ECCLESIOLOGY TODAY



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Cover image: A service at Norwich Cathedral with the Bishop of Norwich at his throne, in the position most common to early churches and derived from Roman tradition. The throne incorporates fragments from a pre-Conquest throne and is one of the cathedral treasures discussed in Janet Gough's article.
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Editor's Introduction

Welcome to this, the sixty-second edition of *Ecclesiology Today*.

To begin, Christopher Webster follows up his article on the legal complexities that shaped the building and rebuilding of churches in the period *c.*1790–1840 (see *ET*61) with an exploration of the equally important issue of finance. As in the earlier article, Christopher uses his extensive research to give an insight into long-forgotten difficulties and controversies that lie behind some treasured buildings.

In our second article, Peter Litman, Organist and Director of Music at St German's Cathedral, Isle of Man, reveals the story behind the building of the island cathedral at the initiative of Bishop Rowley Hill. We see that even as late as the late nineteenth century the creation of a new diocesan cathedral was not a straightforward matter, so much so that the struggle is said to have ushered Hill to an early grave.

Alec Hamilton has devoted many years to defining and categorising the 'Arts & Crafts church', culminating (via our 2018 conference on the subject, which he convened) in his award-winning book, *Arts & Crafts Churches*, published in 2020. Yet that was not quite the last word: the book included an invitation to readers to suggest churches that had been omitted but could or should have been included. Naturally he had many responses, which he reviews in his article here.

The cathedrals of England and Wales have always been patrons of artistry and craftsmanship and each one is today, to a greater or lesser extent, a repository of unique treasures, modern and historic. In our fourth article, Janet Gough, former Director of Cathedrals and Church Buildings for the Church of England, introduces us to her recent book *Cathedral Treasures of England and Wales*, and highlights just a few of the artefacts selected for the book by the Dean of each cathedral.

In our final article, Paul Velluet, a former chairman of the Society and longstanding member of council until his retirement this year, looks back over the history of the Stephen Dykes Bower Memorial Lecture series, an annual event which he has organised with discernment, determination and dedication for the past 25 years.

We close, as ever, with book reviews, ranging on this occasion from the medieval churches of Northumberland to the twentieth- and twenty-first-century work of architect Donald Buttress.

Nick Chapple
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Financing Late-Georgian Church-Building, 1790–1840

CHRISTOPHER WEBSTER

The late-Georgian period witnessed church-building on a scale not seen since the Reformation. There were around 1,500 new or rebuilt churches during this half century. An examination of these commendable initiatives naturally leads to the question: 'how was this huge building programme financed?'[1]

Church-building has always been expensive, but the late Georgians were especially creative as fund-raisers and this article, for the first time, examines their endeavours in detail. During this period – here defined as *c.*1790–1840 – funding these building projects really did move from being, for many friends of the Church, 'someone else's problem', to being one central to their Anglican commitment. The article reveals some remarkable initiatives ranging from unashamed private enterprise to earnest philanthropy. However, the need for economy cannot be exaggerated: this was not necessarily parsimony, since savings on one project meant funding was available for another, and the need for more accommodation was desperate. In 1817 the Revd Richard Yates claimed almost five million souls were denied a place in their local church.[2] Others argued that if the problem was not addressed urgently the very fabric of the nation was under threat.

The erection of something appropriately 'church-like', was inevitably going to involve raising a substantial sum of money, even with stringent economies in place.[3] However, as will be set out below, there were a number of options that might be considered, some of them quite imaginative. A 'funding package' needed not just to consider the cost of materials and paying the builders – there was no point in erecting a new church if there was no provision for on-going expenses such as a clergy stipend, clerk's salary and building maintenance. There was no central funding for any of these and 'surplice fees' might continue to be paid to the incumbent at the local parish church rather than the minister at the new church, who would therefore be denied a useful means of support. This article contains much prosaic information, but it also provides remarkable glimpses of Anglican fund-raising at its most dynamic.

Pew rents

A significant issue that needs to be addressed at the outset concerns pew rents (that is, a fee, usually paid annually to the churchwardens or trustees, for the exclusive use of a specific pew or pews within a church). This system was pilloried by the Victorians and thereafter, but for the late-Georgians it was deemed both logical and essential. The social divisiveness that it represented was fully acknowledged but there seemed no viable alternative in many instances. Pew rents were the usual means of paying on-going costs and they were widely seen as a reliable form of income. They were therefore *absolutely crucial* to the viability of most new churches and they might service the loan that paid for building work. Thus, in almost all proposals for a new late-Georgian church, a proportion of the seats *had* to be available for rent – regardless of scruples about social segregation – in order to make a project financially viable. The renting of pews for this purpose certainly existed through the eighteenth century but the practice was not officially sanctioned for all new churches until the 1818 Church Building Act;[4] prior to this, it could only be undertaken where the provision was included in an Act of Parliament relating to a specific church. However, pew renting often existed in other churches, arguably illegally, 'and courts often indulged both churches and tenants while officially frowning on the practice'.[5] The 1818 Act included provision for rented pews without specific Parliamentary authorisation and most new churches – and many older ones – took advantage of this.[6] However, in new or rebuilt churches, especially those validated by an Act, the provision for renting pews would be explicit and after 1818 few churches, whether old or new, were without rented seats (Fig. 1).

Among many examples, the following can be quoted. For Holy Trinity, Halifax (built 1795–8), the Act for its erection made clear that 'pew owners' would be obliged to provide the incumbent with an income of no less than £100 per annum and pay for repairs.[7] It was an entirely typical arrangement and one that seems to have worked well, at least in congregations sufficiently affluent to produce a healthy rental sum.

Although pew rents were invariably central to the on-going viability of any new church, construction costs were also challenging. The rest of this article examines the alternatives which were many and varied, a long-forgotten world of funding church-building. Below are a series of largely self-contained sections each examining a different funding model, arranged in a loosely chronological sequence. In terms of relative scale, funding from the Commissioners of the 1818 Church Building Act, the (Incorporated) Church Building Society and the Regional Church Building Societies are the most significant. Importantly, after



Fig. 1: St Bride's, Fleet Street, London (Christopher Wren, 1671–8). This 1838 illustration shows the difference between the rented and free seats. The latter, although centrally placed, were clearly inferior to the enclosed pews and thus were often seen as demeaning to those who occupied them. (George Godwin, *Churches of London*, vol. 2, 1839, n.p.)

around 1815, building moved from an activity primarily aimed at satisfying the needs of better off congregants to one increasingly aimed at providing seats for the poor. Meanwhile funding demonstrably moved from an activity often undertaken grudgingly, or as an investment, to one motivated rather more by philanthropy and social obligation.

Private giving

Andrew Saint concluded that, 'while Church and State were indissoluble, it had hardly occurred even to the devoutest Anglicans to pay for their local urban parish church … out of their own pocket'.[8] This might have been largely true of the eighteenth century, but by the nineteenth significant personal generosity can be identified. The ICBS, founded in 1818 and discussed below, relied entirely on private giving and in 1837, the *Gentleman's Magazine* reported, 'A benevolent lady, connected with the Established Church, lately deceased, has, by her will, left £100,000 as a national legacy, for the express purpose of building churches.'[9] Another lady 'bequeathed between £50,000 and £80,000 to the building of new churches in destitute places'.[10] In reminding worshippers of their duty to donate to church building and to do so generously, a correspondent in 1839 wrote 'Nothing can be so sacred, so public, so permanent, so really benevolent, so truly gracious an offering, as a building devoted to the Living God.'[11]

Throughout the late-Georgian period, conspicuous examples of individual generosity were, ironically, most common in country communities, where need was often weakest. To some extent, this was a harking-back to traditional notions of paternalism, as a number of chapels built or rebuilt in this period were paid for by the local landowner. Among many examples are: Eccleston, Cheshire (*c.*1806–9) erected for the 2nd Earl Grosvenor; Micheldever, Hampshire (1808–10) paid for by Sir Francis Baring, Bt.; Lord Middleton built a new chapel on his country estate at Birdsall, East Yorkshire (1824) (Fig. 2); and at Corfe, Dorset, Lord Eldon paid for the new chapel (1833).

There were also examples of a single benefactor building a church in an urban centre to alleviate a much more pressing need. A common theme of some of these examples is that the benefactor had grown rich on the industry of the recipient community. Among numerous examples, Henry Sydell, a prominent mill-owner in Blackburn, Lancashire, paid half the £8,000 cost of St John's, Blackburn (1787–9), and Bradford saw the erection of St James's, Manchester Road (1836–8), paid for by Mr John Wood, one of the town's most prominent factory owners.[12]

In a number of instances, it was an individual cleric who paid for these urban churches, or was at least central to the fund-raising. These



Fig. 2: St Mary's, Birdsall, East Yorkshire (John Oates, 1823–4, chancel added by Hodgson Fowler, 1879–81). (Photo: Christopher Webster)

include Christ Church, Liversedge, West Yorkshire (1812–16), paid for by the Revd Hammond Roberson – who became its perpetual curate – to 'offer religious instruction [to] some *thousands* who are scattered as sheep without a shepherd' in that industrial village.[13] For St John's, Reading (1836–7), 'the expense of the edifice [which] amounted to about £3,000 was defrayed by Revd Francis Trench' who became its incumbent.[14] Holy Trinity, Fareham, Hampshire (1834–6), was 'erected by Revd Sir H. Thomson, Bart, Vicar of Frant, at his own expense.'[15]

Alongside these examples of a single benefactor providing a church, many examples of a group of contributors each giving more modest sums to provide a new church can be identified, especially by the 1830s. It was not uncommon to find accounts of such endeavours reported in newspapers or circulated on printed sheets.[16] In the case of the rebuilding of the church of St John sub Castro, Lewes, East Sussex (1839–40), a pamphlet recorded 94 individuals who gave £1 or more – headed by £300 from the rector, through several contributions of £100 down to many who gave a single-figure donation (Fig. 3).[17] A similar



Fig. 3: St John sub Castro, Lewes, East Sussex (George Cheeseman, 1839–40). This illustration of the proposed building formed part of the fund-raising pamphlet. (Author's collection)

document was printed for the new chapel at Charlton, Wiltshire (1839). It called for 'the aid of the Christian public … here is a congregation a large proportion of which the doors of the [local] church are virtually closed – their Christian communion necessarily broken – their spiritual food, denied …'. It listed donations of between £50 and £5 from local clergy and worshippers.[18]

Often, this type of giving would be used to supplement a grant from some other source, for instance from the Incorporated Church Building Society or the Commissioners of the 1818 Act. All these variations are discussed in more detail below.

Building by subscription

Much late-Georgian church-building was funded by subscription. Those subscribing, like those who donated, were private individuals. However, there were important differences between donation and subscription and they should not be confused. Subscribers did not always act with altruism – often they expected to be rewarded in some way, perhaps with a free pew or one at a reduced rent. If the church attracted a genteel, well-heeled congregation, there might be an annual surplus that would be divided between the subscribers. There was thus often an element of investment for those who subscribed. An 1817 account of the funding of Christ Church, Bradford, differentiated between 'Subscribers … and Donations from disinterested gentlemen'.[19] However, from the 1820s, the differences between the two types of giving were often blurred and, increasingly, those donating might be referred to as 'subscribers'; one suspects that being known as a 'subscriber' brought a certain cachet.

Some examples will help elucidate the concept of subscription. St George's, Everton, Lancashire (1813–14), cost £11,500 to build, a sum raised by the sale of £100 shares. These sold quickly because not only did they provide subscribers with a seat or seats, but the shares had a value and were thus tradeable. In addition, for the next 40 years, shareholders had a say in the appointment of ministers.[20] Conversely, for the erection of St George's, Chorley, Lancashire (Thomas Rickman, 1822–5), although initially subscriptions were secured to supplement a large grant from the Commissioners, when it was realised that some of the subscribed money was to be used to purchase land for a graveyard, and pews would be rented, but not owned, many of the subscribers withdrew their money realising there would be no return on their capital (Fig. 4).[21] In 1832, Lady Paterson noted in her diary that her husband had 'subscribed ten guineas' towards the new church at Heavitree, Devon, near where the family were tenants, 'a small sum if we expect to get a good seat'.[22]

The case of St Catherine's, Abercrombie Square, Liverpool (1829–31) – erected in a genteel suburb – is especially revealing. The *Liverpool Mercury* announced its contemplation. 'The church is to be built by



Fig. 4: St George's, Chorley, Lancashire (Thomas Rickman, 1822–5). (Photo: Christopher Webster)

subscription, to be raised in £100 shares. The estimated cost is £13,615.' Then follows the really interesting section. '[It is estimated that the] income [from pew rents will be] £1,516 10s. 0d. [and] expenditure for minister, organist and sexton £500 leaving a net income for the proprietors of £1,016 10s. 0d. [per annum].'[23] Note the use of the word 'proprietors'. Based on these figures, 136 shares needed to be sold at £100 each, but each 'proprietor' could anticipate a 136th share of that £1,016 annual profit, which would have been around £7 9s. 0d. or almost 7.5 per cent on their investment, making this a very rewarding speculation. One could be forgiven for thinking this must have been a proprietary chapel, but it was not: it was a parochial chapel of ease. An ever better return of 8 per cent for subscribers was anticipated in the Act of Parliament for St Saviour's, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester (Fig. 5), in 1837.[24]

A further attractive reward for subscribers might be the right to appoint the incumbent – or at least to nominate a patron to act on their behalf – although the legal niceties of this were far from clear. An Act of 1831 provided some clarity, but only Acts of 1845 and 1851 gave anything approaching certainty concerning the rights of subscribers in this respect.[25]

The difference between building a church within the parish system by subscription and investing in the erection of a proprietary chapel – discussed below – might often have seemed blurred, especially in those proprietary chapels that used the *Book of Common Prayer*. The crucial difference is not so much concerned with funding as with jurisdiction: those new structures intended to be parochial were consecrated by the

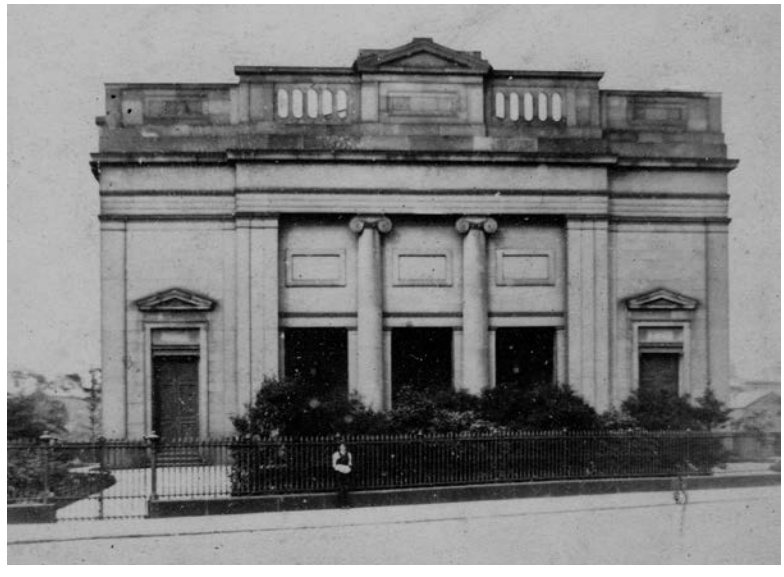


Fig. 5: St Saviour's, Plymouth Grove, Manchester (William Hayley, 1836, dem.), erected for a fashionable congregation. (Author's collection)

bishop and designated as churches or chapels of ease, whereas proprietary chapels were always outside the parish system and were merely licensed by the bishop in the way that Nonconformist chapels were.

Briefs

The issuing of briefs was a long-established system of appealing for a specific amount of money for the building, rebuilding or extension of a specific church. These came in the form of a royal warrant, to be read in churches in specific locations. There was even a place in the communion service for them to be announced: between the Creed and the sermon.[26] It was, in theory, a useful means of raising money, one in which the wealthier parishes could support the less wealthy.[27] However, administration of the system was cumbersome. From 1799, John Stevenson Salt, a London banker, had responsibility for issuing the briefs and collecting the proceeds. 'The cost of administration often absorbed two-thirds of the sum collected and it was usually about three years before the business of a single brief was completed.'[28] For example, at St Mary's, Luddenden, a chapel of ease in the parish of Halifax – eventually completed in 1817 at a cost estimated in 1805 of £1,413 18s. 0d. – a brief was published in 1806. However, only a paltry sum was raised and further briefs followed in 1811, 1814 and 1820. In total £348 1s. 10¼d. was collected, but of this £159 3s. 8d. was absorbed by the 'collector's salary' and £74 4s. 10d. by the 'patent', leaving just £114 6s. 1¼d. for the project.[29] Of those churches contributing to collections, Holy Trinity, Bath, deemed to be a poor parish, raised £1 7s. 10d. in response to the reading of three briefs early in 1826 and a further £1 14s. 9d. was raised for five briefs later that year.[30] A *Gentleman's Magazine* correspondent in 1817 reported a not-unreasonable belief that 'an easier and less expensive mode of collecting money by briefs' was highly desirable.[31]

Parish rates

A parish rate was a tax levied on the owners of all the 'lands, houses, mills, shops, warehouses, vaults or other tenements … within the said parish'.[32] Properties were valued and churchwardens were empowered to set a rate of (say) a few pence per pound of a property's value to pay for the upkeep of the parish church – costs of communion wine, tuning the organ and repairing the roof, for instance – but a rate might also be the means of servicing a substantial loan to fund an extension or even a complete rebuilding, as discussed below. Reluctant payers could be threatened with legal action. Parish rates were increasingly resented through the late-Georgian period with objections coming, not unreasonably, from Dissenters and atheists who never used the church,

along with those who saw it as an unfair tax. A vocal group of protesters could easily intimidate clerics and wardens into not setting a rate, or they might defeat it in a vestry vote, thus precluding the erection of a much-needed new church or rebuilding an old one.

A parish rate was unlikely to be an instant source of a sum sufficient to rebuild a church and the arrangement normally used was to borrow money for the project from a commercial lender and repay the loan over several, perhaps many, years out of an annual parish rate. A vestry's ability to set and enforce a parish rate appears to have been deemed sound security by certain lenders. Thus for the rebuilding of St Swithun's, East Grinstead, West Sussex (1789), in addition to the donations and briefs, £4,000 was borrowed in the form of a £2,000 annuity and two mortgages of £1,000 each, all to be repaid from a sequence of parish rates only finally settled in 1875.[33] For the new church of St Pancras, London, an Act of 1816 'enabled the Trustees to borrow up to £40,000 and to levy a rate (not exceeding 4d in the pound per annum) for repayment'.[34] When the parish church of St John, Hackney, London (1792–7), was rebuilt it was funded 'by means of annuities guaranteed by a sixpenny church rate'.[35]

This method of funding, sometimes as an adjunct to other forms of raising finance, continued to be used after Waterloo, but increasing resistance to church rates must have made collection problematical as the case of Blackburn reveals (Fig. 6). The 1820s rebuilding of the town's dilapidated medieval parish church was part of an ambitious project that included a new grave-yard, vicarage and even diverting the river. The Act recorded that it was to be financed by 'a loan of up to £15,000, serviced [in part] by a general parish rate'.[36] This proved inadequate, however, and a second Act was secured in 1824 giving the trustees powers for further borrowing. In 1827, the trustees recommended that the new church should be heated and lit by gas, financed by a further rate. This seems to have been the final straw for the rate-payers and in September that year a large printed placard warned:

> Now Mark!! – the money of this must come out of your Pockets … similar unholy practices have been defeated recently at Leeds, at Chorley [Lancashire], and at Camberwell, London.[37]

Another Blackburn agitator claimed:

> It is not the AMOUNT but the PRINCIPLE of a Church Rate to which all Church Reformers object … are the High Church party so poor that they cannot support their own religious services?'[38]



Fig. 6: St Mary's, Blackburn, now Blackburn Cathedral (John Palmer, 1820–6). (Photo: Christopher Webster)

Although this method of servicing loans lingered on, appearing in the Acts for the rebuilding of St Paul's, Shadwell, London (1817),[39] and for St Mary's, Barnsley (1824), among others,[40] it was used decreasingly due to the opposition it aroused. After about 1820 it must have seemed a problematic source of funding and others were increasingly exploited. Church rates were finally abolished in 1868.[41]

Local Corporations

In a number of the larger towns, the civic authorities contributed generously to their local parish church during the eighteenth century, for instance in Liverpool, Hull and King's Lynn. This might have been done by supporting a parish rate, by obtaining loans or, in the case of Liverpool, spending some of the corporation's considerable wealth. It was yet another indication of the close bonds between church and state. The link weakened in the late-Georgian period as Nonconformity gained support, but in a diminished form, it survived in many places.

A number of civic corporations contributed to on-going costs or 'beautification' of their local churches, for instance those in Doncaster or Norwich;[42] in some towns, the corporation might be responsible for the upkeep of a church's chancel, as receiver of the 'Great Tithes'.[43] There are also some examples of a corporation supporting the building of new churches, Liverpool being the most prominent example.[44] In 1802, 'the old Common Council' decided to build St Luke's as the new corporation church, and move civic worship from St George's (1726–34) where, previously, 'the Mayor, Alderman and Common Council usually attend.' The new church was, according to J. A. Picton, intended to be 'the crowning point of Liverpool's ecclesiastical architecture … built regardless … of expense and dedicated to [the corporation's] patron saint.' It cost a staggering £53,418,[45] yet despite this financial commitment, during its construction, the erection of the nearby St Michael's (1816–26) exhausted the £35,000 that had been subscribed and in 1823 the corporation stepped in to complete the church at a cost to the civic purse of £10,267.[46] The corporation also funded annual expenditure at its chosen churches, thus, for example, in 1823, expenditure was £5,023 which included stipends for the rectors, bell-ringers, organists and choirs as well as fabric repairs for the churches it adopted.[47] Although mainly confined to the Established Church, there are occasional payments to other denominations.[48] There were also instances of civic financing in, for instance, Bristol[49] and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[50]

Proprietary chapels

A proprietary chapel was one run as a business. The building would be erected and maintained, and the minister paid, by the owner or group of shareholders. All were funded by pew rents. Usually attendance was restricted to pew owners, their family and servants, but occasionally some free seats were included.[51] The 1824 Church Building Act required all new proprietary chapels to 'reserve one seat in ten for the poor'.[52] These chapels existed outside the parish system, although they needed a licence from the bishop, which was usually obtained with ease. Their liturgy might be based on that of any denomination or be entirely novel, though many followed very closely that of the Church of England.



Fig. 7: St John the Evangelist, Chichester (James Elmes, 1812–13), erected as a proprietary chapel. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

For worshippers in those that did, their independence from diocesan jurisdiction probably seemed of little importance. At a time when gaining permission to erect a new church was often problematic,[53] building a proprietary chapel was an easy alternative and certainly their erection went some way to satisfy demand for seats, at least for the better off (Fig. 7). They were governed by the same rules as those applying to Nonconformist chapels. They were thus built in significant numbers, but altruism or missionary zeal was rarely the dominant motive and as a business model, they differed little from those used for running, say, theatres or libraries.

In order to maximise pew rents, a charismatic preacher was a great asset and it is not surprising that many proprietary chapels were owned or part-owned by the clerics who led the services in them. Thus, on one level proprietary chapels might be seen as a pragmatic solution to the desperate shortage of church room and the legal obstacles that existed to building within the parish system, but to maintain their exclusivity many had no free seats at all, and such a funding model could never be a solution to the huge deficiency of accommodation in poor communities.

These chapels existed principally in fashionable resorts like Bath, Brighton and Cheltenham, or in genteel suburbs of London and provincial towns, but became victims of Ecclesiological ridicule.[54] Indeed, they were sometimes subjected to contemporary criticism, especially for excluding the poor.[55] Others resented the profit motive: '[There are no new, publicly funded churches in London] it is left to speculators to build [for] the vast increase of the population',[56] while another correspondent complained that 'Men of business at last began to perceive the opportunity which was afforded them by the legislature's neglect; the private chapels in and about the metropolis were built as good speculations.'[57] Perhaps most damningly, in 1824 E. J. Carlos wrote

> A [proprietary] chapel is erected, "well pewed, well warmed, undedicated, unendowed, unconsecrated; a captivating preacher is provided, the pews are filled, and the good undertakers are amply repaid by the pious tenantry." Accommodation for the poor was never once thought of.[58]

Among the many who invested in proprietary chapels, there are few stranger stories than that of the Chapel Royal in Brighton. There was just one investor: the Revd Thomas Hudson, Vicar of Brighton, who spotted an opportunity. Pews, each capable of accommodating five or six, were let on 99-year leases for 20 guineas, or for one guinea per annum. Indicative of the insecurity of this type of investment, Hudson

struggled to make a profit from Sunday services during the short autumn tourist season and introduced concerts of sacred music in an attempt to boost revenue.[59] In Cheltenham, the charismatic vicar Francis Close (Fig.8) encouraged the building of proprietary chapels in his parish and personally invested in at least one of them, Christ Church.[60] A typical example was the town's church of St John (1827–9), erected by the Revd W. S. Phillips who paid almost all the building costs, assisted by a few friends.

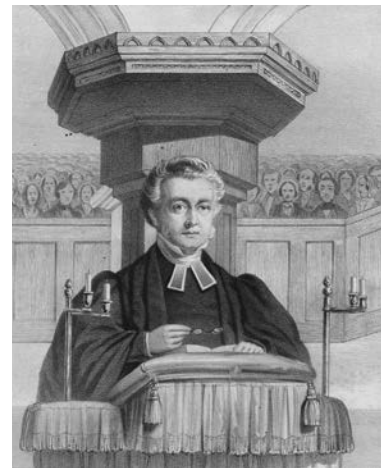


Fig. 8: Revd Francis Close and his Cheltenham congregation. (© National Portrait Gallery, London)

The Church Building Commission

The events leading to the establishment of the Commission are almost impossible to separate from those which led to the formation of the [Incorporated] Church Building Society (discussed below) and the two initiatives shared many of the same aims and lay individuals including Joshua Watson and his brother John, John Bowdler and H. H. Norris.

In 1814, Bowdler and three friends wrote to the Bishop of London concerned at the shortfall in available seats, coupled with anxieties about the ease with which Dissenters could build.[61] At this stage, it was hoped there would be a single initiative involving government funding but the letter makes clear that if this seemed unlikely, the bishop was asked for his sanction to call a private meeting of clergy, nobles and other laymen to develop some plan 'for erecting churches and chapels, a great part of which should be for the accommodation of the poor in districts where they are wanted most'.[62] Thus 58 Geo III c 45, better known as the 1818 Church Building Act, passed into law on 30 May 1818,[63] initiating 'the most widespread church building movement that had been seen in this country since the Reformation'.[64] Initially Parliament gave £1,000,000 for church-building, augmented by a further £500,000 in 1824. The Commission's first meeting was held on 28 July 1818 [65] and although initially established for ten years,[66] its life was extended, via a series of additional Acts, to 1856, by which time it had contributed to the erection of 612 new churches (Fig. 9). After 38 years, its funds were exhausted, but, crucially, public giving had largely replaced it as a means of financing church-building.

On one level, this money represented extraordinary generosity on the government's behalf and not since the Queen Anne Churches of a century earlier had Parliament had any real involvement with the funding of church-building. However, there were many who believed that since the Church of England was the country's *Established* religion, it was the government's responsibility to pay for the desperately needed new churches. Indeed, many claimed that the shortage of churches was a problem of such magnitude that only Parliament had the means of



Fig. 9: St George's, Hulme, Manchester (Francis Goodwin, 1826–8), a particularly impressive big, First Grant, Commissioners' church. (*Lancashire Illustrated*, 1831, opp. p. 90)

rectifying it. Richard Yates devoted a whole chapter of his 1817 book to 'Legislative Assistance Requisite', stating 'The important National Benefit [of building more churches] … can only be effected by the wisdom and authority of Parliament.'[67] However, the results were impressive: by 1840 – where this survey ends – 258 churches and chapels had been completed and a further nineteen had been started. Within the 258 completed, 'therein provision has been made for 328,253 persons, including 182,479 free seats for the use of the poor.'[68] Thus, there were 145,774 rented seats which represented 44.4 per cent of the total, with the free seats accounting for 55.6 per cent of the new accommodation.

As well as offering grants for new churches, the Commissioners could purchase existing buildings,[69] offer loans instead of grants and, in the very poorest areas, pay 100 per cent of the cost of a new church.

One of the interesting by-products of the Commissioners' endeavours was the extent to which other funding streams were developed. An extrapolation of the figures given by Michael Port reveal the scale of additional funding generated. He shows that the 96 First Grant churches cost £1,173,415 with the Commissioners contributing £968,544, while £204,871 came from elsewhere. The 183 Second Grant churches started by 1840 cost £889,156, with the Commissioners providing £542,507 and £346,649 coming from other sources. In total, by 1840 the Commissioners gave £1,511,051; perhaps even more instructive is that a staggering £551,520 was donated by the public.[70]

What was the means of raising these public contributions? They were essentially those discussed earlier in this article: private giving, 'subscriptions in aid of building' and local rates. Also essential in this funding model was the renting of pews to provide an endowment for the minister, a salary for the clerk and money for repairs. Significantly, the Commissioners would not sanction any sort of 'private enterprise' which might result in a return to investors (i.e. the subscription model of funding described above).

The Commissioners' first *Report* of 1821 noted that £88,000 had already been subscribed by the public for the 85 new churches by then approved. Sums varied from £32,000 in Lambeth (for four churches) and £20,000 in Marylebone (also for four churches) to £150 for Heaton, West Yorkshire. In 61 of the 85 instances, it seems nothing had been subscribed. So far as the sites for these churches were concerned, the majority had been provided as a 'gift', 'by subscription' or from Commissioners' funds.[71]

Although an explicit aim of the Commissioners' project was the provision of free seats for poor families, the new churches needed to attract sufficient middle-class worshippers to provide a healthy sum in pew rents. Thus, churches needed to be sited to attract both constituencies. For Holy Trinity, Bath (J. Lowder, 1819–22), '£4,000 was obtained from the Commissioners and a site chosen close to the houses of the poor citizens, for whose use the Church was primarily intended, but not so far away from the rich as to leave a doubt whether the gallery sittings would be occupied, the rents of which were to furnish the stipend of the officiating Curate.'[72]

Subscriptions might be raised in a number of ways. Sometimes it was through newspaper advertisements,[73] but more usually it seems they were collected more informally via the networks of local elites, no doubt with pressure from the parish minister; the Revd

J. W. Whittaker, Vicar of Blackburn, was known to be particularly energetic in this respect.[74] However, subscriptions might come in a number of forms. Accompanying the application from the community in Birch, Lancashire, the Bishop of Chester's letter included, 'by subscription among themselves [they] can raise about £600. In addition … one person will give the site and many others have offered to carry the materials with their own teams, while some labourers have offered to work on lower terms than usual.'[75]

The [Incorporated] Church Building Society

The second key development of 1818 was the formation of the Society for Promoting the Enlarging and Building of Churches and Chapels,[76] which quickly became known as the Church Building Society; in 1828 it was incorporated to become the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS).[77]

Early in its life, the Society resolved that it 'would not itself build or enlarge any church or chapel, but would only assist in doing so'. The maximum grant would be £500 and the Society would not advance a greater proportion than one quarter of the estimated expense of the works unless in exceptional circumstances. Thus, local fundraising – and local commitment to the project – was absolutely essential; only after funds were donated would the society offer a proportionate grant. Preference would be given to buildings with the largest numbers of free sittings in proportion to the aid granted.[78]

Importantly, the Society's funds could be applied to both the building of new churches and the enlargement of existing ones, unlike the Church Building Commission which would only aid new ones. In most cases, and as will be shown below, it was more economical to extend an existing church than build a new one. The Society thus filled an important gap in the Commissioners' funding model (Fig. 10).

The Society received no government support and relied solely on voluntary giving. In the first year this amounted to £55,070 in addition to £582 in annual subscriptions, although not for many years was this level of income repeated.[79] Nevertheless, the year's grants provided an impressive 17,700 additional seats.[80] Grants were always modest; many early ones were for galleries, a particularly efficient way of providing additional seats. Thus in 1821, £200 was offered to assist the building of one in Gildersome Chapel, West Yorkshire, capable of providing 143 additional seats, and three years later, a grant of £60 was awarded for a gallery in nearby Birstall Parish Church where 150 new seats would be constructed.[81]

From the start, economy was important. At a planning meeting in 1817 it was suggested that information and plans 'to promote

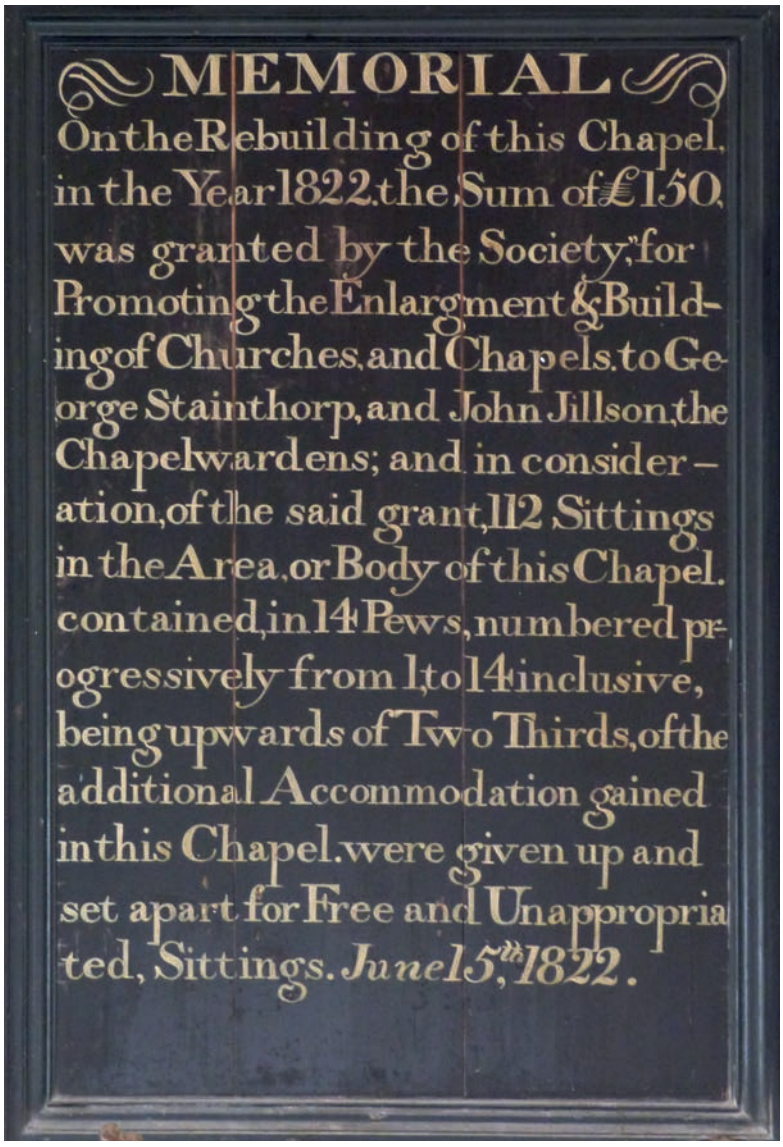


Fig. 10: 'Old' St Stephen, Fylingdales, North Yorkshire, rebuilt 1821–2. Recipients of ICBS grants were required to erect a board recording the benefits it had produced. (Photo: Christopher Webster)

accommodation and cheapness of building should be collected for perusal and discussion.'[82] Rule 20 stated that 'No expense shall be incurred for ornamental architecture beyond what shall by the committee be deemed essential to give [a building] the character of churches or chapels of the Church of England.'[83]

By 1840, the ICBS had received 2,826 applications or enquiries, a figure that includes England *and* Wales (the latter outside this survey).[84] Of these, 1,755, or 62 per cent, were successful. In these 22 years, the Society spent £322,039 supporting the building of 375 new churches or chapels, 286 rebuildings of existing churches and chapels, and 1,094 projects which

enlarged a church or chapel, or added extra seating by way, for instance, of a gallery or additional pews. These grants helped to add 521,759 extra seats, of which 376,708 (72.2 per cent) were free, and 145,051 (27.8 per cent) were rented. Thus the Society's grants of £332,039 supported additional seats at an average cost of just over twelve shillings each.[85]

A pertinent question is this: how do the Society's endeavours compare with those of the Commissioners in this period? Very interestingly, the total of additional seats – 521,759 – supported by the Society's grants is significantly greater than the Commissioners' total: 'provision has been made for 328,253 persons including 182,479 free seats', noted the Commissioners twentieth *Report* in 1840.[86] Even more remarkable is the fact that the Commissioners' expenditure to 1840 of £1,511,051 provided additional seats at a cost averaging £4 12s. 0d. each, almost seven and a half times the cost of those that came from the Society's largesse.

Regional church building societies

From the mid-1830s a very significant new source of funding began to appear: regional church building societies, financed by donations from large numbers of individuals. By 1840 they would cover much of the country and they were of crucial importance in assisting church-building in the poorest communities. Among the first were the Chester Diocesan Society for Promoting the Building of Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire, founded in 1834,[87] the Manchester Church-Building Society, founded in 1835,[88] and the Lichfield Church Building Society, whose area included Birmingham and the Black Country, also founded in 1835.[89] These were followed by, among others, the Metropolitan Churches' Fund (1836)[90] and the Ripon Diocesan Church Building Association (1837), which included the industrial West Riding of Yorkshire.[91] Initially, there was a discernible focus on assisting urban manufacturing parishes, but these societies were quickly followed by others aiming to help more rural communities: the Gloucester and Bristol Diocesan Church Building Society (1837),[92] the Exeter Diocesan Church Building Society (1837)[93] and the Society for Building Churches in Agricultural Districts of Cheshire (1837).[94]

They might reasonably be seen as a series of brave endeavours to provide more churches in poor areas, a need that the rapidly shrinking funds of the Commissioners administering the 1818 Act were never going to satisfy.

These societies attracted the support of both clerical and secular elites, and substantial sums of money were raised with relative ease. Reviewing this funding innovation, the *Church of England Magazine* was

able to report in 1836 that, 'It is gratifying to observe … that in different parts of the country active exertions are making to provide church-accommodation in districts which have hitherto been destitute of it. The newspapers abound with gratifying intelligence of this particular; and we hail it as the dawn of still brighter days to our church.'[95]

The Metropolitan Churches Fund, launched that year, had a high profile and, predictably, attracted a wealthy and more prominent set of supporters. The *Church of England Magazine* reported its formation 'In consequence of the proposal put forth by the Bishop of London, recommending the formation of a fund for the building or purchase and endowment of fifty new churches in the metropolis.' There followed a meeting, in July 1836, 'of noblemen and gentlemen … the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Chair … His Majesty … signified his intention of becoming a patron, the Archbishop of Canterbury … a vice-patron and the Bishop of London, president.' The article concluded with 'upwards of £40,000 have already been received.'[96] A month later 'the subscription to this most important object … amount to more than £60,000.' The list of contributions of £500, £1,000 or £2,000 included those from senior and more minor clerics, Oxford and Cambridge colleges, City livery companies, banks and individuals. 'There is no doubt that a sufficient sum will be raised … to allow this truly Christian plan into effect.' The fund's first AGM in 1837 resolved 'to raise funds for at least 50 new churches and chapels',[97] although this ambitious target was never achieved. However, contemporary comment was much more positive, perhaps in hope rather than reality, and by mid-1839, the society was able to report that 'forty-two churches were completed or in progress.'[98]

While, collectively, these regional societies succeeded in encouraging philanthropy, they also succeeded in making the erection of very cheap churches seem acceptable. For the most part, funding was directed at building in poor communities and, one might conclude, there was a tacit belief that architectural embellishment would be wasted on them. Indeed, sometimes it was explicit. At the meeting to establish the Lichfield Diocesan Church Building Society in 1835, Archdeacon Hodson stated that new churches could be built for £2 0s. 0d. per sitting, or £3 0s. 0d. including the purchase of the site. He went on 'Of course, useless decoration must be excluded; nor does the estimate allow for towers or spires, but these, however ornamental, are not necessary.'[99] Similarly, the Chester Diocesan Society, aiming to provide seats for one in five of the population, stated that the society would not 'make any allowance for ornamental building.'[100] To put this in context, 'first grant Commissioners' churches cost up to £14 0s. 0d. per seat and even their cheaper 'Second Grant' ones rarely came down to £3 0s. 0d..

The formation of these church-building societies from the mid-1830s achieved two important goals. Firstly, they were explicit about the need for the upper- and middle-classes to make funding a personal responsibility, not one that could be left to governments, and to a considerable extent they made church-building seem like a moral duty, something to be undertaken diligently, sometimes enthusiastically, whereas a generation earlier it was often seen as government's or someone else's responsibility. It was the beginning of conspicuous philanthropy that became so prevalent through Victoria's reign. Secondly, these groups provided a very significant new funding source through the decade and beyond, and helped support the building of many new churches nationally. By 1839, the *British Critic* could report, 'There is a kind of natural alliance between the science of architecture and the sentiment of philanthropy, by which both have ever been purified and ennobled.'[101]

Less orthodox means of funding

A range of alternative sources of funding might be exploited. Although unusual in church building, at least one involved a tontine: St Peter's, Wallsend, Northumberland (1809) had 65 per cent of its finance from such a source, suggested by a local solicitor; the remainder was supplied by Durham's Dean and Chapter.[102] Equally unusual was an 1815 advertisement promoting a new book, 'published to assist in providing free seats … by enlarging the [local] parish church.'[103] Similarly, Alfred Smith proposed to donate the profits from his book of lithographs to a new church in Stroud.[104] More typically, for the new church at Alverston, Warwickshire, a very welcome £500 was raised at a bazaar.[105]

Where income from pew rents was substantial, a sum might remain after the payment of the minister and clerk to service a private loan, as was the case in St Marylebone where the vestry wished to build additional churches in 1820. 'An old gentleman, seeing an advertisement in the parish of Mary-le-bonne for a loan of £20,000, at 4½%, for the purpose of building Churches, has presented the parish with the sum, on the condition of receiving *5 per cent* during his life.'[106]

There are a number of instances of a new church erected as a central feature of an urban development, for instance in St John's, Wakefield (1791–5) and St Catherine's, Liverpool (1829–31). In London, Wyndham Place has St Mary's (1821–3) as its focus (Fig. 11), while Cloudesley Square has Holy Trinity (1826–9) at its centre. The presence of a handsome church was deemed an asset both visually and practically, and added value to the houses. In these cases, the developer might donate the site and assist with building costs too. When funds



Fig. 11: St Mary's, Wyndham Place, London (Robert Smirke, 1821–3). (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

were sought for the proposed St James's, Cheltenham, in the mid-1820s, one landowner was told that the new church would 'increase the value of your property in its neighbourhood.'[107]

Conclusion

This article has revealed the wide variety of funding models exploited in the late-Georgian period. Much self-interest has been revealed, but also imagination, determination, enterprise as well as straightforward philanthropy. One significant conclusion to be drawn is the absolute necessity of pew rents in most projects throughout the late-Georgian period, and often beyond it. Despite frequent contemporary condemnations of the system, it is clear these rents were central to almost all the funding models discussed above. Crucially, they were deemed to provide a steady, reliable stream of income into the foreseeable future which could be used to support a maintenance fund, clergy stipends and other on-going costs. Consequently, if free seats were to be created to address a desperate need, these could usually be provided *only* within a financial package in which income from rented pews played a central role.

So far as funding for the construction of new churches is concerned, it is clear that by the end of the late-Georgian period the concept of personal giving, which would operate so effectively through the Victorian period and into the twentieth century, had been successfully established.

Notes

1. In order to give context to the themes in this article, readers are directed to: Christopher Webster, *Late-Georgian Churches: Anglican architecture, patronage and church-going in England, 1790–1840* (London, 2022).
2. Richard Yates, *The Basis of National Welfare* (London, 1817), p. 157.
3. A useful introduction to this subject is: C. W. Chalklin, 'The financing of church building in the provincial towns of eighteenth-century England' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (London,1985), pp. 284–310.
4. Sidney Billing, *Laws Relating to Pews in Churches* (London, 1845), p. 147.
5. Simon Bradley, 'The Gothic Revival and the Church of England 1790–1840' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1996) p. 8, quoting A. Heales, *History and Law of Church Seats* (London, 1872), vol. II, p. 57.
6. John C. Bennet, 'The English Anglican Practice of Pew-Renting 1800–1960' (PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, n.d.) p. 15.
7. John Crabtree, *A Concise History of the Parish of Halifax* (Halifax, 1836), p. 338.
8. Andrew Saint, 'Anglican church-building in London' in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church*, Manchester (Manchester, 1995), p. 35.
9. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, ii, p. 647.
10. Lancashire County Records Office, Coucher Book of All Saints, Blackburn, PR 1549/8.
11. *British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review*, 26, 1839, p. 461.
12. William Scrutton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (Bradford, 1889), pp. 42–3.
13. Hammond Roberson, *An Account … of Christ Church, Liversedge* (Leeds, 1813), p. 17.
14. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, ii, p. 647.
15. John Vickers (ed.) *The Religious Census of Hampshire 1851* (Winchester, 1993), p. 26.
16. For example, *Preston Pilot*, 30 January 1830 (St Stephen, Tockholes, Lancashire); *Berrows Worcester Journal*, 14 April 1836 (St Peter, Worcester).
17. ICBS, file 00850.
18. ICBS, file 00854b.
19. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, ii, p. 13.
20. R. F. Mould, *St George's Everton* (Liverpool, 2013), p. 26.
21. CBC, Chorley file, no 18206.
22. Peter Hunt (ed.), *Devon's Age of Elegance* (Exeter, 1984), p. 66.
23. *Liverpool Mercury*, 28 November 1828.
24. 7 Will IV 38 quoted in A. J. Dobb, *A History of the Diocese of Manchester* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 158–9.
25. 1 & 2 Wm. IV, c. 38; 8 & 9 Vict c. 70 s 23 extended by 14 and 15 Vict c. 97 ss 7 and 9–13. See Michael Port, *600 New Churches* (Reading, 2006), p. 252.
26. 'Then the Curate shall declare unto the people what Holy-days, or Fasting-days, are in the week following to be observed. And then also (if occasion be) shall notice be given of the Communion; and Briefs, Citations and Excommunications be read.' *Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford, 1836), n.p.

27. See Basil F. L. Clarke, *The Building of the Eighteenth Century Church* (London, 1963), pp. 96–103.
28. Michael Port, *600 New Churches* (Reading, 2006), p. 23.
29. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 32, 1936, pp. 355–6.
30. T. L. Sissmore, *Annals and Records of Holy Trinity Church, Bath* (Bath, 1893), p. 9.
31. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, ii, p. 13.
32. T. Sopwith, *All Saints Church, Newcastle* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1826), p.55.
33. G. M. Smart (ed.), *Guide to East Grinstead Parish Church* (1975), pp. 4–5.
34. Charles E. Lee, *St Pancras Church and Parish* (London, 1955), p. 36.
35. Saint, 'Church-building in London', p. 32.
36. 59 Geo III, Cap. lxv. In fact the loan was also serviced by pew rents, see B. D. A. Lewis, *Life in a Cotton Town … Blackburn* (Blackburn, n.d.), pp. 197–204.
37. Lewis, *Cotton Town*, pp 205–6. Port, *600 New Churches* quotes examples of protest in Leeds, Sheffield, Dewsbury and Rochdale, p. 250.
38. Lewis, *Cotton Town*, p. 209. See also Michael Weller, 'The contentious issue of Church rates: some examples from the county of Devon' in *Devon Historian,* 80, 2011, pp. 63–72.
39. 57 Geo III, Cap. lxxii, clause XXXVIII.
40. 5 Geo IV, Cap. lxii, clauses II–V.
41. Port, *600 New Churches*, provides further examples of opposition to church rates on pp. 249–51.
42. W. M. Jacob, 'Church of England Churches 1790–1840', lecture at the University of Oxford, 2015.
43. This was the case at Marston, Staffordshire, the responsibility of Stafford Corporation. David Robinson (ed.) *Visitations of the Archdeaconry of Stafford 1829–41* (London, 1980), p. 56.
44. For example, St George (1715) and St Paul (1753). See William Enfield, *History of Liverpool* (London, 1774), pp. 44–5.
45. J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool* (London, 1875), vol. 2, p. 242.
46. Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches* (London, 1947–8), p. 80; Picton, *Memorials*, 2, p. 286.
47. *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 April 1824.
48. In 1826, the corporation voted funds for the new Welsh church. *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 February 1826.
49. It helped fund St Paul's (1789–95)
50. It helped fund both St Nicholas's and St Thomas's.
51. For a detailed examination of one example, see R. Hiscock, 'The Proprietary Chapel of St John, Gravesend' in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 93, 1977, pp. 1–24.
52. 5 Geo IV, c. 103, s. 5. See also Bennett, 'Pew-renting', p. 76.
53. See C. Webster, 'Late-Georgian Church-Building: the Legal and Administrative Challenges' in *Ecclesiology Today*, 60, 2022, pp. 9–32.
54. J. M. Neale and B. Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches … Durandas* (London, 1843), pp. cxxviii–cxxix.
55. For example, because they excluded the poor, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, ii, p. 821.
56. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1820, i, p. 608.

57. *Quarterly Review*, 23, 1820, p. 564.
58. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1824, ii, p. 130.
59. Sue Berry, 'Places of Worship … Brighton and Hove' in *Georgian Group Journal*, XIX, 2011, pp. 160–1.
60. Henry Davies, *Cheltenham in its Past and Present State* (Cheltenham, 1843), pp. 134–6.
61. Reprinted in: Thomas Bowdler, *Memoir of the Life of John Bowdler Esq* (London, 1824), pp. 236–43.
62. *Ibid*., p. 257.
63. *[First] Report of His Majesty's Commissioners* … (London, 1821), p. 3.
64. Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches* (London, 1947–8), p. 79.
65. *[First] Report of His Majesty's Commissioners*, p. 3.
66. *[First] Report of His Majesty's Commissioners*, p. 9.
67. Richard Yates, *The Basis of National Welfare* (London, 1817), p. 161.
68. *Twentieth Annual Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches* (London, 1840), p. 1.
69. An example of this came in 1826 when architect R. D. Chantrell was asked to visit Halifax and report on the state of a recently built, privately financed, Nonconformist chapel that was on the market. CBC, Minute Book 32, pp. 422–3.
70. These are the author's calculations taken from the costs of individual churches given in Port, *600 New Churches*, pp. 326–45.
71. *[First] Report of His Majesty's Commissioners,* pp. 16–23.
72. Sissmore *Annals and Records of Bath*, p. 2.
73. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 20 November 1820.
74. Lancashire County Records Office, Coucher Book for Blackburn Parish, PR 1549/3.
75. CBC file no 17,647 quoted in Mark Smith, *Religion in Industrial Society* (Oxford, 1994), p. 44.
76. See Timothy Parry, 'The Incorporated Church Building Society 1818–1851', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1984.
77. 9 Geo. IV. c. 42.
78. Material in this paragraph comes from The Society for Promoting the Enlargement and Building of Churches and Chapels, *First Annual Report* (London, 1819).
79. Society … Churches and Chapels, *First Report*, pp. 5–6.
80. Parry, 'Church Building Society', pp. 55, 263.
81. ICBS, files 00491 and 00330.
82. Parry, 'Church Building Society', p. 38.
83. Rule 20, quoted in Parry, 'Church Building Society', p. 40.
84. Spreadsheet of ICBS cases, kindly provided by Lambeth Palace Library.
85. These figures are extrapolated from tables in Parry, 'Church Building Society', pp. 263–4.
86. *The Twentieth Annual Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners* (London, 1840), p. 1.
87. *Lancaster Gazette,* 10 May 1834.
88. *The [London] Standard*, 19 August 1836.

89. David Robinson (ed.) *Visitations of the Archdeaconry of Stafford 1829–41* (London, 1980), p. xvii.
90. 'Monthly Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence', II, July 1836, pp 3–4, in *Church of England Magazine*, 1, 1836.
91. 'Monthly Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence', October 1838, p. 29, in *Church of England Magazine*, V, 1838. The society was formed at a meeting on 5 September 1838.
92. David Verey (ed.), *The Diary of a Cotswold Parson* (Stroud, 1986), p. 127.
93. *The [London] Standard*, 14 January 1837.
94. 'Monthly Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence', Dec. 1837, pp. 44–5 in *Church of England Magazine*, 3, 1837. 'The object of the society is to effect for the agricultural parts of the country what the Diocesan Church Building Society is endeavouring to do for the manufacturing districts.' *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, ii, p. 644.
95. 'Monthly Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence III', August 1836, p. 3, in *Church of England Magazine*, 1, 1836.
96. 'Monthly Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence II', July 1836, pp. 3–4, in *Church of England Magazine*, 1, 1836.
97. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, ii, p. 190.
98. 'Register of Ecclesiastical Intelligence, August 1839', p. 8 in *Church of England Magazine*, 7, 1839.
99. Quoted in Robinson, *Archdeaconry of Stafford*, p. xxxv.
100. Rule 4, reported in *Lancashire Gazette*, 10 May 1834.
101. *British Critic*, 20, 1839, p. 458.
102. 'Kent McKeever, 'A Short History of Tontines' in *Fordham Journal of Corporate & Financial Law*, vol. 15, issue 2, 2009, p. 501.
103. *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 April 1815. The book was T. Bowdler's *A sketch of the life of the late Lieutenant-General Villettes.*
104. Alfred Smith, *Twenty Lithographic Views … of Stroud* (Stroud, 1839), Preface.
105. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1839, ii, p. 303.
106. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1821, i, p. 556.
107. Quoted in Steven Blake, *Cheltenham's Churches and Chapels* (Cheltenham, 1979), p. 15.

It's the Cathedral that Killed Him: Bishop Rowley Hill's Isle of Man Cathedral of 1884

PETER LITMAN

'Merely a Bishoprick, it is no See, for it has no Cathedral' were the words of Bishop Rowley Hill in 1877 as he set foot upon the Isle of Man, home of the Diocese of Sodor and Man, the smallest and one of the oldest dioceses in the Church of England.[1] The Isle of Man is a self-governing British Crown Dependency in the Irish sea. In the 1880s it was composed of fifteen parishes, five villages and four towns, the largest town being Douglas on the east coast. There were 43 Anglican churches or chapels of ease. The medieval cathedral at Peel, on the west coast, had fallen into ruin by the eighteenth century but occasional services were being held by Vicar Corlett of Peel in 1772; worship in the remains later ceased and the only singing to be heard was the scream of the herring gulls.[2]

On his arrival, Bishop Hill began to explore the need for a diocesan cathedral, an issue which became hotly contested among Islanders, politicians and clergy. While the debate raged, Hill initiated the creation of the fine new church of St German in Peel, with a view to its potential use as a cathedral. This would eventually come to pass, but not until 1980, long after Hill's demise. This article explores Hill's efforts to create a worthy seat for the Bishops of Sodor and Man, and the challenges of creating a new cathedral in the nineteenth century, particularly within the unique context of Isle of Man.

The arrival of Bishop Hill

Manxman Canon John Gelling reports that Rowley Hill (1836–87) (Fig. 1) was at the time he arrived on the Isle of Man the youngest Bishop in the British Isles.[3] He was the holder of BA and MA degrees in Theology from Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1877 was made a Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, by the University of Cambridge. In 1873 Hill was Vicar of Sheffield and his large church (now Sheffield Cathedral) was considered important enough for him to be appointed a Prebend of York Minster. Rowley Hill has been described as a modest Evangelical who discharged his duties with success and great zeal.[4] However, an opposing, contemporaneous account of Rowley Hill is recorded by Canon John Quine:



Fig. 1: Bishop Rowley Hill, *c.*1883. (© Manx National Heritage (PG/1729))

> Having by accident got to be the Chaplain to Bishop Rowley Hill in 1882, I made the discovery that the chap was an adventurer with a good social start, son of an Irish baronet, a great comic actor posing as a low Evangelical, and every blooming blessed thing out on all shallow artifice, pretension, swank and general worldliness – presuming on the ignorance, credulity, and gullibility of the world. The scholarship of the man was contemptible. Of course, it was social influence which had got him his advancement; but that this should have been 'in the Church, in the Church of Christ', was a shock to me, almost entailing my abandonment of the whole thing.[5]

At the 1878 Diocesan Conference, Hill is reported as openly stating that he intended to establish a fund to restore the ancient cathedral at Peel Castle, which was by then a ruin (Fig. 2). He first investigated former Bishop Isaac Barrow's Academic Fund as a possible source of funding for the work. The fund had been established in 1668 to enhance education and clergy training on the Isle of Man, but Hill found that the money had been completely used up.[6] Undeterred, he went on to establish his own fund to restore the cathedral, or alternatively to construct a new one.[7]

An unpublished guidebook, *Kirk German 1879–1979*, records that the Easter Vestry in the parish church of St Peter, Peel (constructed in 1551), considered Bishop Hill's suggestion that a 'new and commodious Church should be erected in the town'. This was not a new idea as earlier records show that the townspeople of Peel had already petitioned the Archbishop of York for a larger church in 1813. In the 1840s, Bishop Thomas Short had even offered a gift of £300 to the people of Peel, to supplement their funding for a new parish church, but sadly nothing came of this.[8]

Letters in the archives of the Parish of German indicate that land was purchased from Miss Elizabeth Jane Graves of Peveril Terrace, Peel, and Mr Caesar Corris of Atholl Street, Peel, at a cost of £505 0s. 10d., upon which the proposed new church was to be constructed. Designs were submitted and accepted from the Liverpool architects T. D. Barry & Sons. Such was the enthusiasm displayed by Bishop Hill and the parishioners that on 21 August 1879, the foundation stone was laid by the Archdeacon, the Venerable Joseph C. Moore.

Thomas Denville Barry (1815/16–1905) was an Irish-born architect who operated in Liverpool from *c.*1850 to 1895, with his sons joining the practice from 1873. They specialised in cemetery buildings and geographically their work was restricted largely to the north-west of England and the Isle of Man.[9] The architectural plan for the Peel



Fig. 2: The ruined cathedral at Peel Castle. (Postcard image, author's collection)

commission is a replica of Barry's earlier church of St Michael's, Garstang (Liverpool), built between 1875 and 1877. Although T. D. Barry & Sons oversaw the building of the Peel Church, the bulk of the stonework was carried out by local craftsman Thomas Radcliffe, using Peel sandstone for the most part, and Cheshire (Runcorn) for the rest. Following the completion of the Peel church, the same architects were commissioned to design the parish church for Port St Mary, and Trinity Presbyterian Church in Ramsey, both in the Isle of Man.

Controversy

Possibly hedging his bets, Bishop Hill initiated a sermon be preached at St Thomas's Church, Douglas, on 14 September 1879 (i.e. less than a month after the foundation stone of the new church at Peel had been laid).[10] The preacher was the Revd F. W. Farrar DD, FRS, a Canon of Westminster and Chaplain Ordinary to the Queen. The sermon was entitled *An Appeal on behalf of the Ruined Cathedral of St German's, Isle of Man*, and was based on 2 Kings 12: 7, 'Why repair not the breaches of the house?' (Fig. 3).

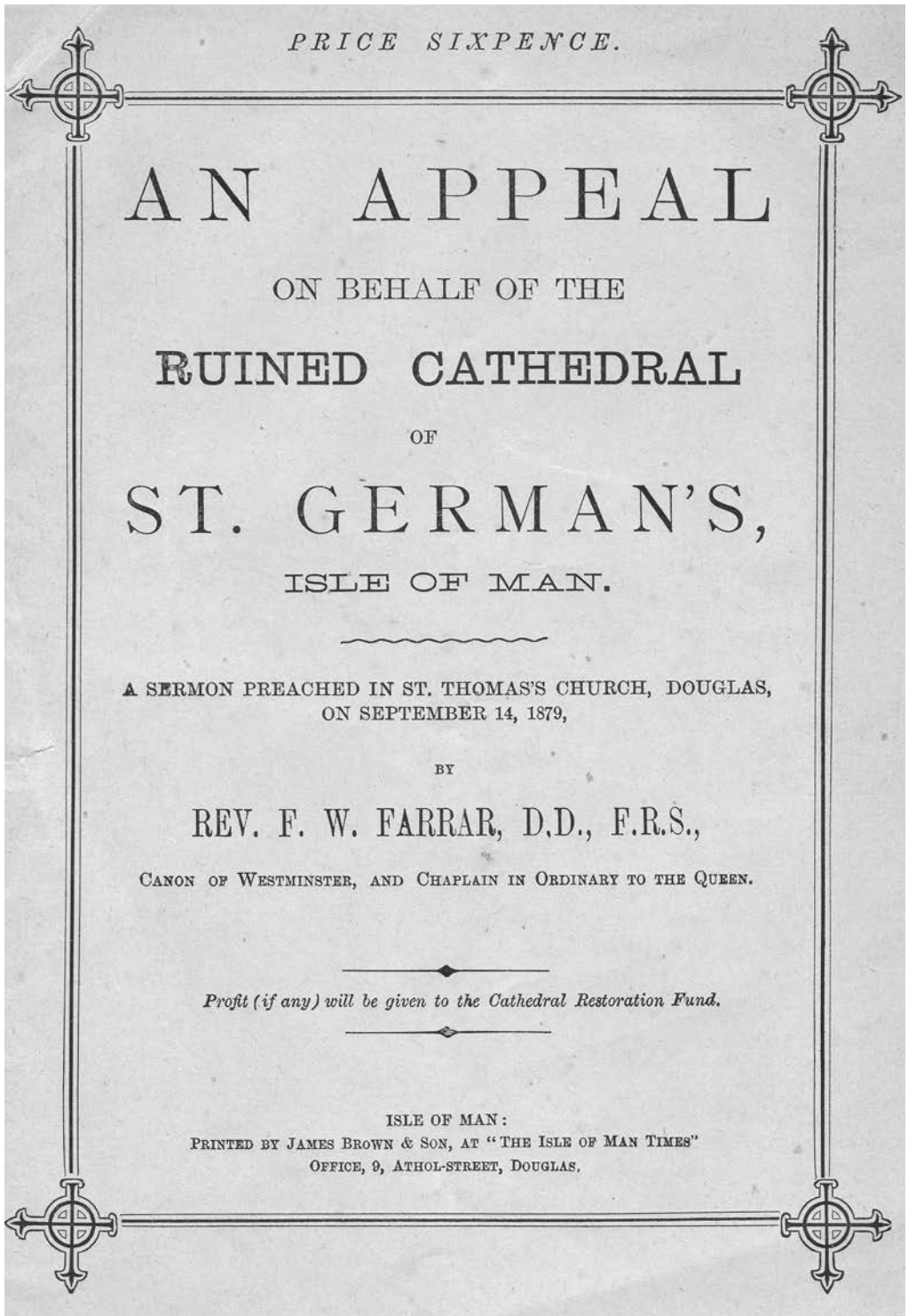
This substantial oration encouraged congregants to consider how having a cathedral would rekindle religious life and fervour for the diocese at large. This included the undertaking of solemn daily worship as the basis for building a centre of light and of theological learning, a Mother Church for the diocese, with its 'ministry promoted to that service by learning and eloquence, or power of guidance, the home and hearth of the clergy, and that of the corporate life'. In his sermon, Dr Farrar directly referenced the influence of the cathedral-building age, using the Diocese of Truro as his model:

> Shall Truro, a diocese revived but yesterday, have her grand cathedral, as a witness to the faith and godly munificence of her children, and shall Sodor and Man, a diocese of a thousand years, of which the very name is lost in the mists of antiquity, not restore the House of God which her far-off fathers gave it? Shall the pious stranger point sadly to the ruined cathedral of St Germans and say 'it is the cathedral of the Manxman, they did not love their church'.

Elaborating further, Dr Farrar eloquently summed up his plea with:

> Make this little cathedral a gem of architecture and of beauty, a place which shall be your honourable pride, the choicest resort of your worship, the central power of your Island in years to come. If it seems better to build another cathedral elsewhere, that must be for your own wisdom to decide.[11]

By the close of 1879, however, enthusiasm for the restoration of the ancient cathedral had waned, and *Mona's Herald* carried the following account concerning the proposed restoration or construction of a new church, along with scathing, almost irreligious undertones directed at Bishop Hill and his intentions:



PRICE SIXPENCE.

AN APPEAL

ON BEHALF OF THE

RUINED CATHEDRAL

OF

ST. GERMAN'S,

ISLE OF MAN.

A SERMON PREACHED IN ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, DOUGLAS,
ON SEPTEMBER 14, 1879,

BY

REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.,

CANON OF WESTMINSTER, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE QUEEN.

Profit (if any) will be given to the Cathedral Restoration Fund.

ISLE OF MAN:
PRINTED BY JAMES BROWN & SON, AT "THE ISLE OF MAN TIMES"
OFFICE, 9, ATHOL-STREET, DOUGLAS.

Fig. 3: Public notice of the appeal for the restoration of the ancient ruined cathedral. (Cathedral Isle of Man Archives)

> His [Bishop Hill's] scheme for a new church is a good one, and people seem disposed to give him credit for it; but the restoration of the Cathedral in Peel Castle does not meet much favour. The restoration of the old Cathedral is regarded as a visionary project, as well, say some, might a Cathedral be built on the Calf of Mann or at the Point of Ayre; while others profanely inquire whether it is for the herrings or the gulls?[12]

Undeterred, Bishop Hill continued to gather and elicit funds. There are accounts of him travelling around the larger churches of the North of England, preaching and collecting funds in aid of the rebuilding of his cathedral.[13]

Gelling reports that as early as 1880 Bishop Hill began holding diocesan services in the ancient, ruined cathedral to draw attention to the importance of the place.[14] At the Diocesan Conference of the same year, the Vicar of Malew presented a paper, *The importance of a Cathedral in the Isle of Man as a centre of Church work and Organisation of the Diocese.*[15] It is likely that this paper purported that Douglas, being the centre of the Manx populous, was the key location for a new cathedral, since in 1881 the *Manx Sun* published an article outlining a new proposal for a cathedral to be constructed in Douglas.[16] Moreover, in the same article, Bishop Hill, having stated that the proposed scheme for the restoration of the ancient cathedral should now be abandoned, suggested a delay in the appointment of a new Vicar for St Thomas's Church in Douglas (built in 1849) in order that consideration might be given to how St Thomas's may be adapted for use as a diocesan cathedral. The article records the response of the clergy as broadly supportive; but suggested that the central and older parish church of St George's, Douglas, might be better adapted and more suitable.

Douglas versus Peel

In 1882, *Mona's Herald* reports a meeting held at the building site of the Peel New Church to consider the advisability of making it the diocesan cathedral.[17] The article sets Bishop Hill's new church in a favourable light; it was at that point not far from completion. The meeting looked at whether extra work should be done to beautify the edifice and finish it in a 'handsome' way so that it might become the cathedral. Reports include a rather biased petition from the important personalities of Peel's townspeople supporting Bishop Hill's suggestion.

The feature provoked much interest and response from around the Island. In November, a second public 'cathedral' meeting was called and is reported in *Mona's Herald.*[18] This meeting reiterated the notion

that there was a desire to test the opinions of the people of Douglas (the Island's capital since 1869) with regards to the location of the future cathedral. In the article again, it was suggested that Bishop Hill was inclined to feel that locating the cathedral in Douglas would likely interfere with the town's other churches and that he might be criticised for having a deeper interest in the cathedral church to the detriment of the others.

Irrespective of Bishop Hill's opinion, however, it was resolved that the best place for a cathedral was in the large conurbation of Douglas. A plea for funds from the Douglas Corporation was to be made. However, it was also agreed that, should sufficient monies not come forth, then further efforts would be made to restore the ancient cathedral at Peel. By the end of the meeting, it was felt by the Douglas residents that having the cathedral of 'this grand old diocese' would aid prosperity and add prestige to the town. The meeting concluded with the proposal that St George's Church should be elevated to the status of diocesan pro-cathedral. The town of Peel was criticised as being too small for a cathedral, being scarcely more than a village. Again reference was made to Truro, but this time as a shining example of how the new cathedral of Cornwall was to be in the centre of a most vibrant and important town.

Such opinions are corroborated in accounts of the same year in the *Isle of Man Times*.[19] In October 1882, letters report that, although his Lordship Bishop Hill has always been in favour of having a cathedral in Douglas, he intimates that the necessary funds had not been found to build it in the heart of the capital. Additional letters assert how utterly absurd it would be to locate the new cathedral in Peel. They suggest that this would only serve to gratify the people of Peel and furthermore that, though it might be a cathedral in name, it would in effect be little more than a village church. The correspondents also cast aspersions on whether Peel townsfolk had the ability to attend daily services, which in their opinion, was one of the key points of mission for any cathedral. Critical letters reflected that when tourists and visitors arrived in Douglas, they likely would be disheartened to be informed that the cathedral was in Peel, and that they had to travel another ten miles across to the other side of the Island to visit it.[20]

To confuse matters further, amidst the Douglas versus Peel debate, another possibility was raised: to convert the relatively newly completed church at Kirk Braddan, to the west of Douglas. Architecturally, the church, built in 1872, is of handsome proportions and was designed by the eminent architect, John Loughborough Pearson (1817–97). Though considered by one correspondent as a better option than Peel, the idea was quickly quashed, as is corroborated by Gelling.[21]

The dream realised, potentially

Meanwhile, to meet the needs of the growing population, the building of the new and commodious church for Peel continued apace. It was completed in 1884, at 142 feet long (including the chancel), and 102 feet wide across the transepts. It has seating capacity for 1,000 worshippers (Fig. 4). The architectural plan is cruciform, consisting of a nave, chancel, sanctuary, transepts and clergy and choir vestries. The tower has a peal



Fig. 4: Peel New Church exterior. (Cathedral Isle of Man Archives)

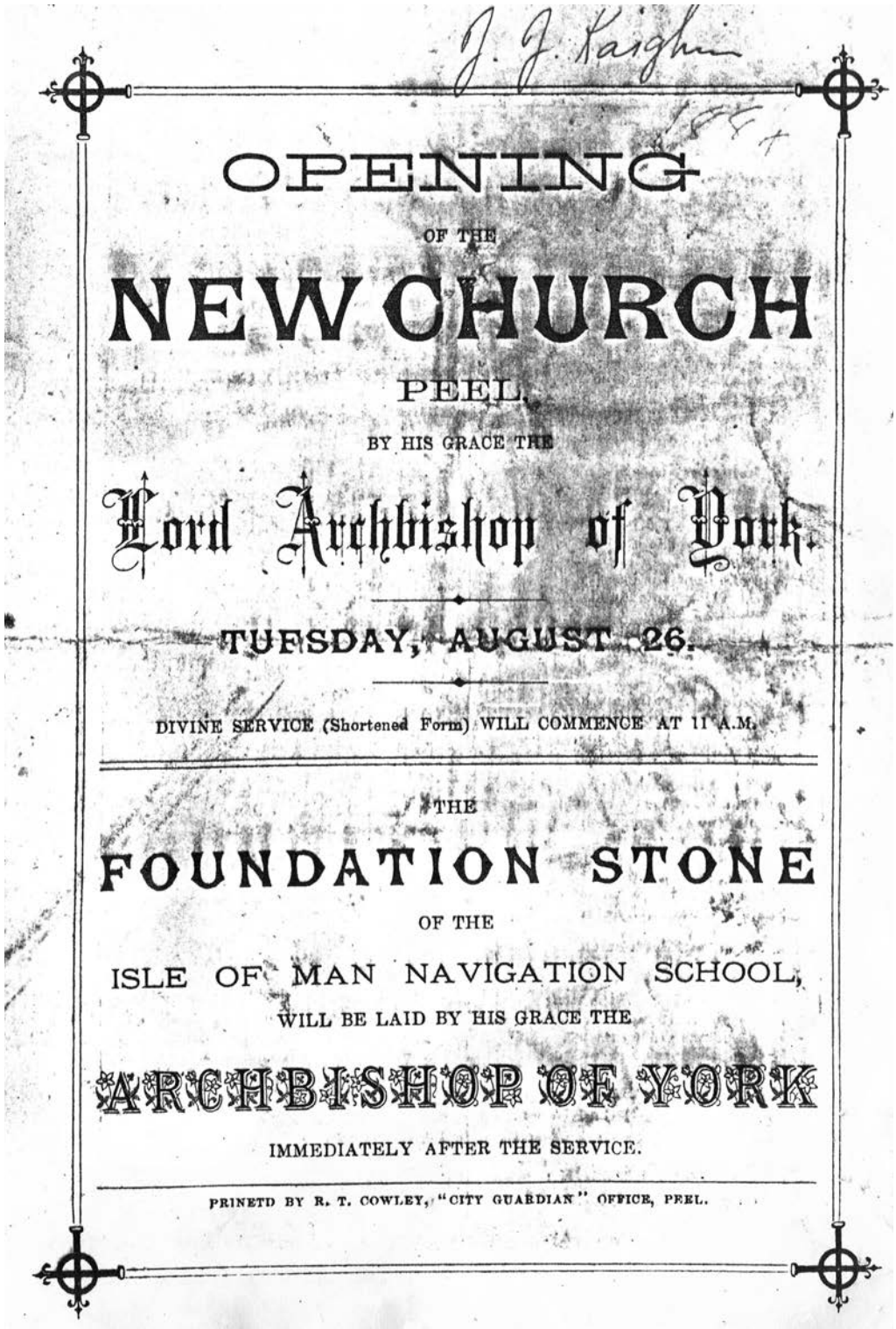
of eight bells presented individually by parishioners, and one of the bells (the treble) was presented by the children of the Clothworkers' School. The tower was topped with a substantial broach spire.[22] Architecturally, the interior appearance of the new church was described as 'English Gothic' in style by the press (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: Peel New Church interior looking east. (Postcard image, author's collection)

Peel's New Church was opened on Tuesday, 26 August 1884, with a morning service conducted by the Lord Archbishop of York (Fig. 6). The service order indicated that a choir was present and lists the musical settings. Included was a *Te Deum* by S. S. Wesley, and a Eucharistic setting by W. T. Best. The service also included Offertory Sentences by E. H. Turpin and the anthem *O how amiable are thy dwellings* by Joseph Barnby. Later that day, there was an impressive Evensong which included choral settings of the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. It is remarkable that the Lord Archbishop of York was invited to open what was essentially an ordinary parish church in a small fishing town; unless, of course, the diocesan Bishop had intended that the church become his cathedral.

The Peel City Guardian dedicated two print columns to the event, reporting on the great pomp and ceremony afforded the Archbishop's arrival in the town. The article reports how His Grace, the Most Revd William Thompson, arrived by train and was conveyed to the


J. J. Kaighin

1854

OPENING

OF THE

NEW CHURCH

PEEL,

BY HIS GRACE THE

Lord Archbishop of York.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

DIVINE SERVICE (Shortened Form) WILL COMMENCE AT 11 A.M.

THE

FOUNDATION STONE

OF THE

ISLE OF MAN NAVIGATION SCHOOL,

WILL BE LAID BY HIS GRACE THE

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SERVICE.

PRINETD BY R. T. COWLEY, "CITY GUARDIAN" OFFICE, PEEL.

Fig. 6: Public notice of the opening of Peel New Church. (Cathedral Isle of Man Archives)

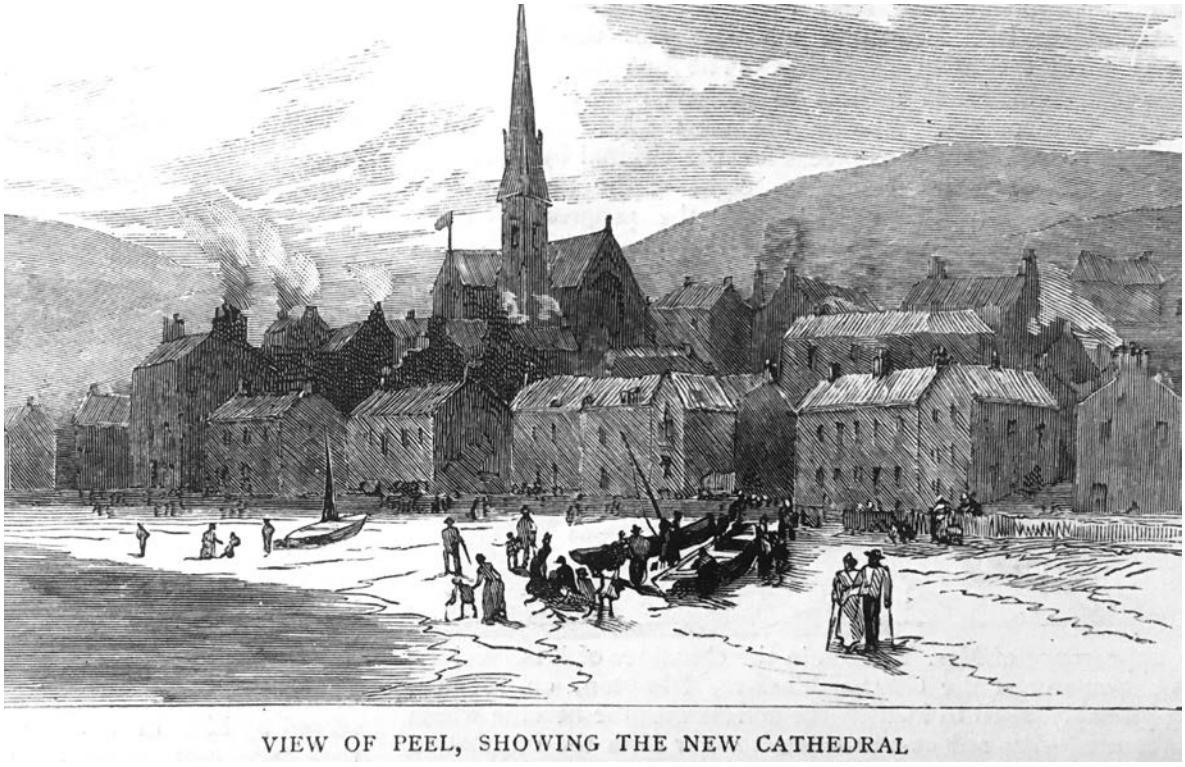


Fig. 7: A view from the beach of Peel New Church, erroneously described as 'The New Cathedral', in *The Graphic*, 24 October 1885. (Author's collection)

New Church at 10.30 a.m. He was met by a deputation of the Peel Commissioners, and was presented with an illuminated address by the High Bailiff of Peel. The address included the lines 'we look forward with confidence to the time when this noble structure may become the Cathedral of the diocese and stand for future years as a lasting testimony to the devotion and energy of Bishop Hill'. Taking these words to heart, the press reported that the Archbishop referred to the welcome in his sermon, commending the work already done in the constructing and furnishing of what was 'possibly the future Cathedral of the diocese' (Fig. 7).[23] Thus, Peel New Church was officially opened – although it remained undedicated and not yet consecrated.

Music provision

Having constructed and furnished his would-be-cathedral, Bishop Hill turned his attention to the appropriate liturgical and musical provision. The first reference to an organ for the church is detailed in a letter dated 2 May 1883 to Bishop Hill from the Sheffield firm, Brindley and Foster. This letter makes reference to an earlier tender for an instrument that was deemed too expensive. Brindley and Foster write that they are 'most anxious to have the opportunity of building and an organ for



Fig. 8: Miss M. L. Wood, *c.*1920, first organist of Peel New Church. (© Manx National Heritage (PG/12888/04))

your Lordship, and of having a good representative instrument in the Isle of Man'. The specification for the instrument was of three manuals and pedals, with 26 stops, and was to be the largest constructed on the Island at the time. Bishop Hill approached the already prominent Island musician, Miss M. L. Wood, and appointed her to the position of Organist at the New Church (Fig. 8).

Mary Louisa Wood was born in London in 1839, but by 1857 was recorded as living in the Isle of Man. She studied the organ under Dr E. H. Turpin.[24] The *Manx Sun* advertised a singing class in connection with her appointment to the Peel New Church, encouraging townsfolk to sing up:

> It is to be hoped that a large number of the congregation will avail themselves of this opportunity of learning how to join the musical part of Divine service in an intelligent as well as hearty manner.[25]

Anecdotal reports indicate that she had over 100 singing students in Peel alone, likely as a direct result of the *Manx Sun* article. Canon John Gelling describes her as 'a lady of severe expression'.[26] She travelled the island in all weathers either in a horse-and-trap or on her tricycle, as a music teacher, singing teacher and organist. She laid claim to the expression 'bless-ed be drudgery', insisting that, to be a great musician, you must drudge at it. She is reported fondly as repeating the phrase on her travels around the Island teaching and playing.

Interestingly, a pamphlet can be found in the archives of King William's College, Castletown, which petitions the boys for funds for a new chapel organ and is authored by 'Miss M. L. Wood – Organist of the New Church, Peel, Isle of Man and Trainer of the College Chapel Choir'. This single pamphlet inextricably links the development of music at the would-be-cathedral in Peel with the only collegiate institution on the Isle of Man, of which Bishop Hill happened to be on the board of Governors. It is of no surprise that Miss Wood's appointment highly influenced the form of liturgy used at Peel's New Church. The Easter Vestry Minutes of 1885 report the Vicar [the Revd J. G. Williams] saying that 'it was intended to convert the New Church into a Cathedral, and so restore Peel to the position it formerly held as a Cathedral City of this Diocese'.[27] The minutes also indicate that 'Cathedral style' services were now the norm at Peel's New Church.

The fully choral services were somewhat of a novelty, and very different from the rest of the rural Manx churches. Accounts suggest that it was seen by many as somewhat symbolic of the excesses of the now

widespread Oxford Movement. Consequently, there was a good deal of interest in the New Church at Peel; not all of it was complimentary. One anonymous letter printed in the *Manx Sun* even suggested that services there were nothing short of 'Popery':

> You know we don't like Popery or anything that appertains to Popery. Firstly, we have a surpliced choir, as if they could sing better with a white garment over them. Secondly, we have the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Psalms sung in monotones, as if the Lord would more readily hear when the congregation is half crying. Thirdly, the general thanksgiving, which was so heartly said by the congregation, is altogether omitted. The organ is indeed a fine and sweet instrument, but the singing generally, with one exception, is very indistinct and lacks energy. The people do not like Popery or ritualism.[28]

Legislation

Peel's townspeople deemed it appropriate that the Hallowing of their new cathedral should coincide with the Jubilee of Queen Victoria. To that end, in 1887 an appeal was launched for the creation of a cathedral and chapter at Peel in the coming Jubilee year. The list of patrons included the Archbishop of York, seven English diocesan bishops, an earl, a viscount and two other lords; as such, it could not fail to impress and it was a clear indication of Bishop Hill's commitment to the scheme. Local press reports stated that 'certainly more than half the clergy of the Island were in favour of it'.[29] According to Gelling, a vote was cast in January of 1887 in the Castletown Deanery approving the elevation of the New Church at Peel to cathedral status; however, the Douglas Deanery objected, stating that if a cathedral church could not be created in Douglas, then the chapel at Bishopscourt (the Bishop's Palace) should be made the diocesan pro-cathedral, as former Bishop Horatio Powys had always intended.[30]

Nevertheless, the *Isle of Man Examiner* of Saturday, 30 April 1887 records that a Bill was put before the Parliament of Tynwald's Legislative Council to 'make provision for a Cathedral for the Diocese of Man, and for a new Church of German'.[31] Outlined in the Bill, the Lord Bishop Rowley Hill made his intention known in recording that the people of Peel were anxious to know whether the New Church would be made into a cathedral. Deemster Drinkwater (the First Deemster) responded that if the bishop and clergy were in favour of the Bill, then he was not prepared to vote against it, this being 'God's work'.[32] However, a political storm was brewing. A new House of Keys (lower house) had been elected

and hostility on their behalf was expressed by Deemster Gill (the Second Deemster) in the Legislative Council (upper house). Deemster Gill went so far as to say that he 'thought no Cathedral was wanted at all, and that in taking this step the bishop and clergy were simply making a rod for their own backs'. Vitriolic in his argument, Deemster Gill thought that a cathedral in Peel would actually do more harm than good:

> It would do harm because it would be merely playing at Cathedral. It would lack all the dignity and grace which characterised Cathedrals on the other side of the water, and in a little place of this kind, with the small appliances they would have here, it would be a miserable parody on Cathedrals.[33]

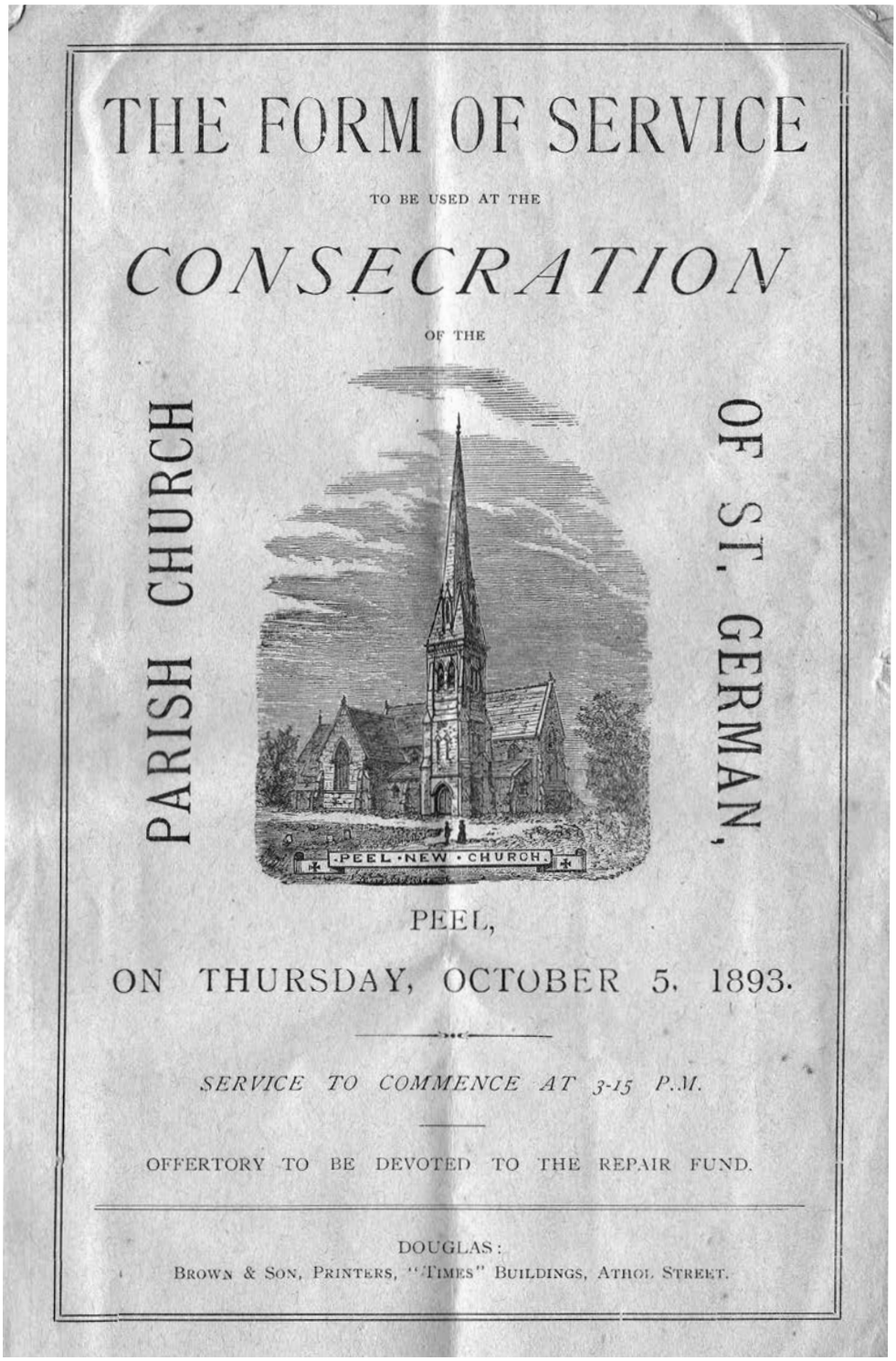
Both Insular Legislature of Tynwald and the *Isle of Man Times* poke fun at Bishop Hill, chronicling him begging for a cathedral, as a child begs for a toy; Hill is quoted as saying 'I am the only Bishop who has not got one'.[34] The Archdeacon, the Venerable Joshua Hugues-Games, was also criticised for behaving in the old 'parson and clerk style', echoing and lamenting the bishop's sentiments. He offered reasons for locating the cathedral in Peel, concluding with:

> As a quieter place, a place more exclusively inhabited by those connected with the diocese, and not disturbed by the influx of so many visitors as Douglas is, – for these and kindred reasons, Peel may be possibly, as far as the diocese is concerned, the better place for the Cathedral.

Thwarted

The Cathedral Bill passed through two readings in the court of Tynwald but Bishop Hill's sudden death in May 1887 caused it to be abandoned before its crucial final reading, putting Peel's New Church into significant financial difficulties. Such was the treatment Bishop Hill received, that it was not long before it was being openly suggested, across the entire Island, that it was the cathedral which had killed him.

Already in failing health, Bishop Hill had seemingly been unprepared for the strength of political opposition in the Legislative Council. He left the Island in ill health, going back to Sheffield initially, and thence to London, where he died on 27 May 1887. The *Peel City Guardian* reported: 'For the time being the opposition thus presented to the measure then and before the Council was unfortunately but too successful, and it is an open secret that our Diocesan Bishop left the Island grieving not a little over the treatment his proposals had received.'[35]


THE FORM OF SERVICE

TO BE USED AT THE

CONSECRATION

OF THE

PARISH CHURCH OF ST. GERMAN,

PEEL,

PEEL · NEW · CHURCH

ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1893.

SERVICE TO COMMENCE AT 3-15 P.M.

OFFERTORY TO BE DEVOTED TO THE REPAIR FUND.

DOUGLAS:
BROWN & SON, PRINTERS, "TIMES" BUILDINGS, ATHOL STREET.

Fig. 9: Public notice of the service of consecration of the New Church as the parish church of St German. (Cathedral Isle of Man Archives)

Reports following the bishop's death also suggest that he was worried about the state of his personal finances. In his enthusiasm for the establishment of a cathedral, he had underwritten the costs of the construction of the New Church; but funds were slow at coming in, as subscribers seemed to be more interested in beautiful stained-glass windows and adornments than in paying off the debt incurred through the work of construction.

Bishop John Bardsley, the successor of Bishop Hill, was enthroned in 1887. He is recorded as having made the decision not to proceed with the Cathedral Bill (largely due to cost and the project's loss of momentum). The Lieutenant Governor, His Excellency Spencer Walpole, decided at a meeting on 17 June 1887 that the debt on Peel's New Church should be written off as a tribute to Bishop Hill's memory.

It was not until Bishop Norman Straton was enthroned in 1892 that the cathedral question arose again. Bishop Straton found the history of the debate, as well as its factionalism, greatly unsatisfactory. In addition, the Peel townsfolk remained unhappy at the lack of action from the diocese. As a result of heavy public criticism, in 1893 Bishop Straton caused an Act to be passed by Convocation and then by the Court of Tynwald, which made provision for Peel's New Church to be duly consecrated as the parish church of Peel and the wider parish of German.[36] So, on 5 October 1893, the New Church was consecrated as St German's Parish Church by Bishop Straton (Fig. 9). The service was quite simple when compared to the ostentatious opening of the church by the Archbishop of York nine years earlier.[37]

To conclude the cathedral question, in 1895 Bishop Straton promulgated a new Act to be passed through Tynwald, which elevated his private chapel at Bishopscourt (the Bishop's Palace) to the Pro-Cathedral of the Diocese, as well as establishing the Chapter corporate, under common seal – himself as Bishop-Dean, the Archdeacon and Four Honorary Canons.[38] Miss M. L. Wood, the Laureate Organist at Peel, resigned her post in 1895, publicly airing her concerns regarding the downturn of music and liturgy at the New Church.[39] Consequently, after a brief flowering as the 'Cathedral', St German's quietly settled into a comfortable routine as a small town Parish Church.

Only with the sale of Bishopscourt in 1979, was the diocese able to realise Bishop Rowley Hill's dream, and St German's Parish Church in Peel was finally elevated to be the Cathedral of the Diocese of Sodor and Man on 1 November 1980 – but that must be another story.

Notes

1. John Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church 1698–1911* (Manx Heritage Foundation, 1998), p. 157.
2. Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church*, p. 41.
3. Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church*, p. 156.
4. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004).
5. Julia Quine, *Manx Patriot: The life of Canon John Quine, Antiquarian, author, and Captain of his Parish* (Self-published, 2020).
6. M. Hoy, *Isaac Barrow: His Life and Legacy* (Manx National Heritage, 2010), p. 83.
7. Gerald Bray (ed.), *Records of Convocation II: Sodor and Man 1878–2003* (Boydell Press, 2005), p. 144.
8. Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church*, p. 86.
9. Architects of Greater Manchester 1800–1940 website, accessed 22 March 2023, https://manchestervictorianarchitects.org.uk/partnerships/barry-t-d-and-sons
10. Revd F. W. Farrar, *An Appeal of behalf of the Ruined Cathedral of St German's, Isle of Man* (James Brown & Son, 1879).
11. *Ibid.*
12. 'Man about Town', *Mona's Herald*, 10 December 1887.
13. 'Our Bishop in Birmingham', *Isle of Man Times*, 3 July 1880.
14. Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church*, pp. 160–1.
15. The author has been unable to track this paper. Much of the Diocesan records were stored in damp conditions in the 1970s/80s and when Church House in Douglas closed many of the records (mostly pulp) were destroyed and disposed of.
16. 'Proposed Cathedral for Douglas', *Manx Sun*, Saturday, 26 February 1881, p. 4.
17. 'Proposed Cathedral for the Diocese', *Mona's Herald*, Wednesday, 27 September 1882, p. 3.
18. 'The Cathedral Question', *Mona's Herald*, Wednesday, 29 November 1882, p. 8.
19. 'Letters', *Isle of Man Times*, 18 October 1882.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Gelling, *A History of the Manx Church*, p. 161.
22. The Kirk German Guidebook reports that on 27 February 1903, the west window was blown in and a portion of the roof of the Nave fell. In 1907 it was felt that the spire was too dangerous (owing to storm damage and subsidence) cracks began to show and the spire and tower were taken down. Only the tower was ever rebuilt. A substantial loss, as the church is now hidden by other buildings in the town.
23. *The Peel City Guardian*, 30 August 1884.
24. 'An Appreciation of Miss M. L. Wood', *The Manx Quarterly*, 1910, p. 852.
25. *The Manx Sun*, Saturday, 22 November 1884, p. 4.
26. F. Bazin, 'Wood, Mary Louisa: the Mother of Manx Music' in Dollin Kelly (ed.), *New Manx Worthies* (Manx Heritage Foundation, 2006), pp. 471–2.
27. 11 April 1885, unpublished Easter Vestry Meeting Minutes.

28. *Manx Sun*, 18 October 1885, p. 10.
29. 'Insular Legislature', *Isle of Man Times*, 30 April 1887, p. 13.
30. Bishop Powys was Bishop of Sodor and Man 1854–77, predecessor of Rowley Hill.
31. The parliament of Tynwald consists of an upper house on nine councillors and a lower house of 24 'keys'. The name appears to derive from a corruption of the Manx for 'twenty-four' which is *yn kiare as feed.* It probably stuck because 'keys' seemed an appropriate word for those whose job it was to 'unlock' the law.
32. A Deemster is a judge in the Isle of Man.
33. 'Insular Legislature', *Isle of Man Times*, 30 April 1887, p. 13.
34. 'Playing at Cathedral', *Isle of Man Times*, 14 May 1887, p. 2.
35. 'The death of the Lord Bishop', *The Peel City Guardian*, 4 June 1887.
36. *The Manx Church Magazine*, June 1893.
37. 'Peel New Church: The Consecration Service', *Isle of Man Times*, 7 October 1893, p. 13.
38. Peter Litman, 'The establishment of a Cathedral for the Diocese of Sodor and Man, with a survey of Anglican Church Choirs 1895–2012, culminating in the appointment of a full-time professional musician to lead the music department at the Cathedral, Isle of Man' (ThD Thesis, Central School of Religion, London, 2022) [Manx National Archives, deposit reference No. MS 15444].
39. *Mona's Herald*, 4 November 1896.

Arts & Crafts Churches – Addenda, Corrigenda and Bones of Contention

ALEC HAMILTON

Tucked away on page 46 of Hamilton, A., *Arts & Crafts Churches* (Lund Humphries, 2020) the careful reader will come across this guileless remark:

> I have almost certainly left out some blindingly obvious churches, and I have surely included many churches which are 'not' Arts & Crafts. You can email me with your suggestions, frustrations and special pleading at alechamiltonchurches@outlook.com

I was not naïve enough to think I would get many responses: my book was not going to astound millions, and few would be diligent enough to actually read page 46, let alone send me an email. But – you never know. I gave out the address again in online talks I did in 2020 and 2021. For, I reasoned, I might learn something and, if so, it would make the basis of an article one of these days – and here we are!

The upshot is that I can now present the final wrap-up: all the loose ends of my research, tied up with a ribbon, and laid to rest. And – unexpected bonus – this can thus be my last word on the subject. My work here is done.

The report

First, I am going to discuss my four most startling omissions – four genuine lacunae, one of which leads into an entire genre I overlooked. Second, a roundup of the ones people suggested should have been in the book and my reasons why they are not. Then a short section on churches I have only lately come to consider. Finally, a little coda about books.

The four omissions

The most perplexing oversight is the Roman Catholic church of **St Philip Neri, Liverpool** L8 7NL (P. S. Gilby, 1914–20) (Fig. 1). I drive past it now and again, but I had never been inside it. The bravura west end promises the exotic; inside is a heady blend of careful craftsmanship with shades of Byzantium and a dash of raucous Modernism. It teeters



Fig. 1: St Philip Neri, Liverpool: 'shades of Byzantium'. (Photo: Alec Hamilton)



Fig. 2: Christ Church, Church Crookham: sgraffito work by Heywood Sumner. (Photo: Alec Hamilton)

on several aesthetic precipices. It deserves a proper article – indeed, there is a PhD to be done, embracing it in the context of Liverpool's vast compendium of early twentieth-century churches, from St Paul's, Stoneycroft to St David's, Childwall.

I ought to have included **Christ Church, Church Crookham, Fleet, Hampshire** GU52 6LH, if only in the 'Others' listings. I knew about it: it is on a handout I compiled in 2012. Admittedly only half the church (the east end) is of real interest, which perhaps hampers its qualification, but its Heywood Sumner sgraffiti scheme (1900) is about as good as he gets (Fig. 2).

Nottingham City Hospital Chapel NG5 1PH (Arthur Marshall, 1902) (Fig. 3) did not get in because I thought it had been demolished. It is certainly unused and rather neglected, but very much still standing, and even, potentially, coming back to life. I still have not managed to get inside, but I know a man who has. Alas – he is the hospital chaplain – he reports that so much of the interior has been stripped and degraded that he rather wonders what can be resurrected. But hope springs eternal.



Fig. 3: Nottingham City Hospital Chapel in 2009. (Photo: Southwell and Nottingham History Project)



Fig. 4: Bronllys Hospital Chapel, Brecon: 'photogenic and unpretending'. (Photo: Alec Hamilton)

Another hospital chapel, **Bronllys Hospital Chapel, Brecon, Powys** LD3 0LU (Edwin and Stanley Hall, 1920), is also missing (Fig. 4). I kick myself that this photogenic and unpretending chapel was so far under my radar in 2018 that its fame today is slightly slighter than I might have made it. Hospital chapels deserve attention – see my article in the *Friends of Friendless Churches* magazine, November 2022.

Bones of contention

Just about every reviewer of my book gave insightful examples of churches they thought I really should have or might have included, and why. It put me on my mettle.

The first challenge was the question of Bodley, in particular **All Saints, Jesus Lane, Cambridge** CB5 8BP (Fig. 5). 'Why is it not in?', asked Jacqueline Banerjee of *The Victorian Web*. Indeed, why is Bodley not more prominent? On page 320, I had tried to explain:

> I have been ruthless in excluding (apart from two churches) the architect so many Arts & Crafts men hero-worshipped, G. F. Bodley – Arts & Crafts is very much 'after' him, lesser than, 'not worthy of' even. And his story is told eloquently in Michael Hall's [2014] book.

Besides, the church in Jesus Lane dates from 1870, so at the most it would qualify only as a 'Pre-cursor' (I write about these on page 316). The question is – where does one start? How far back is it worth looking? And in what way would it be meaningful to describe Jesus Lane as 'Arts & Crafts'? If you went there looking for the spirit of E. S. Prior, Randall Wells, Charles Spooner, Ernest Gimson or Herbert Luck North, would you not be a bit miffed to find it was all about something else? Bodley is present at the start, but is not at the *heart* of Arts & Crafts – he would not have understood the phrase, and having All Saints, Jesus Lane, in the book would have skewed the story unhelpfully.

Next, I was pointed (by Gerard Charmley of *The Chapels Society Newsletter*) towards a humbler church: **Rochdale Road Particular Baptist Church, Manchester** M4 4HT (J. Willis, 1907). Well, yes, it is jolly handsome – but so very like so many other Nonconformist chapels: a hip and happening façade, up-to-the-minute and quirky as you like, but nothing else much to add. George Baines & Son produced scores like this and I cover six of them in the 'Others' lists, but none of them warranted its own article – though the Baines churches at Rugby and Kings Walden, Hertfordshire, came awfully close, and both reward a visit. They only 'look' Arts & Crafts, though.

What about (Gerard Charmley again) **St Andrew's, Felixstowe**

IP11 7EF (1929–31)? Designed by Hilda Mason – so could or should have been noticed as a rare example of work of the period by a female architect, perhaps; but she did not get to finish the job – that was Raymond Erith (the client did not care for Mason's glass proposal). One look (try it online) suggests it is far from Arts & Crafts in spirit – it is a bit late and a lot too *Brutaliste*. (See Simon Knott's *Suffolk Churches* website for more.)

One of the book's delights was the opportunity to write about architects I had never heard of – and neither, I imagine, have you. W. H. H. Marten, for one. I mention two of his churches among the 'Others' in Yorkshire, but not his church of **St Cuthbert and the First Martyrs of Rome, Bradford** BD9 4RX (1890–2), for which omission



Fig. 5: All Saints, Jesus Lane, Cambridge: pre-cursor to Arts & Crafts? (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

I was told off by informed enthusiast (not a reviewer) Peter Hirschmann. It has Stations of the Cross and a Virgin carved by Eric Gill. Is that enough? The listing states 'original painted and stencilled decoration now painted over' – what a pity. Tantalising, but does the building set my heart a-flutter? A lot of whitewash and meagre lancet windows do not thrill: the church is just too chilly. Or maybe it is simply too big – Marten does best at chapels small and intimate.

My most substantial, persuasive and demanding 'suggester' was Colin Menzies (he had the book in front of him). He suggested a record seven buildings.

He started with a flourish: the **Swedish Church, Marylebone** W1H 4AG (Axel Haig, 1910). Haig was an inventive, adventurous architect, with a big reputation in his native Sweden. His 1901 church of **All Saints, Grayswood** is in 'Others'. The Swedish Church in London (Ulrika Eleonora kyrka) is imposing and powerful from the street, but inside it is something else: not quite English, let alone Arts & Crafts – a potent mix of pre-Reformation colour in the sanctuary, far from Arts & Crafts sensibilities, set against a nave of North European restraint so very Lutheran. (Can I say that?) I love it, but it is something else entirely.

St Augustine's, Gillingham, Kent ME7 5PW (Temple Moore, 1916). Yes, it is in 'Others', where I write, 'Temple Moore in a slightly Artsy-Craftsy mood – or is he?' I devoted full-length articles to two of his churches but he is a problem:

> Temple Moore and Ninian Comper. It is almost as if by looking at these two, one can discern most clearly what is *not* Arts & Crafts. Comper was distinctly anti-Arts & Crafts in his public utterances. And yet, and yet… his Kirriemuir (page 309) is so very Arts & Crafts in spirit! Temple Moore's St Mary's, Walesby, Lincs. (page 197) seems entirely Arts & Crafts in flavour; St Magnus's, Bessingby – close, but no cigar.

The late Geoff Brandwood's definitive monograph on Temple Moore sets him in his rightful place – too big and too serious and too backward-looking (and probably too pious) for the Arts & Crafts. Can we leave it at that?

How about **St Benet Fink, Tottenham** N17 6BH (J. S. Alder, 1911) then? I went to look at half a dozen Alder churches and I longed to love them but in the end I judged his work 'conventional and safe'. Nobody was going to thank me for being sent to see one of his churches. Sorry 'J.S.', it is a tough old world!

Another Menzies proposal, **West Church, Alloa** FK10 1LJ (Sydney Mitchell, 1902), I was able to disallow, as it is merely an enlargement

(admittedly a significant one – transepts and sanctuary), and so does not by my (admittedly not wholly rigorous) criteria qualify. In any case, two of Mitchell's more engaging churches get full articles: the atmospheric **Colinton Parish Church, Edinburgh** EH13 0JR (1907–8) and his extraordinary 'folk' church, **Chalmers Memorial, Port Seton, East Lothian** EH32 0HG (1904). One has to draw the line somewhere.

Menzies made a strong case for **Craigmailen United Free Church, Bo'Ness** EH51 0BZ (W. G. Rowan, 1883), but I did not and do not feel it is a patch on the two later Rowan churches in Glasgow to which I devoted a whole page (page 296). He also proposed **Kiel Church, Lochaline, Oban** PA34 5XS (Peter MacGregor Chalmers, 1898) – but Chalmers has plenty of coverage (including his own page, 313), and, with his being so prolific, one had to pick out exemplars rather than try to cover the lot.

Menzies's last stroke was his best – **Stenhouse & Carron Parish Church, Larbert** FK5 4BU (J. J. Burnet, 1897–1900) (Fig. 6). It has a lot of Douglas Strachan glass too. It figures in my 'Others' list for Scotland,



Fig. 6: Stenhouse & Carron Parish Church, Larbert. (© Crown Copyright: HES)

but it ought to have had its own article. I feel bad about Burnet. He deserves more space in my book – I admit it freely. I based my view on perhaps his better-known churches: two small ones on Arran, one at Brechin, and Glasgow University Chapel. He is a bit under-appreciated – there does not seem to be an adulatory monograph, but lately has appeared (and after my book came out) John Stewart, *The Life and Works of Glasgow Architects James Miller and John James Burnet* (Whittle, 2021). Next time round, I will do him justice.

The easy ones

From here on, it all got much easier. First, several people wanted churches to get in because of their glass. **Our Lady and St Richard** (now the Lady Chapel), **Ashdown Park, Wych Cross**, Sussex RH18 5JR (architect not known, 1924) for its Harry Clarke and Geoffrey Webb glass; and three churches in the Lake District – **St Mary and St Michael, Great Urswick** LA12 0TA (Paul Woodroffe); **St John's, Keswick** CA12 4DD (Henry Holiday); and **Jesus Church, Troutbeck** LA23 1PQ (Burne-Jones/Morris & Co. east window). The glass in question may be excellent, and Arts & Crafts to its fingertips, but Peter Cormack dealt with this fascinating and beautiful subject so expertly in his magisterial 2015 book on Arts & Crafts stained glass, why would I toy with it now?

Besides, glass is not architecture. Inclusion in the book (and therefore in the category) is to do with the building itself. The rare exception is when a glass scheme re-defines the very nature of the building – Christopher Whall's in Gloucester Cathedral Lady Chapel for example, or Morris and chums at Selsley, Gloucestershire.

There is Alec Miller woodwork at Urswick too: might that just push it over into a 'yes'? Again, woodwork is not enough. Another correspondent, Charles Wright, told me the pulpit at **St George's, Milsom, Shropshire**, was made by the vicar's wife in 1899. I did not know that, and I am glad to add her to the list of 'committed amateurs', but a pulpit is no more architecture than glass. I sententiously lay down the law on this (page 46):

> I have not included individual Arts & Crafts objects or glass, be they never so beautiful, in a medieval or Victorian Gothic church, since this would (a) make the book too big and (b) defeat my purpose of drawing attention to the interface between Arts & Crafts ideas and church ideas.

I do pay attention to interior fittings which express Arts & Crafts ideas, but they have to be enough to alter and even dominate the character of the building – as at **St Peter's, Awsworth** NG16 2QU (page 195).

Then I was asked (by David Harries) about some wall paintings at **East Guldeford** TN31 7PA on Romney Marsh – what about that frieze of painted angels? What, indeed? Whatever their date (1900? 1920s?) they do not make any difference to the substance or status of the church. (The same applies to Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell's wall paintings at the church of **St Michael and All Angels, Berwick, East Sussex** BN26 6SR – and anyway, I am not sure self-indulgent Bloomsbury bohemians are quite the Arts & Crafts ticket.)

How about **URC Wheathampstead** AL4 8AG? No: at 1876 it is way too early, and the church is almost excessively unexciting. Or **St Peter's, Loughborough** LE12 7AP (Barrowcliff & Allcock, 1912)? Just dull, alas.

It was not all so straightforward. Kirsty Hartsiotis made a powerful case for her local church, **St Alban's, Stroud** GL5 1DP (Thomas Falconer, 1914–16). I had certainly given it a lot of thought – but it has the bad luck to be a church I know a bit too well – I used to live just up the road. I find it emotionless: it does not draw you in. It would be hard to justify making the effort to see it. Kirsty also told me about one I had never so much as heard of – the **Chapel at the White Lodge, Wantage** OX12 9AU (Baillie Scott, 1898), home to the Community of St Mary the Virgin. It is not a church at all, but an oratory: a personal prayer space. Besides, I am not sure you can visit it. Nonetheless, a definite bullseye for the utter Arts & Crafts church completist. Brava, Kirsty!

More resonant still was the googly lying in wait, first in a review by Janet Sinclair, then in another by Peyton Skipwith: **Our Lady and St Wilfrid, Warwick Bridge, Cumbria** CA4 8RX (A. W. N. Pugin, 1841) (Fig. 7). I had not seen it – Pugin churches were not on my agenda. I only got to it in 2022. It is so powerful and unexpected and intense and odd that it almost changed my view of Pugin, Catholicism (I am a Scots Presbyterian by upbringing), the purpose of a church, the importance of colour in spiritual pursuits, and the first stirrings of Arts & Crafts sensibilities in a church. Had I known it in 2015, it might even have influenced my thesis, as a large star can bend space-time. It strikes me as presaging the sort of potent blend of artistic commitment and religious engagement I saw again, in different guises, at the far more famous churches of Roker, Kempley and Sloane Street. It is more or less contemporary with the astonishing **St Mary's, Wreay** CA4 0SA (Sara Losh, 1840–2), just eight miles away – did they know about each other? I wish we knew. It does one good to be knocked off one's perch from time to time. Thank you, Peyton and Janet.

On the same jaunt that took me to Warwick Bridge, I ticked off two more suggested candidates – **Hexham Primitive Methodist** (now Community) **Church** NE46 3LS (Cackett and Burns Dick, 1909): its



Fig. 7: Our Lady and St Wilfrid, Warwick Bridge: a 'potent blend of artistic commitment and religious engagement'. (Photo: Alec Hamilton)



Fig. 8: Hexham Primitive Methodist (now Community) Church. (Photo: Alec Hamilton)

streetscape alone merits at least a mention (Fig. 8); and the **Wesleyan Assembly Rooms, Ilkley, Yorks** LS29 9JD (Adkin and Hill, 1903), now converted into flats (Chapel House) – but its exterior should, I confess, have been at least noted in my double page spread on Ilkley (pages 240– 1), even though it is no longer a church, or visitable.

The ones that make me yearn

Now the ones I lie awake and think about – should I have included them? Sometimes no, sometime yes. I never got to these, and it is only now, after the event, I feel I should have. (Google Images is a merciless mistress.)

The most alluring and elusive is **St Gregory's, Vale of Lune, Cumbria** near LA10 5HS (1862, extensively rebuilt 1900s) (Fig. 9). It is a Churches Conservation Trust church now (there is a useful leaflet online). The architect is not known. It has railway connections. The interior furnishings are by Waring and Gillow, apparently – does that help? It has nature-worshipping glass. It is tiny. It is simple and rich all at the same time. Gosh!

I perhaps could have given more space to medieval **St Kentigern's, Crosthwaite** CA12 5QG with its Keswick School of Industrial Art connections – I wish they had done more, though. And perhaps **St Nicholas's, Redcliffe Bay, Portishead** BS20 8EN (originally the National Nautical School Chapel) (architect not known, 1911). I could go on…



Fig. 9: St Gregory's, Vale of Lune: 'nature-worshipping glass'. (Photo-By-Amey, https://aislingkavannagh.com)

Then there are the architects I could have paid more heed to – Louis Ambler, Harbottle Reed, George Sherrin, C. E. Deacon, J. Francis Doyle. With research, one starts paddling at the very edge of the sea, where it is warm and safe, then slowly ventures further out, confidence growing, into deeper waters. And still one is drawn on until, finally, all hope is gone – you cannot touch bottom, the land is lost to view, the night is coming on, and still you wade, out to the farthest reaches of the ocean. Not researching, but drowning.

Oh, and books. I have been looking for over a decade for an Arts & Crafts novel. I did not find one, but two books are redolent of the era. J. L. Carr's *A Month in the Country* (1980) captures something of what it must have felt like to be sgrafitti-ing at out-of-the-world Llanfair Kilgeddin with Heywood Sumner in 1888; and Thomas Keable's at-the-time scandalous *Simon called Peter* (1921) pinpoints that moment – around 1915, and in war-wrecked France – when the Church realised with a jolt, that very few people took Christ seriously any more.

Cathedral Treasures of England and Wales

JANET GOUGH

> Cathedrals aren't just buildings – they are treasure houses. So why are they overlooked as museums?
>
> Simon Heffer, 'Hinterland', *The Daily Telegraph*, New Year's Eve 2022

With worldwide attention focused on Westminster Abbey for the Coronation of King Charles III, and the onset of the summer visitor season, now is an opportune time to look beyond the well-appreciated architecture of our great cathedrals to the remarkable treasures they contain. Last summer I asked the Deans of all the 40-plus cathedrals of the Church of England and of the six cathedrals of the Church in Wales to select one treasure from each of their cathedrals, which were gathered together in a compact, beautifully-illustrated paperback, *Deans' Choice: Cathedral Treasures of England and Wales*.

I was delighted with the Deans' responses, which include both famous (e.g. Hereford's *Mappa Mundi* or Nicholas Stone's sculpted *Memorial to John Donne* at St Paul's) and lesser-known treasures. The objects they selected span a remarkable 1,350 years, from the crypt for the basilica-style great missionary church (now Ripon Cathedral) built by St Wilfrid in 672 incorporating reused Roman stone, to a modern rood by a young Singaporean artist, Tay Swee Siong, installed in Newport Cathedral in 2020.

In part the treasures reflect the varied natures of the cathedral churches themselves, with some being ancient monastic churches and others more modern foundations designed as diocesan cathedrals, such as Liverpool and Guildford, both of which were funded by local people and both of which chose treasures that in different ways reflect women's contribution to society – respectively the *Noble Women Windows* (1908) and Lady Maufe's mid-twentieth-century *Kneelers* project. The chosen treasures also cover a staggering variety of media, from manuscripts and sculpture to the *Golden Barque Weathervane* and silverware and even a pair of fifteenth-century leather Pilgrim boots. And sited in the mother church of each diocese, they are naturally spread across the country.

Thanks to the rebuilding programme of William the Conqueror and his successors, Ripon's *St Wilfrid's Crypt* is the only significant

remaining Anglo-Saxon fabric of an English cathedral but several cathedrals retain an extraordinary collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Perhaps most surprising to me was Canterbury Cathedral's *Portable sundial*, presumably intended to get the Benedictine monks to holy office on time each day (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Portable sundial from Canterbury Cathedral (10th-century). Silver with gold cap, pin and chain, 6.1cm long – the Apple watch of the 900s? (© Canterbury Cathedral)

At Lichfield, the Dean chose the *Lichfield Angel*, a limestone, low-relief carving of the Archangel Gabriel, evidently originally brightly painted and probably decorating a shrine chest (Fig. 2). Created at the Mercian Court around 800 – the year of Charlemagne's coronation in Rome – it is a fabulous argument against the Dark Ages being a period of no artistic worth in this country. I first saw the *Lichfield Angel* in the Chapter House at Lichfield alongside the Saxon St Chad Gospels and, at that time, the religious items from the Staffordshire Hoard – all available to view free of charge 365 days a year. The *Lichfield Angel* has since featured in both the British Museum's 'Celts' exhibition and the British Library's 'Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms'.

The Dean of Exeter chose the *Exeter Book*, a remarkable manuscript written in early English and given to the cathedral by its first bishop, Leofric, in the 900s. It contains some of the earliest English poetry



Fig. 2: The Lichfield Angel (*c.*800). Limestone, H: 63.5cm, W: 37cm. (© Lichfield Cathedral)

together with 100 riddles – with no solutions! From Rochester Cathedral in Kent, the *Textus Roffensis*, compiled in the twelfth century, is one of our best sources of pre-Conquest laws and contains over 100 charters from as early as the eighth century. It was gratifying in 2022, when the cathedral treasures book was being compiled, that the *Textus Roffensis* joined the *Exeter Book* on the UNESCO Memory of the World UK Register.

Picking up the theme of the Roman basilica church, I was intrigued by the Dean of Norwich's selection: the *Bishop's Throne*, a modern wooden throne incorporating limestone fragments from a pre-Conquest throne. Most significant is its position, elevated in the central arch of the cathedral's apse and enabling today's Bishop to preside over services as his predecessors did, following ancient Roman tradition. Indeed, it is thought to be the only survival of a bishop's seat in this basilican position in northern Europe (Fig. 3).

Westminster Abbey, a place of crowning and royal burial, made a cathedral by Henry VIII and later a Royal Peculiar – which like several other cathedrals could have chosen a whole range of treasures – selected their Cosmati Pavement (1268). The Roman Cosmati family set 90,000 tesserae, Cosmos-like, in complex geometric designs within a matrix of Purbeck marble. Installing this distinctively Roman style of floor at the heart of Henry III's rebuilt church underlined Westminster Abbey's place in the wider medieval church. Today the *Cosmati Pavement* is wonderfully conserved, still in daily use and was central to the 'Coronation theatre' as seen by millions on television.



Fig. 3: The Bishop of Norwich at his throne during a service, in the position most common to early churches and derived from Roman tradition. (© Bill Smith, Norwich Cathedral)

Interest in cathedral treasures

For their Advent 2022 campaign, the Association of English Cathedrals chose to highlight on social media one cathedral treasure from my book each day for 50 days, culminating with an invitation to the general public to vote for the nation's favourite cathedral treasure. To my delight, the 4,477 voters selected treasures from three lesser-known cathedrals as their favourites.

Derby Cathedral's delicate early-eighteenth-century wrought-iron *Bakewell Screen* was voted the nation's third favourite treasure. Peterborough's medieval painted *Nave Ceiling* – with its 57 lozenges containing various individuals and figures, including the seven 'Liberal Arts' – was voted into second place; and the winner – attracting over one fifth of all the votes cast – was the *Leaves of Southwell.*

The *Leaves of Southwell,* subject of a 1945 monograph by Nikolaus Pevsner, are 700-year-old deeply and exuberantly carved capitals and surfaces in the Chapter House at Southwell Minster (Fig. 4). They feature twelve different sorts of naturalistic leaves, animals and other figures. Simon Heffer compared them to the deep naturalistic carving



Fig. 4: Vigorously carved plants, including vine leaves and grapes, oak leaves and acorns, decorate the capitals in the Chapter House of Southwell Minster (1290s). Mansfield stone. (© Southwell Minster)

400 years later of another great English sculptor, Grinling Gibbons. The *Leaves* were part of a major conservation, repair and interpretation project, supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund and completed in 2022.

Alongside Tate Britain's 'The Rossettis' exhibition running until 24 September 2023, we can enjoy one of Gabriel Dante Rossetti's most beautiful, fascinating and surprising works in a chapel in Llandaff Cathedral, near Cardiff (Fig. 5). *The Seed of David*, Rossetti's first formal commission, is a triptych with David on the left wing as a shepherd boy and on the right as a king. In the central panel Rossetti paints Christ being worshipped by both rich and poor, shepherd and king. The infant Christ holds out his hand to be kissed by a poor shepherd and his foot



Fig. 5: The *Seed of David* triptych (1856–64) by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, at Llandaff Cathedral. Oil on Canvas, central panel 300 x 183cm. (© Peter Smith, Llandaff Cathedral)

by a king indicating perhaps the superiority of poverty over wealth – an early and sumptuous statement on social equality?

Catching up with museums

St Albans Cathedral in Hertfordshire has excellent thirteenth- to sixteenth-century wallpaintings in the nave. Inevitably these are now much faded, which best conservation practice does not permit repainting in the original colours. The cathedral has come up with an ingenious solution so that today visitors can view four of the wallpaintings reconstructed in full colour using light from projectors mounted in the triforium and operated by iPads (Fig. 6).

Cathedrals have long commissioned and acquired treasures to assist worship and mission. The selected treasures include Henry of Blois's magnificently illuminated Winchester Bible (1150–75) and William Morgan's first full Bible in Welsh (1588) at St Asaph Cathedral, as well as two fonts, two shrines, and Gloucester Cathedral's fan-vaulted *Cloisters* (1350s–90s), representative of the monastic origins of half of our medieval cathedrals.

And cathedrals ooze history. Salisbury Cathedral, one of several cathedrals owning early copies of *Magna Carta*, chose this as its treasure. The bill of rights enforced on King John in 1215 is as much about protecting the rights of the Church as of the barons and indeed the negotiations were led by Archbishop Stephen Langton.

In the past, cathedrals created treasuries to display their precious possessions, and more and more cathedrals are now building state-of-the-art museums – such as the new display at Canterbury Cathedral, the new museum in the monks' dormitory at Durham Cathedral and the 'Kings and Scribes' exhibition in the triforium in the south transept of Winchester Cathedral.

Many treasures are integral to the fabric and functioning of the cathedral, but knowledge of the Christian faith and Christian practice over the years can no longer be assumed. As cathedrals are in effect living museums, they need to not only care for their treasures but to welcome, engage with and explain them to visitors of all backgrounds, keeping in mind issues such as diversity, inclusion and restitution that our museums are now increasingly facing.

The Diocese of Bangor in north-west Wales has instigated a strategic project, 'Llefa'r Cerrig' ('Stones Shout Out'), to conserve and develop five highly significant churches including St Deiniol's Cathedral, Bangor. At the cathedral the brief encompasses creating a better and more informed welcome to visitors, starting with access. Early unapproved ideas include potentially replacing steps from the west entrance with



Fig. 6: St Sitha of Lucca, identified by her purse, keys and rosary and now able to be brought back to life on demand in full technicolour in the nave of St Albans Cathedral.
(© Julia Low, St Albans Cathedral)



Fig. 7: Architect's mock-up showing the proposed children's treasury and Bangor/wattle balustrade, for Bangor Cathedral. (© Donald Insall Associates, St Deiniol's Cathedral, Bangor)

a gentle ramp. As the visitor enters, a treasury for orientation as well as better display has been proposed and across the nave a further children's treasury where a mock-up has been developed incorporating a coracle – a little boat by which the early saints travelled as they spread Christianity along coastal Wales – with touch screens and maps to help explain pilgrimage routes. Another idea, playing on the word 'Bangor' – Welsh for the hazel fence that surrounded saints' enclosures – proposes wattled fence bronze balustrades for the ramp and around new glass-doored entrances, referencing the original 'clas' or monastic monastery founded by St Deiniol in Bangor in 525 (Fig. 7).

I hope we can demonstrate – as Simon Heffer suggests – that cathedrals are both significant places of worship and living museums.

Acknowledgements

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The Stephen Dykes Bower Memorial Lectures, 1998–2022

PAUL VELLUET

For those aged under 50, the name of Stephen Dykes Bower may be unfamiliar. However, for those above that age threshold and with an interest in church architecture and the related arts and crafts, Stephen Dykes Bower will be recalled as one of the most distinguished church and cathedral architects of the middle years of the twentieth century. He will be remembered in particular for his firm adherence to the Gothic (and to a lesser degree, the Classical) traditions in architecture rather than to modernism; for his commitment to sustaining the long established crafts of masonry, brickwork, ironwork, woodwork, stained glass and painted and stencilled decoration in his work; for his outstanding designs of organ cases; for his refined designs of church plate, church furnishings and vestments; and for his robust defence of the work of Gothic Revival architects such as George Gilbert Scott.

Stephen Dykes Bower MA (Oxon), DLitt (Lambeth), FRIBA, 1903–1994, served as Surveyor of the Fabric of Westminster Abbey between 1951 and 1973 (and subsequently as Surveyor Emeritus) (Fig. 1), and worked on the repair, reconstruction, restoration, re-ordering and enhancement of numerous Anglican churches and cathedrals across England from the 1930s through to the 1980s. His works include the reconstruction and extension of the eastern end of the Cathedral Church of St James, Bury St Edmund's, the new High Altar and baldacchino in St Paul's Cathedral, and major works at fourteen other cathedrals; the reconstruction after wartime destruction of Wren's Church of St Vedast-alias-Foster, London EC3, the Parish Church of St Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, the Church of St Peter-ad-Vincula, Coggeshall, and the Church of The Holy Spirit, Southsea; the reconstruction after fire of All Saints' Church, Hockerill; the design of the wholly new churches of St John the Evangelist, Newbury, the Church of the Good Shepherd, Cambridge, the Holy Spirit, Southsea, and St Chad, Middlesbrough, as well as major works for the repair of war damage, the reinstallation of stained glass removed in the War, the re-glazing of other windows, and the cleaning of the stonework and enhancement of the interior of Westminster Abbey, and the completion of the Chapel at Lancing College in West Sussex.[1]



Fig. 1: Stephen Dykes Bower in the organ loft above the pulpitum in Westminster Abbey, April 1983. (*The Architects' Journal*)

Dykes Bower was a long-standing member of the Ecclesiological Society and served as its President for many years. Further to his death at the age of 91 in November 1994, the Society's Council gave extensive consideration to how best to celebrate his life and his contribution to the role and work of the Society. What emerged was the annual Dykes Bower Memorial Lecture series – the 25th lecture in the series having taken place at the Art Workers' Guild in London last December.

As can be seen from the full list of lectures below, the themes have tended to focus on projects and issues related to the conservation, restoration and improvement of churches, chapels and cathedrals – both new and old – today and into the future, and importantly, to works in progress or recently completed.

Over the last 25 years the majority of the lectures and presentations have been held in the attractive rooms of the Art Workers' Guild at 6 Queen Square, London WC1, facilitated by the Guild Steward, the ever-helpful Elspeth Denison, who sadly died this year. Other venues used over the years have included the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral, the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, Christ Church, Spitalfields, All Saints' Margaret Street, St George's, Bloomsbury, St Martin-in-the-Fields, the Bishop Edward King Chapel at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, and the premises of the Linnean Society at Burlington House. Except for the lectures in 2020 and 2021, the events have been held 'live' and have attracted around forty members and their guests (Fig. 2). Importantly, the



Fig. 2: The Twenty-fifth Stephen Dykes Bower Memorial Lecture, held in the Lecture Hall of the Art Workers' Guild, London, 5 December 2022. (Photo: Richard Woolf)

'live' lectures and presentations have always been followed by an informal reception, which has enabled members and the guests and the speakers to socialise until mid-evening over wine and a decent but inexpensive buffet.

Across the years, the themes of the lecture series have always related to Christian places of worship, except for the Twenty-fourth Lecture, in December 2021, which, with the full support of the Council, focused on three new places of worship for the Muslim, Jewish and Christian faiths: the award-winning Cambridge Central Mosque, the proposed Finchley Reform Synagogue and the Church of St Francis-at-the-Engine Room in Tottenham Hale, London N17. Similarly, the themes of the series have always related to places of worship in the British Isles except for the Twenty-second Lecture in December 2019, which focussed on the history and development of the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame, Paris, and the challenges faced by those charged with its repair and reconstruction in the light of disastrous fire in April of that year.

Across the years, the lecturers have included architectural historians: Professor Jo Mordaunt Crook, Dr Christopher Miele, Dr Louise Campbell, Dr Michael Hall and Dr Alexandra Gajowski; journalists, writers and senior Church of England officials: Simon Jenkins, Loyd Grossman, the Rt Hon Frank Field MP (Chairman of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England), Canon Janet Gough (former Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division of the Archbishop's Council) and Becky Clark, Janet's successor as Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division; architects, surveyors and conservators: Dr Donald Buttress, Michael Drury, Red Mason, Martin Stancliffe, Eric Parry, Robert Kennett, Patrick Crawford, Colin Kerr, Debra Collis, Niall McLaughlin, Paul Velluet, Andrew Arrol, Julia Barfield, Julian de Metz, Chris Oakley, Alex McCallion, and Oliver Caroe; and clergy: the Rt Revd Dr David Stancliffe (Bishop of Salisbury), the Rt Revd Graeme Knowles (Dean of St Paul's), the Very Revd Dr John Hall (Dean of Westminster), Fr Alan Moses (Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street) and the Rt Revd and Rt Hon Richard Chartres (Bishop of London).

Lectures held in the settings of recently completed new church buildings and restoration projects have attracted particular interest – these have included the London churches of Christ Church, Spitalfields, St Martin-in-the-Fields, St George's, Bloomsbury, All Saints', Margaret Street; and in Oxfordshire, the award-winning Bishop Edward King Chapel at Ripon College, Cuddesdon.

Over 25 years, the annual Dykes Bower Lecture, generally held in early December each year has provided an important opportunity for the Society and its members to engage with contemporary church-related issues, complementing our significant engagement with the

history and development of churches and church architecture and other matters embraced within the study of ecclesiology.

It is to be hoped that the particular themes of the lectures in the series would have delighted our late President, and served to demonstrate the continuing commitment of the Ecclesiological Society to promoting and sustaining interest in the architecture and arts of the Church, not only of the past but of today and the future.

The Lectures

First Lecture (1998)
Professor Jo Mordaunt Crook, architectural historian
Beresford Hope and the Gothic Revival

Second Lecture (1999)
Dr Christopher Miele, architectural historian
The Cambridge Camden Society and the Round Church

Third Lecture (2000)
Simon Jenkins, journalist and author
England's Thousand Best Churches

Fourth Lecture (2001)
Dr Donald Buttress, Surveyor of the Fabric, Westminster Abbey
Twelve Years at Westminster Abbey

Fifth Lecture (2002)
Michael Drury, cathedral architect and author
Wandering Architects: The Ecclesiastical Work of the Arts and Crafts Architect-builders

Sixth Lecture (2003)
The Rt Revd Dr David Stancliffe, Bishop of Salisbury
The Place of the Altar in the Church in the Twentieth and Twenty-first centuries

Seventh Lecture (2004) (held jointly with The Friends of Christ Church, Spitalfields)
Red Mason, architect
Christ Church, Spitalfields

Eighth Lecture (2005) (held jointly with ICOMOS UK)
Martin Stancliffe, Surveyor of the Fabric, St Paul's Cathedral
Preparing St Paul's for its Fourth Century

Ninth Lecture (Tuesday, 28 November 2006)
Eric Parry; Robert Kennett; and Patrick Crawford, architects
St Martin-in-the-Fields, Renewal and Restoration

Tenth Lecture (Wednesday, 18 April 2008)
Colin Kerr, architect
The Re-ordering and Restoration of St George's Church, Bloomsbury

Eleventh Lecture (Monday, 18 May 2009)
The Rt Revd Graeme Knowles, Dean of St Paul's
'*The Church must be Braver Building*'

Twelfth Lecture (Tuesday, 1 December 2009)
The Very Revd Dr John Hall, Dean of Westminster
'*Westminster Abbey: For ever New*'

Thirteenth Lecture (Tuesday, 12 April 2011)
Loyd Grossman, Chairman, The Churches Conservation Trust
Community, Culture and Conservation: The work of the Churches Conservation Trust in the new decade

Fourteenth Lecture (Wednesday, 7 December 2011)
Fr Alan Moses, Vicar of All Saints' Church, Margaret Street; Colin Kerr, architect; and Debra Collis, conservator
Restoring the Glory – Celebrating the completion of the conservation of the interior of William Butterfield's All Saints' Church, Margaret Street

Fifteenth Lecture (Thursday, 13 December 2012)
Dr Louise Campbell, Professor of Art History, University of Warwick
Towards a New Cathedral: Basil Spence and Coventry Cathedral

Sixteenth Lecture and visit (Tuesday, 27 May 2014)
Niall McLaughlin, architect
The design and development of the new Bishop Edward King Chapel at Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford

[continues...]

Seventeenth Lecture (Wednesday, 3 December 2014)
Paul Velluet, architect
Liturgical change and the place of choirs and organs – Some reflections on the work and values of Stephen Dykes Bower and on current ordering of cathedral and churches new and old

Eighteenth Lecture (Wednesday, 2 December 2015)
Dr Michael Hall, architectural historian
Squires in the Slums: G. F. Bodley and the Eton Mission in Hackney Wick

Nineteenth Lecture (Monday, 12 December 2016)
Rt Hon Frank Field MP, Chairman of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England
Britain's Cathedrals: A Twenty-first-Century Reformation

Twentieth Lecture (Tuesday, 5 December 2017)
Janet Gough, OBE, former Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division of the Archbishop's Council and Secretary of the Church Buildings Council and the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England
On a Wing and a Prayer: Why we need to get serious about England's unique church heritage – A journey around the Church of England's Churches

Twenty-first Lecture (Wednesday, 5 December 2018)
The Rt Revd and Rt Hon Richard Chartres, former Bishop of London
Befriending the City Churches

Twenty-second Lecture (Wednesday, 4 December 2019)
Dr Alexandra Gajowski, FSA, architectural historian; and Andrew Arrol, architect and Surveyor of the Fabric, York Minster
The Cathedral of Notre Dame: Its building, Viollet-le-Duc's mid-nineteenth century restoration, the fire of April 2019 and the challenges of its repair and reconstruction

Twenty-third Lecture (Wednesday, 9 December 2020)
Becky Clark, Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division of the Archbishop's Council and Secretary of the Church Buildings Council and the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England
The Challenges of English Cathedrals in the Twenty-first Century

Twenty-fourth Lecture (Wednesday, 28 December 2021)
Julia Barfield of Marks Barfield; Julian de Metz of de Metz Forbes Knight; and Chris Oakley, architects
Three Faiths, Three New Places of Worship: Cambridge Central Mosque, Finchley Reform Synagogue and the Church of St Francis at the Engine Room, Tottenham Hale

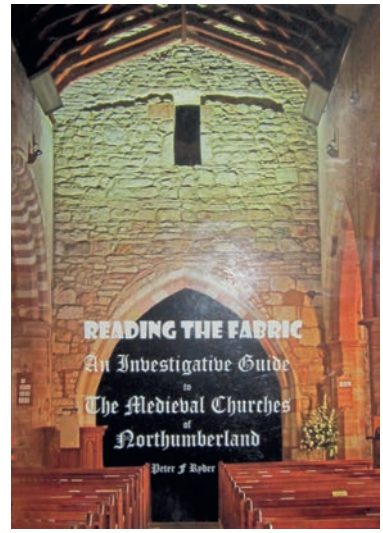
Twenty-fifth Lecture (Monday, 5 December 2022)
Alex McCallion, Director of Works and Estate, York Minster; Oliver Caroe, Surveyor of the Fabric, York Minster and St Paul's Cathedral; and Andrew Arrol, Cathedral Architect for Chester and former Surveyor of the Fabric, York Minster
Realising the Church's Response to Climate Change – a presentation on the significant works being carried out at York Minster and other cathedrals and churches in England to meet the 2030 sustainability target, and in meeting the access needs of those with ambulant disabilities

Note

1. For more information on the life and work of Stephen Dykes Bower, see: A. Symondson, *Stephen Dykes Bower: Twentieth Century Architects*, (London, RIBA Publishing, 2011); S. Charlton, E. Harwood and C. Price (eds), *100 Churches: 100 years*, (London, Batsford, 2019), pp. 7, 67, 141 and 160; and P. Velluet 'Stephen Dykes Bower: The Architect and His Work, With particular reference to his ecclesiastical works' (MLitt thesis, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1981).

Book Reviews

Peter F. Ryder, ***Reading the Fabric: An Investigative Guide to the Medieval Churches of Northumberland***. Burntisland, Bromlee Publications, 2022, 295 pp., many, mainly col. pls; £25 inc p&p. ISBN 978-0-9559093-7-5. Copies from: publications@brownlee.org



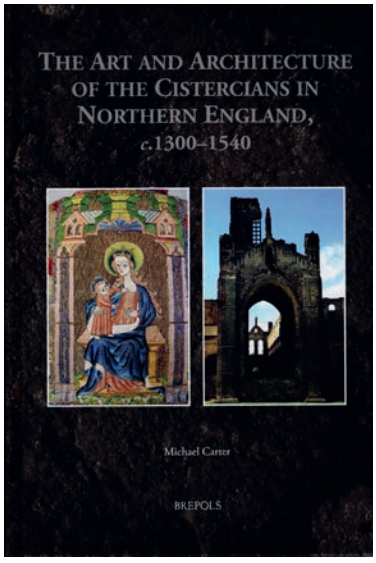
There is something very satisfying about a publication which presents the evidence for all the buildings of a particular type in one particular area, and this is what Ryder does here, to the highest standards. The book is designed to encourage readers not just to visit and learn about old churches but to investigate them themselves, and it shows them how to achieve this. The text is accessible. The introductory essays offer excellent accounts of the historical stages, namely Saxon, Norman, the thirteenth century, the fourteenth to the sixteenth century and the post-Reformation period, outlining the character of church buildings and the alterations in each, with a surprising but nonetheless justified amount about warfare. Buildings discussed in this broad context can then be examined in the great detail of the gazetteer entries, where the least important structures are given the same high quality of analysis as the most important. The gazetteer has three groups: churches remaining in use (72), rebuilt churches (23), and ruined and lost churches (32). Each entry has a plan, with the dates of the various parts clearly indicated, and the key historical dates provided in an 'in brief' listing. Two examples illustrate the scope. That on St Peter at Bywell stresses the importance of the Anglo-Saxon core and identifies the evidence for it, but it also provides detailed information on how the building has changed, with four reconstruction drawings of *c.*1300, the early fourteenth century, the early nineteenth century and after the restorations of 1849 and 1873. At the other end of the scale Seaton Delaval stands out as an unusual type of building, a manorial chapel consecrated by the Bishop of Durham in 1102. There is a postscript on dowsing, which concludes that it is 'more pseudo-science than science'.

I have three queries. The absence of a map means not only that one cannot locate the site one is reading about, but also that one cannot see whether it belongs to a geographical group, as is often the case. An index would also have been helpful, something perhaps not considered necessary given the gazetteer structure with the entries in alphabetical order, but one would certainly be useful for cross references and especially for architectural elements. Third, Ryder makes a comment on

the Romanesque style which he should reconsider. He says that the label Romanesque should apply not just to Norman architecture but to Anglo-Saxon architecture as well, 'because the semi-circular arch was more-or-less universal…' (p. 12). Yet no style can be determined by a single element, and Norman buildings are distinguished from Anglo-Saxon ones in so many ways, not least by the use of regularly coursed masonry. Also, while referring to Romanesque buildings in England as 'Norman' is clear, the label 'Romanesque' is needed for the dominant style of the tenth to the twelfth century in the western European countries.

These, however, are small matters beside the value of the book, both as a source of information about the churches and as a means of analysing them.

Eric Fernie, Courtauld Institute of Art



Michael Carter, ***The Art and Architecture of the Cistercians in Northern England, c.1300–1540***. Turnhout, Belgium, Brepols, 2019, 328 pp. 8 col. pls, 105 b&w pls, £128.00, hdbk, ISBN 978-503-58193-4

Over recent decades, the Cistercians have been more intensively studied than any other order. There have been: institutional and historical surveys; monographs on individual buildings; and collections of essays on both the architecture and arts of the order, the last of these notably in Norton and Park's edited volume. Since Bilson's seminal account of Cistercian architecture of 1909, there has been an implicit assumption in most of these publications that northern England played an especially significant role. There has, however, not yet been a single-author detailed monograph on the material in the area. That lacuna has now been filled by this fine volume in Brepols' *Medieval Monastic Studies* series, which avowedly models itself on Julian Luxford's approach to the study of the art and architecture of the Benedictines in south-west England.

Following a helpful introduction covering the current debates and providing an overview of definitions, the material is organized in six chapters covering a range of themes relating to the documentary and artistic evidence.

Amongst the several themes covered, are carefully considered analyses of the patterns of patronage. As would be expected, prominent contributors were the abbots, but survival of their arms and inscriptions on parts of the buildings may mean no more than that they were figureheads for operations in which general monastic rather than

abbatial incomes supplied much of the necessary funding. Lay patrons were also important contributors, especially through the granting of estates and privileges of various kinds

Against the order's first precepts, the physical encroachment of prominent layfolk, and particularly of benefactors, into Cistercian houses is at least partly indicated by the places of burial to which they were permitted. Starting with the monastic cemetery, for the favoured few, entombment came to be acceptable in the cloister, the chapter house, and eventually even in the church's presbytery. At a more general level of the laity, at least one abbey church, Holm Cultram, housed a parochial congregation; albeit, this was a situation that was more common north of the border.

Regrettably, in view of the losses, Carter demonstrates how the wealth of an abbey's treasures is nevertheless indicated by inventories. The contribution of the Cistercians to the fostering of the sacred arts is still demonstrated in Carter's carefully chosen colour illustrations. These include a magnificent chasuble from Jervaulx of around 1531; both the underlying fabric and the orphrey are decorated with seraphim and kneeling supplicant figures. Prominent on the orphrey are the mitred initials of Abbot Robert Thornton. Stained glass is represented by a re-set panel from Furness, with the arms of Furness set within a pattern of octagons. So far as manuscripts are concerned, one of the most interesting is the cartulary of Furness, in one of the initials of which the monastic illuminator John Stell depicts himself at work.

The fifth chapter offers a fascinating discussion of the contribution of the order's nuns, a topic that has been generally neglected, other than in the publications of Roberta Gilchrist. It is pointed out that the founders of these houses were generally below the upper ranks of society, and their foundations were, perhaps consequently, poorly endowed. We are also reminded that the Cistercian Order was reluctant to accept the nunneries into its ranks.

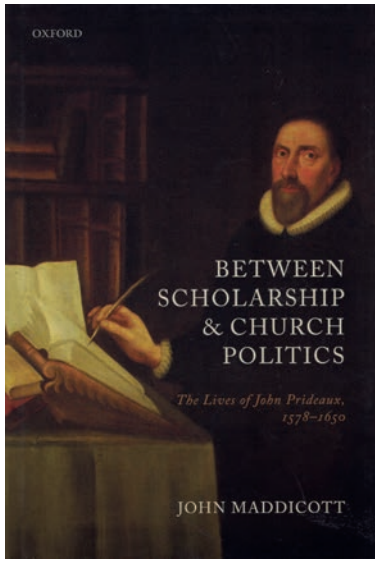
Chapter Six covers the sorry story of the suppression of the order's houses at the Reformation. Nevertheless, the physical remains of the order's northern buildings are amongst the most impressive to have survived anywhere in Britain: Fountains, Byland and Rievaulx are, of course, amongst the most spectacular survivors of monastic architecture to be found anywhere in Britain.

In addition to a close awareness of the surviving and lost physical material, Carter brings an impressive knowledge of a wide range of documentation in support of his case. One of the main aims of that case is to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the still widely-held view that the later Middle Ages was a period of spiritual, institutional and artistic

decline also still generally considered for other orders as well as the Cistercians. In this aim he succeeds admirably.

This volume is an important contribution to monastic studies. Happily, the scholarship is complemented by fine production values, as would be expected from a Brepols publication, but it is regrettable that the high cost will inhibit all but university libraries and well-heeled devotees of the subject from acquiring it.

Richard Fawcett, University of St Andrews



John Maddicott, ***Between Scholarship and Church Politics: The Life of John Prideaux, 1578–1650***. Oxford, University Press, 2022, 430 pp., 7 b&w pls, £75.00 hdbk, ISBN 978-0-19-289610-0

This is a history of a quintessentially 'college man' written by another 'college man' of the same college, and as such is a clever, insightful, inside job. We learn much about the workings of Exeter College, Oxford, in the early seventeenth century, and we see John Prideaux's engagement with the court and the outside world from that perspective. Prideaux was a strong Calvinist who stalwartly defended the position of his college and teaching as he gradually became ostracized by events in the 1620s and 30s, only to find himself at the end, promoted to be Bishop of Worcester when that position was rendered soon untenable by civil war. In academic terms, Prideaux had an illustrious career becoming a Fellow of Exeter College in 1601, Rector in 1612, Regius Professor of Divinity in 1615, and served as Vice-Chancellor of the University on several occasions – between 1619–21, 1624–6, and 1641–2. 1642 proved to be a critical year, in which he either resigned or was replaced in the Oxford roles noted above. Mining Oxford sources extensively, John Maddicott has produced an exemplary biography of a man who comes across as a model tutor and rector.

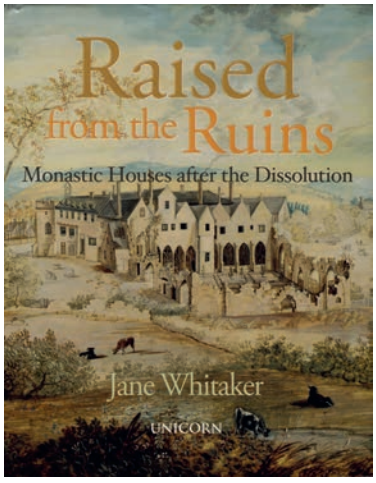
Born in Devon, of relatively humble origins, it was standard practice for talented men of that county to progress to Exeter College, Oxford, to which Prideaux apparently walked in 1596. He flourished and became a notable tutor, a natural successor to Rector Thomas Holland, one of his early mentors who was credited, with Rector Thomas Glasier, with having turned the college from a Catholic redoubt into a Protestant stronghold in the sixteenth century. This was a tradition that Prideaux was to maintain through his strong leadership of the college, work as a teacher – attracting large numbers of foreign scholars to the college

– and reputation as a Calvinist theologian, enshrined by his position as Regius Professor of Divinity. It is a comment on Prideaux's abiding interest in teaching that his first book was a guide to the essentials of Greek Grammar, published in 1607, and several of his later works of theology were written as handbooks for students. His sermons were famous for their concern with matters of grace, the origins of the Church and disputes with Rome.

This book is divided into three sections, the first of which deals with his early career up until 1624, by which point Prideaux was secure as head of one of Oxford's most successful colleges, with stronger recruitment than many, and boasting of a new chapel consecrated in that year and relatively new lodgings for the rector. The second section discusses key topics: the success of the college, new buildings including the hall and chapel, his circle of family, friends and colleagues, and his reputation as a scholar and dedicated teacher. The third section picks up the story of Prideaux's increasing isolation as anti-Calvinists took over key positions in the Church and in Oxford, focusing on his mixed relations with Archbishop Laud who became Chancellor of the University in 1630, then noting his call to be part of the deliberations of a Parliamentary Committee for religion headed by Bishop John Williams, and his attempts to act as Bishop of Worcester before the war reached that city and he was forced into retirement when Parliament abolished the episcopate in 1646.

This is a very positive portrait of John Prideaux, highlighting his work in Oxford as a distinguished scholar and administrator. Yet failings are noted, such as his sometimes-high handed dealings with subordinates, occasions when he failed to get his way over college elections to fellowships, and his rather supine dealings with Laud on occasions. Here was a strong Royalist, a royal chaplain to Prince Henry, King James and his son Charles, Calvinist to the core, but thoroughly embroiled in worldly Oxford politics, prepared to interfere in elections elsewhere, content to back enemies of Archbishop Laud however unsavoury their character (such as Sir Nathaniel Brent), and one who was a rank pluralist throughout his time as Rector, only giving up his Oxford and Salisbury prebends in 1641. While the inspirational teacher and college man shines through (many of whose books survive in Worcester Cathedral Library), a real strength of this work lies in how Oxford politics are melded into the wider picture of what was happening during these times in Church and State.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent



Jane Whitaker, ***Raised from Ruins: Monastic Houses after the Dissolution***. London, Unicorn, 2021, 404 pp., 235 col. pls, £35.00 hdbk, ISBN 978-1-913491-91-8

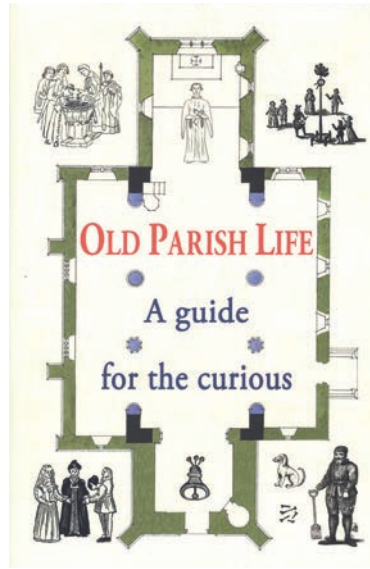
This is one of those books that leaves you wanting more – in a good way. There is a current spate of excellent books on the Dissolution of the Monasteries covering the process, the legacy, and memory. Many evoke a feeling of nostalgia for a bygone age, while others have picked up on the theme of sacrilege; this book takes a practical point of view on outcomes. It is a beautifully – even lavishly – illustrated architectural history of some of those buildings that turned into cathedrals, Oxford and Cambridge colleges, royal residences, and stately homes for the new aristocracy of the sixteenth century. As the author notes, in 1535 there were around 850 monastic houses in England and Wales and five years later there were none. This book offers a series of case studies of what happened to just some of those monastic houses. And it offers more than the title suggests, for Jane Whitaker provides useful clear outlines of the medieval origins of the buildings as well as accounts for what happened next. The cathedral selected is that of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester; we have Magdalene College and Emmanuel College for Cambridge, and St John's and Christ Church for Oxford. Out of quite a few sites taken by Henry VIII, the royal residences selected are Dartford Priory, Reading Abbey, and St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The bulk of the work is then taken up with accounts of 28 houses formed from abbeys and priories, commencing with Battle Abbey, and concluding with Wilton. This is one obvious reason why one would like more, for this is necessarily a highly selective small sample.

After a while there is a formulaic feel to these accounts, but while that can seem repetitive it does give a feeling of security that a consistent approach has been adopted and key sources consulted. The common template draws out how some buildings were demolished, while others were converted usually in part, and most were subject to later adaptations and landscaping. Gatehouses were quite likely to survive. With such wonderful treasures lovingly described, it seems churlish to request more, but I found myself looking for how many buildings were swiftly converted, while others took much longer for key changes to be made. I started to think about maps to plot distribution across the country, accepting that the book is already beautifully illustrated with local maps and plans for each site. Jane Whitaker is to be commended for mining local archives so extensively for each of her chosen houses; this is your copy of Pevsner and Victoria County History rolled into one. This book is strong on architectural and archaeological details and sticks closely

to the story of each building. Amongst the wonderful pictures are to be found copies of the engravings and watercolours of usual suspects like Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, Johannes Kip, and many less well-known figures of the eighteenth century. The modern photographs are also to be highly commended. This handsome and modestly priced book raises a host of questions about the other cathedrals that could be mentioned, the number and proportion of places that were left in ruins, and about the parish churches that were resurrected on some sites, like Boxgrove Priory in Sussex. Researchers in this field will find much to ponder, many leads to follow, and a valuable starting point for considering the rich architectural dimension of this whole topic. Much more is needed in this field.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent

Justin Lovill (ed.), ***Old Parish Life: a guide for the curious***. London, The Bunbery Press, 2022, 626 pp, 350 b&w pls, £20 hdbk, ISBN 978-0-9562046-2-2



Justin Lovill identifies himself on the title page as the editor of this book and in the introduction asserts that the work is a simple collection of extracts from churchwardens' accounts, a mere scrapbook. He does himself an injustice. Extracts there are aplenty, but they are carefully chosen to illustrate a narrative that brings to life the multi-layered institution of the historic parish and the inhabitants who constituted it. Lovill is a gifted storyteller and so he eschews a dry academic approach to his sources in favour of a thematic journey through space, time, and mind.

The book starts with a virtual tour of the parish church as a structure and a mental construct. From lychgate to high altar it charts the manifold uses of the different parts of the building and the changing meanings attached to them. Topics range from the problem of hogs in the churchyard to the role of the high altar in the liturgy via politics and fisticuffs in the pew, dog whipping, congregation control, and much else. The second section, 'The Old Parish Year', deals with the annual round of church feasts and holidays from New Year's Day to Christmas, describing such customs as cock throwing on Shrove Tuesdays and the beating of the bounds on Rogation Days or Ascension Days. There follows, third, a discussion of the role of the parish in the life cycle of birth, baptism, marriage, and death, with all the attendant demands of

custom, the church, and the state. Then, fourth, is the parish as a provider of relief for the sick and the poor, outlining such expedients as the issue of licences to beg and badges to distinguish the indigent. A fifth section addresses the parish as moral guardian and policeman; with purview of fornication and the like, the parish dissolved the boundary even further between the personal and the public. Finally, there is an account of the historical background from the Reformation to the Restoration. Throughout Lovill references not only the churchwardens' accounts themselves but also a wide selection of other sources to provide context.

The avowed aim of *Old Parish Life* is to describe the foreign country that was the parish for a secular age and in this it is eminently successful. Specialist scholars may take issue with some aspects of the narrative. For example, Lovill does not engage with revisionist understandings of the Reformation in England: neither Eamon Duffy nor David Starkey gets a look in here. But that is of no moment. His interest lies elsewhere. He is fascinated by the great variety of human accommodation to the demands of the social, the political, and the divine and is remarkably unpartisan in conveying it. Engagingly written, his book is at once a pleasure to read and a valuable work of reference.

The book is well produced and illustrated with a wide range of monochrome photographs and line drawings. It is unencumbered with footnotes, but relevant sources are listed in discreet endnotes and there is a useful glossary which supplements explanatory notes throughout the volume. Lovill is to be congratulated on producing a volume which will be of interest to more than the merely curious.

David Roffe, University of Oxford



Marjorie Trusted, ***Baroque Sculpture in Germany and Central Europe 1600–1770***. London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2022, 288 pp., 1 map, 216 col., and 5 b&w pls, £42.50 hdbk. ISBN: 978-1-909400-95-5

Central European sculpture is relatively unknown in the Atlantic Archipelago, largely because of excessive adulation of things French, and ignorant snootiness about things German. Gallic medieval statuary, for example, has been lauded to the skies, yet the wonderful, moving, expressive modelling of human personages at Naumburg and Meissen are almost unknown in Anglophone countries. It has been even worse when considering the style of sculpture that flourished in the German-speaking lands from around 1600, for figures, lively in movement,

realism, and colour, created during that great flowering of Baroque and Rococo architecture, especially after the disaster of the Thirty Years' War, have not had the attention they deserve. Whole families of architects, sculptors, painters, modellers, stuccoers, fresco-painters rose to the occasion, and created some of the most joyous exemplars of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably where the Counter Reformation demanded an immediacy, a vividness, of religious experiences in its cause to win souls. Perhaps it was that theatricality, the overwhelming sunbursts of movement, which seemed unsettling for northern Protestantism, and so led to undervaluation of the stupendous German Baroque and Rococo achievement.

I travelled widely in southern Germany and Austria during the 1950s, and I recall approaching the unprepossessing entrance to the Benedictine abbey-church at Rohr (1717–25), situated north-west of Landshut (the unhelpful map in this publication locates it inaccurately just south-west of Nürnberg), unprepared for what I was to encounter within. I was knocked breathless by the dramatic Assumption of the Virgin, carried aloft by angels, the coffin-lid leaning to the rear, while astounded witnesses gesticulated by the empty casket. This was the first work I saw by Egid Quirin Asam (1692–1750): then, travelling north-west, I came to another in the Benedictine establishment at Weltenburg, on the Danube, and there, straight from an opera by Händel, charging out of the sun, was St George slaying the Dragon with what looked like a golfing-umbrella, while the maiden ran off to the right, the group framed by a gorgeous aedicule flanked by Solomonic columns. And above, smiling down, was a realistic figure of Cosmas Damian Asam (1686–1739), hoping we pilgrims were enjoying the stunning spectacle: it was pure theatre, and enormous fun, expressions of religious feeling and human warmth, a perfect setting for a sun-filled Mass by Haydn or a joyous setting of the Vespers by Mozart.

Trusted's book conveys much of the qualities of works which made such an indelible impression all those years ago, including those glorious confections by Dominikus (1685–1766) and Johann Baptist (1680–1758) Zimmermann at Wahlfahrtskirche Die Wies (1745–54), Bavaria, and another pilgrimage-church at Steinhausen, near Biberach (1727–33), in Baden-Württemberg, incorrectly located here in Bavaria. The Asams, too, were masters of high drama, especially in the tiny church of St Johann Nepomuk, guardian of bridges, in Munich (1733–46), where, as if the entrance lobby were not powerful enough, the stunning *Gnadenstuhl*, or Mercy-Seat, poised at the crucial point between darkness and light, the frontier, perhaps, between earth and heaven, is an overwhelmingly dramatic composition.

Photographs in this lavishly illustrated tome demonstrate the genius of many sculptors such as Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732) at Dresden, Saxony, or Johann Joseph Christian (1706–77) and Johann Michael Feichtmayr (1696–1772) at the Benedictine monasteries of Zwiefalten and Ottobeuren, but many images of church interiors are spread over two facing pages, so that the focus, the high altar, is lost in the deep V-shaped valley known as the gutter. It happens too often, spoiling what were finely composed, informative images of some of the loveliest interiors ever created. Other illustrations, such as those of the Steinhausen Wahlfahrtskirche, or the stately church at Diessen on the Ammersee, have converging verticals, really unworthy of any architectural volume, while some colouring, e.g. the interiors of the Munich 'Asamkirche' (p.128) and Weltenburg (p.136), is unacceptable.

Trusted's is a useful, if flawed, introduction to a richly rewarding topic, illustrated with exceptionally fine colour photographs, apart from the problems outlined above. It is disappointing, though, not to find therein that Rococo tour-de-force, the Gnadenaltar (Altar of Grace of 1762–4) in the central ellipse of Wahlfahrtskirche Vierzehnheiligen in Franconia: designed by Johann Jakob Michael Küchel (1703–69), it is a cross between a sedan-chair and a regal coach, with amazing sculpture by Feichtmayr, influenced by Johann Georg Üblhör (1703–63). And another odd omission, though mentioned in passing, is the glorious work (1748–50) by Joseph Anton Feuchtmayer (1696–1770) at Wahlfahrtskirche Neu-Birnau, on the northern shores of the Bodensee: it includes the charming, rightly celebrated Honigschlecker putto on the altar of St Bernhard.

James Stevens Curl, The Royal Irish Academy



James Berrow, ***The Making of an English organ Builder: John Nicholson of Worcester***. Reigate, British Institute of Organ Studies, 2021, 464 pp, 8 col. pls, 66 b&w pls, £29.20, hdbk inc p&p, ISBN 978-0-9955419-1-7. Copies from: bios.org.uk

My review of Dr Nicholas Thistlethwaite's excellent study of the work and times of the organ builders Gray and Davison appeared in *Ecclesiology Today*, 60 (December 2021), and so it was particularly agreeable to be invited to write a similar review of Dr James Berrow's book on John Nicholson. This is in some ways a companion volume to the Thistlethwaite book. Dr Berrow's handsome volume is the result

of many years of patient, determined and fastidious research, and the result is most impressive. The publication of this book has been long awaited by enthusiasts of the history of the British organ and they will not be disappointed. The mass of information contained within it is extraordinary and will engage any readers interested in this period, not only in matters of church organs, but also in the social, economic and cultural background of this family of organ builders.

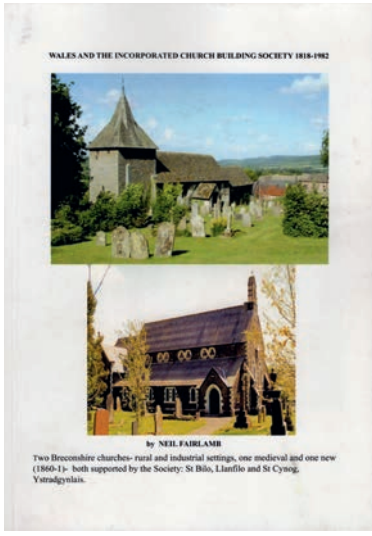
Dr Berrow chronicles the family history – in itself a complex story – with its links to Rochdale and Walsall but ultimately, and most significantly, Worcester, where John Nicholson built organs for several decades. Organs built by him can be found throughout the country (not always in their original home), though the story of why Nicholson never built an organ for his local cathedral is interesting. He was favoured by Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley and had connections with Ouseley's foundation of St Michael's at Tenbury. His organ for the Worcester Public Hall was perhaps his *magnum opus* but it only survived a few years. It seems that he was quite a modest man and did not go out of his way to court potential clients. He let the quality of his work speak for itself.

For the organ enthusiast there are many specifications of organs built by John Nicholson (and others) and the illustrations, apart from the eight colour plates, are included within the text.

Overall, this is a splendid volume and it shows an approach to research which is both scholarly and enthusiastic. Dr Berrow is a very committed ecclesiologist and this is revealed in his inclusion of much commentary on contemporary civic and church society. It is also remarkably reasonably priced.

One small quibble is that it would have been good to have had some more colour plates (though I appreciate that this inevitably increases costs). There are very few inaccuracies (one is that Mount Bures is in Essex, not Suffolk). Otherwise this is an impeccable volume, full of interesting and engaging material and real scholarship. Organ enthusiasts will find much to enjoy, enlighten and occasionally amuse, though perhaps, as in the case of the Thistlethwaite book, it may be of more interest to them than to the more general ecclesiologist.

Christopher Moore



Neil Fairlamb, ***Wales and the Incorporated Church Building Society 1818–1982***. Privately published, Tilford, Surrey, 2021. 355 pp., many b&w pls, pbk. ISBN 978-1-80049-66. For copies, email: fairlamb49@gmail.com. An electronic version is available free of charge

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the shortage of seats in Church of England churches was desperate. The situation, the result of a failure to build sufficient new churches since the Reformation, was one exacerbated by industrialisation, and the huge population movements from rural to urban parishes. Letters published in journals and the occasional book brought the subject to a huge audience. Victory at Waterloo in 1815 enabled Lord Liverpool's government to address the problem and one outcome was the passing of the 1818 Church Building Act which provided government funding for new churches. Also in 1818, but rather less well known, came the formation of the Church Building Society, incorporated by Parliament in 1828 and usually referred to as the ICBS. It was a remarkable organisation. And while it shared many of the ambitions of the Commissioners and included several of the same personnel, it relied entirely on voluntary contributions. With a focus on the whole of England and Wales, it was the first organisation to consider need beyond a specific local community and in this respect was well ahead of the diocesan societies that appeared in the 1830s, beginning with the Chester Diocesan Society for Promoting the Building of Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire, founded in 1834. The ICBS continued to be active until 1982.

Although Neil Fairlamb's focus is Welsh projects, many of the issues were equally applicable to England: the urgent need for more seats, especially for the poor; concerns about the spread of Nonconformity and atheism; worries that without the guiding hand of the Established Church, there could be political instability, perhaps even the breakdown of the social order. And while the Society's projects were more numerous in England, pastoral provision in Wales was always seen as equally important.

Unlike the Commissioners whose focus was on new churches, the ICBS focused its more limited funds on adding seats to existing churches by, for instance, adding an aisle, a gallery or a more efficient seating arrangement. However, some new churches were also supported. An early recipient of a grant was the church of St Mary the Virgin, Overton, Flintshire where £200 was awarded in 1819 for a new gallery and a widening of the north aisle which together produced 166 additional free seats.

Significantly, the society encouraged the collection of additional, local, donations for projects. Indeed, the Society rarely gave more than

25 per cent of a project's cost, thus making a partnership with local initiatives absolutely essential and thus supporting a positive sense of local involvement. What is clear is that the 'cost per seat' of the new accommodation assisted by the Society was a fraction of that in the Commissioners' ambitious and sometimes majestic churches.

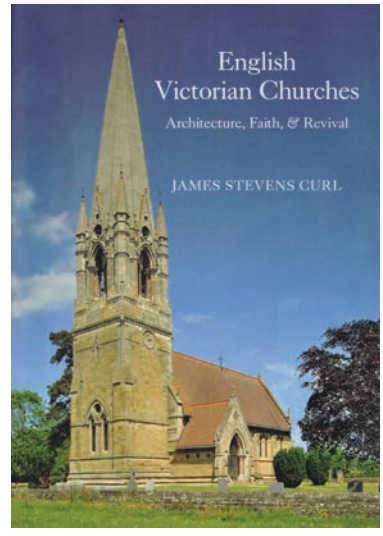
As in England, many of the ICBS's projects were overseen by whatever architectural talent was available locally. However, the book includes projects by eminent architects including G. G. Scott, Street, Seddon and Caröe.

A useful introduction discusses a range of contextual matters which include how money was raised and distributed, the ICBS's published Suggestions and Instructions for building committees and their architects, Welsh language issues, and the contribution of the Society's Committee of Architects. Statistics of funding for Welsh projects are helpfully included. This is followed by a detailed catalogue in which every successful application – and many unsuccessful ones – are discussed, arranged by historic county and listed chronologically.

As the author acknowledges, this is 'not a book of best churches', but it is a commendable piece of scholarship on a neglected subject, and a remarkably comprehensive catalogue of the ICBS's endeavours in Wales over more than 160 years.

Christopher Webster, University of York

James Stevens Curl, ***English Victorian Churches, Architecture, Faith & Revival***. London, John Hudson, 2022, 222 pp., 150 col pls, £50.00 hdbk, ISBN 978-1-7398229-3-4



In 1872, Charles Eastlake wrote about the remarkable renewal of 'a taste for Medieval architecture, and the reapplication of those principles which regulate its design' characterising it as 'one of the most interesting and remarkable phases on the history of art'. James Stevens Curl's *English Victorian Churches* embraces the extraordinary story of the Gothic-inspired churches of the nineteenth century. One of a series of studies on this subject by Professor Curl, the book is a magnificent sweep of the history of one of the great ages of church-building. Its 186 pages are crammed with information, with hundreds of colour illustrations (many by the late Geoff Brandwood), all followed by an extensive bibliography and glossary of terms.

Curl weaves his study into a diverting narrative, and the *English Victorian Churches* provides an insightful introduction to the subject. He briskly spells out the challenges to the Established Church which changed ideas about parish churches as buildings, in this period; and he also provides a lucid account of not only of the evolution of the Gothic Revival as a style but also the heady atmosphere of religious revival in the 1830s and 1840s which helped give it purpose. In this period, the evangelical movement and the rise of ritual (fuelled by Tractarianism and the Oxford Movement) prompted the rise of Ecclesiology and an interest in making old churches work, as well as designing new churches.

These were tumultuous times for the Anglican Church. Curl reminds us, in his crisp prose, that many of these ideas about churches were highly controversial in their own time, driven by anxiety about Nonconformity and the increasingly visible presence of Roman Catholic churches and chapels. Curl notes the importance of Pugin's *Contrasts* on the ideal of the Gothic Revival, ushering in an age of inventive design.

To some, all interest in historic churches could be suspect. In 1844, Dr Francis Close, then the Dean of Carlisle, lambasted both *The Ecclesiologist* and *Tracts for the Times*, and indeed the encouragement of church restoration in itself, as 'popery'. Nonetheless, this all focussed the minds of architects, clergy and congregation on what a church building was for, and how should it best work.

Curl writes engagingly, and in many ways with all the earnestness of those very Victorian thinkers and designers whom he admires so much. Much of the book is encyclopaedic in covering the finest churches, including many of the masterpieces of English architecture. All Saints, Margaret Street (1849–59) by William Butterfield is described by Curl as the 'finest memorial to the Oxford Movement, glowing, noble and assured'. G. E. Street, a champion of continental sources for Gothic, is represented by examples such St John's, Howsham, in Yorkshire (1859–60), admired for artistic and spiritual confidence, typical of Street's handsome composed country churches – of which Eastlake observed, 'The whole effect is charming ... it is simplicity itself, but simplicity with meaning and effect'. Sir George Gilbert Scott (sometimes known as 'Great Scott') was the 'establishment' star, with works such as St George's, Doncaster (1854–8), and All Souls, Haley Hill (1855–9) where the sculpture within was seen by *The Ecclesiologist* as 'opening a new era in church art'.

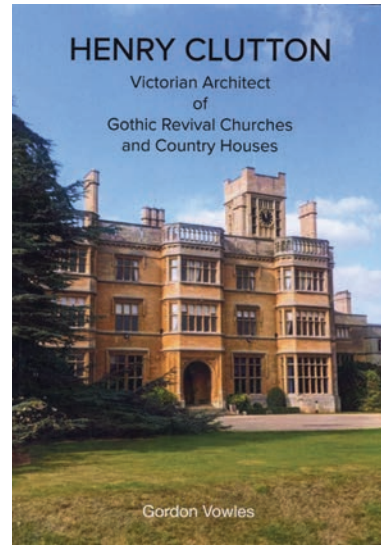
The marriage of English and French Gothic of this period infuses the ever more inventive works of the later nineteenth century, including the deft glories of William Burges's St Mary's, Studley Royal, Yorkshire (1870–8) with its 'luscious colouring' in the chancel, or J. L. Pearson's

early-French-First Pointed-inspired Christchurch, Appleton le Moor (1862–5) – which Eastlake considered 'scholar-like and noble'. One of the most subtle and artistic designers of the age was G. F. Bodley who, with his partner Thomas Garner, returned to more English Gothic inspirations – as can be seen in his extraordinary St Augustine's, Pendlebury (1871–4), and Holy Angels, Hoar Cross in Staffordshire (1872–6). During the 1880s, the influence of the Arts and Crafts brought new visions for the architecture and fittings of new and old churches, from the fitting out of St Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens (built 1884–7) to the all-over crafted Englishness of Holy Trinity, Sloane Street (1888–90) by John Dando Sedding, an Anglo-Catholic who believed in the civilising effects of good art.

Curl rightly highlights the significance of both restoration and re-decoration of medieval parish churches and the concurrent resistance to restoration, 'Anti-Scrape', headed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, founded by Morris and Webb in 1877. The book concludes with a heartfelt lament for the way in which so many of these great churches have been treated in the modern age; and it is true that too many have been lost, demolished and ill-treated, but many of the very best remain and do and will inspire; books such as his own will play their part in illuminating the wonders of the age to new generations of church-crawlers and church-goers alike.

Jeremy Musson

Gordon Vowles, ***Henry Clutton Victorian Architect of Gothic Revival Churches and Country Houses***. Willington, Gostwick Press, 2022, 77 pp., 20 col pls, £10.00, pbk, ISBN 97-0-9565663-8-6. Copies from: www.localhistory.me.uk



Henry Clutton (1819–93) has always struck me as somewhat undersung, given his not undistinguished career as a successful architect, his short-lived partnership (1854–6) with William Burges (1827–81) which created the magnificent but unrealised design for Lille Cathedral, and his family connections. Clutton was related by marriage to Henry Edward Manning (1808–92), who was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1851, and became Archbishop of Westminster in 1865, being elevated to the Cardinalate in 1875. Clutton himself 'poped' in 1857, so commissions from the Anglican Church ceased, and his patrons thereafter were landed aristocrats and gentry, the Dukes of Bedford, and

the R.C. hierarchy. Both Burges and Clutton had worked for Edward Blore (1787–1879), and both admired Continental Gothic: Clutton contributed to *The Ecclesiologist* and was the author of *Remarks with Illustrations on the Domestic Architecture of France from the Accession of Charles VI to the Demise of Louis XII* (1853–6), for which Burges provided drawings.

This little booklet seems to have been prompted by Clutton's work for the Bedfords, though other aspects of his oeuvre are mentioned within it, and draws on Penelope Hunting's original research for her Doctoral Dissertation for the University of London (1979). Given that Charles O'Brien and Nikolaus Pevsner, in their *Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Peterborough* (2014), in The Buildings of England series, describe Clutton's Bedfordshire churches as 'amazingly original and of a breadth and unfussy, unostentatious boldness entirely his own', it is surprising we do not have a major monograph on Clutton as yet, but such a lacuna goes some way to explain why Vowles and the Willington Local History Group have gone to the trouble of bringing out this little book. There is Clutton's ecclesiastical work at Houghton Regis, Souldrop, Steppingley, Stevington, Willingon, Woburn (with its amazing interior, a bold handling of French late twelfth-century sources), and Woburn Sands (with its peculiarly Germanic influences drawn from Nürnberg and elsewere), as well as a huge number of estate cottages, schools, vicarages, and the like, much of which is very fine stuff, but those buildings, like Clutton's often very interesting country houses, lie beyond the interests of The Ecclesiological Society, and will not be discussed there, though they are included in the book under review.

My own favourite Clutton church is the ingenious St Francis of Assisi, Pottery Lane, Notting Hill, London (1859–60), which not only demonstrates Clutton's mastery of early French Pointed but contains exquisite work by John Bentley (1839–1902), including the lovely baptistry, where the young architect was himself received into the R.C. Church, taking Francis as his baptismal name. But there are other Clutton creations worthy of study, including the chapel of the Sacred Heart in the Jesuit Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, London (1858–60).

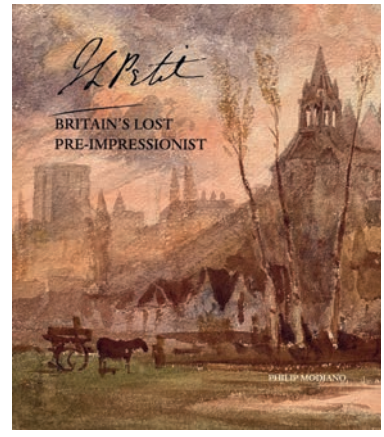
In a short bookette one might have hoped for texts relatively free from typos: it is therefore disappointing to find clangers such as Mark 'Girourard', William 'Burgess', the London building firm of 'Cubbitts' and a claim that Pugin was 'the creator of Big Ben' (which is, of course a bell, and nothing to do with Pugin). The bibliography could have been comprehensive and five of the colour photographs have horribly converging verticals. Vowles states that Burges was a convert to Roman

Catholicism: this is new to me, and although the architect was close to eminent R.C.s like the Butes and the Ripons, his contemporaries described him as of 'no church', and he was active in Freemasonry, with, it seems, an interest in Rosicrucianism. Vowles gives no source for his claim.

However, it is otherwise a commendable effort in making Clutton's work better known, but we badly need a major monograph on the life and work of a very important Victorian architect, as, indeed, we could also do with a well-illustrated biography of Clutton's master, Edward Blore.

James Stevens Curl, The Royal Irish Academy

Philip Modiano, ***J. L. Petit, Britain's Lost Pre-Impressionist***. Chesham, RPS Publications, 2022, 120 pp., 116 col. pls, £20.00 pbk, ISBN 978-1-9164931-2-4

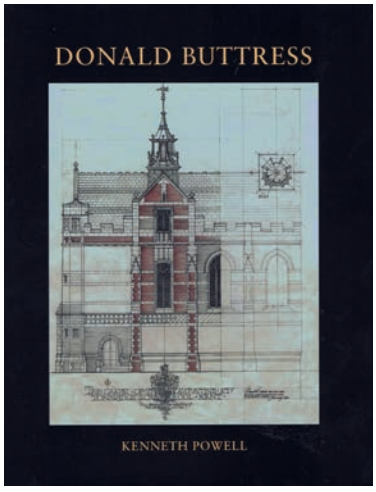


John Louis Petit's work is becoming increasingly well-known through the efforts of Philip Modiano and the Reverend John Petit Society (http://revpetit.com). This is Modiano's third book on the early nineteenth-century watercolourist and architectural polemicist and in it he charts for the first time the development of Petit's art from conventional representation of buildings and landscapes to the highly individual impressionist style of his later years. The task is somewhat more difficult than it might seem. Although Petit's work was much admired in his lifetime, after his death some 10,000 or so of his pictures languished in a blinkered descendant's attic, in less than perfect conditions, until they came to light in the 1980s and were sold off piecemeal. This book is based on an examination of about a third of the total oeuvre which Modiano has managed to trace.

Based on these works, the author compares the earlier paintings with those of contemporaries like De Wint and Cotman and finds little difference in approach, Nevertheless, even then Petit eschewed artistic licence, a characteristic which was to underpin the immediacy and honesty of his output from the 1840s. Always painting *en plein air* and refusing to finish his work in the studio, Petit was unapologetic about the roughness of his sketches: only thus could he capture 'the effect' of the scene – what he called its character. In contrast to the mannered allegories of the Pre-Raphaelites, the resulting landscapes have an emotional intensity lacking in the picturesque output of his contemporaries. In these terms the author makes a good case for Petit as a 'pre-Impressionist', citing parallels with the work of Pissarro, Monet, and Cezanne, *inter alia*.

In the way of the modern predilection for literary voyeurism, this poses the question of Petit's emotional life. Contemporaries knew him as a congenial person and Modiano argues that his individual style was a function of his leisure and wealth: he had inherited enough money from his father to maintain a comfortable independence. Yet Petit's work hints at greater complexity and depth. At the time of his marriage his paintings are colourful but in the 1830s he entered a dark, foreboding monotone period, while his later paintings are characterized by a red palette which must surely signify emotional intensity if not existential angst. These, however, are issues that are beyond the scope of Modiano's book. The author is eminently successful in his avowed aim: the assessment of Petit's artistic achievement as a whole. A discussion of Turner's influence, if any, would have been welcome, but Modiano's argument is well researched. The book is illustrated with 116 full colour plates in what is a beautifully produced volume. It will grace the bookshelves of anyone interested in nineteenth-century art and, more widely, it ought to engage cultural historians of the period.

David Roffe, University of Oxford



Kenneth Powell, ***Donald Buttress***. Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2022, 232 pp., 232 mainly col. pls, £25.00 hdbk, ISBN 978-1-907730-99-3

Books about their own work commissioned by architects are usually referred to as 'vanity publishing', and Powell has been the author of choice for many 'modern' architects, but Donald Buttress is a very different subject, and there is a good deal more interest to be found in his work than in that of many of his contemporaries. The fact that the major part of it has concerned churches makes it of particular interest to readers of *Ecclesiology Today.*

The text is by Powell, and the introduction and chapter headings are by Matthew Saunders. The lengthy captions to the 263 illustrations are by Buttress himself. Those familiar with his views will not be surprised to find him claiming that the great Victorian architects were fortunate to be 'unfettered by the silly, subjective and overvalued opinions of what now passes for archaeological correctness and orthodoxy', and denouncing the 'yapping interference' of the amenity societies. The book sets out to provide a detailed and well-argued defence of his work, and will enable readers to form their own judgment.

The crowning episode of his career was his appointment as Surveyor of Westminster Abbey in 1988. The account of it occupies 48 pages.

Most of the work was inevitably restoration of decayed stonework – always a contentious business. The other great church for which he was responsible was Chichester Cathedral, where he was appointed in 1974. Here, as at the Abbey, his work came in for a good deal of criticism from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, but he is confident that he was in the right.

He also did heroic work in rescuing threatened churches, not least Gilbert Scott's masterpiece All Souls, Haley Hill, Halifax. His Manchester origin and base in the earlier part of his career led him to battle for many churches which that philistine diocese wanted to dispose of.

He had a particular interest in the design of fittings, such as metalwork and stained glass, and of memorials. He often incorporated parts of demolished buildings, which he rescued.

A particularly important work, also dogged by controversy, was the rebuilding of Tonbridge School Chapel after the devastating fire of 1988. This had destroyed the notable glass by Christopher Whall, and wrecked the superb war memorial by Henry Wilson. This took the form of adornment of the passage through the screen which divided off the antechapel and supported the organ. The school wanted more space, so the new organ was put on a gallery at the west end, and the screen not recreated. The surviving parts of the memorial – the bronze figure of the Resurrected Christ, the group of St George and angels, the (damaged) alabaster relief of the Virgin and Child, and the elaborate gates – have been set at the cloister entrance into the 'memorial bay'. The alabaster arch and panels with names inscribed by Martin Travers were lost. It is a pity that the original arrangement of the sculptural elements one above the other could not be restored.

The book is lavishly produced, but it is unfortunate that it was not more carefully edited. Cross-referencing of illustrations is a mess. Misspellings include 'Semtamu', 'Pritchard', and 'wholistic'. The candle sconce used for the monument to Mary de St Pol at the Abbey is said on p. 171 to be made from one of the brass chandeliers removed in the 1960s, designed by J. T. Micklethwaite, whereas at Fig. 205 the chandeliers are attributed to Lethaby. The organ in St Anne's Cathedral, Leeds, is not new, but a rebuilding of the 1904 Norman and Beard organ by Klais [sic] of Bonn. A keen editor would have noticed the considerable amount of repetition, for example about St Matthew's, Westminster, Sheffield Cathedral, and the west porch at Chichester.

Buttress's substantial achievements fully deserve this thorough record, and the book will fascinate all those with an interest in it.

Peter Howell

Short Notes

Christopher Kitching, ***St Mary the Virgin Primrose Hill: a Church and its People 1872–2022***. Market Harborough, Matador Books, 2022, 374 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £25.00 pbk, ISBN 978-1-80313-022-4

St Mary's is a vibrant London church on the northern edge of Primrose Hill. It is widely known for its fine liturgy and music in the Anglican tradition, its affirmation of women's ministry, and its pioneering youthwork and social outreach. It was designed by M. P. Manning and built by Dove Bros. of Islington.

This book celebrates the church's 150th anniversary. It draws on previously untapped archives to chart the history of the building and its worshipping community. Part one (1872–1951) ranges from the church's origins in the Boy's Home in Regent's Park Road, to the period of recovery after the Second World War. It is rich in stories: among them St Mary's part in the Ritualist controversies of the Victorian Church; the near collapse of the building through railway tunnelling in the 1870s; the striking innovations of Percy Dearmer (vicar, 1901–15); and the desperate years of the Blitz in the 1940s. Part Two (1952–2022) draws also on the personal memories of today's congregations, exploring how St Mary's has become the beacon of hope it is today, and taking stock of its particular place in Christian witness, now and in the future.

Stephen Platten, ***Abbeys and Priories of Britain***. London, Pitkin publishing, 2022, 96 pp., many col. pls, £9.99 pbk, ISBN 978-1841659381

This book aims to be a definitive guide to the best surviving examples of monastic buildings and a treasury of over 1,000 years of architecture and history. It tells the story of Britain's most impressive examples of religious buildings, both architecturally and how they shaped an evolving medieval society. Divided into geographical locations within the early British Kingdom, the book features 67 abbeys and priories from England, Scotland and Wales.

From world-famous centres of religion such has Westminster Abbey, to the quainter example at the Carthusian Mount Grace Priory in the North York Moors, the book explores the huge range of medieval ecclesiastical architecture across Great Britain, illustrated with fine colour images. It is an attractive book at a very reasonable price.

Janet Gough, ***Deans' Choice: Cathedral Treasures of England and Wales***. London, Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2022, 112 pp., 100 col. pls, £14.95 pbk, ISBN: 978-1-78551-453-1.
Copies from: www.cpo.org.uk/books/cathedral-treasures-shop.html

This beautifully-illustrated book tells the stories of 50 remarkable artefacts to be found in the cathedrals of the Church of England and the Church in Wales, chosen and described by the Dean of each cathedral (and compiled and introduced by Janet Gough, former Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division of the Church of England). It lives up to the usual high standards of presentation in this publisher's *Director's Choice* series, which also includes *Cathedrals of the Church of England* (2015) and *Churches of the Church of England* (2016).

The treasures cover a timespan of more than 1,000 years and a variety of media. They vividly demonstrate both the crucial importance of cathedrals to an understanding and appreciation of this country's history, and the ongoing role of cathedrals as patrons of talented artists and craftsmen from many nations.

The book provides a tempting sample of the treasure trove to be found in our cathedrals (mostly free of charge) and will hopefully inspire many more people to visit and enjoy them.

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.

Charity registration

The Society is a registered charity, number 210501. Its registered address, which should not be used for general correspondence, is c/o The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1V 0HS.

Membership subscriptions

From 1 January 2024:

	By direct debit	Not by direct debit
Annual membership (UK only)	£25.00	£27.00
Concessions (UK only)	£20.00	£22.00
Extra household member	Add £5.00	Add £5.50
Overseas	£35.00	£35.00

Contributions to *Ecclesiology Today*

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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