine Ireland' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 109 (2020) pp. 177–90.
3. *The Waterford News and General Advertiser*, 13 July 1877.
4. Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson, *150 Years of Architectural Drawings – Hadfield Cawkwell Davidson, Sheffield, 1834–1984* (Sheffield, 1984) pp. 14, 130.
5. Dictionary of Scottish Architects (online) www.scottisharchitects.org.uk
6. Dictionary of Scottish Architects and Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720–1940 (online) www.dia.ie
7. Peter Howell (ed.), 'Letters from J. F. Bentley to Charles Hadfield Part 1' in *Architectural History* 23 (1980) pp. 95–137 (p.100).
8. Charles L. Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival* [1872] (1978 edition, edited with an introduction by J. Mordaunt Crook) p. 328.
9. *The Sligo Champion*, 22 October 1859; *The Evening Freeman*, 4 April 1861.
10. http://www.roscommontownheritage.com/history-and-heritage/8/the-harrison-hall.php
11. *Roscommon Messenger*, 14 February 1863.
12. *Freeman's Journal*, 10 September 1860.
13. *The Roscommon Weekly Messenger*, 26 August 1854.
14. *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* 19 (1856) p. 325.
15. *Freeman's Journal*, 10 September 1860.
16. L. Swords, *A Dominant Church: The Diocese of Achonry 1818–1960* (Dublin, 2004) p. 256.
17. *The Cork Daily Reporter*, 30 August 1855.
18. Swords, *A Dominant Church*, pp. 256–7.
19. *Freeman's Journal*, 10 September 1860.
20. Swords, *A Dominant Church*, p. 170.
21. Ibid.
22. *Freeman's Journal*, 10 September 1860.
23. P. Galloway and C. Simms, *The Cathedrals of Ireland* (Belfast, 1992) p. 21.
24. Galloway and Simms, *Cathedrals of Ireland*, p. 22.
25. G. Goldie, *A Lecture on Ecclesiastical Architecture Delivered by George Goldie, ESQ., Architect, At A Meeting of The Young Men's Society, Sheffield* (1856).
26. Bernard, J. Canning, *Bishops of Ireland: 1870–1987* (Ballyshannon, 1987) p. 340.
27. D. Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2006) p.225.
28. Canning, *Bishops of Ireland*, p.340.
29. *The Sligo Champion*, 14 April 1866.
30. M. J. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880* (London; Dublin, 1982) p. 135.

31. J. S. Curl, and B. O'Neill (eds), *Irish Cathedrals, Churches and Abbeys* (London, 2002) p. 143.
32. J. Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland*, 1837–1921 (Blackrock, 1994) p. 337.
33. *The Roscommon Messenger*, 19 January 1867.
34. F. Beirne, *Diocese of Elphin: An Illustrated History* (Elphin, 2007) p. 126.
35. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland*, p. 315.
36. *The Dublin Nation*, 2, July 1897.
37. *The Sligo Champion*, 10 September 1881.
38. Ibid.
39. https://www.catholicbishops.ie/2014/07/13/episcopal-ordination-today-of-father-kevin-doran-as-bishop-of-elphin/
40. *The Builder*, 16 March 1867.
41. Ibid.
42. L. Swords, *Achonry and its Churches from the Sixth Century to the Third Millennium* (Strasburg, 2007) p.52. Markievicz (1868–1927) was a leading Irish revolutionary and suffragette who would become the first woman elected to the House of Commons, although she did not take her seat due to her party's policy of abstentionism.
43. *The Sligo Champion*, 18 June 1859.
44. *The Sligo Champion*, 22 October 1859.
45. Ibid.
46. *The Evening Freeman*, 4 April 1861.
47. Ibid.
48. *The Sligo Champion*, 29 June 1861.
49. *The Sligo Champion*, 8 November 1862.
50. *The Sligo Champion*, 29 May 1869.
51. *The Freeman's Journal*, 5 September 1864.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 95.
55. *The Weekly Freeman's Journal*, 2 June 1866.
56. The *Sligo Champion*, 11 August 1866.
57. The images referred to can be seen on the weblog of Fr Vincent Sherlock of Achonry at https://sherlockshome.ie/a-reminder/
58. Basil Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century: A Study of the Gothic Revival in England* (Wiltshire, 1938) p. 254.

Adapting Medieval Churches for Pre-Tractarian Worship: Evidence from South-East England

DAVID PARSONS

The widespread restoration and rebuilding of medieval parish churches in the Victorian period has destroyed or hidden much evidence for the state of their fabrics in the period before the reintroduction of pre-Reformation liturgical practices under the influence of the Oxford Movement and the Cambridge Camden Society. This evidence can be teased out from documentary material ranging from topographical drawings through architects' plans to written accounts of churches before restoration. It shows that a substantial minority of church buildings were interfered with to adapt them to the conduct of worship current in many parishes in the eighteenth century.

The introductory case study in this article demonstrates how a combination of different forms of evidence can reveal the way in which church fabrics were altered in order to cope with forms of worship for which they were not originally intended. In most cases the physical evidence has been eradicated by later restorers or rebuilders, but the documentary and pictorial evidence survives in many instances, even where the medieval church does not.

A key source of information is the extensive collection of church notes compiled by Sir Stephen Glynne (1807–74), W. E. Gladstone's brother-in-law, in the course of half a century of church visiting.[1] Over one hundred notebooks covering much of England and Wales are deposited in the Gladstone Library at Hawarden. Many of Glynne's notes refer to churches before restoration took place. Similarly, landscape artists drew and painted unrestored churches, for example S. H. Grimm (1733–94), who worked country-wide; Henry Petrie (1768–1842), who was active in Sussex, Kent and Surrey; the James Lamberts, uncle and nephew (1725–99) in Sussex; Edward Hassell (1811–52) in Surrey; and R. H. C. Ubsdell (1812–87) in Hampshire. These (historic) counties constitute the area of this study. Further drawn evidence exists in architects' plans accompanying applications for faculties or for funds; in the latter case the archive of the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) in Lambeth Palace Library is a valuable resource.

Case study: Beckley, All Saints (East Sussex)

When, on 3 July 1868, Sir Stephen Glynne visited All Saints', he found the church 'in a miserable state'.[2] He noted in particular that arcade arches and their piers had been removed to make way for galleries on each side of the church. The chancel arch was 'similar', that is, it had been taken down to accommodate a centrally-placed pulpit. Glynne's account of the arcades is slightly puzzling, however, since he thought that they had been four bays long and that only responds were left at either end. In reality there had been only three bays, and the most westerly on each side survived apparently intact. This is clear from the account published in *The Builder*:

> At the end of the last century [*sc.* the eighteenth] it was treated in the most heroic fashion. The two eastern bays of the nave arcade were bodily removed, and a single elliptical arch, struck anyhow, substituted in order to get headway for the galleries. The galleries were carried round the aisles and across the west end of the nave. The chancel arch was also knocked out of shape to make room for an immense pulpit. … The old galleries were lighted by cucumber-frames set in the slope of the roof.[3]

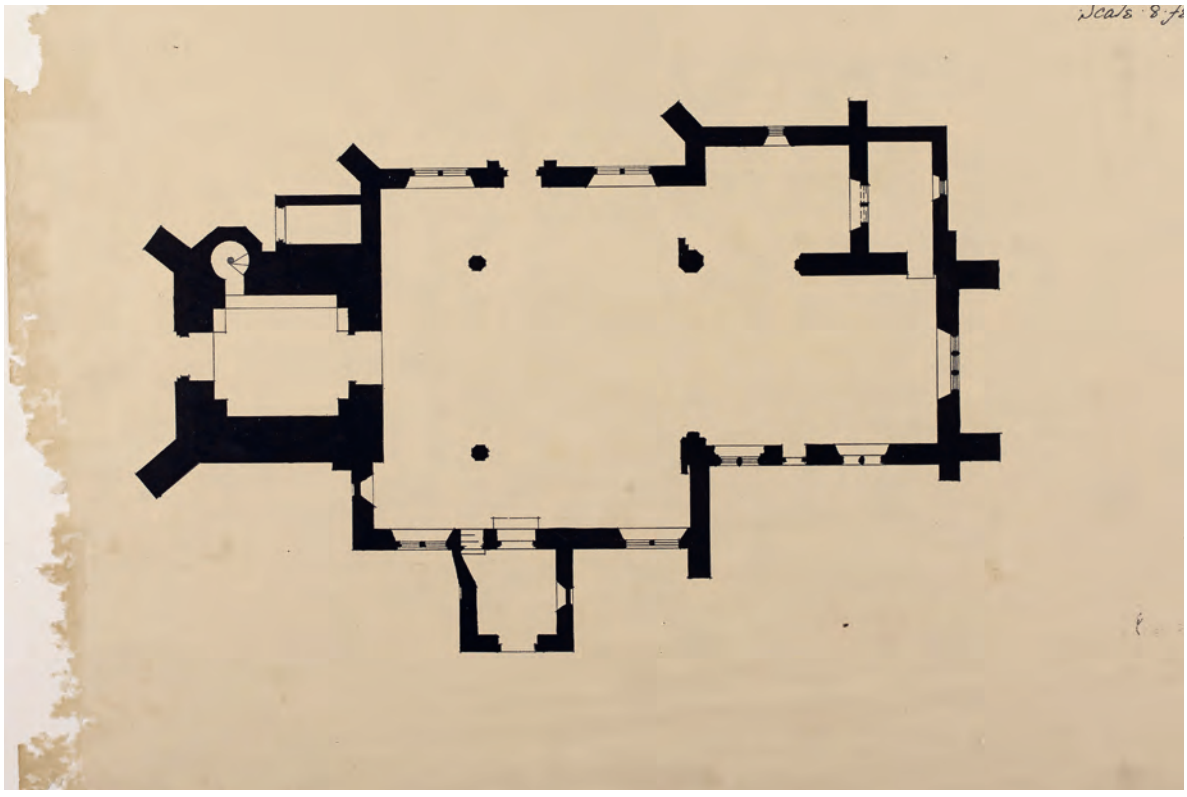


Fig. 1: Beckley, East Sussex, All Saints: pre-restoration plan, ESRO PAR 237/4/2/2. (Courtesy East Sussex Record Office)

The report goes on to detail the steps taken by the architect Reginald Blomfield, who restored the church in 1884–85, to rectify these defects. Two of Blomfield's plans survive (Figs 1 and 2), one showing the state of the church before the restoration, the other showing the work carried out.[4]

These plans make it clear that the introduction of galleries had implications for the fabric beyond those noted by Glynne. The pre-restoration plan (Fig. 1) shows that the northern part of the west wall of the porch had been rebuilt on a different alignment, giving access to a breach in the aisle south wall; within this opening, steps indicate a stairway to gallery level. The later plan (Fig. 2) shows that this was reversed at the restoration, which is clear from the red colouring of the rebuilt sections of wall.

A view of the church from the south-east by Grimm in 1784 shows a dormer window high on the nave roof, implying that there was already a west gallery inside.[5] If this existed before the insertion of the aisle galleries, it could account for the survival of the western bay of the nave arcades. The drawing shows no other lights in the roof, which was intact apart from the dormer: the 'cucumber-frames' of the account in *The Builder* do not figure. Neither do they appear in Henry Petrie's watercolour taken from the north-east in 1804,[6] although there are two

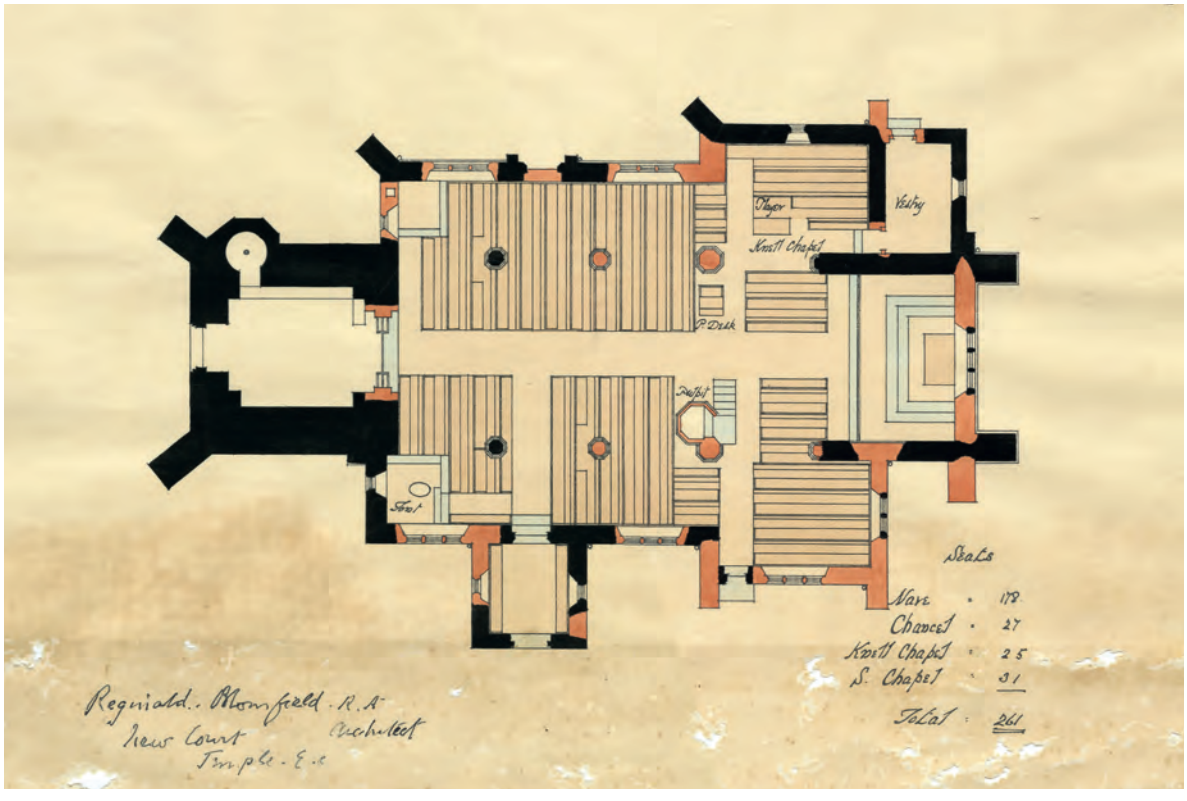


Fig. 2: Beckley, East Sussex, All Saints: restoration plan 'as restored', ESRO PAR 237/4/2/3. (Courtesy East Sussex Record Office)

dormers in the north slope of the nave roof. Both of these illustrations make it clear that there was no clerestory, the aisle walls were low and the roof covered the aisles as well as the nave in a continuous sweep, the so-called catslide roof, which is a common characteristic of Sussex churches: 40 of some 300 churches illustrated by Petrie had roofs of this form in the early part of the nineteenth century. It was clearly a difficult configuration for builders wishing to insert galleries over side aisles without significant intervention in the fabric: head height was limited and the low side walls made it almost impossible to install raked seating. Other churches roofed in this way may be worth investigating for evidence of interference with the medieval fabric.

Further evidence from Sussex

The present church at Hurstpierpoint in West Sussex was built by Charles Barry in 1843–45 (and dedicated to the Holy Trinity). Its predecessor (dedicated to St Lawrence) was visited by Glynne in December 1825, who noted that it had been 'lately rebuilt in a barbarous style' and the arches between the nave and the south aisle had been removed to



Fig. 3: Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex, St Lawrence: copy of 1795 sketch by William Hamper, FSA, exterior view, WSRO PD 2417. (Courtesy West Sussex Record Office)

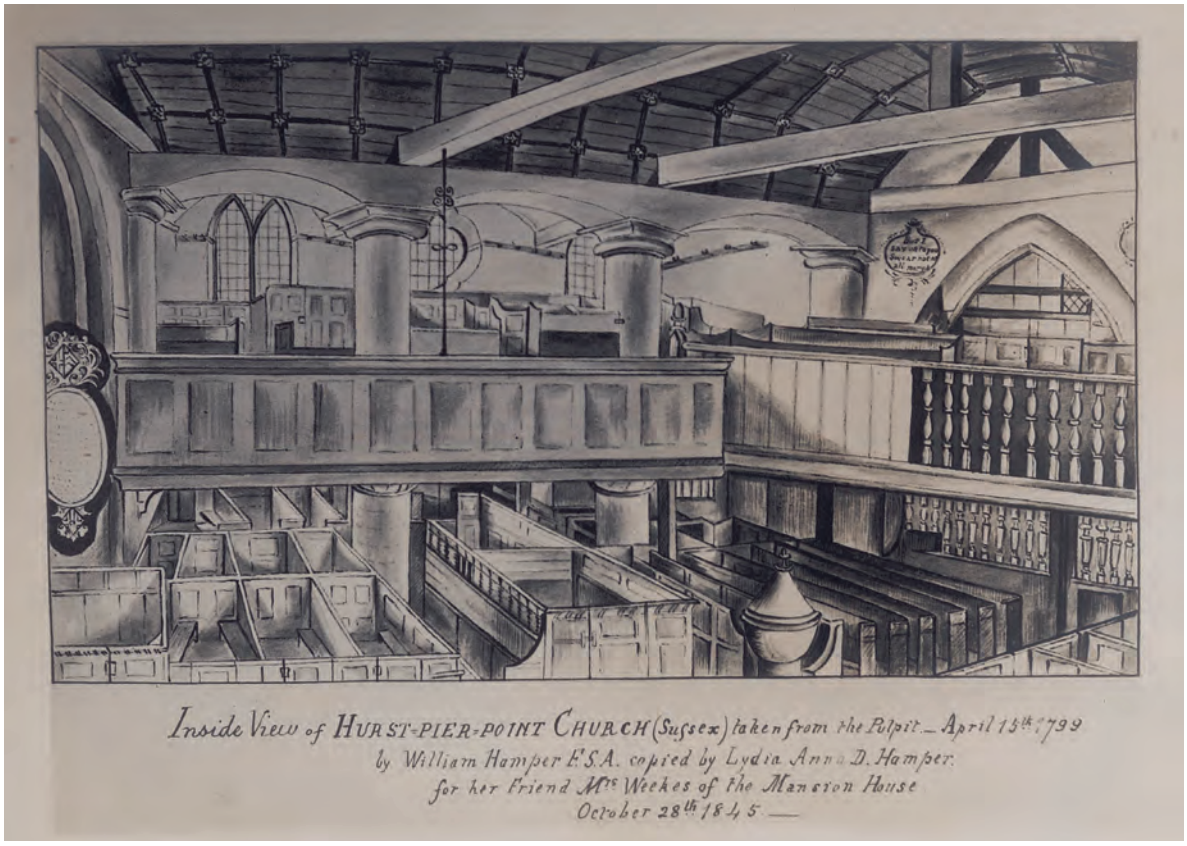


Fig. 4: Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex, St Lawrence: copy of 1799 sketch by William Hamper, FSA, interior view, WSRO PD 2416. (Courtesy West Sussex Record Office)

make way for galleries, leaving only the massive cylindrical piers of the arcade.[7] The church was drawn from the south-east by James Lambert between 1776 and 1783 as one of the illustrations for Sir William Burrell's putative History of Sussex;[8] it shows a low aisle wall without windows beneath a catslide roof. The 'barbarous' work was carried out not long after, following an agreement in March 1787 between tradesmen and the Rector, churchwardens and overseers to 'build up the south wall of church', take out the arches, and raise the columns 'from the lower part of the … gallery to the main plate'.[9] The results of this intervention were drawn by William Hamper, FSA, the exterior in 1797 and the interior in 1799. Copies made in the nineteenth century survive in the West Sussex Record Office (WSRO; Figs 3 and 4).[10] The exterior view shows the rebuilding of the aisle wall to a greater height, with transverse gables pierced by windows – a quatrefoil flanked by two-light windows with Y-tracery. These windows can be seen in the interior view, giving light to raked gallery seating; at the front of the gallery the supporting original piers of the arcade are surmounted by extensions carrying segmental arches at wall-plate level.

A similar, but rather more sober, solution was adopted at South Bersted (West Sussex), where in 1764 the south aisle wall was heightened to accommodate one of the two galleries noted by Glynne.[11] This is recorded both by Grimm in 1790 and Petrie in 1804.[12] Petrie's watercolour, taken from the south-west, shows an area of brick in the west wall of the aisle above the level of the original roofline and five ogee-arched windows at the upper level, the central one with a dropped sill. The Victoria County History (VCH) account suggests that this was to light a staircase,[13] but from its proportions it could have been an access door, though no external stair is shown. This wall was rebuilt in Ewan Christian's restoration of 1879–83; there being no clerestory, the roof reverted to catslide form.

Another church which had a catslide roof is St Peter's, Chailey (East Sussex), which Glynne visited in the period between work carried out by an unknown architect in 1846 and two bouts of restoration by J. Oldrid Scott in 1878–79 and 1886. The literature describes the south arcade before 1878 as having 'round' arches and deduces a twelfth-century date.[14] However, Glynne makes it clear that there were no arches in 1856, since they had been removed to install a gallery.[15] This would have been difficult to achieve, since there was no clerestory, and thus little headroom below the sweeping catslide roof. At Hurstpierpoint, the presumed Romanesque arches were replaced by shallow segmental arches at high level. It is possible that something similar was done at Chailey, and that segmental arches were misunderstood as 'round'. However, a set of mounted photographs in the church, taken before the 1878 restoration according to a handwritten caption on the mount, show nothing of the sort. The view from the chancel into the nave shows a massive beam supporting the roof;[16] in its turn it is supported by the 'clumsy large … pier of square form' noted by Glynne. This implies the total destruction of the former south arcade.

The evidence at St Margaret's, Angmering (West Sussex), is also difficult to interpret.[17] Glynne states that there were south and west galleries in the nave. A faculty issued in 1738 for the erection of a south gallery in addition to the already existing western one.[18] Plans by George Harrison of Worthing, drawn up in 1837, show the proposed seating arrangements, which include what appear to be wooden posts along the centre of the south aisle, which Glynne says had a roof independent from that of the nave, so presumably a saddle-back with a central ridge. The posts are approximately eleven feet (3.36m) from the nave south wall, which agrees with the dimension given in the faculty text; the east–west measurement, 34ft (10.37m), also agrees with the length of the south aisle as shown on the plan. There is however a conflict between the

plans, which show a nave arcade of three bays, and Glynne's statement that the arcade had been removed. There is also a discrepancy about the form of the roof, with other evidence suggesting a single roof covering nave and aisle,[19] as against Glynne's 'separate open roofs'. At all events the construction of a gallery extending only halfway across the south aisle seems extraordinary.

At St Mary's, Fittleworth (West Sussex), Glynne records the removal of the south arcade, but does not mention a gallery, for which there is no other clear evidence; at St Nicholas's, Brighton, he is quite specific: 'The piers between the Chancel & its chapel are of Perpendicular appearance but the arches have been removed to make way for galleries.'[20] Unusually here it was the chancel arcade that had been removed. The remainder of the church interior was 'crowded to excess by pews & galleries for which it is but ill adapted, being so very low', a rare reference to the difficulties facing gallery-builders. Petrie's 1802 watercolour shows that there was no range of clerestory windows and the eaves of the nave roof scarcely rose above the south aisle roof, which was equipped with dormer windows.[21] An interior view of 1840 by W. J. Quatermain bears out Glynne's description, and a further illustration ten years later shows the dormers and two external staircases.[22]

There is pictorial evidence for more minor interference with medieval fabrics in the form of external stairs for access to the upper level and the necessary doorway. This was not necessarily a common occurrence, since staircases were usually wooden and contrived within the building itself; in some cases these staircases (or their successors) survive, for example at St Mary's, Petworth (West Sussex), in others there is documentary evidence, as at St Mary's, Shipley (West Sussex), where an engraving of the front of the west gallery 'beautified in 1785', but possibly erected earlier, shows a substantial staircase against the north wall of the nave.[23] External staircases rarely survive, though there is one at Shermanbury (West Sussex), shown by Petrie in his 1805 watercolour, sandwiched between the west porch and the north-west buttress of the nave, which hides most of the staircase and the bottom of the upper door.[24] This dates from the reconstruction of the west wall in 1747/8. At Thakeham (West Sussex) Glynne noted in 1842 that 'a vile projection [had] been added on the N for a staircase to a gallery'; Petrie shows this to the west of the north transept.[25] Petrie's view from the north-east of St John the Baptist, Westbourne (West Sussex), includes steps between the end of the north aisle and the north chapel or vestry of the chancel.[26] The gallery door is in the east wall of the north aisle, which appears to have been thickened. There are dormer windows on the lower slope of the catslide roof. Glynne mentions only that there is no clerestory and that there are galleries, but

nothing about the upper doorway or the dormers.[27] Petrie's watercolour of St Nicholas's, Portslade (East Sussex), clearly shows stairs and an upper doorway to the west of the south porch;[28] Glynne says nothing of relevance. However, at St Bartholomew's, Maresfield (East Sussex), he observed that there was a large west gallery and that the tower arch was 'lofty'.[29] This enabled the nave gallery to take in the tower space, as shown in a sketch plan of 1802,[30] which also shows a breach in the north wall of the nave, with steps rising through it. Two external staircases were built at the old church at Milland (West Sussex), one of which survives on the south side at the west end of the nave, leading up to a doorway at eaves level. The other is implied at the west side of the north transept, where there is a similar high doorway, added to the church in 1835; the gallery was lit by an upper window in the north wall.[31]

Evidence from Kent

On the basis of currently surviving evidence nine churches in Kent with low aisle walls, no clerestories and catslide roofs can be readily identified: Brenzett, Harty, Lower Halstow, Newenden, Ruckinge, Sevington, Stalisfield, Tonge and West Stourmouth.[32] Glynne did not visit Harty, Lower Halstow or Stalisfield. His comments on the remaining six churches make it clear that they did not suffer the same indignities as those of similar form in Sussex: arcades are described as intact and there is no mention of galleries.[33]

Thus in Kent catslide roofs do not imply evidence of structural interference as the Sussex ones do. Elsewhere in his notes, however, Glynne records many instances of galleries, some of which were responsible for damage to the fabric. These were usefully collected by Nigel Yates in an appendix on liturgical and seating arrangements to his article on Glynne.[34] One of the most striking examples is Bromley, St Peter and St Paul.[35] The church that Glynne visited in 1829 was evidently thought to be inadequate: a seating plan of that year shows a proposed enlargement.[36] Plans drawn up in the following year, however, show a totally different building complete with galleries all round.[37] This replacement church was destroyed by bombing in the Second World War. Glynne's record of the original church is therefore of some importance; he notes that there were north, south and west galleries and that the arcade arches and piers had been 'removed in order to facilitate the erection of [these] galleries … excepting only the two west piers on the south'. The 1829 plan confirms that there was no arcade on the north side of the church and that several arches, most probably three, had been removed from the south arcade. Glynne gives no information about the type of roof or the existence of a clerestory range.

At the church of Blessed Mary of Walmer, Glynne found 'a huge brick excrescence added on the north side, filled with pews and galleries'.[38] Two versions of this are shown in plans drawn up in 1826. The first shows 'the original' form with the date 1817: a long, relatively narrow, transept-like building, appended to the eastern half of the nave.[39] The other shows the proposals for enlarging this to occupy the full extent of the nave.[40] If carried out, this would have destroyed much of the nave north wall. This is likely to have been the case, since the Buildings of England volume describes it as an aisle; it was demolished in 1898.[41]

At St Mary's, Stelling, there had been 'no attempt at restoration or improvement' when Glynne visited in 1868.[42] He noted 'separate high roofs' and that the south arcade 'perhaps of two or three arches, [had] been thrown into one large wide arch', but made no mention of galleries. There was one in the south aisle, however, according to the Buildings of England volume account, which dates it 1790–91.[43] At Dymchurch, St Peter and St Paul, the outer walls had been rebuilt, the north wall of the nave being virtually demolished when the church was enlarged to the north in 1821, according to Glynne by the removal of the arcade to a former north aisle.[44] The only gallery mentioned was at the west end. At St Leonard's, Deal, however there were 'numerous' galleries, one of which no doubt occupied the 'large modern addition made on the north side of the nave'.[45] This was in fact a widening of the existing north aisle, as is clear from a plan of 1818,[46] which shows the line of the demolished aisle wall and, apparently, the removal of the easternmost pier of the arcade, though this is not mentioned by Glynne. Similarly at All Saints', Loose, the originally aisleless building had a north aisle added, 'but without arcade', destroying the nave north wall.[47] Newman dates the enlargement to 1820.[48]

Evidence from Surrey

Stephen Glynne's notes on Surrey churches were published in 1958.[49] He visited fewer churches (81) in the county, both absolutely and relatively, than in Kent (312) and Sussex (235). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Surrey churches provide only limited evidence for the sort of 'mutilation' (to use Glynne's term) under discussion. Where it is noted, the cause of the interference is rarely stated and is at best implied. Only at St Nicholas's, Guildford, is a reason given, and it was nothing to do with the liturgical or social functioning of the church: the arches and piers of the nave arcades were removed and the floor raised because of flooding.[50] Glynne visited St Mary's, Ewell, in 1844 before its rebuilding four years later. The church had one aisle, on the south side; the arcade formerly had four arches, but two had been removed, leaving the two

westernmost bays with plain Early English arches. There was evidently only one gallery, at the west end, but Glynne notes 'an obtuse door & a projecting turret near the pulpit' on the north side of the nave,[51] and the purpose behind the removal of two arcade arches may have been to open up the view of the pulpit across the nave. In 1847 St Andrew's, Cobham, was 'much disfigured & mutilated' and the 'arcade between the nave & [north] aisle [had] been removed & replaced by modern pillars.'[52] Glynne's notes on this visit mention only one gallery, yet in 1871 his addendum said that '*all* the galleries' had disappeared [author's emphasis], leaving it open to conjecture whether there was one in the north aisle. A rough sketch plan, pencil on paper, dated 1821–23 suggests that a north aisle was proposed, where there had previously been none.[53] The nave north wall is marked 'wall to come down', as is the west wall of the north chapel, which the new aisle was to abut. It may be that there was only to be an opening made in the chapel wall: the VCH account refers to an arch in this position and argues that it implies the existence of a north aisle.[54] It claims that the aisle was shown in Cracklow's plan of 1824, but gives no reference. More importantly, the ICBS plan has a written label in the south-west corner of the nave 'staircase to old gallery to remain' and another in the north-west corner of the proposed aisle saying 'staircase to new gallery', which makes it clear that there was one in the aisle and implies that it constituted part of the motivation for the intended work.

At Stoke next Guildford, St John the Evangelist, the arches and piers of the arcade into the north aisle had been removed, but the only gallery mentioned was at the west end.[55] The date of Glynne's visit is not known, but is likely to have been before 1840; the church probably looked much the same as it did when Edward Hassell painted his watercolours. They include two interior views done in 1829, one looking west,[56] the other towards the altar.[57] The first of these (Fig. 5) shows the nave filled with box pews, with part of the pulpit on the extreme right; at the west end an organ case fills the upper part of the tower arch and below it a gallery extends the full width of the nave and into the north aisle, possibly crossing the aisle west window. The wall plate is supported by two plain Tuscan columns. One of these is shown in the other interior view (Fig. 6), where it appears to be fluted. The pulpit stands against the north respond of the chancel arch, easily visible – and its occupant audible – from everywhere in the nave and aisle. Neither view suggests that there was a full gallery in the aisle.

Glynne, visiting St Michael's, Mickleham, in 1844, noted 'recent alterations', referring to substantial work in 1822–23, in which 'the original Norman arches on the South of the nave have been removed

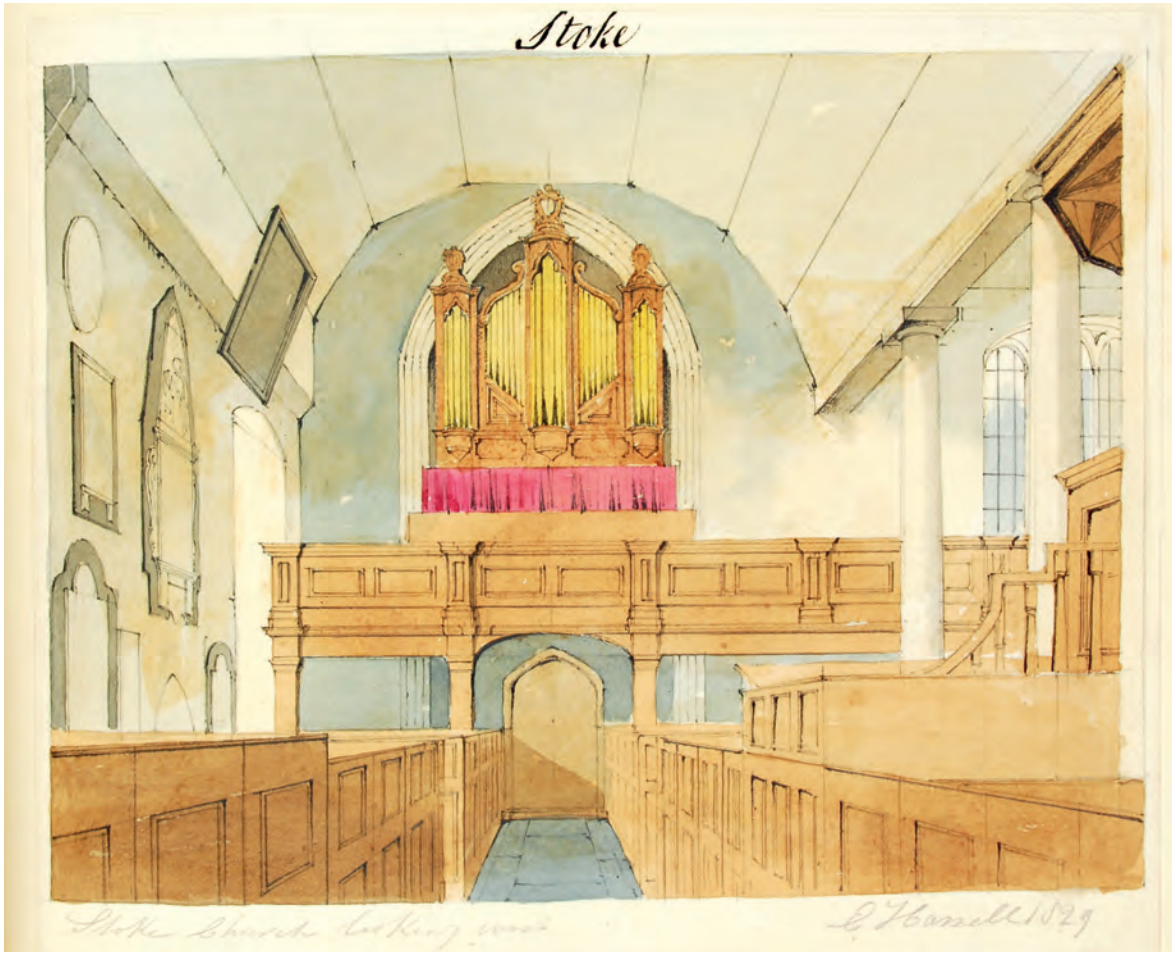


Fig. 5: Stoke next Guildford, Surrey, St John: 1829 watercolour by Edward Hassell, interior looking west, SHC 8877/2/148. (Reproduced by permission of the Surrey History Centre)

& replaced by new ones of a very meagre and incorrect kind.' They were originally 'plain semicircular ones with cylindrical columns, but the latter have been transformed into poor ones of square form.'[58] This was to accommodate a gallery for which there was insufficient head height, but which was insisted on by the parish, against the architect's better judgement. To compensate for the loss of the historic features he installed a neo-Romanesque frontal to the gallery.[59]

The aisles of All Saints', Carshalton, had been heightened in brick, 'about the beginning of' the eighteenth century.[60] Following substantial rebuilding later in the nineteenth century, the north aisle no longer exists, but the south aisle survives as the outer aisle of the present building. It exhibits two tiers of brick-headed windows, five regularly spaced in the upper brick fabric, and five in the lower, original, stone masonry; three



Fig. 6: Stoke next Guildford, Surrey, St John: undated watercolour by Edward Hassell, interior looking east, SHC 8877/2/147. (Reproduced by permission of the Surrey History Centre)

of these are set very low in the wall, implying a gallery above. Though Glynne does not mention any, Lysons explicitly refers to galleries as the reason for the heightening of the aisles. The whole arrangement is very reminiscent of the church of St Mary Magdalene, South Bersted (West Sussex).[61] The arcades at Carshalton remained intact; Glynne referred to the arches as high and pointed, which presumably gave adequate sight-lines to the pulpit. All Saints', Kingston upon Thames, is another church where the walls had been rebuilt in brick, and where Glynne records galleries,[62] but it has since been so extensively rebuilt that it is impossible to determine whether it is a parallel case to All Saints', Carshalton.

Evidence from Hampshire

Glynne's notes on churches in Hampshire have not been published. He visited some 130 churches, and his notes on them are contained

in notebooks 26–29 and 59 lodged at Gladstone's Library, Hawarden. They have been transcribed by Mr Barry Meehan, who has generously supplied information and extracts from the notes for inclusion in this article.

As in the case of Kent, the existence of a catslide roof is no indication of potential damage to medieval fabrics. In the 1840s Glynne visited All Saints', Catherington,[63] Holy Rood, Empshott,[64] and St Thomas à Becket, Warblington,[65] and in all cases noted that the medieval arcades were intact, describing those at Warblington in some detail. St Peter's, Titchfield, has no clerestory, but the spacious late-medieval north aisle has tall walls, and its roof is not continuous with that of the nave and of far shallower pitch. This is well shown in the 1840 watercolour by Richard Ubsdell.[66] There would have been no difficulty in constructing a gallery in this aisle, for there would have been sufficient headroom and the arcade arches are tall. The south aisle was a different matter: it had been added in the Norman period and was less spacious than the north aisle, with low arcades. It was replaced in 1867, but Glynne had visited in 1847, and wrote:

> the original Romanesque arcade on the south of the nave has been sadly altered of late years in order to make room for the insertion of a gallery. The arches were formerly low and the piers short, of circular form with square capitals. The arches are now quite changed by two being thrown into one.[67]

St Mary's, Andover, was totally rebuilt in the early 1840s. Its predecessor was visited by Glynne not long before, and he noted that the interior had been 'completely modernized, the original arches and pillars entirely removed, and replaced by modern pillars'; there were also side galleries.[68] The replacement pillars appear to have been of timber and the motive for the interference with the medieval fabric was to 'increase seating and improve sight lines'.[69]

Both side aisles of St Peter's, Bishop's Waltham, were altered in the post-Reformation period. The north aisle was rebuilt in 1637, but not the nave arcade; it held an upper floor in its west bay, which was approached by a stair in a projecting buttress and was formerly used as a school.[70] It was lit by a window at high level in the north wall.[71] This intervention seems not to have had any liturgical significance. On the south side of the church, however, there was a classic case of 'fabric abuse': the south arcade was 'destroyed in 1798 to make place for a gallery over the aisle, the wooden posts carrying this gallery and the nave roof being replaced in 1822 by Tuscan columns in Portland stone'.[72] These were replaced in

their turn in the 1894 restoration. A photograph of about 1870 shows the appearance of the arcade before that restoration (Fig. 7);[73] the wall plate is supported by shallow segmental arches, reminiscent of the arrangement at Hurstpierpoint (West Sussex) some 35 years earlier (see above and Fig. 4).

St Margaret's, East Wellow, also has a south aisle lacking an arcade, but the interpretation of this feature is less straightforward. The VCH account says of the opening into the aisle that it 'has no arcade, a part of the nave wall having been completely removed and the roof carried on a large beam and two stout chamfered posts … Two dormer windows on the south witness to the previous existence of a south gallery.'[74] The aisle is claimed to date from the sixteenth century; there is a window of that date with a timber frame in the east wall, but those in the south wall VCH says are 'modern' with trefoiled lights, and it is tempting to suggest that the east window is reset in a later, possibly eighteenth-century wall. Ubsdell's watercolour of 1846, however, shows plain straight-headed windows similar to the eastern one, so the dating may be correct.[75]



Fig. 7: Bishop's Waltham, Hampshire, St Peter: *c.*1870 photograph, interior facing east, HCT PWCM2657. (Courtesy Winchester City Council Collection; image provided by Hampshire Cultural Trust)

It may therefore be that the dormers and the putative gallery – and indeed the interference with the nave wall – were of later date.

Several churches had substantial transepts added in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and some acquired aisles. St Mary's, the old parish church of Hartley Wintney, was given huge brick-built transepts in 1834.[76] Two tiers of windows in the gable ends indicate that they are two-storey structures, with galleries internally. A photograph taken from the south gallery shows the west responds of massive arches communicating with the nave;[77] they are four-centred and of plastered brick.[78] They destroyed much of the medieval walling at the eastern end of the nave, though damage may already have been done on the north side, when an earlier transept was constructed.[79] St Leonard's, Bursledon, was similarly treated (Fig. 8), supposedly in the course of 'large-scale alterations in 1833';[80] the date is confirmed by VCH, and plans of that date survive in the ICBS archive.[81] It appears that the eastern half of the nave side walls was demolished, as at Hartley Wintney, but it is not possible to be certain, since the physical evidence was removed in the restoration of 1888, from which the present transepts date. The 1833 plans show that the then transepts had no galleries, but the old western gallery over the surviving half of the nave was retained 'unaltered', though ICBS 1428a does not show any congregational seating at that level. The external appearance of the transepts is given by Ubsdell's watercolour, not later than 1841, which is a view of the church from the west;[82] it also shows a dormer window on the southern slope of the nave roof, which was no doubt intended to light the western gallery. All Saints', Minstead, not painted by Ubsdell, suffered numerous interventions, in particular a long south transept, added in 1792, which destroyed most of the south wall of the nave, whose wall plate is supported by a cast-iron column.[83] Iron columns also figure in the north aisle of 1832 at St Nicholas's, Brockenhurst.[84]

The ancient church of St Mary, Kingston (Portsmouth), was replaced in 1843 and again in 1887–89. Judging by Ubsdell's watercolours of the pre-1843 building, it was a relatively extensive and spacious building compared with most of those discussed above. It nevertheless had no clerestory range but a catslide roof reaching from the ridge of the nave to the aisle walls, which were however not particularly low. The interior view shows the church crowded with box pews and galleries, but the nave arcades were intact.[85] The main impact on the church fabric was a large high-level doorway on the north side, approached by a flight of steps, and two tiers of dormer windows.[86] Evidence for much more minor interference with the church fabric may be shown in Ubsdell's north view of Our Lady, Warnford. He produced two versions of this



Fig. 8: Bursledon, Hampshire, St Leonard: watercolour by R. H. C. Ubsdell, undated, but 1841 or earlier, general view of exterior from west, PMS 1945/419/8. (Reproduced by kind permission of Portsmouth Museums, Portsmouth City Council. All rights reserved)

watercolour in 1841, one of them for the Bishop of Winchester.[87] It appears to show a very small window at eaves level at the west end of the nave, which may imply a west gallery; however, it is not shown in the version now in the Portsmouth Museums collection. A coloured drawing of 1835 shows a comparable window on the south side;[88] Glynne mentioned a west gallery in 1845,[89] and an architect's drawing of 1904 gives its extent.[90]

Discussion

A number of themes emerge from this account of churches whose medieval fabric was disturbed, mainly in the second half of the eighteenth century, in the interests of 'adapting [them] so that the services in them could be more satisfactorily conducted', as Yates puts it,[91] and of increasing their seating capacity. The first, illustrated by the Beckley case study, is the rebuilding or wholesale removal of arcades between the nave and existing side aisles, sometimes with semi-circular or pointed arches replaced at a higher level with elliptical arches (Beckley, Hurstpierpoint) sometimes with two or more bays thrown

into one (Stelling, Titchfield), or replaced by tall timber posts or piers supporting the wall plate (Bishop's Waltham, Chailey). Bromley seems to have adopted two of these three variants.

As an alternative or in addition to this, the aisle wall could be rebuilt or extended upwards to give a two-storey elevation, mirroring the insertion of an upper floor internally (South Bersted, Carshalton, and possibly Silchester).[92] More drastically, the aisleless nave of All Saints', Lewes, was totally rebuilt in 1806–07 with a two-tier elevation and galleries surrounding the whole of interior, much to Glynne's disgust.[93]

Churches without side aisles invited the addition of flanking structures, often of two storeys, as a means of increasing seating capacity. These are frequently referred to as transepts, though that implies pairs, one on either side of the building; typically, however, there was only one, giving rise to the 'T-shaped' or 'L-shaped' plan, shown by Yates to have been prevalent, both in the British Isles and beyond.[94] It is not always immediately clear, however, which of his examples were new builds and which constituted additions to earlier fabrics. Of those he cites outside the present study area, St Cecilia's, Little Hadham (Hertfordshire), is a definite add-on, and St Mary's, Whitby (North Yorkshire) is a well-known instance of multiple interventions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[95] Within the study area and mentioned above are Walmer and Minstead (T-plan) and Milland (L-plan), while Hartley Wintney and Bursledon had transepts on both sides, effectively turning the axis of the church through 90 degrees. Other methods of increasing the floor area, and thus the seating capacity, were to extend already existing aisles or to move nave walls outwards (Deal, Loose, Cobham). All such expedients resulted inevitably in some destruction of medieval fabric, for example at Hartley Wintney, where large arches were inserted into the side walls, as modern photographs of the interior show.[96] Destruction was clearly more far-reaching where naves and existing aisles were extended sideways.

Relatively less damaging was the insertion of doors at a high level to give access directly from the exterior to galleries inside, though the initial example of Beckley shows that it was not necessarily just a case of making a breach in the church wall and adding a flight of steps as an abutment to it: here the south porch was also partially rebuilt in order to provide cover for the staircase. No fewer than three covered or partly-covered staircases survive at St Mary's, Whitby, visible evidence of the troubled history of building and rebuilding lasting from 1744 to 1818, along with the wholesale insertion of obtrusive windows. At Kingston in Portsmouth the upper doorway was substantial; the staircase was not enclosed, but provided with handrails. So also were two staircases

at St Nicholas's, Brighton, both leading to high doorways in the south aisle. At Thakeham the staircase was contained in a 'vile projection', according to Glynne. Whitby apart, such staircases, whether enclosed or not, have rarely survived the attentions of the nineteenth-century restorers, though a few still exist, such as one of the two at Milland and one at Shermanbury. Substantial evidence for their former existence lies hidden, however, in collections of topographical drawings, such as Petrie's.

There is some evidence for minor interventions in the shape of small high windows at the side walls of naves, introduced in order to light galleries across the end of the church; a possible example is cited above at Warnford. Much more common were dormer windows, which impacted upon potentially ancient roof timbers. Two are shown immediately above the high doorways at Brighton, with two others elsewhere in the aisle roof. In some cases they were numerous, as at Kingston in Portsmouth, and at St Michael's in Lewes, seen from the north.[97] Many of the examples cited in the body of this article were shown or described as having dormers, most of these in association with galleries, but the possession of dormer windows of itself is not a diagnostic indication of their existence, as the case of St Mary's, Lyminster (West Sussex), shows: the fairly elaborate structure of the roof timbers of the north aisle would have precluded gallery-building.[98]

The main underlying motive for all this interference in medieval fabrics was undoubtedly the need to expand the capacity of churches, a need well documented 60 years ago by M. H. Port in his study of the church building acts of the early nineteenth century.[99] This was given an extra edge by the proliferation of Nonconformist places of worship. Anthony Trollope's description of Framley church (written in 1859, although internal evidence indicates the action is set in the mid-1850s) gives a good indication of attitudes around the middle of nineteenth century:

> It was but a mean, ugly building, having been erected about a hundred years since, when all churches then built were meant to be mean and ugly; nor was it large enough for the congregation, some of whom were thus driven to the dissenting chapels.[100]

Less well recognised is an element of 'social engineering', as at South Weston in the Diocese of Oxford, where the parish authorities claimed in 1738 that they needed 'a gallery very much for servants and young people to sit in',[101] no doubt to make seating in the body of the church available to more important members of the congregation (and thus

perhaps to increase pew rent income). Yet the nature of many of the 'adaptations' described here suggests an equally compelling motivation: an attempt to convert traditional buildings into 'auditory churches' without the need to rebuild them completely. Figure 8 clearly shows the resulting reorientation of a church through the addition of transepts. Surviving seating plans make it clear that the focus was on the pulpit, often located midway along a nave wall, giving more members of the congregation direct access to the Word. The length and importance of sermons was a key factor here, and the popularity of celebrity preachers the often-unspoken reason for interfering with the historic fabric of the building. The replacement of arcade arches with segmental arches spanning two or more bays, as at Beckley and elsewhere, can be paralleled outside the study area at Leicester, where the churches of St Nicholas and St Mary de Castro were similarly treated. At St Mary's

> Most of the 13th century arcade and clerestory on the south side of the nave were ruthlessly destroyed in 1800, when, *in order that a greater number of the congregation might see the celebrated preacher*, the Rev. Thomas Robinson, a huge brick arch was inserted in that wall [present author's italics].[102]

This is a rare explicit reference to the impact of popular sermons, or indeed to any consideration other than the need to provide more accommodation. Such interventions became obsolete with the reintroduction of traditional liturgical practice in the mid-nineteenth century and were largely reversed in the course of restorations that adhered to ecclesiological principles. Nevertheless, the need to provide more space remained, and resulted in many cases in rebuilding rather that further *ad hoc* interventions, as for example at Hurstpierpoint.

Research directions

This study has been limited, both geographically and by the range of documentary evidence that has been available. Further archival research at local level would no doubt extend the number of examples recognised within the study area, while investigations outside it would establish whether the phenomena described occurred more widely.

There is also a case for further interpretation of the information already obtained. Although the catslide roof appears not to be diagnostic outside Sussex, it is worth considering what building types, if any, lent themselves to adaptation more readily than others. Churches built or rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, for example, are notable by their virtual absence in the corpus of buildings examined here; this

may simply be because the higher profile of four-centred arches did not interfere with the sight-lines of any galleries that might be erected.

This study has been arranged by administrative counties because that is how the evidence used is presented. A reconsideration in the context of the dioceses concerned might be revealing, however. What was the policy, if any, of the respective diocesan bishops and their archdeacons? Two of the county areas, Surrey and Hampshire, were both in the diocese of Winchester, and might not be expected to show any deviation of policy, except perhaps at archdeaconry level. Only part of Kent belonged to the archdiocese of Canterbury, and it is notable that no examples of church adaptation have so far been identified in the diocese of Rochester: is this chance, or a reflection of diocesan policy? In Sussex, wholly within the diocese of Chichester, there is a discrepancy between the frequent occurrence of adaptations in the West (Archdeaconry of Chichester) and the East (Archdeaconry of Lewes), where there is only one of significance, Beckley: could this represent divergent policies? The answers to such questions might lie in visitation documents, research into which is likely to be protracted and has not been attempted here.

Notes

1. A. G. Veysey, 'Sir Stephen Glynne, 1807–74', *Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society*, 30 (1981–82), 151–70; L. Butler, 'Sir Stephen Glynne – a pioneer church recorder', *Church Archaeology*, 17 (2013), 93–105.
2. *Sir Stephen Glynne's Sussex Church Notes*, ed. D. Parsons, Sussex Record Society vol.101 (2021), 25–28.
3. *The Builder*, 49, 24 Oct. 1885, 568, cols b–c.
4. East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO) PAR 237/4/2/2 and PAR 237/4/2/3
5. Reproduced in *Sussex Views*, ed. W. H. Godfrey and L. F. Salzman (Sussex Record Society, 1951), no.17.
6. Part of the Sharpe Collection, available on the Sussex Archaeological Society's website (SussexPast.co.uk) via the library catalogue, no.23.
7. See *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 155.
8. Reproduced in *Sussex Views*, as note 5, no.83.
9. This document, together with a plan and sketch elevations, forms part of the parish records at the West Sussex Record Office (hereafter WSRO), Par 400/4/11–14.
10. WSRO Par 400/4/91 and PD 2416.
11. See *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 259.
12. BL Add MS 5678, no.23; Sharpe Collection, as note 6, no.27.
13. VCH *Sussex*, 4, 224.
14. For example, N. Antram and N. Pevsner, *Sussex: East, with Brighton and Hove*, Buildings of England (Yale UP, 2012), 304.
15. Sussex *Church Notes*, as note 2, 65–66.
16. Detail reproduced in *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 65.
17. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 10–11. Glynne was evidently confused about the dedication of the church (the parish originally had three), and the heading should read 'St Peter (*recte* St Margaret)'.
18. WSRO Ep1/17/39.
19. Much of the evidence is summarised in an extensive note by R. W. Standing updated in 2007 and available on line at http://www.angmeringvillage.co.uk/history/Articles/Church_Old.htm
20. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 125 (Fittleworth), 50–52 (Brighton).
21. Sharpe Collection, as note 6, no.55.
22. In Quartermain's bound collection of engravings 'Parish Churches of Sussex'; the East Sussex churches, including Brighton, can be viewed on line through the SussexPast website via the Library catalogue.
23. ICBS 01106c.
24. Sharpe Collection, as note 6, no.294.
25. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 282; Sharpe Collection, as note 6, no.325.
26. Sharpe Collection, as note 6, 345.
27. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 303–04.
28. Sharpe Collection, as note 6, 264.
29. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 187–88.
30. ICBS 00225.

31. VCH *Sussex*, 4, 32–39, in the section on the modern church of St Luke, Milland.
32. I am grateful to John Vigar for this list.
33. *Notes on the Churches of Kent*, ed. W. H. Gladstone (Murray, 1877), 252–53 (Brenzett); 219 (Newenden); 207-08 (Ruckinge); 91–92 (Sevington); 196 (Tonge); 228–29 (West Stourmouth).
34. N. Yates, 'Sir Stephen Glynne and Kentish Ecclesiology', *Studies in Modern Kentish History*, ed. A. Detsicas and N. Yates (Kent Archaeological Society, Maidstone, 1983), 187–202; the Appendix is at 192–202.
35. Appendix, 200; Glynne's full text at *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 271; now in the London Borough of Bromley.
36. ICBS 01078b.
37. ICBS 01078 and 01078a.
38. *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 117.
39. ICBS 00729.
40. ICBS 00720a.
41. J. Newman, *Kent: North East and East* (Yale UP, 2013), 587.
42. *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 259.
43. *Kent: North East and East*, as note 41, 560.
44. J. Newman, *Kent: West and the Weald* (Yale UP, 2012), 221; *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 265–66.
45. *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 101.
46. ICBS 00087.
47. *Churches of Kent*, as note 33, 160.
48. *Kent: West and the Weald*, as note 44, 372.
49. R. J. Sherlock, 'Sir Stephen Glynne's Notes on the Churches of Surrey', *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, 55 (1958), 65–117.
50. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 91.
51. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 84–85.
52. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 78.
53. ICBS 00342.
54. VCH *Surrey*, 3, 445.
55. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 110.
56. Surrey History Centre, Album 8877/2/148.
57. Surrey History Centre, Album 8877/2/147.
58. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 100.
59. Discussed in detail by Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the liturgical arrangements of Anglican churches 1600–1900* (rev. ed., Oxford 2000), 114–15.
60. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 73; now in the London Borough of Sutton; for the date, see D. Lysons, *The Environs of London*, 1: *Surrey* (1792), 122–36.
61. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 259–60, see above.
62. Surrey Church Notes, as note 49, 93.
63. Notebook 26, 1.
64. Notebook 26, 3–4.
65. Notebook 29, 77–79.

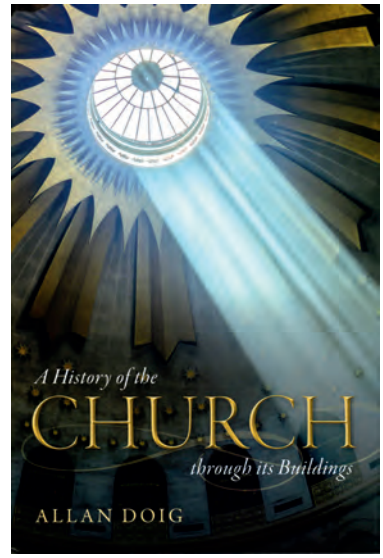
66. Portsmouth Museums and Records Service (hereafter PMRS) 1945/491/61; reproduced in C. Brindle, *Hampshire: Discovering the 19th Century World of Portsmouth Artist R. H. C. Ubsdell*, 1: *Portsmouth & South Hampshire* (West Bergholt, 2012), 111.
67. Notebook 28, 31–33.
68. Notebook 29, 49–51.
69. Barry Meehan, personal communication, 26 February 2021.
70. VCH *Hampshire*, 3 (1908), 280.
71. C. O'Brien, B. Bailey, D. W. Lloyd and N. Pevsner, *Hampshire South* (2018), 197.
72. VCH *Hampshire*, 3 (1908), 280.
73. Hampshire Cultural Trust, PWCM2657.
74. VCH *Hampshire*, 4 (1911), 538.
75. Dean and Chapter of Winchester 'Hampshire Churches and Chapels', vol.4, reproduced Brindle, *Hampshire*, as note 66, vol.2: *Southampton and North Hampshire*, 32.
76. Brindle, as note 75, 135.
77. Brindle, as note 75, 136, col.1.
78. VCH *Hampshire*, 4 (1911), 80.
79. Barry Meehan, pers. comm., 9 May 2021.
80. *Hampshire South*, as note 71, 192–93.
81. VCH *Hampshire*, 3 (1908), 283; ICBS 1428.
82. PMRS 1945/419/8; this watercolour is not intrinsically dated but formed part of a bundle of drawings sent to Sir Frederic Madden in August 1841 (see Brindle, as note 66, 26, col.1). In theory it could have been drawn in 1840, but probably not earlier, assuming it was drawn specifically for Madden, whom Ubsdell did not meet until September 1839.
83. *Hampshire South*, as note 71, 392.
84. *Hampshire South*, as note 71, 186.
85. PMRS 1960/91. This and the other Ubsdell illustrations are reproduced by Brindle, as note 66, 22–23.
86. PMRS 1945/719.
87. Dean and Chapter of Winchester, 'Hampshire Churches and Chapels', vol.4, 532; both views reproduced by Brindle, as note 66, 123.
88. 'Hampshire Churches and Chapels', as note 87, 4, 531.
89. Notebook 28, 51–53.
90. Reproduced in N. C. H. Nisbett, 'Some notes on Warnford Church', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 5 (1905), 37–46, plan facing 37.
91. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, as note 59, 108.
92. Early illustrations show the south aisle with a horizontal break in the fabric, which is surmounted by gabled dormers, described by Glynne as 'Jacobean' (Notebook 26, fol.13–14). Glynne noted that the south wall had been raised but only a west gallery is documented.
93. *Sussex Church Notes*, as note 2, 172.
94. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, as note 59, 93–103.
95. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, as note 59, 95 & 101.
96. For instance Brindle, as note 75, 136, col.1.

97. See the Sharpe Collection, available on the Sussex Archaeological Society's website (SussexPast.co.uk) via the library catalogue, no.207.
98. Petrie's drawing shows a single dormer low down on the vast catslide roof: Sharpe Collection, available on the Sussex Archaeological Society's website (SussexPast.co.uk) via the library catalogue, no.220.
99. *Six Hundred New Churches* (1961), esp. chap.1.
100. *Framley Parsonage*, chapter II, para. 3, [1860–1] (Penguin Popular Classics edition, 1994), 11.
101. Cited by Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, as note 59, 51.
102. J. M. Armson, *St Mary de Castro, Leicester: a brief account* (4th ed., Wigston, 1976), 9. I am grateful to Dr G. K. Brandwood for this reference and for sending me a copy of the relevant part of Armson's text.

Review Essay

DAVID STANCLIFFE

Allan Doig, ***A History of the Church through its Buildings***. Oxford, University Press, 2020, 376 pp., 27 b&w pls, £30.00, hdbk, ISBN 978 0 19 957536 7



After the publication of his *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Ashgate, 2008) it was rumoured that Allan Doig had been commissioned to write further in this area and base his study on twelve churches, surveyed in some depth. So when the publishers released the title of this long-awaited book, it sounded as if it was going to be a study in the mould of Neil MacGregor's *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. Before I had seen a copy, I had let myself ruminate on which churches I would have chosen. If there really were just twelve of them, how could one make such invidious choices? Would he start with the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem or the house church in Dura Europos? In Rome would it be Old St Peter's or San Clemente? Would San Vitale in Ravenna – figuring prominently in his earlier book – or San Marco in Venezia be there as well as Hagia Sophia in Constantinople? Or would he use the Euphrasian Basilica complex in Poreč to supply the liturgical link between the old Rome and Charlemagne's renewed western empire focussed on Aachen? Which of the fine Romanesque churches in France or Spain or Germany would be chosen, and which great Gothic cathedral? And in the later part, which centrally planned church of the early Renaissance in Italy would find itself as the worked exemplar of the new and mathematically-driven search for spatial perfection? Would Wren's auditory churches find a place in the post-Reformation world? And what would be the post-Vatican II example to mark the effects of the Liturgical Movement?

When I opened the book, these ponderings turned out to be wholly wide of the mark. My suppositions were too building-centred, and not sufficiently all-embracing and illustrative of major and world-changing shifts in the history of the Church. This is because Allan Doig is less concerned here with churches than with The Church. He does not use glossy illustrations of grand churches to illustrate his unfolding narrative so much as chose a dozen iconic buildings that embody his central thesis of the historical development of the Church. In every age the Church aspires to embody the divine/human partnership in how

it lives and worships. From time to time we observe a tectonic shift in how this embodiment is understood, so the chosen buildings become not so much architectural illustrations as embodied happenings. Each building gives us an insight into the interplay between theological developments and social history as human communities turn the focus of their attention to new liturgical expressions of that vision of the kingdom – or is it an empire? – as it is constantly rebuilt on earth to reflect our changing understanding of its eternal nature in heaven. This makes for a more subtle and nuanced book than I had expected and his introduction Doig sets before us the rationale behind his choice of his twelve chosen palimpsests, and how he manages to read the history of the Church from them.

Chapter 1 does indeed begin with the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but the surviving church buildings of the twelfth century hardly get a mention as the focus here is on the development of the Church in apostolic times and what binds believers to their Lord. It sketches the rise of personal identification with Jesus not just sacramentally but physically, by following in his footsteps through making a pilgrimage to the holy places and experiencing the world of the gospels at first hand. Biblical, patristic and geophysical archaeology is employed in the service of discovery and analysis. What sort of community was being formed and how could its surprising success in transcending nation, gender, class and upbringing be harnessed in the task of turning the known world into a better and more biddable society? The central figure at the start of the institutionally visible church is Constantine, whose shrewd analysis of what might harness the unwieldy and disruptive elements of an historic empire and give them a common purpose and shared identity led him, aided and abetted by Eusebius, to champion the fledging Christian community with its astonishing power to transcend boundaries.

From considering the foundation of the church, 'Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone', embedded on the skull-like rock of Golgotha and emerging from the tomb nearby, it is a natural step to follow the transference of *potestas* – that numinous authority which has continued to dog the church – to the martyred Peter, and his burial place at the centre of the empire, Rome itself. Rome is where Peter and Paul met their deaths, and where the funeral feasts – those cemetery picnics – kept a very distinct sense of personal presence alive. Doig's narrative of the discovery of the tomb that is almost certainly Peter's reads like a detective story, in which Mussolini as well as Pius XII make cameo appearances, and this account makes a powerful case for the plausibility of his historical methodology. Here we see him weave documentary and archaeological evidence together to build a picture that is theologically

grounded and makes sense of the subsequent development we know in its institutional form as the Roman Church centred on Old St Peter's.

For the third chapter, we move east with the emperor to Constantinople. Justinian's great church of Hagia Sophia survives in a recognisable form and through the purple prose of Paul the Silentiary we can almost touch the exotic marbles brought from every corner of the empire to decorate it. Their use within the walls of that iconic building made actual the welding together of the far-flung borders of the lands they represented. Here Justinian's vision of the perfect unity between divine and imperial rule was actualised. 'Hagia Sophia was not a dual symbol of divine and imperial rule: for Justinian, as for Constantine, the two were one and the same.' But it was not just the building so much as the Liturgy celebrated in the building that made that symbiosis visible: it is the ritual of sacramental celebration that guarantees real presence.

Then suddenly, without any warning, we are in 'The Third Rome' – in Moscow, which inherits the imperial mantle of Constantinople in a jump of a thousand years or so. The trailer to Chapter 4 opens with the cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin as the backdrop to the May Day parades of rocket launchers in the Soviet Union of the third quarter of the twentieth century. This may seem an enormous leap, but the logic of Doig's thesis means that while the west and its colonialization of new worlds will form the story of western diversification, the true successor to the Eastern Empire of Constantine is to be traced through Russia's wresting of independence from the Tartars and the establishment of Moscow as the 'Third Rome'. It takes a political empire – a complete system – to keep the dream of the Church as the embodiment of the divine kingdom alive, and it is in the mighty if unwieldy USSR that such a dream has been embodied.

There is no mention in this nine-hundred-year jump of the ancient Orthodox church in Armenia, where Gregory the Illuminator converted the king and was established as the first patriarch in a state church that predates the Edict of Milan, Nor is there any reference to Eastern Patriarchal sees nor to the subsequent fracturing of the network of the Churches of the East. This indicates the difficulties inherent in representing the myriad shifts of an intricate historical tapestry in the bold colours of just twelve buildings: many subtle shadings are bound to be lost.

Instead, we go back west in Chapter 5 to Charlemagne, and to his palace chapel at Aachen. Palace life at Aachen was civilised; it had hot baths and a library at its heart as well as the chapel, and generous intellectual as well as social hospitality made it an attractive focus of the *Renovatio Romani Imperii*. Charlemagne's attempts to draw the diverse

local western uses together by imposing the Roman rite symbolised his attempt to weld the empire together, and establishing his school and library alongside his octagonal chapel provided its focus. Although the influence of the pivotal Ravenna and the materials taken from it is acknowledged, Aachen's octagonal form is traced back to the Golden Octagon at Antioch, the imperial throne room in Constantinople, and to the earlier martyria without reference to those more recent octagonal baptisteries in Rome and Ravenna and to the theology of baptism and its place in Christian formation. Indeed, neither 'baptism' nor 'font' figures in the index. The focus in this account of the transmission of power is on Charlemagne's throne, constructed of materials brought from the Holy Sepulchre. Set at gallery level in the westwork, the sightlines allowed the emperor to see the altars of the Virgin and St Peter below and of the Saviour ahead, over which was set the mosaic of Christ in apocalyptic majesty. The throne itself was raised over the purse-reliquary containing the blood-soaked earth of Stephen's martyrdom; Charlemagne too could raise his eyes to see the coming glory of God, to whom alone he would surrender the earthly crown bestowed by Christ. This chapter, rehearsing familiar material but here presented in a novel way,[1] is a good example of Doig's skill in tracing the manifold allusions the building contains and shaping them into a coherent narrative. In this chapter we glimpse the History of the Church as a road-map of the levers of power.

Stepping back from Aachen, the abbey of Saint Denis, north of Paris, was already rising into prominence in the 630s and was where Pepin and his two sons, Charles and Carloman, were anointed by Pope Stephen as the foundation of a new Post-Merovingian royal line in 754. Pepin began rebuilding Saint Denis and Charlemagne completed the west front in 775, making the abbey a favoured burial place of kings, but it was the Abbé Suger's vision that transformed this Roman-style basilica with a ring-crypt into a major goal of pilgrimage by 1144. What made Saint Denis significantly different was that the church was monastic, like the shrine of St Martin, the other great saint of France, in Tours. Saint Denis is a profoundly national church, but is also the cradle of Gothic, in which the lightness of the structure suggests that in this material world we are on the threshold of the immaterial. The Abbé Suger is celebrated today as the begetter of the theology of aesthetics, and his pursuit of light theologically as well as aesthetically was important philosophically – enlightenment was a watchword of the twelfth-century renaissance as much as its fifteenth and eighteenth-century successors, and this section provides a sideways glimpse at Arab mathematical skills. As with the chapter on Aachen, we have hints here of the church's uneasy engagement with Islam that will resurface in the chapter on Cordoba.

Chameleon-like, Doig now switches focus from the large-scale and international to a modest building close to home in Oxfordshire, *God's House*. Alice Chaucer was Duchess of Suffolk and her foundation at Ewelme included a cloister of almshouses and a parish school as well as a canopied tomb and chantry chapel in the parish church, besides multiple donations to Oxford, where the new vault over the Divinity school had only one less carving of the family's coats of arms than that of the university itself. As well as perpetuating the family name, the employment of the living to pray for the dead was an essential part of the social fabric of medieval England at every level, so Ewelme takes its place alongside the grand, twin, royal foundations of Eton and King's College, Cambridge. As well as disclosing the tottering fabric of social obligations connected with the whole business of praying for the departed, this chapter introduces the modern theme of individual worth: do I matter? The church, however imperial in its form and governance, is always composed of people who live and die – and then what happens? How soon can I be delivered from Purgatory? Can I get out of it? Modern charity offers the incentive of personal control over chosen philanthropic goals, with its complex system of tax-avoidance, as today's way of achieving immortality. The medieval consensus linked personal benefit with public charity similarly, linking education and end-of-life care in one great sweep of social embrace in which everyone could find their place. So the charitable foundation that forms this chapter's icon prepares us for the coming theological and social reorientation of the Reformation.

But before we follow that hare, Doig takes us to Cordoba, where in certain periods, Christians and Muslims have worshipped side by side under the horseshoe arches of the *mezquita* raised over the basilica of St Vicente. Only in 1523 was permission given to cut a cruciform opening though the roofline, and raise the brash pile of the cathedral among the exquisite surrounding tunnels of the mosque. With the mihrab and the high altar set a right angles, the two faiths are held in continuing dialogue, with Islam's artistic and cultural elegance winning hands-down over the bombastic, late Gothic cathedral with its Renaissance ornamentation.

What might be construed as a notable act of vandalism came about like this. By the year 500, the Visigothic (and Arian) rulers of Spain had to contend both with Catholics loyal to Rome and with the Byzantines, so the invasion by Islam meant that the Iberian peninsula soon became the multicultural centre of the world, where initially Arab toleration of fellow 'Peoples of the Book' brought a stability in which cultural exchange flourished. Not for long: Muslim warriors marched as far

north as Poitiers in 732 before being repulsed by Charles Martel. By 756, a Muslim caliphate was established at Cordoba, where in response to the growing numbers of conversions successive enlargements to the mosque, the mosaic and marble decoration around the *masqura* area and the establishment of an enormous library all exuded success. When eventually Muslim rule collapsed, the building became again the cathedral in 1235, though no major alterations were made for close on 300 years. However, in 1523 the emperor himself allowed the cathedral Chapter to cut away a cruciform section of the forest of columns and thrust the airy late-Gothic cathedral in Renaissance dress up through the low, arched aisles. Now – as then, when the Emperor lamented the vandalism he had sanctioned – there are plenty who would question their triumphalist gesture. Followers of Islam continue to visit this holy place, and in the twenty-first century, have petitioned for a shared use of this extraordinary complex with ever-greater urgency in the wake of 9/11 and terrorist attacks in Madrid and elsewhere.

But even before this late Gothic cathedral was raised in southern Spain, the papacy had been brought back from Avignon to Rome where Bramante had begun to demolish and rebuild the old St Peter's. In parallel, Doig's history returns to Rome where the re-building of St Peter's as a Renaissance monument to dwarf all others was a bid to re-assert Roman dominance in a world where the new learning and the invention of printing threatened – as the internet and the world-wide access to social media do today – the dominant control of the old authorities. The Lateran palace was no longer habitable and the pope took up residence in the Vatican, where he and his successors in the sixteenth century lived in a building site. How was the great work of rebuilding to be funded? It was the method used to raise funds for this immense project that lit the long fuse that led to Luther's challenge.

Doig's ninth chapter is focussed on this tumultuous project, chronicling not only the long, slow building project that culminated in Bernini's *Cathedra Petri* in the 1660s, but also the need of Counter-Reformation Catholicism to bolster the absolute primacy of Rome in the face not just of the Reformation in Europe, but of other intellectual and social currents. Discovery, diversity and the consciousness of the individual in such different contexts worldwide all combined to pull in the opposite direction. It is quite understandable that in a book about 'The Church', the fragmenting challenge of what we know as the Reformation, fuelled by a complex web of interlocking forces including the scholarship of the Renaissance, the rise of independent nation states and an emboldened appetite for challenging corruption – particularly the financially-driven caricature of prayer for the departed – the search

for a single building that might express these varied strands might prove difficult, but to wait until chapters 11 and 12 for any glimpse of an alternative to the Roman Catholic church in the west being 'The Church' runs the risk of devaluing the substantial contribution of the Lutheran and Calvinistic reformed traditions, as well as that of the Church of England.

It is something of a relief to find that Chapter 10 looks outward to the missionary endeavours of the Society of Jesus based on the pioneering spirit of the Iberian Empires. But we stay in Rome, because this chapter's building is not in Mexico or Peru but is Sant' Ignazio in Rome, with its Mappa Mundi-like decorative ceiling showing the success of Jesuit missions in China and Japan, as well as in the new world to the west, in forging a new type of imperial conquest and enslavement of indigenous peoples. Both Andrea Pozzo, painter of Sant'Ignazio's ceiling, and Orazio Grassi its architect were Jesuits, and their creation explodes with energy as Pozzo first introduces a *trompe-l'oeil* dome at the crossing, in which a ray of the light of Christ in the upper register – the New Church – reflects off Ignatius and is refracted among groups of Jesuits, arranged around the allegorical figures of the four continents in which the Jesuits are working. The energy and diversity of the evangelistic outreach is extraordinary both artistically and for what it conveys: an all-inclusive vision of the church worldwide being gathered into the kingdom.

In Chapter 11, we are introduced, after the breath-taking energy of Sant'Ignazio, to the slower-paced construction of a 'correct' Victorian Gothic Revival English church in – of all places – a cramped corner of what is now Istanbul. Doig has to work hard to link this quirky venture of the British Imperial dream to the Jesuit vision of world-wide mission. The very English, and Anglican, imperial dream was not just to provide for the pastoral needs of the far-flung Colonial servants of the Crown, but to bring the benefits of a catholic, but sober, religion to the native populations and thereby provide a beacon of decency and good order. Istanbul was different: it was chosen because of the strongly-felt need to establish a memorial to the disastrous Crimean War, because the English in Istanbul had no church (only a chapel in the British Embassy), and to assert a significant British presence in a volatile part of the world. In fact, this fine church by G. E. Street – elegant, stone-built and Gothic – has been closed for a good deal of its life, and was de-consecrated in the 1970s, only to be re-opened in the 1990s. But its inclusion among Doig's twelve enables him to tell the colourful story of the Tractarian movement and the rise of the Ecclesiological Society, together with the curious phenomenon of the spread of 'English' parish churches all over the world. The Church of England's venture into imperialism is indeed a

remarkable by-line in the history of the Church, and has resulted in the Anglican Communion, and the chapter is another entertaining read, while managing to give us tantalisingly little about the building itself.

For the final chapter, we go not to a major building that reveals the revolution that the ecumenically-driven Liturgical Movement had brought to the surface and was then given space to flourish by the Second Vatican Council of the early 1960s, but to another Anglican building, the post-war Coventry Cathedral, the centre of a world-wide community of peace.

Here again Doig surprises us. Coventry cathedral has an international profile, but what does it represent? As a building, it is a compromise – a Phoenix too soon? is what Doig wonders – [2] as he chronicles the way in which the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was to lead to wholesale changes in how the liturgy would be celebrated, as well as the changes permitted in its language. As he reviews the entries in the competition, he ponders, 'Was Coventry to be a *Domus Dei* or a *Domus Ecclesiae*'? Coventry's chosen architect, Basil Spence, who received conflicting advice from the bishop and the provost about the essential form and function of the cathedral, in the end built a conventional shell of modern materials and referred to it a 'jewel case' for the fine works of art commissioned for it. Others have been less complimentary, calling it retrograde and the last Gothic cathedral in Europe. But what Doig spots and brings to the surface in his final pages is that the Church in the twentieth century was deeply conflicted. Disputes simmered close to the surface between the more progressive and the deeply conservative in almost every area – in matters of faith and morals and in matters of authority and control, not just in liturgy and worship. The church has grown exponentially in Africa and Asia, but that is also where the theologically most conservative and biblically most fundamentalist traditions are found.

Conclusion

No-one can fail to admire Allan Doig's skill in weaving such a complex tale with such bold energy. His sure grasp of how the institutional church has evolved over the two millennia of her life provides a tapestry coat of many colours, and the twelve pegs on which he has hung it are a fascinating assemblage. If in some cases, the chosen church seems less obvious, the intellectual challenge posed to the reader is to think of a better exemplar.

The restriction imposed by limiting the buildings to just twelve is obvious: if it had been 25, some of the more obvious lacunae might have been avoided. First among these is the absence of any building, or the

re-ordering of an older building, to mark the distinctive liturgical and theological insights that come with the Reformation. Even if there is a continuing ambivalence in the Roman Catholic world as to whether the western churches not in communion with Rome can truly be called churches, in spite of the universal acceptance of each other's baptism, this gives an imbalance which is not redeemed by the inclusion of the eccentric Crimean Memorial church in Istanbul. And whatever its status as an icon for peace after the Second World War, Coventry Cathedral – however much a jewel case for mid-twentieth-century religious art – is a throwback liturgically. To have no icon for the very different image of the church post-Vatican II from any denomination is to deny the ecumenical progress that has been realised by the post-conciliar liturgical consensus that has come to span the whole range of western churches.

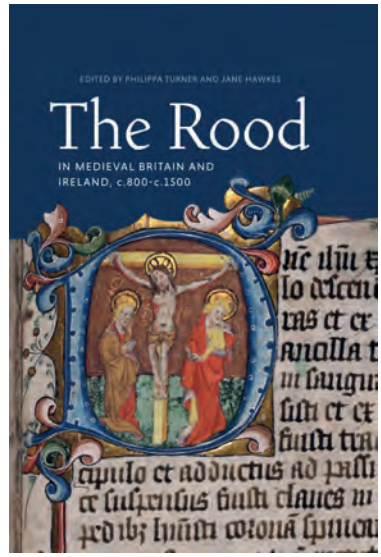
The book is tastefully produced in an elegant typeface, though we are given no details. But the grey print on shiny paper makes it hard to read and gives the 27 figures – many of them black-and-white photographs – a curiously faded look. In a book of this quality from OUP we might hope for better.

Notes

1. See Doig's articles on Aachen listed on p. 344 in the Bibliography.
2. Basil Spence called his book *Phoenix at Coventry*; 'A Phoenix too soon?' was the title of a searching review of the design by Basil Mitchell.

Book Reviews

Philippa Turner and Jane Hawkes (eds), ***The Rood in Medieval Britain and Ireland c.800–c.1500***. Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2020, 222 pp., 14 col. pls, 48 b&w pls, £60.00 hdbk, ISBN 9781783275526



This collection of papers has its origins in a conference held at York University in 2016. The volume opens with an introductory chapter in which Philippa Turner outlines previous research on the Rood and summarises the scope of the present volume. In the following chapter Jane Hawkes looks at free-standing Anglo-Saxon crosses and speculates how far their form and siting could have been prompted by the columns and obelisks of Ancient Rome and Jerusalem She points out that the location and depiction of the crucifixion on the crosses was often at eye level, on the shaft, rather than on the head. She reminds us that the crosses were originally painted and might be inset with glass and metal. In her contribution, Kate Thomas tells us that high crosses were regarded by some as having medicinal virtues. Lichen scraped from the cross, mixed with other plant materials and accompanied by both religious and secular procedures, and incantations, were deemed effective in the treatment of maladies in both humans and animals. Next, John Munns considers visions of the crucified Christ, with the not entirely cynical suggestion that some of these might have been prompted by representations previously observed by the visionary concerned.

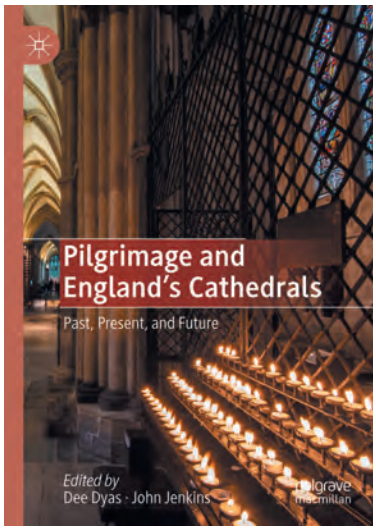
Several contributions deal with the Irish material. Maggie M. Williams's chapter looks at Irish crosses, both monumental and small-scale, the latter likely to have served processional purposes. She points out the paramount role of the monasteries in the production of crosses. But she also demonstrates the contribution of prominent laity, in the person of King Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair. Sara Carreño looks at crosses in Galicia, which became common from the fourteenth century. She suggests that in both Ireland and Galicia such crosses were part of a process of establishing national identity. Malgorzata Krasnodębska-D'Aughton looks at the formative role of the Irish Franciscans in the provision and location of crucifixes.

In a second contribution by Philippa Turner, she speculates that there were two Black Roods of Scotland: one purloined by Edward I in his 1296 invasion of Scotland and taken to the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, the other also being captured at that battle. It is suggested that both were then donated to Durham Cathedral. The penultimate chapter, by

Lucy J. Wrapson, looks at the contribution of colour to a range of works of art. She points out how the more expensive pigments, along with gold and silver, were confined to the most important features. She also discusses the growing willingness to draw inspiration from German and Netherlandish prints, and the increasing interest in perspective and portraiture. The final chapter discusses the iconography of the East Anglian angel roofs, suggesting that in many cases they were intended to complement and direct attention towards the rood.

A fine collection of papers of this kind naturally – and entirely appropriately – reflects the research interests of the contributors and, as such, is of enhanced value. But the present reviewer must demonstrate his personal bias in regretting that there are so relatively few references to Scottish material. Perhaps the monumental cross at Kinneil would not have fitted into any of the categories under discussion, but the high crosses of the Western Highlands and Islands might have been covered along with the Irish high crosses, with which they have many affinities. It would have been particularly good if the remains of the little-known painted crucifixion tympanum at Fowlis Easter could have been the subject of at least brief attention. Originally located above the chancel screen and rising into the timber ceiling, it is perhaps the most complete work of its kind in Britain.

Richard Fawcett, University of St Andrews



Dee Dyas and John Jenkins (eds), ***Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present and Future***. London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, 282 pp., hdbk £99.99, ISBN 9783030480318

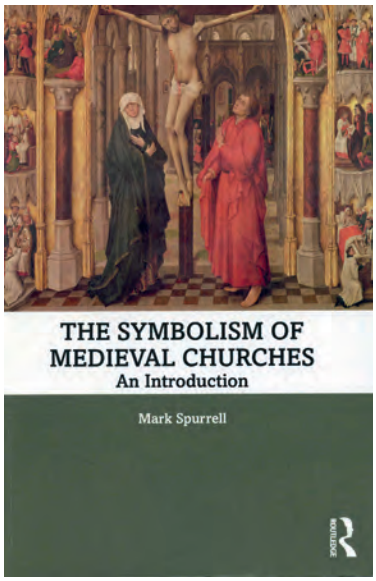
This is an ambitious enterprise with five essays providing an historical survey up to the present, four reflecting on key themes arising, and a further four giving views from English cathedrals today. The collection grew out of a three-year interdisciplinary research project on pilgrimage and England's cathedrals funded by the AHRC and involving scholars from the universities of York, the Open University, and Toronto, Canada. In partnership with bodies like English Heritage and the Association of English Cathedrals, the experience of four – Canterbury, Durham, Westminster and York – provide modern case studies.

The volume helpfully unites interest in 'pilgrimage studies' with 'cathedral studies' and so offers boundaries to the 'landscape of pilgrimage' under consideration. While cathedrals might be seen as 'laboratories' for investigating pilgrimage, it is acknowledged that they

have been – and will always be – far more than the shrines they happen to house. Notions of 'pilgrims' and 'pilgrimage' are also discussed in broad terms, noting that one cannot define things simply with the adage: 'I am a pilgrim, you are a visitor, he is a tourist'. As for the cathedrals in question, here too important points are made about their variety, and the way in which each one is cautiously tackling the moot question of: 'what are cathedrals for', or as the editors prefer, 'what can cathedrals do?' It is perhaps not surprising that clearer answers are given about how it has all worked in the past as opposed to what is happening now, and this applies not only to what historians have to say about medieval precedents and Victorian confidence, but also to what Ian Atherton amusingly describes as his difficult task of discussing the 'hole' created by the Reformation in England.

The story of pilgrimages is taken back to Roman times, revealed in all its splendour and complexity for the later Middle Ages, shown to morph successfully into various forms of 'tourism' post Reformation, to be revived in the late nineteenth century, and to remain flourishing, again in several forms, today. Cathedrals afford a great variety of attractions for those interested in architecture, tombs, music, as well as liturgy and preaching, and we are sensibly warned not to attempt to separate the pilgrim impulse out into too many elements or to plot a simple linear progression from one type to another. The story from the mid nineteenth century onwards is also full of revivals, embellishments and recreations. While there has undoubtedly been a revival of interest in shrines and saints, the stress of the final sections of the volume is on the 'multivalent cathedral' that caters for 'many values, meanings and appeals' – a diverse range of publics. Examples of modern practice illustrate how the spaces within cathedrals can function for different people and be transformative, turning some indeed into pilgrims. The sense of history, the sheer scale of the buildings, the appeal of lighting candles, smells and sounds are all part of the modern 'multi-sensory cathedral'. The availability of souvenirs, mementos of visits, links past and present visitors and is all part of the experience, not to be too quickly discounted as commercialism. The editors and contributors have twisted and turned ingeniously in making us think about their themes, but one problem remains: who is this book for? Good academic work has been published in the past, such as the Roberts and Morris collection of 2002, and Dee Dyas is associated with several excellent CD-ROM productions coming from her Centre at York. This collection seems to be aimed at a wider audience, yet lacks illustrations and is priced at just under £100; this hardly seems designed to promote the cause.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent



Mark Spurrell, ***The Symbolism of Medieval Churches: An Introduction***. London, Routledge, 2019, 196 pp., 4 b&w pls, £88.00 hdbk, ISBN 9780367025229, £23.99 pbk, ISBN 9780367025236, £19.49 + VAT eBook, ISBN 9780429399091

This book is an interesting contribution: Dr Spurrell has immersed himself in the relevant medieval and earlier writers, and gives us a judicious treatment supported by numerous quotations from medieval authors, with eleven appendices providing additional illustrative texts.

Spurrell examines the different types of symbolism found in medieval churches. He reminds us of the applicability of the four senses of scripture: the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical. Allegory could extend to beautiful and touching passages, such as Peter de Celle's treatment of the parts of a monastery. The anagogical approach, exemplified by Hugh and Richard of St Victor, was intended 'to inspire and kindle love'. Writers such as Durandus link features of the church to details of Christian life, often with a view to the moral sense. Typology saw the tabernacle and the temple as prototypes of the church; while Josephus and Philo, with their symbolic accounts of the Temple, inspired similar treatments of churches. Explanations of the symbolism of the Mass naturally included the symbolism of the church building. Number symbolism might reflect typology, key numbers from the New Testament, or Pythagorean number theory. Suger's Saint Denis – a test case – is shown to have had an anagogic function. The Eastern Church provides examples of theological, topographical, and cosmic symbolism, though it would have been good to have been given fuller coverage of the specifically Orthodox tradition of church symbolism, in which the dome plays a key role. Another chapter covers the special case of images, from simple panels to complex stained glass windows.

The title is a little misleading. The book is better seen, not as an introduction, but as Spurrell's own response to the sources: thus, he discovers a decline in symbolism in the later Middle Ages, which he attributes to the growth of literalism, and he reflects interestingly on the move from the deep tones of Romanesque glass to the much lighter later windows. Moreover, while he is moved by affective and deeply spiritual interpretations of symbolism, he is left cold by works such as that of Durandus. The tradition, however, made no such distinction: all scripture and the liturgy, which includes the church building, has an anagogical meaning, and the test is not the skill of the interpreter but whether the interpretation accords with the truth of Christian doctrine. Spurrell closes his story at the end of the Middle Ages, though referring briefly to the Anglican rediscovery of Durandus in the nineteenth

century: yet the many post-medieval printings of Durandus, and modern writers such as Jean Hani, are equally parts of the tradition.

The book is therefore a personal view, distinguishing those aspects of symbolism which Dr Spurrell finds engaging, and touching lightly or not at all on other aspects. Nevertheless, it is a valuable contribution, with an obvious sympathy for many of the sources.

David J. Critchley

Simon Cotton, ***Building the Late Mediæval Suffolk Parish Church***. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History, 2019, 528 pp., 13 col. pls, £10 pbk, ISBN 9780952139089



This book represents the fruits of a labour of love, assembling all the references to the building and furnishing of parish churches in Suffolk contained in the 23,000-odd wills which survive from before the Reformation (here taken as 1550), as well as a handful of other documents, notably churchwardens' accounts, and inscriptions. As is common in England as a whole, very few wills survive from before the 1380s, and they are not plentiful for the following half century, so that the bulk of the evidence relates to the last hundred years of the medieval church. Following a brief introduction, which sets out the scope of the material, shows how it relates to architectural evidence, and draws some indicative conclusions from it, the remainder of the book, consisting of a hundred double-column pages, contains abstracts from the documents, arranged in chronological order for each parish. All the sources are fully referenced; there are a short bibliography and glossary, and a useful thematic index.

There are numerous uses to which this storehouse of information can be put. It is possible, for example, to quantify and date more accurately than hitherto the significant rebuilding of towers in this part of East Anglia and to ask why the main period seems to have been the third quarter of the fifteenth century, in contrast to Norfolk where it was some twenty years later (Introduction, p. 6); and similarly to refine understanding of the chronology of late medieval porch-building. Not all elements of the church were equally favoured with bequests: aisles and chapels were popular, but naves less so; and most bequests to chancels were made by the clergy. Furnishings were also frequent objects of generosity: in common with other parts of the country, many rood screens and lofts were built, more often rebuilt, and embellished towards the end of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth, but

within that overall picture there is a regionally distinctive emphasis on the candlebeam, which held the rood lights. Such concern to support devotional activity is more predictably reflected in the large number of bequests for the making, painting or enhancement of images. Vestments, altar ornaments and books were less common objects of largesse, except amongst the clergy, though all had the ability to bring the donor's name into the presence of Christ in the transubstantiated Host, and to prompt officiating clergy to remember and pray for the donor. Also included are a number of requests for burial in particular places (often the porch, but also in association with particular altars or images), occasionally with specifications for memorials (as at Coddenham, 1512) – different kinds of prompts to prayer. A few wealthier testators made provision for the chanting of Masses after their death – at Stonham Parva two (in 1491 and 1530) funded a priest for a year, and at Wethersden in 1519 Dame Anne Bourgchirie funded a staggering 1000 Masses within eight days of her death, as well as a priest for ten years. Some fashions in devotion are also apparent, with sets of five Masses of the Five Wounds being popular in the early sixteenth century.

The chronological pattern of bequests to the fabric and furnishings of a church is also revealing. In some instances fundraising and building were very protracted: at Rougham, for example, eleven bequests for the erection of the tower span thirty years, from 1458 to 1488. Sometimes, also, the progress of a major refurbishment programme can be traced, early bequests being to the fabric, later ones to fittings and furnishings. A few testators added conditions to their gifts: at Cockfield in 1468 is an example of something like a matched-funding challenge – stone was left for the building of a porch, provided the parishioners supplied timber; and in 1530 a contribution to the erection of a tower at Uggeshall required that the work be completed within three years. Such conditions are unlikely always to have been disinterested since the benefits for the soul of the testator would not be fully realised until the specified works had been completed.

This book, then, provides the raw material for many kinds of scholarly investigation into patterns of building, furnishing and devotional practice. It can also enrich visits to many of the churches for which there are several surviving wills by providing glimpses into what they were like, how they were furnished, decorated and used, in the century or so before the Reformation, enabling the mind's eye to replace some of what has been lost in the last five hundred years, and bringing the late Middle Ages to life in a readily accessible way.

P. S. Barnwell, University of Oxford

Clive Burgess, ***The Right Ordering of Souls. The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation***. Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2018, 463 pp., £60.00 hdbk, ISBN 9781783273096



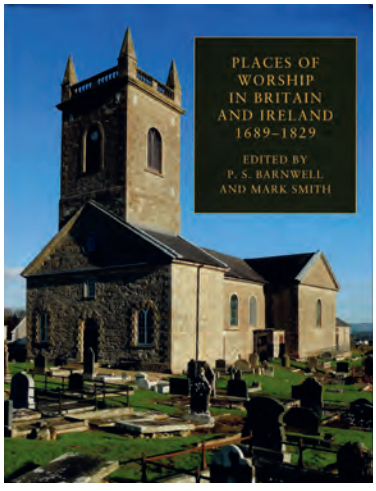
This is a blockbuster of a book and quite possibly the last word for some time on the history of this parish, which as the author acknowledges, probably possesses the best surviving records of any parish in the country for this period. The book is arranged in five parts, the first three of which place the parish in national context for the long period in question, provide details of All Saints', Bristol, and its wonderful sources, and discuss the important matter of commemoration of the dead, so central to how the church gets embellished prior to the Reformation. The final two parts cover how this is achieved and maintained by looking at the leaders and administrators of the parish between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth century. The enhancement of liturgical practices in the parish is shown to be down to a combination of individual and collective efforts, strong clerical mentors and committed members of the laity.

It is a tale movingly told, and with rich detail provided largely through a series of unfolding case studies rather than a narrative; and it serves as ample testimony to the vibrancy of the Roman Catholic Church in Bristol prior to the Reformation. While it is based on wonderful source materials, Clive Burgess takes pains in revealing what must have been lost, and how inadequate standard materials like churchwardens' accounts might be in recording all that was given and spent on the church and its parishioners. One theme of this book is that while the churchwardens may have been the 'managers' of the parish, others were the 'masters', and we have only occasional glimpses of their contribution in the sources, even if aspects of that work remain visible in the building. Burgess builds his case around an excellent series of wills for both leading men and women in the community, for the role of wealthy widows as benefactors to the church is well illustrated. He pays close attention to the work of the Kalendars' Guild, who helped to sustain the church, and notes the importance of chantry chapels not just for the individuals and families concerned, but for how they contributed to the wider life of the parish and particularly the richness of worship. This was a small, tightly knit community who are shown to have pulled together very effectively, enhancing their sources of income through shrewd property investments, and stoutly defending those interests when crises occurred. The churchwardens' accounts survive from the 1460s, but the interesting extra details in this story are gleaned from a remarkable church book dating from the 1480s and containing details of benefactors and inventories, which supplement

what is learned from wills. Likewise, there is a rich fount of information in documents relating to key chantries like that of the Halleway family. A succession of strong priests acted as mentors for their congregation, but the key to this story is how ably they were supported by members of the laity, men and women alike, all of whom are shown to have had an interest in enhancing the liturgical practices of their church. While their benefactions point to additional vestments, books, music, candles, etc., there are curious gaps in this story, for we are told nothing of the four bells that do not get mentioned in the accounts and were replaced in the early eighteenth century.

It would have been interesting to know more about how this parish interacted with others in Bristol, and with other jurisdictions and religious communities; likewise, more remains to be explored about parish relations with the two dioceses, Worcester and Bath and Wells, that shared control of Bristol. Presumably it was the bishops of Worcester who held power of visitation over All Saints, together with their archdeacons? Clive Burgess acknowledges that there are problems regarding typicality, given the almost unique quality of his archive, and questions around likely differences between urban and rural livings, but we should be grateful for his wisdom accumulated over many years of studying religious life in this city prior to the Reformation. This is a rich study of aspects of the life of one parish viewed through the eyes of its devoted clergy and leading parishioners.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent



P. S. Barnwell and Mark Smith (eds), ***Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland 1689–1829***. Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2021, vi + 249 pp., very many b&w and col. pls, £45.00 hdbk, ISBN 9781907730887

At first sight, the subject of this book appears to have a diversity too great to be compressed within the compass of one volume. It opens at a time when the Church of England was the only official religion in the land, and extends to a date when the dissenting churches had multiplied and subdivided, when the Catholics were allowed to worship freely and Jews were allowed to build synagogues, and places of worship were being raised on an unprecedented scale.

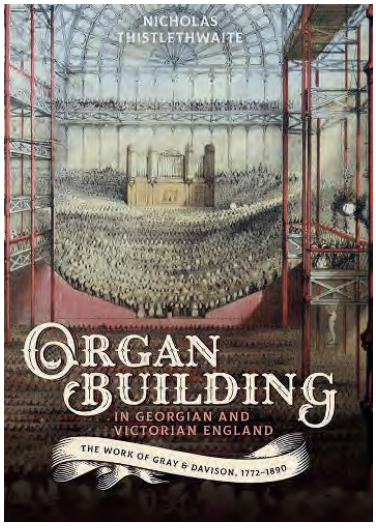
The editors, however, have achieved a consistent perspective on this varied scene. Their team of contributors agree on the major causes of this proliferation, and their chapters interact effectively. Dominating all the issues was the enormous growth of population, which meant that the

existing provision of seats in churches and chapels across the country was soon found to be utterly inadequate. Between 1790 and 1841 the population grew from about seven million to over 13.5 million, so a vast number of worshippers needed to be accommodated. The established Church encountered numerous impediments to the enlargement of its stock of buildings. Ecclesiastical bureaucracy was voluminous. Consent was needed from the bishop, the incumbent of the relevant parish, and from the patron of the parish. A building fund had to be raised, an endowment for the new church had to be created. Not until 1818 did legislation clear some of these difficulties. Dissenters (and Catholics after 1829) experienced no such obstacles, and were able to build chapels where they wished. Christopher Webster calculates that the Church Establishment managed to build some 1,300 new churches in the fifty years mentioned above, whereas the Nonconformists and Catholics built almost ten times as many. Religious enthusiasm contributed to this disparity. Throughout the eighteenth century and the Regency period the established Church maintained its traditional prayer-book services in the routine way that often turned worship into a formality; it was among the dissenting sects and in the emerging Methodist movement of the Church promoted by the Wesleys and Whitefield that a more exciting form of religious experience was to be had. There was a steady drift away from the parish church with its social hierarchy and formal services towards the chapels where energising sermons and hymns livened the proceedings and communicated a sense of the vitality of faith. This process was happening both in the towns and in the country. Dissent was outstripping the established Church, and was building chapels faster than the Church could add churches.

Diversity of services and the increasing importance of the sermon inevitably affected the design of new places of worship. There were many experiments with different shapes to accommodate modern patterns of church-going. Circular forms, occasionally an octagon, basilica forms, varieties of rectangle. There was no need for chancels in the eighteenth century – not until the emergence of the Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiological Movement in the 1830s would chancels become relevant to worship. Galleries became a logical response to the growth of the numbers of worshippers. For much of the period covered by this volume the Neo-classical style had not acquired pagan associations, and was a quite acceptable frame for Christian worship. Gothic was endlessly variable, and could be subjected to the principles of 'development' (i.e. modified to modern needs); its details did not have to be historically accurate or chronologically correct. In consequence, there was a surprising amount of inventiveness and innovation, as many of the excellent illustrations to the book make clear.

This was a much more enterprising period in church design than is commonly believed. Much factual information about the complexities of the religious communities of Britain from Scotland to Cornwall is compressed into this book, but it is effectively integrated with interpretative commentary. Highly readable, and brightened by many new insights, this collection of essays surmounts the great diversity of subject matter and offers a stimulating view of a period of ecclesiastical history that is not generally regarded with any searching curiosity. It forms an admirable addition to the Rewley House Studies in the Historic Environment.

Graham Parry, University of York



Nicholas Thistlethwaite, ***Organ Building in Georgian and Victorian England: the work of Gray and Davison, 1772–1890***. Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2020, 577 pp., 100 b&w pls, 17 tables, £65.00 hdbk, ISBN 9781783274673

In 1990 Cambridge University Press published Nicholas Thistlethwaite's pioneering study *The Making of the Victorian Organ*. The nineteenth-century pipe organ has often been neglected, altered and even despised. That study, while using as its main focus the work of the organ builder William Hill and his successors, proved enlightening to many who are interested in the history of the instrument in Britain, and gave further impetus to save, restore and appreciate the organs of that period. This new book takes the story further and focuses on the work and times of another prominent organ building firm of the late-Georgian and Victorian period, Gray and Davison. The book charts the history, development and production of the company from its origins as a maker of small chamber organs (the one at Naughton in Suffolk, 1777, is a perfect example) through the period when commissions came for some of the largest and most complex instruments of the time (for example, the organs for the 1851 Great Exhibition or Leeds Town Hall, 1859) to the end of the firm's productive period (one of the last major instruments was built in 1889 for Bodley's superb chapel at Clumber). Dr Thistlethwaite (latterly Canon Precentor of Guildford Cathedral) is a scholar and researcher of the utmost fastidiousness. The attention to detail in this volume (as in the earlier one) is astonishing – at times almost overwhelming, for this book is by no means an 'easy read'. His prose is smooth-flowing (no split infinitives here!) and the charts and diagrams are admirably supportive of the text. The additional online material,

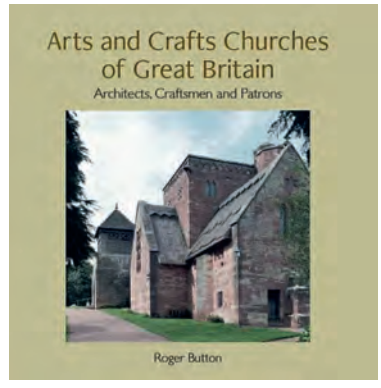
easily accessed from the publisher's website, will prove interesting to organ buffs, and includes a complete list of Gray and Davison organs.

For many readers of *Ecclesiology Today* this book will probably prove rather too specialist a study unless they are particularly interested in the pipe organ and its history. However, there are insights into the relationship between clients and organ builders and the influence on the placing of organs in churches as the result of the changes promoted by the Ecclesiologists (for example, moving organs from a west gallery to a cramped chamber in the chancel to support a surpliced choir). As in the first book, there is mention of Dr H. J. Gauntlett, who sided against Gray and Davison in favour of Hill and who sounds a most obnoxious character in spite of his advocacy of the music of Bach and Mendelssohn and the pioneering performances of the latter which eventually led organ builders to adopt the 'German' system of key compasses and proper pedal divisions.

This is a splendid example of well-researched scholarship. However, I fear it may have somewhat limited appeal to the average ecclesiologist.

Christopher Moore

Roger Button, ***Arts and Crafts Churches of Great Britain: architects, craftsmen and patrons***. Settle, 2QT (Publishing) Ltd., 2020, 284 pp., 294 col. pls, £19.50 pbk, ISBN 9781913071493



You wait for ages for a book on Arts and Crafts churches, and then two come along at the same time! What is going on? Lund Humphries recently published Alec Hamilton's excellent *Arts & Crafts Churches* and now we have Roger Button's *Arts and Crafts Churches of Great Britain; architects, craftsmen and patrons*. Extensively illustrated, its fifteen short chapters, four appendices, three gazetteers and bibliography (and a partridge in a pear tree) may tell the same 'story' but, of course, tell it differently.

Button hits the ground running by claiming Phillip Webb's St Martin's, Brampton (1877–78), as 'The first church built in the mainstream of the British Arts and Crafts movement'. But what is the Arts and Crafts movement before that precise formulation of words was first coined in 1888 at the creation of the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society? St Martin's is a good ten years earlier, and seven before that other key organisation, the Art Workers' Guild, was formed. Of course Morris & Co. (as it became in 1875) had, since its inception as Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in 1861, relied greatly on ecclesiastic

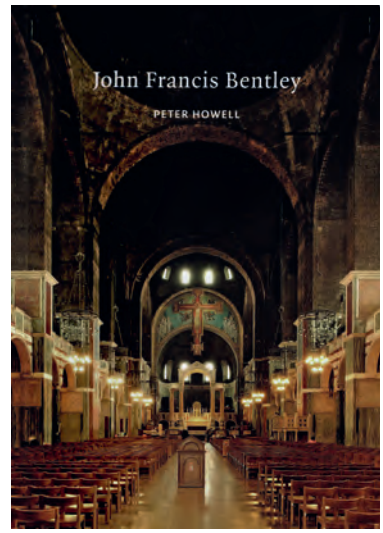
commissions – Bodley's churches in Selsley, Brighton and Scarborough bearing ample witness to this. As Button is aware of all this he is clearly relying on a more 'intuitive' and formalist approach to defining Arts and Crafts churches. And it is one which, whilst it seems to acknowledge national, if not institutional, differences by having helpful gazetteers on England, Scotland, and Wales, yet he still writes, and conceives of, a 'British Arts and Crafts movement.'

Peculiarly (to my mind at least) the author finds a lineage in the work of John Douglas and George Truefitt who adopted 'the principle that form follows function' which places them 'firmly in the Arts and Crafts tradition.' So already by chapter 2 alarm bells were ringing and all sorts of definitional problems came to mind. Most of these the author sidesteps by arguing in the introduction that the 'academic art historian should probably look elsewhere' (as should the architectural and ecclesiastical historian) and that there is 'little in this book that is original'.

The books portentous sub-title is equally troublesome in suggesting an argument (whereas it's probably just a playful rhythmic delineation) that is not forthcoming. The argument that Arts and Crafts churches were, if trying to define them, often the result of individual patrons or benefactors, whilst those of the Gothic Revival were the result of committees, may be trivially true but begins to stray into areas that require much greater scholarship to inspire confidence and misunderstands central aspects of the Gothic Revival. I could go on. And on. I am tempted to say the book is wrong-headed, if not positively dangerous in places, especially when it strays outside the Arts and Crafts movement. Context is all, and that is what is so often lacking here. However, this addition to the bookshelves is nonetheless welcome as a work of great enthusiasm. This was a passion first excited by a visit to Lethaby's great church of All Saints, Brockhampton, which graces the front cover. I am not entirely sure who the author thinks his audience is that it may be interested to see photos of the souvenir mugs sold there, or to have it explained that 'Quotations are shown in italics', but if it keeps churches in use in recognizing that, as Andrew Crompton states in the Foreword '…the nation's heart is in Arts and Crafts' then perhaps little harm is done and much joy spread by this endearingly personal work. As for scholarship, as the author concedes, one will need to look elsewhere.

Julian Holder, University of Oxford

Peter Howell, ***Victorian Architects: John Francis Bentley***. Liverpool, University Press, 2020, 176 pp., 107 pls, £25.00 pbk, ISBN 9781789621990



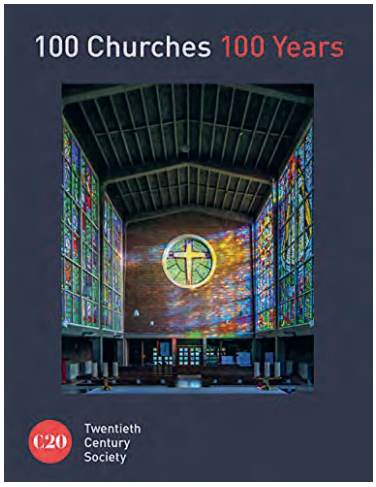
Peter Howell was the obvious author to inaugurate this new series of books, launched by the Victorian Society, of which he is a former chairman and one of its longest standing members. Howell previously edited an illuminating series of letters between Bentley and his friend, Charles Hadfield, the Sheffield-based architect (and fellow Roman Catholic), but the last (and still the authoritative) study of Bentley's work, by his daughter Winefride de l'Hôpital) was published a century ago under the title *Westminster Cathedral and its Architect*. The cathedral was, of course, Bentley's greatest work, the result of a direct commission from the Archbishop of Westminster, Herbert Vaughan, who laid down conditions that effectively ruled out the use of Gothic for the building and demanded 'a basilica church, of the Italian type'. Westminster Cathedral which, W. R. Lethaby wrote, has 'almost a sense of nature – the natural law of structure', is one of the great religious buildings of the world. Norman Shaw, writing in 1901, described it as 'like a revelation after the feeble Gothic stuff on which we have largely been fed for the last half-century'.

But, had the Westminster job not come to Bentley, how would he be judged? His Roman Catholic allegiance largely ruled out commissions from the Church of England, for which he built only one new church (though he did fittings in a number of others). In total, he built just five complete new churches. His 'temperamental intransigence', as Howell describes it, drove him to refuse to enter competitions. As a result he was not considered for St James's, Spanish Place, a truly grand West End church – the commission went to Edward Goldie – for which he subsequently designed some outstanding fittings. St Mary's, Cadogan Street, Chelsea, commissioned in 1875, suffered damage from wartime bombing and peacetime re-ordering. The impact of the latter is also evident at Our Lady of the Holy Souls, Kensal Town, a large, rather bald structure built to a tight budget. Corpus Christi, Brixton, begun in 1886, might have been one of the great Victorian churches of London, but only the east end was completed, with transepts added after Bentley's death by his son Osmund and an unworthy narthex tacked on in the 1980s. So, after Westminster Cathedral, Bentley's reputation rests on one parish church – Holy Rood, Watford – built for a generous patron, the builder Stephen Taprell Holland, between 1889 and 1900. Here, for once, there was a generous budget and the freedom for the architect to design costly fittings including an elaborate rood supported on a richly ornamented loft, stained glass, and exquisitely fitted side chapels.

The church escaped damaging reordering post-Vatican II and is about to have its chairs replaced by pews, a reversal of the usual process.

Most of Bentley's secular projects were commissioned by religious bodies, including the Jesuit Order, but one exception was his work at Carlton Towers, North Yorkshire, where he created a series of exquisite interiors for Lord Beaumont within the shell designed by E. W. Pugin (with whom Beaumont had fallen out). Bentley is remembered as a church architect and, above all, for Westminster Cathedral, but Howell's comment that these interiors 'are beyond doubt among the most splendid and carefully thought out produced in the 19th century' is an apt recognition of the breadth of Bentley's creative genius.

Ken Powell



Susannah Charlton, Elain Harwood and Clare Price (eds), ***100 Churches 100 Years***. London, Batsford, 2019, 209 pp., many col. pls, £25.00 pbk, ISBN 9781849945141

'Any attempt to categorise British church architecture of the 20th century would be an impossible task', writes Clare Price in an introduction to this invaluable survey, extending over a century that saw the rise, and eventual triumph, of the Modern Movement in Britain. In a typically scholarly and concise essay Elain Harwood sets the context of church building in Europe, where the influence of the Liturgical Movement permeated the Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions. In contrast, traditionalists such as Giles Scott, Ninian Comper, J. Harold Gibbons and Edward Maufe retained their hold on the inter-war British scene, although N. F. Cachemaille-Day was to win grudging approval from Peter Hammond for his St Michael's, Wythenshawe.

Hammond, whose *Liturgy and Architecture* was published in 1960, was the apostle of radical change. In that same year, St Paul's, Bow Common, was completed, a building that embodied the spirit of change – 'completely fresh, the perennial force seen again for the first time', wrote Ian Nairn. It led to the formation of the New Churches Research Group, chaired by Hammond. The spirit of liturgical change was expressed in other churches by the architects of St Paul's, Robert Maguire and Keith Murray, amongst them the extraordinarily radical steel box of St Joseph the Worker in Northolt. George Pace and, in Scotland, Gillespie, Kidd & Coia pursued an equally progressive course, but tradition clung on in post-war Britain, epitomised by the work of Giles Scott (whose Liverpool Cathedral was completed only in 1978) and Edward Maufe.

Maufe's Guildford Cathedral was consecrated in 1961 – 30 years after his appointment as architect and just a year before the inauguration of Basil Spence's cathedral in Coventry, a building that, though slated by liturgical radicals for its traditional plan, is now seen as a landmark in the history of post-1945 reconstruction. It was also a major patron of progressive art – twentieth-century church art is discussed in a decisive essay by Alan Powers that is a welcome addition to the book.

The final section of *100 Churches* covers the post-1970 era. Some major new churches are included – Edward Cullinan's rebuilding of St Mary's, Barnes, and Inskip & Jenkins' St Paul's, Harringay, for example. An essay by Kate Jordan addresses the changing religious landscape of contemporary Britain, with mosques, synagogues and places of worship for Sikhs, Hindus and Buddhists briefly discussed. A full-page illustration shows the wonderfully crafted Vajrasana Retreat Centre in the heart of rural Suffolk.

Ken Powell

The Ecclesiological Society

The Ecclesiological Society is for all those who love churches and are interested in their fabric and furnishings, their use and conservation. The society was founded in 1879, as a successor to the Cambridge Camden Society of 1839. It has a lively programme including lectures, visits and an annual conference. Members also receive the society's publications – *Ecclesiology Today*, *Church Crawler* and the proceedings of our annual conference – as well as regular e-mail newsletters.

Membership is open to all. For further details, see the society's website, www.ecclsoc.org, or write to the Hon. Membership Secretary at the email address given overleaf.

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The Editor is always pleased to receive articles for consideration, or ideas for possible contributions. In furtherance of the society's aims, articles should promote 'the study of the arts, architecture and liturgy of the Christian Church'.

Contributions should generally be based on fresh research, investigation or analysis, or have some topical relevance to the design, conservation or study of church buildings. Most articles are objective and factual but there is the opportunity for well-argued personal views on matters of wide interest to be put forward in our occasional 'Viewpoint' series. Articles which deal with an individual building are welcome, provided they go beyond a general account of the church to either highlight matters of wider significance or explore a particular aspect of the building in depth.

There is no formal process of peer-review, but articles will usually be sent to one or more readers with relevant knowledge or experience of the subject matter for an independent opinion. Publication may depend on making changes in response to their recommendations.

The guidelines for contributors can be obtained from the Editor (contact details overleaf).

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