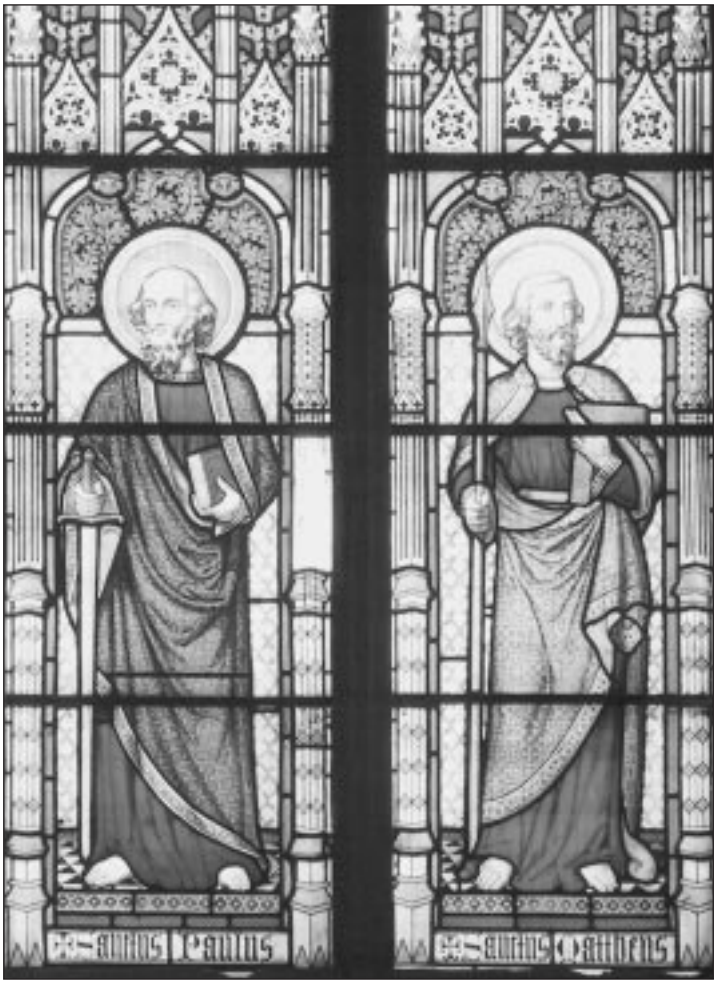
Ecclesiology Today



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The illustration on the cover is of the Two Lights East Window of St. Mary's Church, Wymeswold, Leicestershire.

Chairman's Letter

WELCOME to a bumper edition of *Ecclesiology Today*. I hope you feel that this very full edition makes up for the lack of an issue in the Autumn.

I am writing this at the tail end of 2004, our 125th anniversary year. Perhaps I can be excused for looking back . . . .

The year began in commemoration of our anniversary, with the issue of Christopher Webster's fascinating and informative collection of early Ecclesiological Society pamphlets, '*temples . . . worthy of His presence*', surely a bedside book of choice for ecclesiologists. Later in the year we issued *How do we keep our parish churches?* The facts and figures presented there highlight the growing pressures on church buildings, something which this Society is going to have to take into account over the coming years.

Our anniversary essay competition attracted a decent number of entries. If things work out, you will find a separate flyer enclosed, giving details of the winners. The competition entries were notable for the range of subjects covered, and the fact that a number of essays were received from overseas.

In October we held our annual conference. With attendance of 160, it was our highest turn-out ever. It was a friendly, lively event, with some fascinating papers. We hope to publish one or two of the papers, and there will be a full report of the conference in the next issue. Later that month we held our 125th anniversary celebration at Charterhouse, with nearly 100 members present – again, the report of this should appear in the next issue.

In November we arranged a meeting (about 35 people) of representatives of kindred Societies, to network and talk about matters of common concern. The evening included very informative summaries of church buildings strategy from English Heritage, the Church Heritage Forum and the Churches Conservation Trust. We hope to run another of these events in a couple of years time – it is important that our Society maintains good links with similar societies, and keeps in touch with the big issues of the day.

Finally, the year ended with a bang at our annual Dykes Bower lecture, held in conjunction with the Friends of Christ Church, Spitalfields. Approaching 200 people heard a first-class lecture from Red Mason, project architect for the restoration of the church, followed by an informal reception.

On top of all this was our normal programme of visits, to churches in all parts of the country.

So, some good things in 2004. And here's an *Ecclesiology Today* to kick off 2005 in fine style!

Trevor Cooper
December 2004

NOTICE

In accordance with Law 7, members wishing to propose a motion for discussion at the AGM which will be held later this year should write to the Hon. Secretary with details, ensuring their letter arrives on or before 28 February 2005.

A.W.N. Pugin and the Restoration of St. Mary's Church, Wymeswold, Leicestershire

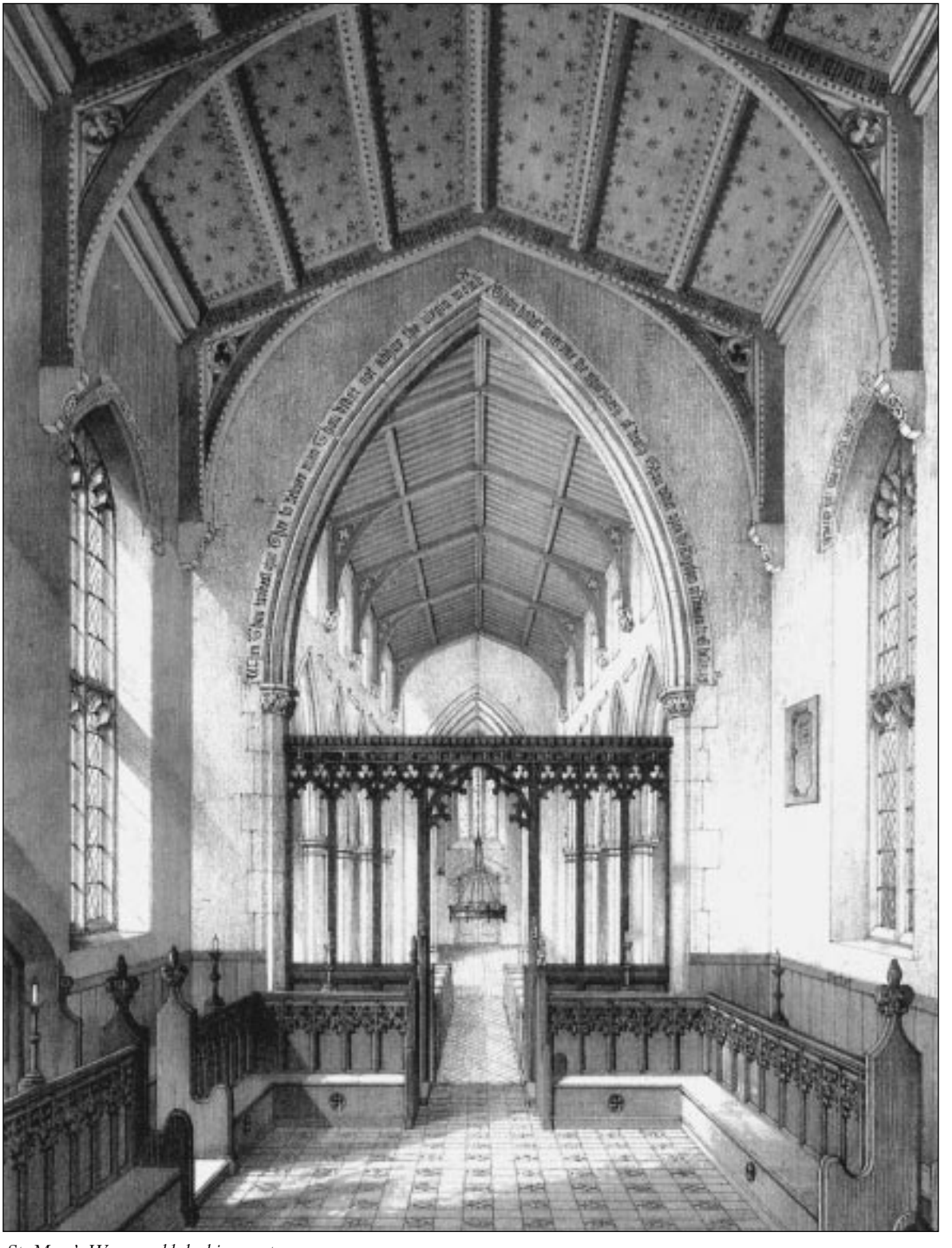
Michael Fisher

Michael Fisher is parish priest of St. Chad's church, Stafford, and has written extensively about Pugin's work in the Midlands

STANDING AT THE HEART of an attractive village on the north Leicestershire wolds, St. Mary's is a large fourteenth-century church, predominantly Perpendicular in style. Its special interest is that between 1844 and 1846 it was extensively restored and refurnished by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), the foremost exponent and propagandist of the Gothic Revival, who made some later additions of glass and metalwork. Pugin was a Catholic architect, and most of his churches were carried out for Catholic patrons, but he had friends and admirers in the Anglican Church, and carried out some significant Anglican commissions. After the church of St. Mary, West Tofts (Norfolk), which he practically rebuilt, Wymeswold is Pugin's most important Anglican restoration on account of its scale and completeness. It has more Pugin stained-glass windows (eighteen in all) than any other Anglican church, some of them among the earliest made by the Birmingham firm of John Hardman which was also responsible for executing Pugin's profuse metalwork designs.

Like many other medieval churches at this time, St. Mary's was in a dilapidated condition when, in 1835, the Revd. Henry Alford was instituted as vicar. Alford – a scholar, hymn-writer, and future Dean of Canterbury – was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, which held the patronage of Wymeswold, and this almost certainly accounts for his appointment to the benefice. More significantly, one of the tutors at Trinity (and Master of the college from 1841 to 1866) was the Revd. Professor William Whewell (1795-1866), a founder member and a vice-president of the Cambridge Camden Society. Henry Alford joined the Society in 1844, the year in which he began the restoration of St. Mary's.

As a Catholic, Pugin was unable to join the Camden Society (though, curiously, honorary membership was offered to French Catholic architects such an A–N. Didron). He was however entirely in sympathy with its objectives of restoring the fabric of England's medieval churches and the furnishings and ornaments which they had contained before the advent of 'that sacrilegious tyrant Henry VIII and his successors in church plunder'[1] Pugin designed the Society's seal, incorporated extracts from some of their pamphlets in one of his key publications, and hailed *The Ecclesiologist* as 'a monthly publication that has long been a desideratum, devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical researches and intelligence'.[2] In a letter of Camdenian to J. F. Russell, Pugin wrote,



St. Mary's, Wymeswold, looking west

> I think the publications of the Camden Society will do immense good. If I can do anything to further the views of the society by communications or otherwise I shall be most happy to do so[3]

It is not known precisely how Henry Alford came to know Pugin, but a strong possibility is that they met through a mutual friend, Ambrose Phillipps, who lived not far away at Grace Dieu, where Pugin was a regular visitor. Like Alford, Phillipps had been at Trinity, Cambridge, and although – like Pugin – he was a convert to Catholicism, he had many Anglican friends, and nurtured the hope that the Catholic Revival in the Church of England would help to bring about the reunification of the two Churches. Phillipps' biographer, E. S. Purcell, mentions that Henry Alford was also a regular visitor to Grace Dieu, and of Pugin's work at Wymeswold he writes tellingly:

> . . . the beautiful parish church underwent restoration at Pugin's hands, the first of the old parish churches to be restored upon Catholic lines with return-stalls and a rood-screen.[4]

By the early 1840s Pugin was already working on Catholic buildings in this part of Leicestershire, financed largely by Ambrose Phillipps and the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, for example at Shepshed, Mount Saint Bernard Abbey, Ratcliffe College, and Grace Dieu Manor. His diaries record several personal visits to Wymeswold between April 1844 and September 1845.

The condition of the church prior to restoration is described by Henry Alford in his *History and Description of the Restored Parish Church of Saint Mary, Wymeswold:*

> . . . On preparing to enter the church from the west, the first thing worthy of notice was the fine early perpendicular doorway, of a kind not uncommon in towers of this date in Leicestershire. This goodly portal, now the main entrance to the church, was, however, then only the door to a kind of pigsty or worse, dark and filthy, the receptacle of coal, and firing, and rubbish of all kinds. Having made his escape from this place into the church, the stranger found himself under the shadows of a vast and hideous gallery, by which the beautiful tower arch was entirely blocked from view . . . The chancel was devoted to the girls' Sunday school: the space within the rails to parish meetings. In that area, connected in every Christian's mind with the most holy rite of his religion, sounded the obscene brawls and blasphemous oaths of the village farmers . . .

There were some significant survivals of medieval furnishings: a few oak benches with carved ends, and the remains of the rood-screen which a previous incumbent had removed to the east wall of the chancel. The three-decker pulpit/reading-desk/clerk's desk

St. Mary's, Wymeswold, looking east

St Mary, Wymeswold, Leics from the south west

were 'of the faintly carved and uninteresting character commonly called Jacobean', while the 'rude and plain modern stone basin' which served as a font had a wooden cover resembling 'some article of furniture of a game of chance at a country fair'.

As the lay impropriators, the Master and Fellows of Trinity College bore the cost of repairing and re-seating the chancel (£445). Though the remainder of the fabric was the responsibility of the parish, Alford declared that he would neither levy a rate on the parish nor solicit individual parishioners for subscriptions. Instead he applied for grants from the Incorporated Church Building Society and the Leicester Church Building Society, and launched a general appeal. The Camden Society made a grant of £10, and by the end of 1846 he had £1,750 of the £2,228 needed to defray all costs. Alford made up some of the deficit through the publication and sale of his beautifully-illustrated account of the restoration. Printed by Vizetelly of London, this cloth-bound and gold-blocked book was sold to subscribers at £1.1s, and to others as at£1.10s.[5]

A wide range of furnishings and fittings for the interior, including the stained glass for the windows, was presented by various benefactors, and most of them were designed by Pugin. Included in Alford's list is the stonework of the east window (£20) and the building of a new and lofty chancel arch (£110) to replace the existing one which 'was mean and low, and for some reason had been placed two feet out of the centre of the building'.[6]

Pugin's structural work at Wymeswold was of a conservative

St Mary's, Wymeswold, North Porch

nature, and something of a lesson to other church-restorers. Though he had come to regard the Perpendicular style as inferior to his beloved Middle Pointed, he carefully preserved the Perpendicular features of St. Mary's, renewing the stonework of the aisle windows, which have ogee-headed lights under segmental heads, and the east window which is of five lights with a transom. He also restored the upper sections of the tower, and added a two-storeyed north porch with an ornate front and a polygonal chimney. Pugin believed that church porches had a proper liturgical function, and of two-storeyed porches of the Wymeswold type he wrote:

> Porches in England frequently consist of two stories *(sic)*, the upper room having been appropriated formerly to the purposes of a library, a school, or muniment room.[7]

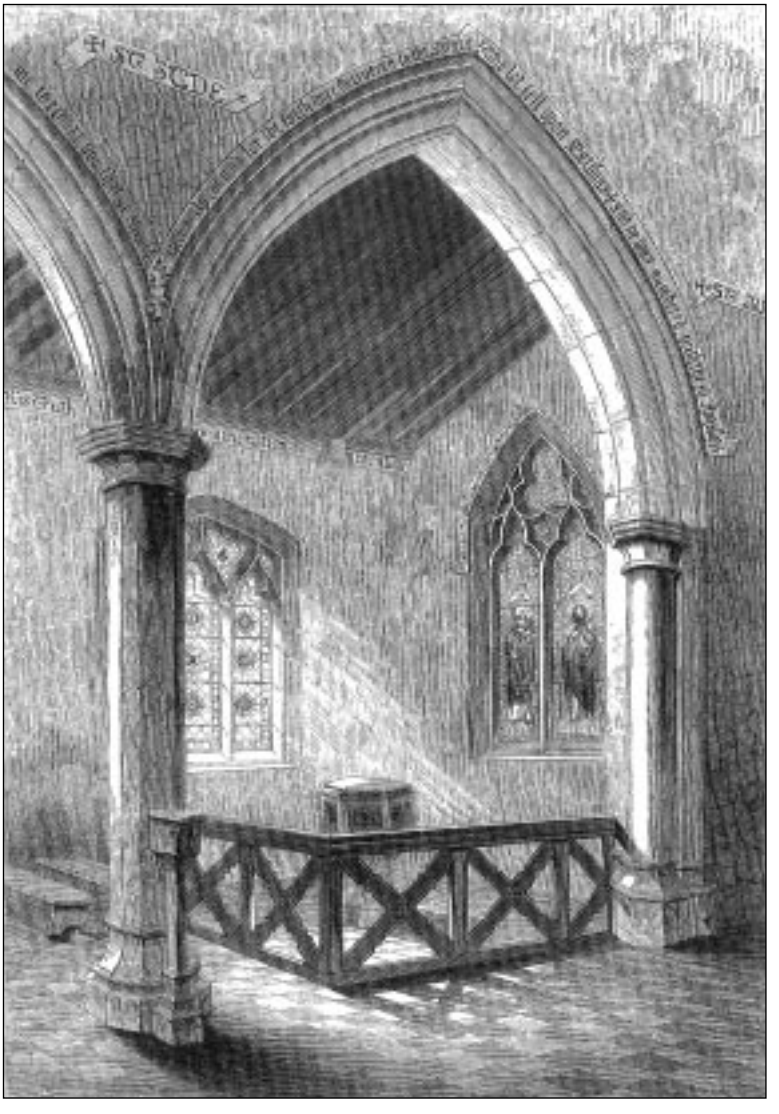
For the stonework and most of the timber-work at Wymeswold, Pugin employed George Myers (1803-75) of Lambeth, who worked on many of his other building projects.

Myers also carved the pulpit, sedilia, and font, the latter being placed at the west end of the south aisle inside a baptistery defined – as Pugin believed it should be – by a low timber screen. The nave roof was replaced, and Myers' men worked so quickly that it was completed in the interval between two Sundays so as not to interrupt services.[8] It has arch-braces supported by stone corbels in the form of angels holding shields. Pugin designed new benches for the nave to match the existing medieval ones; likewise the chancel screen and the chancel stalls. The stalls have poppyheads and traceried panels, and they are set after the fashion of a college or cathedral choir, i.e. with returned stalls facing east just inside the screen. Other timber items included a (still extant) bier, and the lych-gate for which some of the old roof-timbers were utilised. Portions of the medieval screen, and also some of the original roof-bosses, were carefully preserved, and they are currently displayed at the west end of the church.

Pugin's metalwork designs were carried out by John Hardman of Birmingham. They included two ironwork *coronae* for the nave, with blue-painted lettering.[9] The Biblical texts are both concerned with light: 'Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works . . .' (Matthew 5.18), and 'O send out thy light and thy truth that they may lead me . . .' (Psalm 43.3). Hardman also supplied a set of candle-sconces, and a large Bible bound in oak, with engraved brass corners and clasps.[10] The decoration of the church was carried out to Pugin's designs by a local painter named Ferriman, but the stencilling and Biblical texts applied to the walls have since been obliterated. The chancel roof, however, remains much as Pugin and Ferriman left it, with gold stars powdered on a blue ground, and verses from the *Gloria in excelsis* on the principals.

Two memorial brasses by Hardman are presently obscured by the chancel carpet. They consist of floriated crosses with inscription plates commemorating two children: Rosa Sarah Morris (d. 1828) and Frederick Western Morris (d. 1831).[11] They were commissioned by John Morris (1826-93) who spent time at Wymeswold reading with Henry Alford before commencing his formal studies at Cambridge. Admitted to Trinity in 1844, Morris joined the Camden Society, became a Roman Catholic in 1846, and was later secretary to Cardinal Wiseman.

The stained glass at Wymeswold is particularly important as it marks Pugin's transition at this time from William Wailes (1801-81) to his friend and well-established metalwork-manufacturer John Hardman (1811-67). Wailes was the third stained-glass manufacturer Pugin had used to execute his designs, and none was entirely satisfactory, so he challenged Hardman to take it up. The first recorded reference to the stained-glass project is in a letter



St Mary's, Wymeswold, Baptistery

from Pugin to Hardman written in mid-February 1845: 'I am scheming a stained glass shop – but this only between ourselves'.[12] The east and west windows at Wymeswold were made by Wailes, as were the figures in some of the aisle windows (**nvii** and **six**), but by the end of November 1845 Pugin and Hardman were making their first glass, which was for St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw. The first glass for Wymeswold (a three-light window for the south side of the baptistery, **sviii**) is entered in Hardman's Glass Daybook at 15th December 1845. *The Ecclesiologist* reported in its November 1845 issue that the quarries in north and south windows of the chancel were being done to the designs of John Hardman Powell (1827-95), Hardman's nephew and Pugin's sole pupil. Powell was only eighteen years old at this time, and had

only recently (December 1844) come under Pugin's tutelage. His work on the Wymeswold windows is significant as being amongst the earliest of the executed designs of the artist who was to continue the Pugin style of church furnishings until the end of the nineteenth century.

The windows (which have been the subject of separate studies),[13] may be summarised as follows

I East window by William Wailes, 1845. Two rows of five figures under canopies, with tracery. Upper: St. Andrew, St. John the Evangelist, The Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Thomas, St. Barnabas. Lower: St. James the Great, St. Peter, Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, St. Paul, St. Matthew.

WI West window by William Wailes. Three lights with tracery. The lights are made up of white quarries with patterns outlined in black. The middle light has a vesica with the *Agnus Dei*. Above and below are red roundels inscribed in yellow with IHS monogram. The side lights have roundels with symbols of the four Evangelists: on the left an angel holding a text, and a winged ox with a text; on the right a lion and an eagle.

nii and **sii** are of three lights with transom, by Hardman, 1845. They are made up of white quarries by Powell. The patterns are outlined in black and touched with yellow silver stain. Two of the tracery pieces in both windows have roundels set against red ground, with emblems of the Passion: the crown of thorns, the seamless robe with dice (nii); and pincers, hammer and nail, and crown of thorns (sii).

nii and **siii** are plain with stained heads bearing emblems of the Passion.

niv Three lights with tracery by Hardman, 1848. The side lights are filled mainly with plain white quarries, but some towards the middle have black and yellow silver-stain patterns, or patterns of black outlined scrolls with IHS monogram. The middle light shows the Nativity under a canopy: Mary, Joseph, cradle, ox and wheatsheaves, inscribed *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. In April 1848 Henry Alford wrote to John Hardman, 'The window has arived safe . . . I like it very much, all but the face of the child which is not pleasing'.[14]

nv, **nvi**, **nvii**, **sv** & **svii** are of three lights with tracery. The lights are of plain quarries except for nine black-and-yellow silver stain patterned quarries which form a diamond shape in the middle of each light. The tracery pieces are filled with geometrically-patterned glass. J. Hardman did the tracery only. **sv** has crowned heads of queens outlined in black and set in roundels.

nviii A two-light window by Wailes. St. Stephen in a dalmatic holding a blue palm in one hand and a pile of stones in the other;

St. Philip similarly attired, and holding a book.

sviii Three lights with tracery, by Hardman, 1845. The lights are made up of white quarries patterned with a tripartite leaf outlined in black, with three coloured roundels inset into each light. The central roundel has the *Agnus Dei*. The tracery lights have heads of kings outlined in black, and set in roundels.

nix Three-light window – the first to be done by Hardman, 1845. The lights consist of white quarries patterned with flower-heads outlined in black around yellow silver-stain centre. Each light has geometrically patterned roundels.

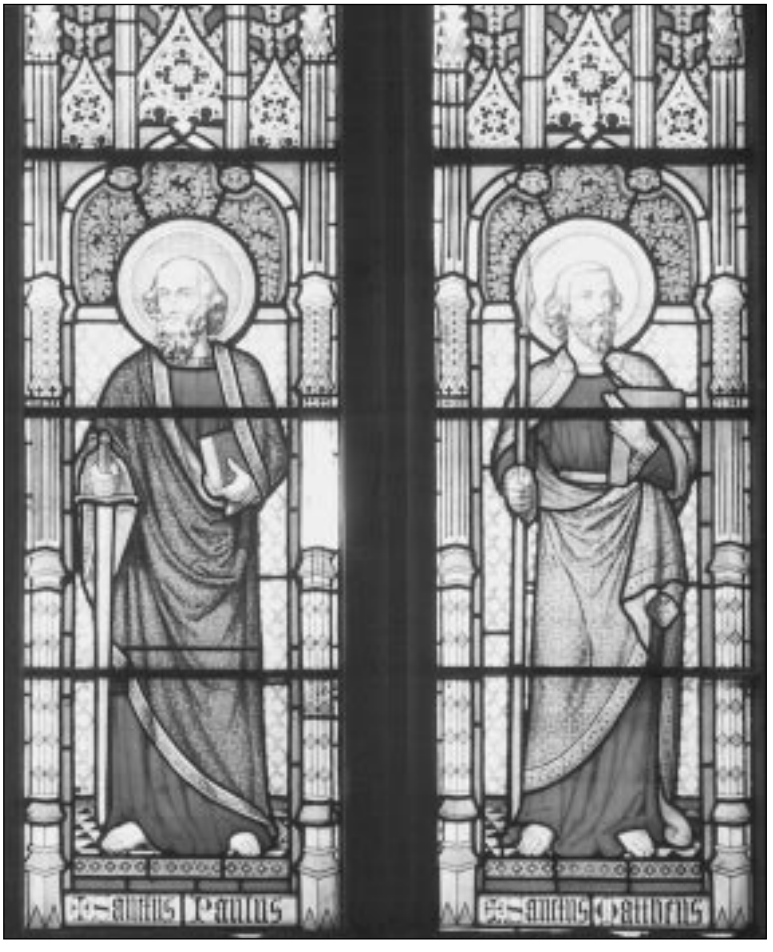
six A two-light window by Wailes, commemorating the baptism of Clement Henry Alford (son of Henry and Fanny Alford), 1844. The left-hand light has the figure of St. Clement in dalmatic and chasuble, right-hand light has St. John the Baptist holding a circular plaque with the *Agnus Dei*. The inscription below reads, *Clementem Henricum Alford tibi vindicavit Christus/baptizatum intemeratum anno salutis MDCCCXLIV.*

Nativity Window

This leaves just **siv** and **svi**. The former, at the east end of the south aisle, was commissioned in 1853 as a tribute to Henry Alford's ministry at Wymeswold when he left the parish to take charge of the Quebec Chapel in London. It shows the Ascension of Christ, with the apostles looking on, and with angels in the tracery. Since it was always Alford's intention to have more figures in the windows at Wymeswold, it is thought that Pugin initiated the design, but the work was completed by John Hardman Powell. Finally, **svi** is now a First World War memorial window done in the early 1920s by Alexander Gascoyne of Nottingham. It replaced a Pugin-Hardman window, the tracery lights of which are currently stored in the vestry.

Papers in the Hardman archive show that **sviii** and **nix** were altered, ornamental quarries being substituted for the original plain ones; 'Hardman . . . has made the lights of plain transparent glass instead of flowered or figured quarries as the tower window is done – and this gives them a mean and hall staircase sort of look. Can we by sending them back have the plain glass altered?'[15]

The extent and quality of the glass at St. Mary's are of considerable significance in the careers of A.W.N. Pugin and John Hardman, as early evidence of their ventures into the manufacture of stained glass. The restoration as a whole reveals a very thorough, re-ordering of a parish church along the lines advocated by the Camden Society and favoured by Pugin. This is seen particularly in the provision of a chancel screen, choir-stalls, a sedilia, open benches in the nave, and a clearly-defined baptistery. As with other projects, it brought together the team of master-craftsmen upon whom Pugin had come to rely: Hardman for metalwork (and now for stained glass too), Myers for carved stone and wood, and



Two Lights, East Window

Herbert Minton of Stoke-on-Trent for the encaustic tiles. Pugin also liked to use local craftsmen and artists whom he could train in his own methods, and here he had the painter Ferriman to do the interior decorating.

Henry Alford was anxious to show that the restoration of his church was not just a matter of architecture and aesthetics. His aim was also to restore the daily Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, which he had done by January 1846. 'Without it', he wrote, 'no external decoration is even justifiable . . . without it, not only are the clergy not faithful to their engagements, but all their other exertions will be incomplete'.[16] In spite of what some might have viewed as *advanced* liturgical arrangements in the chancel, and Latin inscriptions in some of the glass, there appear to have been no accusations of *popery* when the church re-opened in 1846 with three days of festivities.[17] The screen – naturally – lacked the Rood which Pugin considered to be the principal *raison d'êntre* of chancel screens. Twenty years earlier the introduction of even a plain cross into a nearby village church at Shepshed had caused an

uproar, long before the spectre of *Romanism* was raised anew by the opponents of the Tractarians and the Camdenians.[18]

In his account of the restoration, Henry Alford voiced his opinion of Pugin as 'the most eminent Architect of the present day'. Interestingly, the book was reviewed in the Catholic periodical, *The Tablet*,[19] which further highlights the importance of Pugin's work at Wymeswold. Alford's praise of Pugin is significant for another reason too, namely that it came only a few months after *The Ecclesiologist* had published an anonymous derogatory article entitled, "The artistic merit of Mr. Pugin".[20] Alford was clearly among those Camden Society members who disagreed with the tone of the article; and, for his part, Pugin continued to receive Anglican commissions. An important, but little-known one, was at All Saints' Leigh (Staffordshire) where Pugin refurnished the chancel in a manner almost identical to Wymeswold, with screen, choir-stalls, a big east window by Wailes, and Minton tiles.[21]

As part of a major restoration scheme at Wymeswold, the Parochial Church Council have begun to restore the windows. The work is being undertaken at the John Hardman Studio in Lightwoods Park, Birmingham, where the fine tradition of stained-glass manufacture established by Pugin and Hardman is being maintained and extended, working, where appropriate, from the original Hardman archive of designs and cartoons. Three windows have already been restored and reinstated, and more are scheduled for 2005. It is a bold undertaking, and the parishioners of St. Mary's deserve to be encouraged and supported in their efforts to maintain a building of such special significance in the history of the Gothic Revival.

The author wishes to record his special thanks to Ginny Westcott, of Wymeswold, for the splendid photographs she has kindly provided to illustrate this article. Ginny is at the forefront of the fundraising for the restoration programme, and would be pleased to hear from anyone willing to offer help and support, or who would like to visit the church (tel. 01509 880878). The John Hardman Studio, which is also undergoing significant development, welcomes visitors by prior arrangement. It has important collections of archive material, metalwork and stained glass (tel. 0121 429 7609).

Notes

1 A.W.N. Pugin, *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England* (1843), London: Charles Dolman 1843, p. 95.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 88. *Present State* consists of a re-print under one cover of two articles which Pugin had written for the *Dublin Review* in 1841 and 1842. It was in the first of these articles that Pugin highly praised the Camden Society and quoted extensively from its recent pamphlets on the care of ancient churches and the designing of new ones. The pamphlet, *A Few Words to Church Builders*, was hailed by Pugin as 'the first distinct publication which has issued from the Establishment, in which ecclesiastical architecture is viewed in its true light' (*Present State*, p 61)

3 10th November 1841. M. Belcher (ed.), *The Collected Letters of A.W.N. Pugin,* vol. I, 1830 to 1842, Oxford, OUP 2001, p. 285.

4 E.S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle*, London: Macmillan 1900, vol. 1 pp. 340-341.
5 There is some doubt as to the publication date of this book. Alford's Preface is dated St. Matthew's Day (21st September) 1846, yet the account of the stained glass windows mentions the Nativity in the east window of the north aisle, which was not installed until 1848. The illustrator has not been identified, but the lithographer was J. R. Jobbins.
6 H. Alford, *op, cit.,* pp. 19-20
7 A. W. N. Pugin, *Present State,* p. 24.
8 Henry Alford, *op. cit.,* p. 19. See also Patricia Spencer-Silver, *Pugin's Builder,* Hull: University of Hull Press 1993, p. 65.
9 Details of these are held in the Hardman Metalwork Daybook (Birmingham Central Reference Library) 13th November 1845: '2 coronas with 7 lights, Round iron coronas painted with Inscription & Gilded Balls & Chains' at a cost of £20, and '2 Iron Chains 29 feet long & 2 Hooks painted blue'. See also Belcher (ed.), *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin,* vol. II, 1843 to 1845, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003, p. 353.
10 The brass fitting were inspired by those seen by Pugin on a medieval missal in Mainz cathedral, and he used similar ones for the velvet-bound missal at St. Giles', Cheadle.
11 Details of the correspondence about these brasses are in Belcher, *op. cit.,* vol II, pp. 443-444, and a rubbing of them is shown in Brian Andrews, *Creating a Gothic Paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes,* Hobart: Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery, 2002, p. 107.
12 Belcher *op, cit.,* vol. II, p. 343. In February 1846 Pugin wrote to Lord Shrewsbury, '... I have quite succeeded in establishing my new manufactory for stained glass at Birmingham. I shall now be able to make very fine windows with old thick glass etc...' *House of Lords Record Office,* Historical Collection PUG/3/1/15.
13 Stanley Shepherd, *The Stained Glass of A. W. N Pugin c. 1835-52,* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham 1997, vol. 2 Appendix 1, pp. 529-537, which is the principal source of information given here on the Wymeswold windows. I am grateful to Dr. Shepherd for allowing me to use his thesis, which is currently being prepared for publication. A study by Ginny Westcott, 'Pugin and the Windows of St. Mary's Church, Wymeswold', was published in *The Wolds Historian,* Wolds Historical Organisation, No. 1, 2004.
14 Letter from Alford to Hardman, 20th April 1848; Stanley Shepherd, *op. cit.,* vol. 2, Appendix I. Alford hoped to put figures into the side-lights (the Annunciation and the Epiphany) as and when the necessary funds became available, but they never did.
15 Henry Alford to Pugin, 1st January 1845. M. Belcher, *op cit.,* vol. II, p. 453
16 H. Alford, *op cot.,* p.ii
17 G. Brandwood, "Mummeries of a Popish Character", in Webster & Elliott (eds.), *A Church as it should be,* Stamford: Shaun Tyas 2000, p. 95. See also, G. Brandwood, *Bringing them to their knees: church-building and restoration in Leicestershire and Rutland, 1800-1914,* Leicester Historical Society 2002, pp. 18-20.
18 E. S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps,* vol. I, pp.6-7. The cross was presented to Shepshed by Ambrose Phillipps while still a teenager and an Anglican.
19 *Tablet,* 1850, pp.165-72.
20 The author of the article was in fact the Society's Chairman, A. J, Beresford Hope, who seemed to be trying to distance the Society from Pugin and limit his influence. This does not, however reflect the views of the Society as a whole, or of the *Ecclesiologist*. For a discussion of this issue see the letter by Rosemary Hill in *True Principles: the Voice of the Pugin Society,* vol. 2 no.4 (Summer 2002) pp.41-2; also R. O'Donnell, "blink [him] by silence? The Cambridge Camden Society and A. W. N. Pugin", Webster and Elliott, *op. cit.,* pp 98 - 120
21 Leigh church was built in 1845-6 by Thomas Johnson, a little-known architect from Lichfield, for the Bagot family of Blithfield Hall. Pugin designed only the chancel furnishings. Pugin's account book for this period contains notes about the stalls, the east window and the tiles (Belcher, *op. cit.,* vol. II p. 206).

The Organ, the Ambo and the Pulpitum. A further look at the screen in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen

Jane Geddes

IN 2004 A MAGNIFICENT NEW ORGAN, designed by Bernard Aubertin, was installed on top of the choir screen in King's College Chapel, Aberdeen. The temporary disturbance and enhanced lighting has led to further enquiries about the original design of the screen.[1] Undoubtedly the ensemble of medieval woodwork in this chapel is the finest in Scotland. Not only that, amongst all the medieval university chapels in Britain, the Aberdeen stalls and screen are unique survivors. In all the other Scottish medieval universities, and in Oxford and Cambridge, liturgical developments or changes in fashion have resulted in wholesale removals, destruction or replacement. Because of its unique importance and intrinsic beauty, the Aberdeen choir screen deserves to be placed in a wider context, using examples from England and the Continent.

Fig. 1. King's Chapel, as restored in the 1890s. This shows the pulpitum from the east side, with the 1891 organ in the centre and Macpherson's reconstructed screens and canopies on either side. Below the windows on the left (south) is the elevated doorway which formerly led from the sacristy to the rood loft, before the screen was moved westwards in 1873.

Once before, in 1891, the installation of a new organ provoked a detailed enquiry into the original design of the screen, with Norman Macpherson advising the architect Rowand Anderson on its assembly. Macpherson's triumph was to re-instate the 'ambo' (a small canted bay) on the west parapet of the screen, and reconstruct the delicate arcade with coved canopies above the pulpitum. (Figure 1) This paper questions Macpherson's reconstruction and reflects on the original function and appearance of the screen.

The King's Chapel pulpitum is a double oak screen.[2] That is, it has two solid walls supporting a generous loft above and enclosing considerable internal chambers on each side of the central doorway. These chambers were used for storage and access, lit by delicate tracery openings on the west side. They were each entered by a door on the west side. The original depth of the

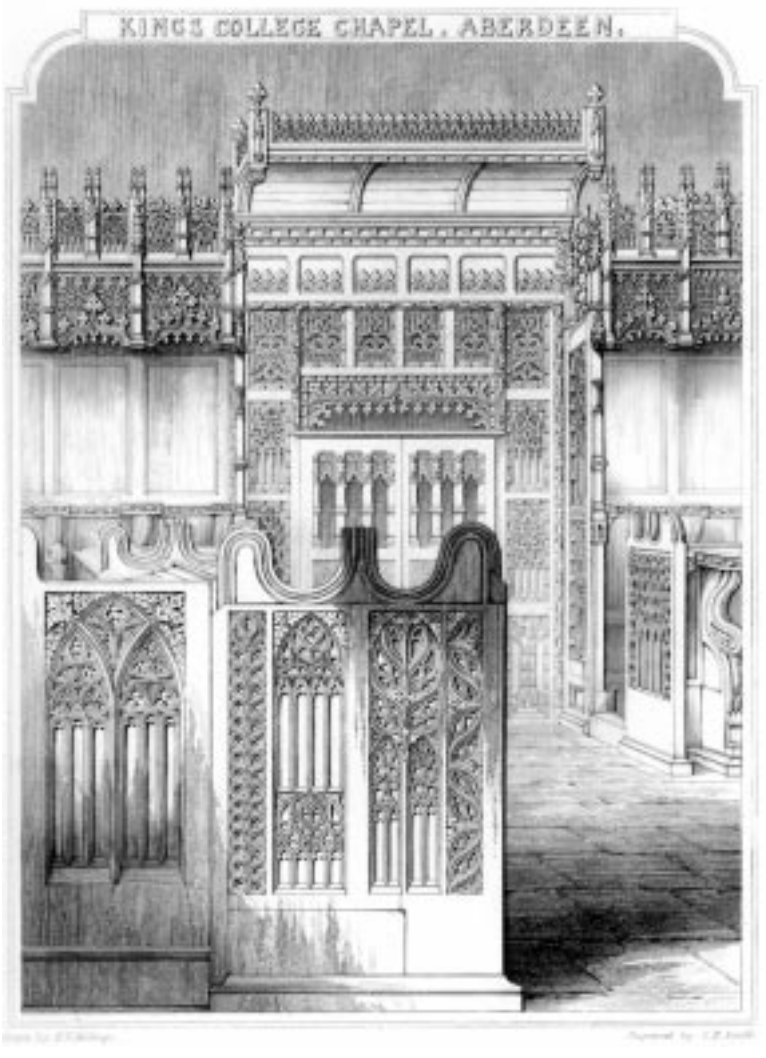


Fig. 2. King's College Chapel, east side of the stalls and screen, 1845, engraved by Robert Billings.

Fig. 3. King's College Chapel screen, west side, 2004. This shows the plain medieval panels and the three coved canopies.

screen is not known because all the interior structure is post-medieval, and the passage through the central doorway is all nineteenth-century pine. When the screen was moved in 1873 (see below) the space between the east and west walls could have altered.[3] On its east face the stalls, with their lacy canopies, rise magnificently to the platform where there is a low modern parapet behind the canopies. (Figure 2) In the centre is the *tour-de-force* of the great carved doorway and doors, topped by a coved canopy. The west face is now much plainer. (Figure 3) The two original doors, in the north and south corners, have neat chamfered panels, unlike the remaining lower panels on the west side, which are quite coarse. Above the western medieval panels various changes have taken place since 1773, including the removal of the 'ambo' (twice). At present there is a parapet of decoratively perforated panels from the 1960s on each side of the west doorway, and finally the screen is capped by three original elaborately decorated canopies. (Figure 3) On either side of the screen's west doorway, carved stone retables once backed the nave altars to Mary and St Germanus,[4] and this explains the rough blank panelling which provides our first impression of the screen today (Figure 4).

Hector Boece, who witnessed the construction of the chapel, related that Bishop Elphinstone, founder of the university, commissioned the choir woodwork 'made with wonderful art'.[5] The stalls and screen were probably made between 1506, when the lead was put on the roof of the chapel, and its dedication in 1509. The carpentry team was probably led by John Fendour of Aberdeen.[6]

Documentary references [with present author's italics]

The screen is first mentioned in the 1542 Inventory of the university. The date is significant because at this stage the university was functioning fully, according to both the founder's intentions and the pre-Reformation liturgy:

> The altar of the rood loft, above which are the crucifix (*Altari solii crucifixi, supra quod est crucifixus*) and statues of the holy Virgin and St John the apostle and evangelist. A linen veil for use in Lent, covering the crucifix and the two statues aforesaid, to which a red cross is sewn. The ornaments of the same altar given by Sir William Elphinstone, parson of Clatt ... A hanging vesture in which the figure of the crucified is woven in wool and silk with various flowers and images. Two cloths for use of the altar. A chasuble of dark red worsat cloth with maniple, stole, and five apparels embroidered with flowers of gold and silk, and an alb with amice and girdle. Also a small printed missal given by the same parson of Clatt. Two candlesticks; they are described among other things. A great veil of linen to be hung before the statues of the Saviour and the apostles on the front of the rood loft in time of Lent'.[7]

William Elphinstone, prebendary of Clatt, assigned in 1512 an annual rent for masses to be said for the souls of Bishop Elphinstone and family; and further masses for the most sweet name of Jesus Christ and the Five Wounds of Christ, 'every week for ever in the highest loft of the crucifix of the said collegiate church'.[8]

This rich description assumes there was a screen below, then a platform or loft with a row of statues across the (west) front, perhaps forming a parapet as they do at Lübeck. (Figure 11) On the platform there was an altar, and above it the familiar, almost life-size, medieval statues of Christ on the cross (the Rood), flanked by Mary and John. These figures could be suspended from or stand on the great rood beam which traversed the nave, or they might rise from the rood loft itself. There was external access to this screen from the sacristy on the south side of the choir, by the elevated doorway in the south wall, and possibly also by internal staircases rising from the nave doorways. Later on, in the same Inventory, comes a reference to the loft of the organs:

> 'Small tables' [pictures] in the church:
> ... another having the image of the crucified, hanging above the organ loft, the gift of Master John Wauss.
> In the organ loft (*in solio organorum*):
> The organs themselves with the image of the holy Virgin in the upper part of them.[9]

Eeles, who edited the Inventory, was puzzled by the mention of both a rood loft and organ loft. 'This language is almost enough to suggest a second loft, but in a church arranged like this it is impossible to think of a place for it. The probability is that the part of the [rood] screen where the organ stood was called the organ loft.'[10] However, the endowment of 1512 for masses to be said at the altar on 'the highest loft of the crucifix' suggests a lower or at least lesser loft elsewhere. Subsequent documents described below demonstrate that there was an additional loft for the organ, separate from the pulpitum (Figure 4.).

After the Reformation in 1560 the screen was no longer required for liturgical purposes, but no doubt it served to keep the draught out of the university and synod meetings which were subsequently held in the east end. The west end was used ignominiously as a store and even stone mason's yard.[12] Seventeenth-century references mention that the image of the Virgin on the organ, 'painted in a course draught, the portraichte of some woman, nobody could tell who, [who] had hung ther half brockne and wholly neglected for many years', was taken down in 1640, and the organ itself 'of fyne wanescot' was removed in 1642.[13]

Next come some useful descriptions from visitors who introduce the additional feature of the so-called ambo or pulpit for the first time. There are no illustrations of the ambo in its original location. William Orem wrote in 1725 'in this chapel there is a middle wall of timber, and above it an excellent loft with a pulpit on the left side thereof where the priest preached; and Bishop Elphinstone's desk below the said loft yet remains entire. The organ loft is entire but in 1642 Principal Guild caused to take down the organ case'.[14] In this passage he is looking at the west face of the screen because his previous sentence dealt with seating on the east side. The location of the pulpit 'on the left side' is ambiguous in this context but it is clearly elevated and above Bishop Elphinstone's desk. Orem distinguishes between the 'loft with the pulpit' on the middle wall and the 'organ loft' elsewhere.

Bishop Pococke visited in 1760. He observed 'The church is an oblong square and the body is divided from the quire by a fine carved screen and gallery with a pulpit in it, and under that are two carved seats. On the south side is a small gallery as for music and covered with a carpet; the stalls of the quire are of the same

beautiful Gothic carved work. ... This church is not used except for giving degrees'.[15] Presumably one of these seats was Bishop Elphinstone's desk, mentioned earlier by Orem. Pococke clarifies the ambiguity about the lofts previously mentioned in the Inventory and by Orem: there were two lofts. This explains why the clerestory windows are of varying widths on the south side. Most of them have three lights, but the last window, at the west end, only has two lights. This created extra wall space for a tall organ. The loft was entered from a door below.[16] The significance of this organ loft and spacious blank wall is discussed later.

Then in 1773, the nave or western part of the chapel was converted into a library. Billings illustrates the arrangement in 1845, with an engraving which provides us with the first visual record of the west end of the chapel.[17] (Figure 5) Unfortunately, Billings' view faces west, so we have only a verbal account, by Francis Douglas in 1782, to explain the appearance of the library book cases across the east wall, namely the pulpitum:

> In the west end is a large Gothic window, and from the centre of the wall below begins a screw stair, spreading to both sides of the room, and leading to the galleries which occupy the whole length and go across the east end. The bottom of them is fourteen feet ten inches deep, and the shelves of the book presses are one foot and three inches ... Above the books on the east end, is some very curious carved work on the boards which divide the library from the chapel, to humour which the cross gallery has ancient rails; but in my opinion they neither look well nor at all correspond to the modern ones.[18]

So, we may imagine a gracious gallery going all the way around the nave, with book shelves above and below, eighteenth-century on three sides but combining with the existing medieval screen and parapet on the east side. Above the pulpitum platform, the entire space up to the roof was boarded up to enclose the library.[19] However, this east wall of the library managed to incorporate carved medieval work along the parapet ('ancient rails'), and had some additional and apparently ungainly old wood ('very curious carved work') above the book cases.

Contemporary documents demonstrate that the building works for the library conversion were more extensive than previously imagined. There are two sources: the Senatus minutes providing a considered rationale for the work, and bills listing what actually took place.[20] Any builder will appreciate that these two types of evidence may not correspond in detail. Work began in June 1773 by ripping out the surplus wooden structures. The account begins with '3 days of a man taking down the old seats; 3 days for 4 men taking down the Galries',[21] and again 'to the workmen that took down the Gallery'.[22] Since the great pulpitum

was retained, this demolished 'gallery' sounds like the organ loft along the south wall of the nave.

The initial scheme for the nave/library conversion, drawn up by John Adam in 1773, was rejected.[23] However his illustration shows the almost unbelievable appearance of a fireplace in the middle of the east wall, immediately in front of the screen. This would have required a chimney just to the west of the lead steeple in the roof.[24] The neater solution, which was adopted, involved two vents (presumably from cast iron stoves) 'carried up in the two corners adjoining to the partition, the chimney tops to terminate in something like the eminences presently on the side walls'.[25]

The scheme to seal the library from the chapel was sensitive to the medieval remains:

Fig. 5. King's College Chapel, the nave, facing west, converted to a library in 1773, engraved by Robert Billings, 1845.

> it may be enclosed for a Library in such a manner as not to appear altogether a separate room, but a part of the chappel, connected and communicating with the other part. In order to do this, it was suggested that from the floor to the bottom of the gallery [ie up to the loft] a brick partition be carried up joining to the present timber partition; that the present door folding back into the chapel continue as it is, and that a strong close door be hung to the brick partition and fold back into the library; that the partition above the gallery be finished close with wood on both sides, only that there be above the tops of the presses three windows framed so as to correspond with the present windows in the side walls, which will further preserve the appearance of communication with the east end of the chappel.[26]

How this simple instruction was carried out is discussed later.

Church services had resumed in the east end of the chapel in 1824, and in 1870 the library was dismantled and removed to increase space for worship.[27] The official recommendation in 1872 states 'To restore the chapel by connecting the nave and choir it would be necessary to remove and rearrange the ancient carved fittings and screen ... also to pave the floor'.[28] In 1873 came the drastic move, when the entire pulpitum and stalls were shifted one bay westwards to enlarge the choir. This had a profound impact on the entire logic of Bishop Elphinstone's interior. It destroyed the sacred geometric proportions of the building; it radically reduced lighting levels in the nave by subtracting one great north window; it detached the screen from its little stone doorway high on the south wall. It also rendered meaningless two tiny details in the brattishing (the lacy cornice between the ceiling and the wall head). The mighty rood beam was removed from just above the elevated doorway. One can see a short section of five brattishing loops inserted to cover the scar of the beam on the south side. Also, between the first and second windows on the south side, one can see the brattishing change to a smarter more complex design. This marked the end of the choir stalls and the beginning of the presbytery.[29]

No visual records were made of the west side before this event and we only have the recollections of the chapel's historian Professor Norman Macpherson. 'Until the other day [1873] there was an ambone of oak over the [rood]doorway and on either side balustrades of the same pattern. Now only six panels of balustrade remain over the doorway while six panels and the ambone were carried away at the last repairs of the chapel'.[30] The painting by F.W.Lockhart shows the screen at this bereft stage.[31] (Figure 6) Three coved canopies (the central one grossly distorted to look enormous but actually the same size as it is today) project from the upper edge of the screen. They were previously fixed to the top of the bookcases over the gallery. There is no parapet arrangement, and no projecting pulpit or ambo, only six old parapet panels beneath the central canopy.

Fig. 6. King's College Chapel, west side of the screen between 1873 and 1889, by F.W.Lockhart. (Copyright: Aberdeen University) This shows the blank panels of the west walls of the screen and six openwork panels which formed part of the original parapet above the doorway. The three coved canopies are original but the proportions of the central canopy are grossly distorted. The rails of an internal spiral staircase can be seen top right.

Such depredations caused enormous regret to the ecclesiologists. Macpherson asked indignantly, 'Why should those canopies have been lowered to a new and utterly meaningless position?'[32] Earlier, Pugin had fulminated against the 'modern ambonoclasts', those people who showed 'great irritability at vertical lines, muntans of screens or transverse beams and crosses. The cloven hoof [of the modern ambonoclast] is now so visible that men are looking out in expectation of the tail, and are already on their guard'.[33]

Around 1873, while the chapel fabric was temporarily in the hands of the Office of Works, the ambo and some panels of the carved parapet found their way to the vault below Parliament House 'for safe-keeping'.[34] Macpherson took advantage of the new organ project in 1889-91, to insist on a full restitution of the missing parts to the screen.[35] But he had a problem. He could not work out how the canopies had originally been fixed, so high up above the book cases. He had made a sketch in about 1845 showing the great rood beam stretching from wall to wall above the screen[36] and recalled the central canopy was fixed to it. Then Mr Kerr from the Office of Works recalled that he had seen a pile of lumber behind the bookcases on the screen. This apparently revealed that each side canopy was supported by 'seven uprights of oak ... with the upper ends of the uprights grooved on both sides' for the reception of tracery panels like those on the doors below.[37] This discovery led Macpherson to reconstruct on top of the pulpitum the astonishing spindly open screen with its stupendous coved canopies.[38] (Figures 1, 7 and 8) He also reinstated the parapet panels and the canted ambo above the door.

All Macpherson's clever detective work was to no avail. In 1960 a new organ was installed. With minimal documentation, the lofty open screens were removed, and a new parapet of flat panels enlivened by simple openwork motifs replaced the ambo and its matching original panels. The canopies were lowered again but the muntins (slender wooden columns or uprights) with their tracery, and the parapet panels, were destroyed.[39]

The Function of the Screen

The rest of this paper essentially asks fundamental questions about what actually took place on and around the screen and questions Macpherson's reconstruction. The first object of enquiry is the so-called ambo, currently hanging forlorn on the west wall (Figure 9). The three canted openwork tracery panels were only identified as an 'ambo' by Macpherson in 1888.[40] Before that the little structure was called a pulpit, based on evidence from 1725, long after the original liturgy was forgotten. Its various titles reflect changing liturgical attitudes. After the Reformation, the pulpit was the natural heart of a church while the exotic-sounding ambo came from a feverish phase of ecclesiological revival, imparting to the simple bay an elevated liturgical function. In

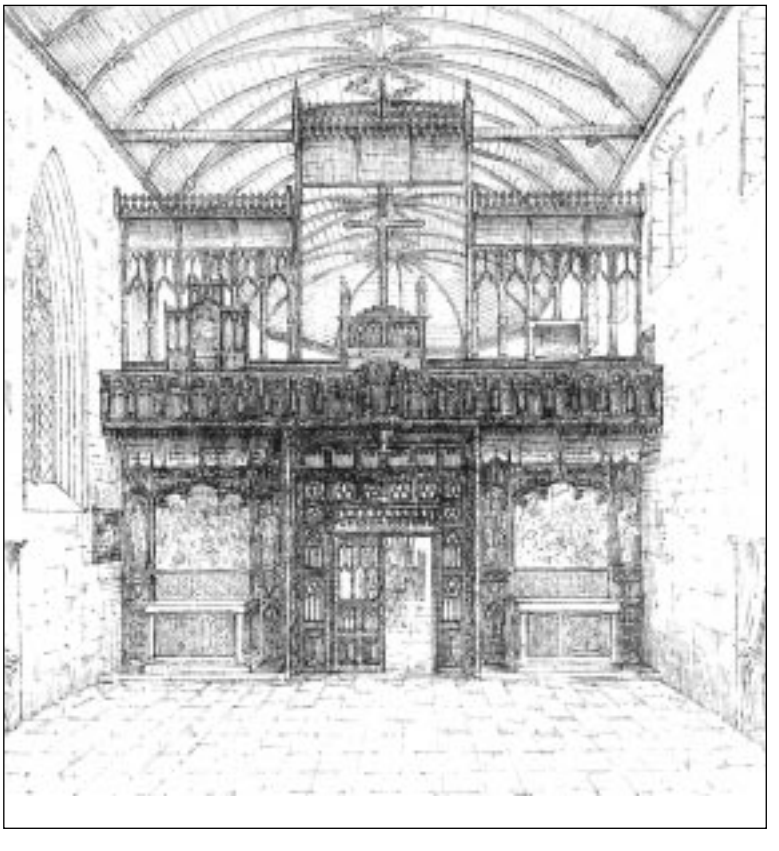


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the pre-Reformation screen, from the west side, by Norman Macpherson. This shows the nave altars with stone retables. The parapet, supported on coving, culminates in the projecting 'ambo' above the central doorway. On the pulpitum loft Macpherson places the rood altar, with rood and celure above. On either side are the muntins and canopies, with an organ on the left and an image of the crucifixion on the right.

Macpherson's time even the 'rood' itself was a proscribed word.[41] In this article, the ambo will eventually be designated a 'decorative canted bay'.

An ambo is a raised platform in the choir. According to Durandus in the thirteenth century, its name indicated that one walked up the steps to it *(quia gradibus ambitur)*.[42] In the early Christian church there were two: one on the north side of the chancel for reading the gospel and one on the south for the epistle. An elaborate early example is at St Clemente, Rome. At Salerno the reader is safely embraced within a semi-circular bay on the twelfth-century epistle ambo, while the gospel ambo projects from the parapet in the shape of a stone lectern.[43] By the sixteenth century the word in Scotland simply meant lectern or desk. The chapel Inventory mentions 'Brass ambones *(ambones ennei)*, one for singing the gospel; another for the epistle and the third for lessons'. These would have stood at the east end near the altar, on the north and south sides with perhaps the third in the middle. The fourth ambo was made of wood ('a small vesture of arras for covering the wooden ambo. Another [vesture] for similar use, woven with coneys [rabbits]'). This was probably the essential ambo which stood in the centre of the choir for the two chanters

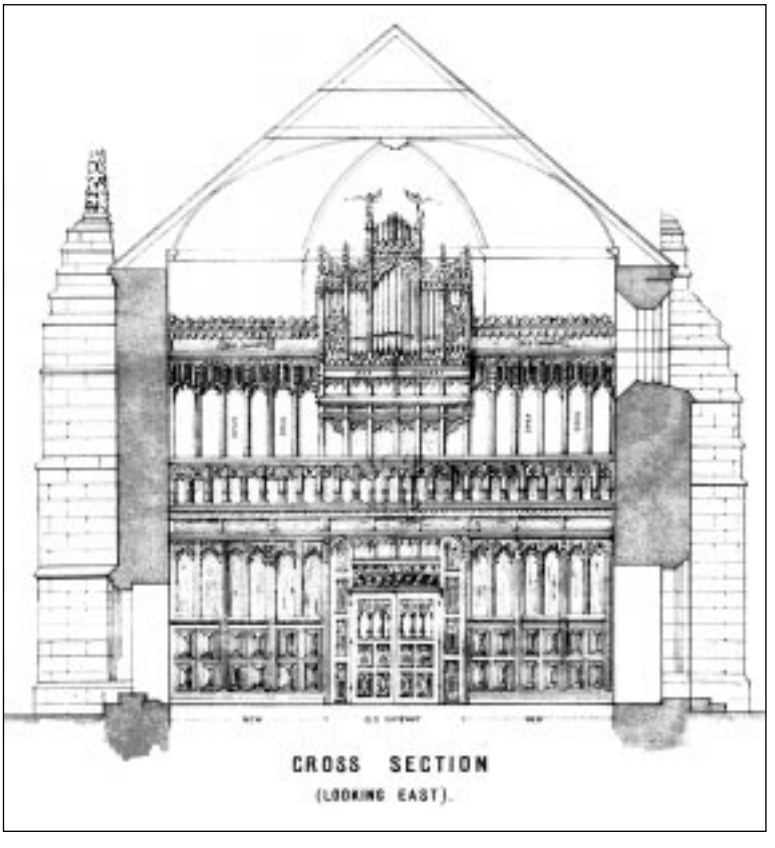


Fig. 8. Design for the screen and organ, 1889 by Rowand Anderson.

but it is just possible that this wooden ambo stood within the canted bay in the parapet.[44] The Rites of Durham, describing customs in the cathedral before the Reformation, refer to a 'letterne of wood like unto a pulpit standing and adjoyninge to the wood organs, over the Quire dore, where they were wont to sing the nine lessons in the old time on principall days, standinge with their faces towards the High Altar'.[45]

In English usage the word 'pulpitum' means the loft or gallery from which the epistle and gospel were read. This solid, enclosing loft is not found in parish churches, but was an essential feature of greater churches, including cathedrals and collegiate chapels. This was because the greater churches needed to separate the continual round of exclusive services at the east end from the hubbub of secular activity which took place in the nave. The 'pulpit' as a separate structure for preaching in the nave was introduced in the fourteenth century.

According to the Sarum Consuetudinary and Customary (the service book used generally throughout England and Scotland in the Middle Ages) the pulpitum was used for singing lessons at matins, reading the epistle, singing the gradual and alleluia, reading the gospel from the eagle desk on Sundays and great days, reading the lesson at Mass, singing the Genealogy at Christmas. After the last collect the subdeacon went from the altar to read the epistle on the pulpitum every Sunday and special day. On other days the epistle was read at the choir step from the lectern. However, because the clergy were assembled in the presbytery below, the epistle and gospel were read out facing east, 'standinge with their faces towards the High Altar'.[46] During the procession before High Mass on Candlemas Day, Easter Day and Rogation Sunday, three clerks sang the verse 'turned to the people', ie facing west.[47]

These instructions were standard for every cathedral and collegiate church which followed the Use of Sarum, and that accounted for most of Scotland. All major religious activity took place in the presbytery, and almost all actions on the pulpitum were directed eastwards. Lincoln Cathedral had extremely detailed instructions for the procession to the pulpitum. Fourteen people were needed for the correct procession to reach the pulpitum from the presbytery, so there was a need for a dignified access to the screen.[48] The stone staircase at Lincoln, rising from within the pulpitum arch, is appropriately spacious. It was quite common to have an altar on the pulpitum, and in many cases the organ was also located there.[49]

As a result of this liturgical activity, one might expect to find evidence of the reading station on the loft. A few of the English 'great churches' have a canted bay in the centre of the pulpitum parapet, but this bay faces east, looming over the choir stalls. At

Fig. 9. The 'ambo', King's College Chapel, Aberdeen

Great St Mary's, the Cambridge university church, the 1521 contract for the rood loft specified it should have 'a poulpete into the myddes of ye queyr'.[50] This feature is found at St David's Cathedral, Carlisle Cathedral (originally Priory), Hexham and Dunster Priories, Lincoln Cathedral, Tattershall Collegiate church, and Ripon Cathedral (formerly collegiate church).[51] At Tattershall the parapet consists of a stone desk sloped to hold books, in the solid parapet behind the cresting (114 cm high). At Ripon, the parapet of the canted bay is 66 cm high, not much protection if you are standing behind it, but safe if you are sitting and playing the organ. In the middle of this projection there is a vertical groove from which a small wooden hand sticks out and, in connection with the organ, rises up and down to beat time.[52]

In the greater or collegiate churches of England, the canted bay, constructed for whatever purpose, on the west side, is unusual. At Howden collegiate church, the west face of the pulpitum has four canted bays on the parapet, two at each end. These are simply a decorative device. They are merely a continuation of the projecting tabernacles over the niches below.[53] In parish churches, the bay is a tiny rare feature on a few late medieval rood screens.[54] Rood screens in parish churches become common in the later Middle Ages.[55] They created a protected space in the chancel but, unlike the pulpitum, they were always perforated so that the congregation could witness the Mass clearly. They tend to have solid panels up to dado level, and the upper part is usually a delicate open arcade with perhaps some tracery at the top of each arch. The muntins and tracery may be topped by a coved canopy surmounted by a parapet. Above the screen there could be a painted tympanum of the Doom or Last Judgement or sculptures, figures of the Crucifixion, flanked by Mary and John. If there was a loft above the screen, it tended to be a narrow structure supported by the bressumer (a great beam fixed from wall to wall). Often the somewhat precarious loft only had a low parapet on the west side.

Vallance was unable to establish the function of the little projections but conjectured that they might contain an organist's seat.[56] This is unlikely at Aberdeen because the organist was operating in a separate loft. Mansel Sympson, having initially suggested the 'projecting western feature' in Lincolnshire provided a stand for the crucifix, reluctantly conceded it might have been used as a 'pulpit in the modern sense of the term'.[57]

In these parish churches, problems of access indicate that the little 'pulpits' were not for regular preaching. At Lullingstone there is not even a staircase to the loft. Elsewhere, stairs to the rood lofts are often extremely constricted and undignified. The feature at Coates-by-Stow, Lincs, which has the closest resemblance to

Aberdeen is a shallow canted bay in a panelled parapet. (Figure 10). Both are very similar in size (Coates 24 cm deep, 97 cm high; Aberdeen 32 cm deep, 94 cm high). Quite simply, they are too small to stand in and too low to support a book. (The good reading shelf at Tattershall is 114 cm high). I would therefore suggest that in Britain this feature is a decorative enhancement of sacred space. Its function was not to enlarge the loft but to provide an emphatic frame for the chief sculpture on the parapet.

Macpherson asked Principal Geddes to check the ambo for him. 'Please examine the ambone carefully and see if there are traces of statues in the large open arches as well as in those two small niches'.[58] He concluded 'Tell-tale marks of nails in the niches of this gallery disclose that they were enriched with statues'.[59] The Inventory explains that these statues were Christ and the twelve apostles.[60] Such an arrangement would require a central emphasised bay, flanked by six more panels on each side. At the Marienkirchen, Lübeck, larger statues stand within the panel frames, while smaller ones project on pedestals between the panels, a very similar arrangement to that proposed for Aberdeen.(Figure 11)[61]

The canted bay is found on a group of sumptuous stone screens in the Netherlands. In each case, the parapet is made up of a series of niches containing statues, focussing on the central projecting bay which may be larger and frames the main subject of the screen, often Christ. The screens are contemporary with the King's Chapel screen and later: Aarschot, 1510-25; Tessenderloo, *c.*1510-25, Lier 1530-40; Walcourt, 1531, Diksmuiden, 1535-44, Mons, 1534-49 and Tournai, 1572.[62] (Figure 12) Bangs suggests the sudden appearance and then disappearance of the 'vestigial

Fig. 10 Coates-by-Stow, Lincolnshire.

ambo' is connected with the activities of religious fraternities during this period, in particular reading to the congregation the names of deceased donors to the church. However, Aarschot shared a telling constructional detail with Coates-by-Stow. In both examples, part of the parapet runs across the back of the canted bay. At Coates, the bressumer running all the way across the church, level with the top of the parapet, blocks the bay.[63] At Aarschot, the blocking is a decorative frieze. Thus, in both cases the beam or frieze prevents any access to the bay from the back, and the bay's only purpose is to provide visual emphasis to the front.

Bangs makes the further suggestion that at Weesp and St Jacobskerk, Utrecht, the central feature of the screens was to display the host in a monstrance.[64] Weesp even has a pedestal. This may resolve problems about the sacrament house and the exposition of the host which puzzled Eeles at Aberdeen.[65] He considered that the 'extra-liturgical cultus of the eucharist' had developed further in Scotland than in England before the Reformation, with influences coming from the Low Countries and Rhineland. This is witnessed by the concentration of sacrament houses in north-east Scotland.[66] By 1542, Alexander Galloway had supplied King's Chapel with an 'altar of the venerable sacrament' and 'above this altar ... a place for the sacrament in pyramidal form given by the same person'.[67] A fine sacrament house of this type, also donated by Galloway, survives at Kinkell, a cupboard embedded in the wall.[68] However in 1549 Galloway (and others taking part in a Visitation to King's) ordered that 'there shall be a lamp continuously burning before the venerable sacrament, and that the small monstrance shall be placed in the church at once in a higher place *(in loco excellentiore)* for the keeping of the said sacrament with all the reverence which is

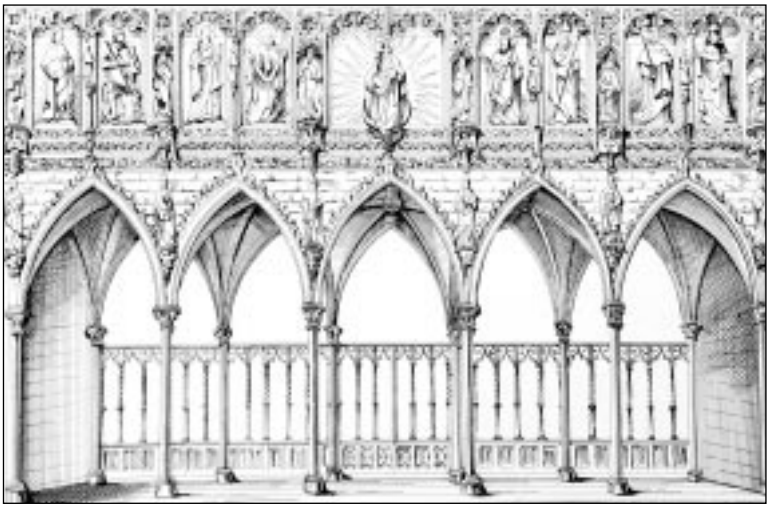


Fig. 11. The pulpitum at Marienkirche, Lübeck, showing the arrangement of statues within frames, alternating with statuettes on pedestals. From Pugin, 1851.

possible'.[69] Since Galloway had already provided the sacrament house to conceal and protect the host, this monstrance was clearly a separate issue. The pulpitum loft with its prominent bay depicting Christ, and already sanctified by the Rood and rood altar, could have provided this 'higher place' to display the host- albeit fifty years after the loft was constructed.

All these comparisons from England and the Continent show the projecting bay in the centre of the parapet but there could be two, one at each end, as in the Frairi, Venice (1475).[70] In terms of structure, these are substantial reading desks, comparable to the early ambones at Salerno. In terms of Italian mendicant liturgy they appear to be unusual, providing space for the gospel and epistle reading, facing west.[71] At Aberdeen the evidence indicates that there was only one structure and it was likely to be in the centre. Orem's description that it was 'on the left' may be misleading. Perhaps it was not on 'on the left' as one faced the screen, but on the left if you had climbed into the pulpitum loft from the sacristy stairs on the south side.

It would be simple to concur with Macpherson that the Aberdeen canted bay was indeed a pulpit for preaching, or an ambo for reading the lesson, including perhaps the six occasions of the year when the Principal was enjoined by the constitution to preach the Word of God to the assembled university.[72] However Orem mentioned in 1725 that Bishop Elphinstone's desk stood below the screen, and he specifically distinguishes it from the pulpit above. If Orem's identification was correct, this desk sounds like the correct location for the Principal's Address. It would certainly be more dignified than creaking up the screen stairs and teetering over the little parapet. It is notable that the Inventory defines this entire area as the rood loft (a place for celebrating the Rood), and never as a pulpitum (a place for readings and announcements). The conclusion of the present argument, therefore, is that the so-called 'ambo' was merely a decorative feature placed in the centre of the rood loft, with the intention of displaying important statues to those assembled in the nave.

The Rood Screen

There is a problem with Macpherson's reconstruction of the upper part of the screen (Figures 1 and 7). He has in effect placed a fairly normal rood screen, transparent, with muntins supporting canopies, on top of a solid pulpitum. In the 1880s Macpherson's knowledge about screens was limited. He had read Pugin and appreciated the praise from Dean Stanley of Westminster,[73] but comprehensive surveys of British screens only appeared in the early twentieth century.[74] These books show no evidence whatsoever for any rood screen on top of a pulpitum. The same

seems to apply on the continent. On the other hand, at King's Chapel we are dealing with a unique Scottish screen, and there are no comparisons from British university colleges. So, Aberdeen might indeed have had a unique arrangement, but it is unlikely. In other Scottish aisle-less churches the normal arrangement was for a wide rood loft to be supported on stone corbels at the wall head, and the space below filled with an open screen. This applied both to collegiate churches like Fowlis Easter and Innerpeffray and the Greyfriars at Elgin and Aberdeen.[75]

Macpherson's struggles with the 1889 restoration were painful. He wrote to Principal Geddes 'You will add to my obligation if you can tell me of anyone who has a drawing of the nave while used as a library. I do not mean the west end but of the east end showing the old rood loft and canopies above'. 'If anyone has a drawing of the east end of the old library I would put it in rather than reconstruct from memory'.[76] He had to accommodate the six extra parapet panels and ambo recovered from Edinburgh and also the fragments of muntins. He was convinced the muntins and canopies formed a rood screen high above the pulpitum, but his proposal was not immediately accepted. Aesthetic if not doctrinal doubts were raised by the architect Rowand Anderson, who apparently attempted to remove it. Macpherson wrote, 'I was not a little shocked to find the note by Mr Anderson which you

Fig. 12. The pulpitum at Aarschot, Belgium showing the cornice running behind the vestigial ambo. Engraving by L.Haghe, 1840.

[Geddes] had sent me lying on my table. I shall be as mild on the rood loft as I can be but I cannot have the play of Hamlet with the Hamlet altogether omitted' (20 February) and 'I have acted largely on your hints as to not obtruding the word Rood and struck it out very often, but I cannot bring myself to strike it out altogether' (8 March 1889).[77] Was Anderson baulking at this reconstruction? Was the Principal gently teasing Macpherson for his popish tendencies or was the following suggestion to attach a carved deity to his rood serious? Unfortunately jokes or irony are so easily lost in a one-sided correspondence. Macpherson wrote 'As for that *Feegee God*. I strike out my note upon it. I am a thorough iconoclast. I want not the old figures restored - but I should not like on reflection that anyone should say that in Kings College a pagan idol had been nailed to the canopy designed to cover the Holy Rood. Possibly if it had been anywhere other than Kings College Chapel I could not have resisted the temptation and if you have it [that note] much longer you will have your neighbour Mr Leslie or some other Roman Catholic fanatic spotting what was done and publishing it'.[78] One can imagine heated debates among ecclesiologists wishing to restore ancient sacred images and their detractors replying that any statues were no more than idols. The *Feegee God* may have been a statue Macpherson later called 'that New Zealand carving', in which case it is probably the statue from Tonga mentioned in the 1887 catalogue at Marischal Museum. (Figure 13)

Fig. 13. Goddess from Tonga, in Marischal Museum. Aberdeen University. (Copyright, Aberdeen University).

By July, Macpherson had convinced Anderson and Geddes that his reconstruction was accurate. Anderson agreed 'the space on each side of the organ would be filled with light oak tracery compartments as it was originally, finished on the top with the old canopies raised to their original level'[79].

No doubt the canopies had rested on top of the bookcases since 1773. Douglas mentions both the medieval balustrade *in situ* and more old woodwork on the partition. But were all three canopies always fixed above the loft as Macpherson indicates? Consecutive items in the 1773 library conversion accounts mention: 'To panneling and lining for making good the mid partition; To lining some of the mid partition next the kirk and flooring above the coving; To lining the cross joysts above the end Galrie with wood and nails; To work and nails at altring the two canopys above the end Galrie' and later 'To 4 stays mad of old iron for fixing the canopys on the partition'.[80] Macpherson emphatically recalled the central canopy fixed to the rood beam but had no idea how or where the side canopies belonged before the book cases were installed.[81] The silence of the accounts may indicate that the central canopy remained unmoved on the rood beam, but the two side canopies were clearly shifted and adjusted.

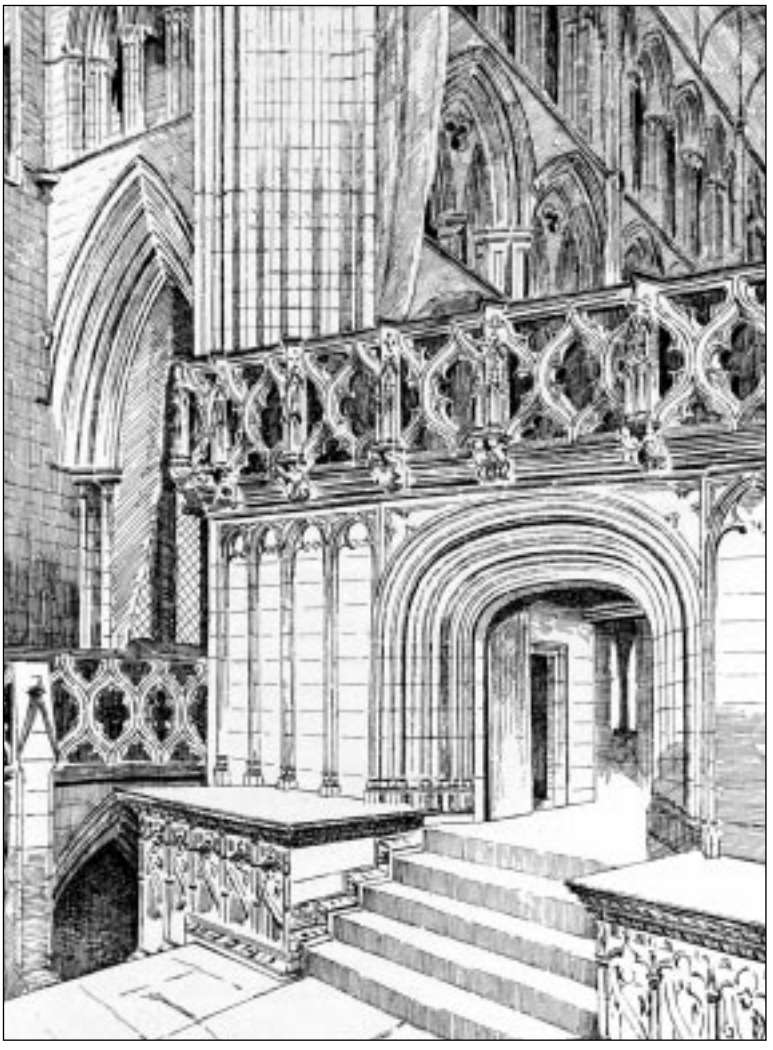


Fig. 14. Fifteenth-century pulpitum at Glasgow Cathedral, from Macgibbon and Ross.

Although nothing quite like the King's central canopy survives elsewhere, the device of a celure or special canopy placed above the Crucifix is found elsewhere, for instance, at St Martin's Carfax, Oxford; Dummer, Hants; and Woolpit, Suffolk.[82] Its function as a celure remains a possibility because the central canopy, now above the door on the west, is much grander than all the others.[83]

It is possible that the side canopies have reverted to approximately their original position, projecting at loft level to form a type of baldacchino above each nave altar. The muntins (of unknown length) could have been below them, serving as blind tracery across the present blank panels of the screen. When the brick library partition was built hard against the screen, any decorative projections had to move. 1773 accounts refer to 'framing to the brest [bressumer] of the end galrie' and 'setting up the brest of the end galrie; new wainscot to the brest'.[84] At

Hexham and Edington coving extends right across the breastwork of the screen, and both have tracery panels below.[85] At Exeter Cathedral the 'coving' is an extended open porch sheltering the nave altars, and they were originally backed by walls of blind tracery.[86] The fifteenth-century stone screen at Glasgow Cathedral also has tracery behind the nave altars, topped by a deep cornice and parapet.[87] (Figure 14). Anderson had intended to cover the blank panels at King's with new tracery (Figure 8).

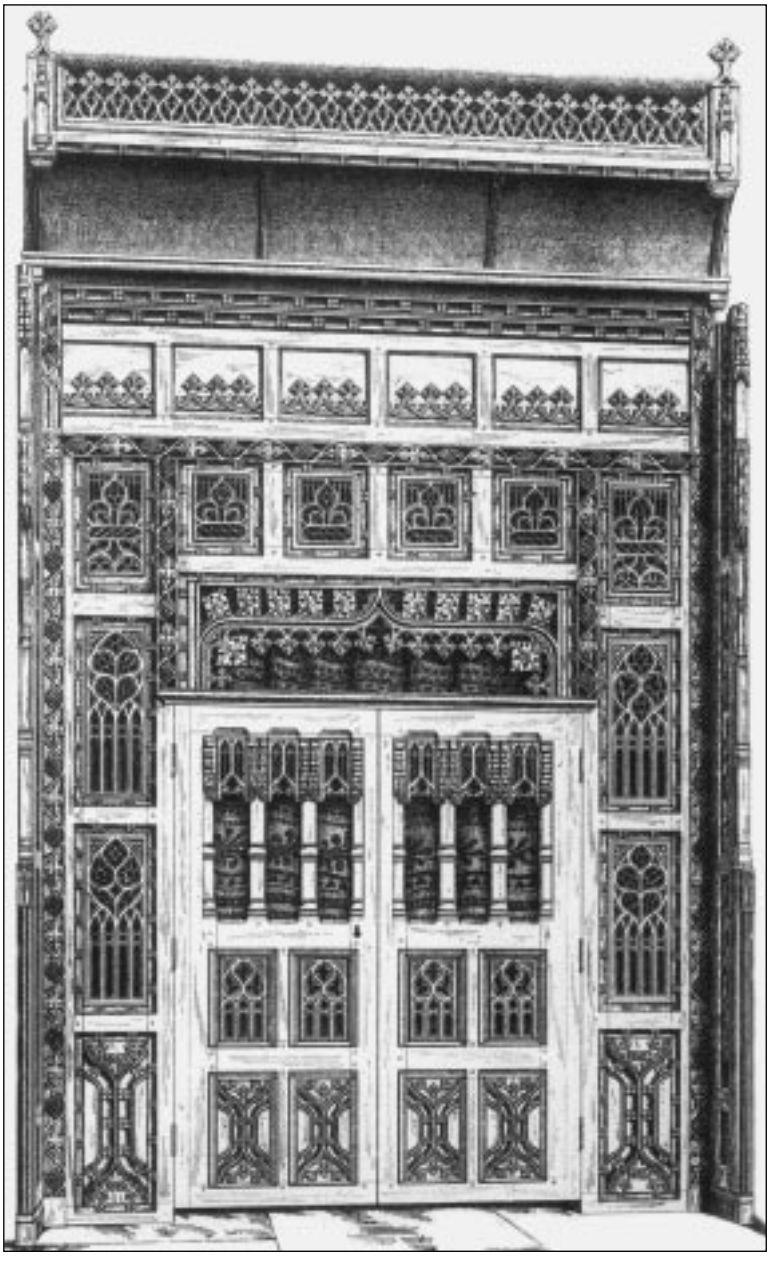


Fig. 15. King's College Chapel, screen doorway from the east side, by James Cromar Watt, 1884.

The great doorway

It seems almost sacrilege to question the authenticity of the great doorway, known through its iconic engravings by both Billings and Watt.[85] (Figure 15) Billings shows that in 1845 the doorway was in its present location, on the east side of the screen, adjacent to the Principal's stall. However, the doors are a poor fit. Their three tiers of panels do not match the adjacent dado and openwork. There is a sharply machine-finished stile added on each hanging edge, making each door about 5 cms wider. The jambs have been cut back and the elegant vine scroll abruptly terminated at the level of the lintel. The slender lintel above the door is an insertion. It is designed with a classical moulding, quite different from the stumps of half-round moulding which are visible immediately behind the insertion. The ogee arch with its Tudor ornament looks like an insertion based on the coping design of Elphinstone's coat of arms, now on the north wall. The ogee arch is made of different wood from the adjacent frame: a detail particularly apparent with a flash photograph. The door leaves interfere with access to the adjacent choir seats. And finally, they may not be doors at all. Along the opening edge of both doors are two long vertical mortices at matching heights. They are the type of slots designed to receive tenons, fitting bays of a screen together. Where did they come from and when were they moved?

In 1773 there clearly was an old door closing the pulpitum, with an implication that it was on the west side of the screen. The Senate proposals refer to it in close proximity to the new brick partition being built at the east end of the library: ... 'it was suggested that from the floor to the bottom of the gallery, a Brick Partition be carried up joining to the present timber partition; and that the present door folding back into the chappel continue as it is, and that a strong close door of the same dimensions be hung to the Brick partition and fold back into the Library'.[89] The accounts indicate 'a door in 4 parts between the kirk and the librarie' was made.[90] In spite of the recommendation to keep the old door 'as it is', it was clearly adjusted and rehung: 'to work at piecing the Gotic door and the rest of the Gotic work with nails ... to 3 pair hinges with screws two bolts ... a padlock ... to Gotic door'.[91] I would suggest that the doors were moved from the west to east side of the screen at this point, to relieve a somewhat congested space beside the new library door. On the western opening of the pulpitum, the jambs and soffit are covered by a post-medieval fascia, presumably covering up scars of the original doorway.[92]

On almost all pulpitums, where the original evidence survives, the great door is on the west side. This is quite natural since its function is to keep the *hoi polloi* out of the choir which includes the passage under the pulpitum. At Tattershall the doors are

magnificently stout and could be locked with a drawbar from the inside. On the east side there is generally an empty opening, or perhaps another set of doors.

Burial by the rood

Foundations for the new organ frame required two trenches to be hand dug beneath the screen. Alison Cameron of the Aberdeen City Archaeological Unit reports:

> In one of the trenches (on the north side), the pelvis and legs of a very fragmentary human skeleton were uncovered as well as a number of iron coffin nails. The upper portion of the skeleton was not present, and had probably been disturbed in the nineteenth or twentieth century. A sample of the bone was sent for radiocarbon dating but unfortunately the bone did not contain enough collagen to extract the required amount of carbon to get a reliable date. It would also be impossible to extract DNA from this bone, as it has been extracted most successfully from teeth, none of which survived in this individual. The disturbance noted during the excavation had allowed water into the grave and made the bone unsuitable for dating. It is possible in years to come, with improved dating and other scientific techniques, the remainder of the bone fragments could be dated, and the identity of the unknown occupant of the grave identified.

This grave originally lay in front of the north nave altar, in front of the screen. The significance of its location was obscured when the screen was moved one bay westwards in 1873. It is therefore likely that the burial took place while the altar was still in place before the Reformation, when this location still retained a sacred connotation. In the late Middle Ages, burial in front of the rood screen was a particular sign of devotion and Vallance records numerous medieval wills which specify that the testator wishes to be buried before the great rood, both clerics and townsfolk.[93] In this case the Inventory of 1542 indicates that the north nave altar received particular devotion from Andrew Cullane, Burgess of Aberdeen:

> The altar of the blessed Virgin Mary in the nave of the church, having a table 'enriched' by the sculptor's art, and two statues, one of the same Virgin, the other of the blessed bishop Kentigern. Frontals for the same altar. One of arras interwoven with figures of the holy ones and flowers embroidered on the silk by fine linen thread, the gift of Andrew Cullane a burgess of Aberdeen. Another of linen cloth woven with flowers, for everyday use, with a silk curtain, the gift of the foresaid Cullane.[94]

It would be convenient but perhaps too simple to assume that the body was indeed Andrew Cullane. The name occurs quite frequently in Aberdeen city records. Andrew Cullen, younger, became a burgess in 1491 and appears regularly in the city records

around 1500. He was a devout man who paid for lead on the roof of St Nicholas church in 1500.[95]

The glorious organ?

Macpherson had read Pocock's passage about the pulpit, but ignored the next sentence which revealed the second loft, for the organ. Macpherson was convinced 'Bishop Elphinstone put the organ on the screen;- at a time when it was required for two distinct sets of religious services, one in the choir for the members of the college and the other for the public in the nave. No doubt the organ was a very tiny one and a secondary feature but for the picture of the virgin, and it was probably placed to one side'.[96]

The new documentary and architectural evidence suggests, on the contrary, that the organ was clearly substantial: there was not enough space for it on the pulpitum and it therefore required its own loft. Moreover, it required a large space of blank wall behind

Fig. 16. The organ at Koorkerk, Middelburg, Holland. (Copyright, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg-Zeist, Netherlands). This organ is supported on a loft against the south wall of the church. It was moved from St Nicolaikerk, Utrecht.

the loft. Its body was made with 'fyne wanescote'. A great organ of this type, located on its own loft, against the wall of the church is found at the Koorkerk, Middelburg, Holland, made in 1480.[97] (Figure 16) At Middleburg the loft projects from the wall, accessed by stairs within the wall. At Aberdeen there is no intra-mural staircase but a door to the organ loft was repaired around 1666.[98] Presumably the loft was supported by a decent wood-panelled base. The earliest British comparison is at Old Radnor, Powys. This (heavily restored) organ from the early sixteenth century stretches from floor to ceiling and its woodwork is a vernacular mix of late Gothic and early Mannerist design, rather like Bishop Stewart's pulpit in King's Chapel (1532-45).[99] In 1760, the Aberdeen organ loft is described as covered with a carpet. This might have been an ancient relic from the foundation. Roger van der Weyden's depiction of a Flemish organ on the Ghent altarpiece, shows the instrument placed on a magnificent carpet.

Although organs were frequently, and most conveniently, located on the pulpitum, this was not always the case. Even on the pulpitum, the organist requires a mirror in order to see the choir below, and the documented arrangement at Aberdeen, with the organ on the south side, would also have needed a mirror (Figure 4). At Thame prebendal church payment was made in 1477-80 for making two lofts for the organs, at a time when the rood loft already existed.[100] At King's Chapel, Cambridge, a great organ was installed in 1508 and this could not have stood on the pulpitum because accounts mention that the screen was not yet built.[101] Comparative examples of organ lofts in Scotland are lost but the evidence shows a wide variety of possibilities. At St Salvator's, St Andrews University, the remains are complicated and inconclusive but may indicate an organ loft similar to King's.[102] There is a high-level doorway in the north wall, two bays from the west. In the north-west corner is an intramural staircase with a blocked passage leading eastwards, perhaps to reach this doorway. The doorway is too far west for the rood loft and it could have provided access to a separate organ loft. At Arbroath Abbey, the organ stood on the 'right side' of the church.[103] At the Chapel Royal, Stirling, in 1504, there was payment for work on the 'lofts' (plural) and according to the Inventory there were three organs, two with tin pipes and one with wooden pipes.[104] At Linlithgow Palace, in 1513 payments were made for eight grate brackets for fixing the organs to the wall.[105]

Inglis demonstrates that by the early sixteenth century there were Scots organ builders, many of them trained in the Benedictine abbeys. An Augustinian canon of Holyrood repaired the organs at Stirling and Edinburgh in 1506, and a monk from Kilwinning Abbey built the burgh organ at Ayr around 1534.[106]

Fig. 17. Edinburgh Castle, The Great Hall, panelling by Hippolyte Blanc, 1887-91.(Crown Copyright, RCAHMS).

However, other instruments were bought from abroad or else built in Scotland by foreigners. The Sir Edward Bonkil panel of the Trinity altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes (*c.*1478-9) depicts a small portative organ. In this case, the painting if not the organ, is by a Flemish artist for a Scottish patron.[107] The organs at Fearn Abbey were bought from Flanders before 1485; from 1511 to 1513, the royal organ maker was a Frenchman called Guillaume.[108] He was still living in Edinburgh in 1517.[109] Joos de Buus, a Bruges organ builder, was in Scotland in 1507 or 1508.[110] Since almost anything metal or technical associated with King's Chapel, from wheelbarrows to bells to Bishop Elphinstone's tomb, came from the Low Countries at this time, it is likely that the organ was also a foreign creation. A travelling Netherlandish organ builder like Joos de Buus or Guillaume 'maker of the king's organs' was the sort of person Bishop Elphinstone could commission.

The place of King's College Chapel stalls and lofts in the European Context

The Reformation, fires and damp, and liturgical evolution have robbed the woodwork at King's Chapel of any close comparisons

elsewhere. The great surveys of British screens by Vallance and Bond simply ignore Scotland while Hannah's Scottish account reveals how little is known of native examples. Particularly unfortunate are the losses from Elgin Cathedral which had a lavishly painted screen, and from St Salvator's, St Andrews which might have provided a collegiate model.[111]

It has been demonstrated elsewhere that the interior style at King's was closely related to the choir stalls and other fittings at St Nicholas parish church, Aberdeen, made by John Fendour in 1507-8.[112] Similar examples of such joyous virtuoso designs can be found on the chancel screens now around St Catherine's Chapel, Carlisle Cathedral (1484-1507) and Hexham Abbey (1491-1524).[113] The unusual construction of the 'residual ambo' appears to be initially decorative rather than liturgical. Whereas this feature is found occasionally in England in the late fifteenth century, it reaches its finest expression in the Low Countries between about 1510 and 1572. An accurate reconstruction of Macpherson's rood screen-upon-the-pulpitum seems to be no longer possible.

However, at King's College, the chapel fabric is complemented by the two Foundation Charters of 1505 and 1529, and the 1542 Inventory, an ensemble which allows a colourful understanding the medieval liturgy and setting.[114] No other northern European university can provide such vivid evidence of its original chapel activities.

The chapel is not as well known as it deserves, but an echo of its glory appears on the national stage. The architect Hippolyte Blanc served in the office of Robert Matheson while the latter was designing the new library at King's in the 1860s.[115] The chapel clearly inspired Blanc when he eventually created the splendid Gothic Revival interior to the Great Hall at Edinburgh Castle in 1887-91. This great national monument is an imaginative and sensitive homage to King's Chapel, Aberdeen (Figure.17).

Glossary of Terms

Ambo. Originally a raised platform in the sanctuary, one on the north side for reading the gospel, one on the south side for reading the epistle. It developed into a complex structure with staircase and elaborate parapet. The word was also commonly used for a simple lectern or reading desk.

Canted bay. A bay projecting forwards from a parapet.

Celure. A decorated baldacchino or ceiling canopy placed over the Rood.

Clerestory. A row of windows placed nearest the wall-head in a church.

Muntin. The narrow wooden columns supporting an openwork screen.

Pulpitum. A great screen in a monastic or collegiate church, closing off the chancel at the west end. The word means 'platform', referring to the raised area on top of the screen.

Rood. The great crucifix located between the choir and the nave or crossing. It could be suspended from the roof or stand upon the **Rood Beam**. The **Rood Screen** was an openwork partition, dividing the chancel from the nave or crossing. Sometimes it was large enough to support a loft which

bridged the width of the church. Generally found in parish churches, but some larger churches could have both a pulpitum and a rood screen.

Stile Principal. vertical member in the framing of a door or panelling.

I would like to thank Charles Tracy, Richard Fawcett , Douglas Hoare, Yvonne Hillyard, Jeremy Bangs, Neil Curtis and the staff of Historic Collections Aberdeen University, for their help in producing this article. Grant Simpson kindly provided several suggestions and amendments.

NOTES

1 New steel structural supports for the organ were installed within the body of the screen. No medieval woodwork was affected but supports for the previous organ were removed. An internal spiral staircase was installed on the north side, but difficulties in access through the north-west screen door led to its immediate removal.

2 It is 863cm wide, 186 cm deep and 295 cm high (up to the top of the original panelling). The central passage is 277 cm wide.

3 The two doors within the walls of the central passage are also nineteenth-century.

4 F.Eeles, *King's College Chapel, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1956), p. 37-38.

5 Hector Boece, *Episcoporum Murthlacen.et Aberdonen.. Vitae* [Paris, 1522] reprinted with translation by James Moir, *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, New Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1894), p. 93-7.

6 S.Simpson, 'The Choir Stalls and Rood Screen', in *King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, 1500-2000,* edited by J. Geddes (Leeds,2000), pp.74-97 (pp. 89-93). The design and origins of the stalls and their canopies are thoroughly investigated in this article

7 Eeles (1956), pp.16, 38-9.

8 Eeles (1956), p.74.

9 Eeles (1956), p.44. In the sixteenth century, organs (plural) do not specifically mean more than one instrument. In the same way 'virginals' is referred to in the plural meaning one instrument. Peter Williams, *A new History of the Organ* (London, 1980), pp.*19-21.*

10 Eeles (1956), 72-5.

11 Eeles (1956), 74-5.

12 C. McLaren, 'The Chapel, the College and the University, 1560-1945', in Geddes, 2000, pp.157-164.

13 J.Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs from MDCXXXVII to MDCXLI,* edited by J.Robertson and G.Grub, Spalding Club (Aberdeen,1841), III, p.218; J.Spalding *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England AD1624-AD1645*, edited by J.Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1841), I, p.124.

14 W.Orem, *A Description of the Chanonry of Old Aberdeen, in the years 1724 and 1725, by William Orem, Town Clerk of Old Aberdeen,* (Aberdeen, 1791), p.173.

15 Richard Pococke, *Bishop Pocockes Tours in Scotland, 1747,1750, 1760*, edited by Daniel William Kemp, Scottish History Society Publications 1.1 (Edinburgh, 1887), p.207.

16 AUL MS K 255/33. Mr Middleton's accounts 1663-66, p13, refers to 'the door under the organs'. It seems that the present south-west door to the nave was only inserted after 1773: AUL MS K 47, Minutes XII. Plans to provide adequate access to the nave at this stage would require the wall to be 'slapped for one door to the south'.

17 R.W. Billings, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1845-52) 4 vols, (Vol I, n.p.).

18 Francis Douglas, *A General Description of the East Coast of Scotland from Edinburgh to Cullen, including a brief account of the Universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1826 edn), (1st edn 1782), p.154.

19 AUL MS K 47/52-55. 'the whole west end was closed in for a Library, and so appeared as a separate room'.

20 Senatus minutes: AUL MS K 47, Minutes XII, 1770-1789, p.46-7, 7 April 1773, 'agree that the west end of the college chappel be immediately filled up for a library'. Accounts for 1773: AUL K 257/21/39/25.

21 AUL K 257/21/39/25.
22 AUL K 257/21/39/26. K257/21/39/28, June 1773, refers to a sale of 'old wood sold at the college, Library, first night, second night, third night'. This could refer to the old organ loft, but it could also refer to timber from Dr Fraser's library being demolished on the south side of the chapel. J.R.Pickard, *History of King's College Library, Aberdeen*, until 1860, 4 vols, Aberdeen, 1987, III, pp.119, 124-25
23 AUL MS K 252 I; AUL MS K 47/51-52; David M.Walker, 'The rebuilding of King's and Marischal Colleges, 1723-1889', *Aberdeen University Review,* 1993, LV, no 190, pp.123-45.
24 Mr Adam's plan 'must terminate in a chimney head in the roof hard by the spire' AUL MS K 47/52.
25 AUL MS K 47/53. 'Two and a half feet riven stone contained in the slab and chimney of the library' AUL MS K 257/21/39/5a; to wood for the 'brake of the chimnie', 'to bridling a couple where the chimnie goes through the roof' AUL MS K 257/21/39/25.
26 AUL MS K 47/53.
27 Between the 1850s and 1870s the library and chapel were decaying fast. The University was short of funds for capital expenses and the maintenance of the chapel was taken over by H.M.Office of Works. Government reports indicate the appalling conditions (AUL MS U 399, bundle 1858-62).The roof was leaking, the oak ceiling was seriously rotten, the north wall of the chapel was sopping due to accumulation of earth outside, the library floorboards were giving way (ibid, 26 Oct, 24 Nov, 1859). The library had run out of space. On its soggy floor 8000 volumes were stacked, blocking access to the shelves. The cases on the north side had to be pulled away from the walls due to damp. *Statement in reference to the buildings of the University of Aberdeen*, printed by John Hughes (Edinburgh, 1865), p 6.
28 AUL MS 388, bundle 1872-83, Office of Works estimate, 1872.
29 This brattishing division between choir and presbytery takes place in the same bay as the external string course steps down on the north side of the chapel. These divisions marked by the wall structure correspond to the original size of the college envisaged in Bishop Elphinstone's first foundation of 1505. By the time the stalls were constructed the college had grown, as demonstrated by the second foundation charter of 1514. See Simpson, in Geddes 2000, pp.74-76.
30 N. Macpherson, *On the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College Aberdeen* (Aberdeen,1889), p. 13.
31 The picture is undated but its disposition shows it must be after the screen was moved in 1873 and before the restoration of 1889.
32 AUL MS U 618, Macpherson's correspondence to Principal Geddes, December 1888-Dec 1889. N.Macpherson, *On the Chapel and Ancient Buildings of King's College Aberdeen* (Aberdeen,1889), pp.13,32.
33 A.W.Pugin, *A treatise on chancel screens and rood lofts* (London 1851), 98.
34 Macpherson, 1889, 33. AUL MS U 618, 5.5.89; 16 August 89.
35 AUL MS U 201, King's College Chapel Improvement Scheme, Minute Book, 1889-93.
36 Mentioned in a letter: AUL MS U 618, 10 Jan 1889. The sketch does not survive.
37 Macpherson, 1889, 34. Andrew Kerr, from H.M.Office of Works 'found much oak and also pine, that though much decayed he had no difficulty whatever in piecing the oak together and seeing that each side canopy was supported by seven uprights of oak, leaving six open spaces, that the upper ends of the uprights were grooved on both sides and ... he believed these grooves must have been made to receive carved tracery, and he pointed to the choir door to suggest a probable mode of treatment'. This restoration also began a sequence of changes to the great east portal. Billings' engraving of 1845 shows two rectangular rows of panels above the lintel. The lower row is filled with openwork fleurs-de-lys and the upper row has three Tudor flowers linked together, facing upwards. Photos after 1890 show this upper row has disappeared, but it seems to have been replaced after 1960 - with each panel turned upside down.
38 Macpherson, 1889, Pl IV; *King's College Chapel Improvement Scheme pamphlet*, 1889-92. Offprint in Aberdeen University Library, L AaP106.3 Imp 1.original print AUL MS U 946.

39 Aberdeen University Estates Office, Organ File 92/92, Dec 1953-Sept 1992. 12 Feb 1962:'The dry rot reinstatement work will be taking place ... and we should like if the replacement of the ambo could take place at the same time'. The ambo has not gone back and has hung on the west wall of the chapel since 1960. R.B.Williams, 'Music and Musicians since 1891', in Geddes, 2000, pp170-173, (p.171).

40 AUL MS U 618, 24 Dec, 1888.

41 Macpherson to Principal Geddes, 8 March 1889, 'I have acted largely on your hints as to not obtruding the word Rood and struck it out very often, but I cannot bring myself to strike it out altogether'. AUL MS U 618.

42 J.H.Parker, *Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian Architecture*, (Oxford, 1845), p.17.

43 W.St John Hope, 'Quire screens in English Churches', *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, (1917), pp.43-110, (pl. XI).

44 Eeles (1956) overlooked this example, which he records on pp.17 and 40, and asked what was used in the choir, p.51.

45 *Rites and monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham*. Surtees Society, 1842, p.14.

46 Ibid.

47 Hope, (1917), pp.46-7.

48 Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens* (London, 1947), p. 20.

49 Hope (1917), pp.49-50. There were altars on the pulpitums in the old chapels at St George's Windsor, and King's College Cambridge.

50 E. Mansel Sympson, 'On Lincolnshire Rood-screens and Rood-lofts', *Associated Societies Reports and Papers, Lincolnshire and Nottingham Archaeological Society*, 1890, vol 20, pt 2, pp.2-3.

51 Vallance (1947), St Davids, pl 64, Carlisle p.36, Ripon p.167, Lincoln,p.72, Manchester p.153, Tattershall, p. 172-3, Hexham, p.107; Hope, (1917), pls. IV, XXVI.

52 Vallance (1947), pp.168-9. It is not possible to discern if this device was original, but its groove fits neatly into the woodwork. It is claimed that Ripon, unique among the English great churches, had a complete stone pulpit on the loft, attached to its north west corner, for preaching to the west. Mr Moody, who identified the possible location for this pulpit during organ alterations in 1902, may not be entirely reliable. The pulpitum stands between the east piers of the crossing and previously the rood screen traversed the west piers of the crossing, so any sermons from the pulpitum would only have addressed the space of the crossing, not the entire nave. This pulpit is a battered coarse structure, now placed at the base of the pulpitum, on the north west side. Its putative location on the screen location is no longer accessible. Vallance (1947), pp.169. Hope, (1917), pp.61,64.

53 Hope (1917), p.64.

54 Western projections are found at Sleaford, Spalding and Coates-by-Stow, Lincs; Mobberley, Cheshire; Dunster, Somerset; Montgomery, Powys; Newark, Notts. Aymer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (London, 1936), p.72; Francis Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908), pp.119-123. Lullingstone, Kent (1522), J.Newman, *Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald*, (Harmondsworth, 1980), 386. Vallance (1936,p. 54) attributes the Lullingstone design to those Flemish craftsmen who worked on the stalls in Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey.

55 Vallance (1936),pp.31-47.

56 Vallance, 1936, p.72.

57 E.Mansel Sympson, 'On Lincolnshire Rood-screens and Rood-lofts', *Associated Societies Reports and Papers, Lincoln and Nottingham Archaeological Society,* (1890), 20, pt 2, pp.185-213, (pp.189, 204).

58 AUL MS U 618, 24 Dec 1888.

59 Macpherson (1889), p.13. At the edge of each panel there is a pedestal and canopy. Nails indicate that tiny statuettes were attached to the stile (vertical beam) behind the pedestal. The floor of the 'ambo' is renewed, so there is no longer any evidence for the attachment of larger statues within the open panels.

60 Eeles (1956), pp.16, 39. The iconography of Christ and the apostles, plus martyrs, is found on the painted panels at Fowlis Easter, Angus. These were made after 1452 and came either from the dado or the balustrade of the rood screen. Richard Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches*, Stroud 2002, pp.292-3.

61 Pugin (1851), pl V.

62 J.P.Bangs, *Church Art and Architecture in the Low Countries before 1566*, Sixteenth century essays and studies, XXXVII, (Kirksville, 1997), pp. 50- 67

63 Coates by-Stow screen was restored by Pearson in 1884. Before that, there was only a skeleton rood-loft, rood beam, some of the ribs of the coved cornice and some panels of the parapet. The restoration drawing of Dec 1883 by W.G.Watkins shows a fine traceried doorway in the centre. Mansel Sympson (1890), pp.206-207.

64 C.K.Kruisheer, *De Onze Lievevrouwe Broederschap te Doesburg*. (Ellecom 1976); Bangs (1997), p.46. At Lier, the vestigial ambo is capped by a lofty tabernacle. This seems to be a nineteenth-century fiction, based on false perspective in a sixteenth-century painting in the church., which appears to place the sacrament house over the pulpitum. Jeremy Bangs coined the term 'vestigial ambo'as a result of comparing the Netherlandish screens with Aberdeen (pers. comm)

65 Eeles (1956), pp.59-65

66 D.McRoberts, 'Scottish Sacrament Houses', *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, (1965) vol. XV, pt III, 33-56, p43

67 Eeles (1956), pp 36,59.

68 McRoberts, (1965), pp. 45-50.

69 Eeles (1956) p.63.

70 Pugin (1851), pl IV. By contrast, Viollet-le-Duc illustrates the reconstructed screens at both Notre Dame, Paris, and St Denis where there were two lecterns facing west, projecting above the parapet. These were for reading the epistle and gospel to the congregation in the nave. M.Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture*, (Paris, 1866), III, pp.231, 233

71 M.C.Hall, 'The ponte in S.Maria Novella: the problem of the rood screen in Italy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, (1974) 37, 157-173 (p. 169).

72 The foundation charter of the university, Eeles (1956), p.169.

73 AUL MS U 618, 24 March 1889, to Principal Geddes 'Do you know Pugin's book on rood screens? and was impressed by Dean Stanley of Westminster (31 May 1889): [the screens] as they were seen by Dean Stanley who, writing with an authority no one else personified - from his historical view regarded them as the most interesting remains of their kind in Britain'. A.P.Stanley, *Christian Institutions* (London, 1881), p.55.

74 Vallance (1936, 1947), Bond (1908), St John Hope (1917), Ian C Hannah, 'Screens and Lofts in Scottish churches' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, (1936), pp.181-201; E.Mansel Sympson, 'The choir screen in Lincoln Minster', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (1897-99), second series xvi1, pp.97-106.

75 Hannah, (1936), pp195-199; R.Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (Stroud, 2002), pp.290-299. Above the rood loft at Fowlis Easter, instead of statues, there was a solid painted panel, reaching up to the barrel ceiling, depicting the crucifixion. This completely blocked the space above the loft, unlike the open arrangement proposed by Macpherson at Aberdeen.

76 AUL MS U 618, 6 Jan 1889, 8 Jan 1889

77 AUL MS U 618

78 AUL MS U 618, letters dated 'Wed', and 24 March 1889

79 King's College Chapel Improvement scheme, 1889-92. Rowand Anderson's proposed designs for the organ.

80 AUL MS K257/21/39/25

81 Macpherson (1889), p.34.

82 Vallance (1936), pp.13-15, pl 15-22.

83 It has cresting both above and below, and six pinnacles where the others have two or four.

84 AUL MS K 257/21/39/25

85 Vallance (1947), pls 106,109.
86 John Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, 5 vols, London, 1836, vol IV, pl ix. Hope (1917), pp 56-57.
87 Illustrated in D.Macgibbon and T.Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to Eighteenth Century*. (Edinburgh, 1887-92) 3 vols,
88 Billings (1845) vol 1; J. C. Watt, AUL A5/5; A6/67/4, Drawings and prints from 1884.
89 AUL MS K47, Minutes XII, 1770-1789.
90 AUL MS K257/21/39/25.
91 AUL MS K257/21/39/25.
92 It is impossible to guess what changes took place at the Reformation and during the Civil War. In 1639 the college was evacuated as the Covenanters approached and some plundering took place. In 1640 Dr Guild pillaged the Bishop's Palace where 'he brake down beddis, burdes and other fyne wanescot tymber wark, and brocht them down to the college to be there employed at his plesour'. Spalding, (1841) I, p.147; II, p.188. Perhaps the original doors were damaged and the present panels with their mortices were rescued from another structure. The base of the organ loft had a door and perhaps spare adjacent panels.
93 Vallance (1947), p. 3.
94 Eeles (1956), p.37-8.
95 I am grateful to Christopher Croly and Grant Simpson for the Andrew Cullane references. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, 1398-1570, edited by J.Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1844), pp. 56,57,62,66,69. Walter Cullen, 'The Chronicle of Aberdeen, MCCCCXCI-MDXCV' published in Stuart, J., (ed.) *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club* Volume II, (Aberdeen, 1842), p 31. *Register of Burgesses, in Miscellany of the New Spalding Club*, edited by J. Moir, New Spalding Club, (Aberdeen 1890) Volume I, p.36. *Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis*, edited by J. Cooper, New Spalding Club, (Aberdeen,1892), Volume II, pp.29, 259 but not Andrew Cullen Provost buried in St Nicholas, pl ii, after p.462.
96 AUL MS U 618, 5 April 1889; 31 May 1889
97 Bangs (1997) p.84. This organ was moved from the St Nicolaikerk, Utrecht. It has a great organ or blockwerk against the wall, and a smaller positive organ or rugpositif added to the front of the loft in the later sixteenth century.
98 AUL MS K 255/33, p13.
99 Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge 1996), Pl. 10, pp.56-59. Stewart's pulpit: Richard Emerson, 'Bishop Stewart's Pulpit' in Geddes, 2000, pp.137-146.
100 Vallance (1947), p. 174.
101 Vallance, (1947), pp.141-2.
102 Cant, 1950, pp.106, 108.
103 A.Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historia Illustrantia,* (Rome, 1864), 525
104 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, *1473-1498*, ed. T.Dickson, I, , (Edinburgh, 1877), pp. ccxxxiii-iv; *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, *1500-1504*, ed James Paul, II, (Edinburgh, 1900), p.429.
105 Jim Inglis, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700*, Schagen, 1991, 12. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*,(Edinburgh, 1877-1978), 13 vols, IV, pp. 523-4, 446.
105 Jim Inglis, *The Organ in Scotland before 1700*, Schagen, 1991, 12
107 On the verisimilitude of these images: Peter Williams, *A New History of the Organ*, (London 1980), pp.55-58.
108 Inglis (1991), pp.2, 57-8. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1877-1978), 13 vols, IV, pp. 523-4, 446.
109 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, *1473-1498*, I, ed. T.Dickson, (Edinburgh, 1877), p.ccxxxiii-iv.
110 *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1878-1908), 23 vols, XIII, p.99.
111 John Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and England*, ed. John Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1850), I, pp.376-77; Ronald Cant, *The College of St Salvator* (Edinburgh, 1950), pp.109-112. Glasgow University was meanwhile

making use of Blackfriars Chapel and the cathedral. A.L.Brown and Michael Moss, *The University of Glasgow: 1451-1996*, (Edinburgh, 1996).

112 Simpson, in Geddes, 2000, pp.89-93. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, 1398-1570, ed. J.Stuart, Spalding Club (Aberdeen 1844), pp.77-78.

113 Vallance,(1947) 36-7.C.C.Hodges, *The Abbey of St Andrew Hexham* (1888), private publication, pp.46-7, pl 43,45.

114 Eeles (1956) pp 84-96, 136-264. L.Macfarlane,'The Divine Office and the Mass', in Geddes (2000), pp.6-27.

115 David Grant, 'The development of King's College 1834-1870', *Aberdeen University Review*, LX, no.209 (Spring 2003), 8-19, (p.19). Blanc worked in Matheson's office 1864-69, and for the Ministry of Works, 1869-78.

The Tomb of Bishop Benjamin Hoadly

William Gibson

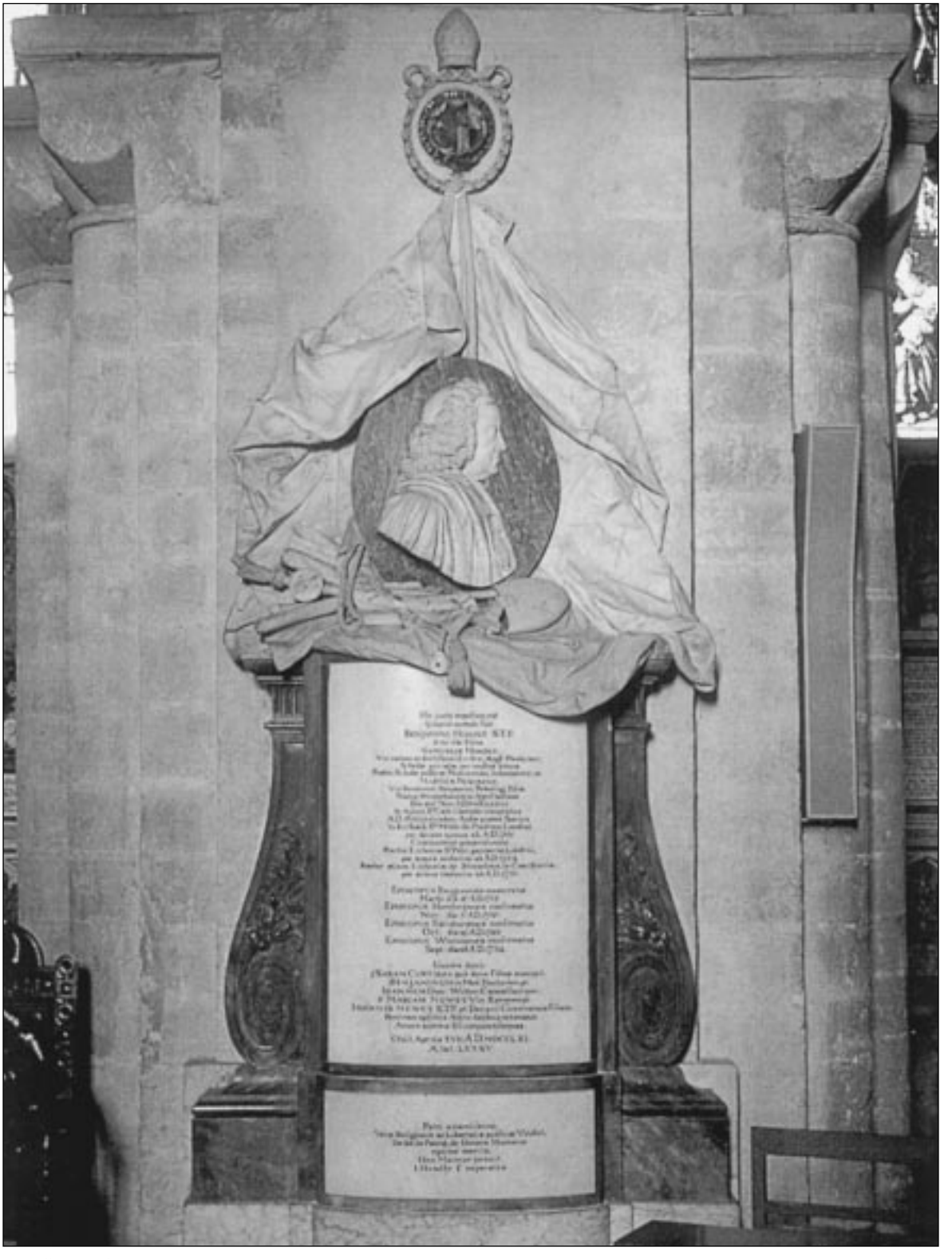
BISHOP BENJAMIN HOADLY (1676-1761), successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury and Winchester, is buried in Winchester Cathedral. His tomb stands near the pulpit on the northern side of the steps up from the nave to the sanctuary. It is the most extraordinary piece of sculpture, unique in English cathedrals. There can be few monuments in churches with such an arrangement of secular symbols on it. The origins of the tomb, and the symbolism it contains are worth studying, for they hark back to a forgotten era in Church history.

In 1756, five years before Hoadly's death at the age of 85, Isaac Gosset sculpted a wax medallion for Horace Walpole's gothic fantasy at Strawberry Hill. Horace Walpole shared a sentimental affection for the early eighteenth century, when Revolutionary Whigs had fought for the rights of men and women to resist monarchical authority and for liberty of conscience. Hoadly, above all, was a hero for Walpole. In June 1782 he wrote to Lady Ossory: 'I suppose tonight I shall dream of Bishop Hoadly for you see, Madam, I am an old Whig even in my sleep'.[1] When Gosset made his medallion, Hoadly was an old man, and the toll that a life of fierce religious controversy had taken was etched on his face.[2] On Hoadly's death in 1761 a copper medal was struck. It depicted a bust of Hoadly by John Kirk, and on the reverse Hoadly's mitre on a plinth with a spreading oak tree to the left, against the trunk of which lean Hoadly's coat of arms.[3] James Basire used Gosset's wax medallion and Kirk's medal as the sources for his engraving for the frontispiece of John Hoadly's monumental *Works of Benjamin Hoadly DD*, published in 1773.[4] Basire's engraving shows Hoadly in profile in an oval bust-length portrait. The oval in which the image lies is shown as an architectural feature with cemented joints and some cracks and chips, suggesting classical antiquity and authority. The oval rests on a pediment, similarly cracked, and engraved 'Ben. Hoadly, D.D. Bishop of Winchester. Aged LXXX.' On the top margin of the oval are the words 'Veritas et Patria' ('truth and country'). Behind the oval are architectural features suggesting stonework. The old Bishop, wearing surplice, scarf, the medallion of the Garter and bands, looks stoically forward, his eye fixed on some distant point. In the large paper edition of the *Works* the magnificent engraving is 185mm by 305mm.

By the time Basire produced his posthumous engraving, Hoadly's extraordinary memorial in Winchester Cathedral by Joseph Wilton had been erected. The memorial incorporated, at its

centre, Gosset's medallion of Hoadly as a bas-relief marble sculpture. But Hoadly's marble image was placed at the centre of a unique sculptural confection. Surrounding Hoadly's mild-mannered face is his mantle as prelate of the Order of the Garter on which lies a long scrolling text from the Magna Carta, there are also the representation of an acanthus-topped baton, a scabbard and a Phrygian cap (the Roman cap of freed slaves, adopted later by the French Revolutionaries as 'the cap of liberty' - the symbols of liberty and revolution, which it was popularly believed that Hoadly supported. A generation later these were symbols of the horrors and excesses of the French Revolution. Even today the impact of such strongly secular images adorning the tomb of an Anglican bishop are astonishing. But thirty years after his death Hoadly remained a controversial figure, renowned for his emphasis on political and religious freedom. In his sermon on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles I, preached before the House of Lords on 30 January 1793, Bishop Samuel Horsley of St Asaph attacked Hoadly as 'the republican bishop'.[5] John Sturges, Prebendary of Winchester and a supporter of Hoadly, claimed that 'civil liberty perhaps owes more to one great man of the clerical profession [Hoadly] than to any other single writer of any denomination'.[6]

Hoadly had lived at a time when it still seemed possible to reunite Dissenters with the Church of England. Dissenters had only been ejected from the Church in 1662, and as recently as 1689 there had been plans for comprehension of Dissenters into the Church. Fourteen years later Hoadly argued with Dissenters that the Church's requirements for conformity were modest and reasonable.[7] It began a campaign by Hoadly to persuade Dissenters to return to the Church of England. Unfortunately High Churchmen and Non-jurors were intent on raising the demands of conformity, and after 1710 used their majority in the Lower House of Convocation to censure those liberal clergy who wanted to reduce the doctrinal strictures of the Church. In 1717 Hoadly himself was threatened with censure by Convocation for his Bangorian sermon on the text 'My Kingdom is not of this World'. The sermon argued that Christ had left behind no visible authority and therefore the Church could not impose penalties on men and women for heterodox belief. The outcry over the sermon lasted for over three years and generated hundreds of tracts and books and for two days the stock market closed for people to follow the public controversy. To prevent Hoadly's censure, Convocation was prorogued by the King, and Hoadly, whose views were in tune with the government's agenda for relief for Dissenters, was rewarded with promotion from the diocese of Bangor, to Hereford, then Salisbury and finally Winchester.



Hoadly's Tomb

At Winchester Hoadly tried to make the diocese a nursery for Latitudinarian Whig clergy who would preach moderate sermons and attract Dissenters back to the Church of England; and he did so with a measure of success. His work on The Lord's Supper, published in 1735, developed a Eucharistic doctrine that emphasised the commemorative nature of the ceremony, rather than any intrinsic grace arising from it.[8] Such theology was at the margins of Anglicanism, but it was music to the ears of Dissenters.[9] Dissenters returned to the Church in such numbers that some parishes kept a section of the baptism register for the receipt of adults into the Church. By the time of Hoadly's death in 1761 the diocese of Winchester - in contrast to other dioceses such as Exeter - was known as a safe harbour for Low Churchmen and attracted a significant number of clergy who were formerly Dissenters. Moreover under Hoadly Anglicans in Winchester diocese strongly identified as part of a wider Protestant community, they collected funds for distressed Protestants across Europe and engaged in the fierce form of anti-Catholicism that was born of a community of Protestants.[10] Methodism made little headway in the diocese outside the centres in Portsmouth and Gosport, and as late as the 1780s the Church of England remained predominant in the diocese, almost certainly because Hoadly had drawn the sting of Dissent and Nonconformity. With such a sympathetic bishop and clergy in the diocese there was little need to turn to alternatives and in a number of parishes, especially in north Hampshire, the Nonconformist congregations collapsed.

For High Churchmen, Hoadly's minimalist approach to Church doctrine and his sympathy to the Dissenters was anathema. He seemed to be willing to abandon some of the most precious aspects of the Church's traditions. He lessened the claims of the sacraments of priesthood and communion, and placed great emphasis on the right of each individual to read the scriptures and to make his own judgement of them, sincerity being the key to salvation.

Benjamin Hoadly left his son a monumental inscription for his tomb, which briefly and modestly indicated the facts of his life. However in a new edition of some of his works in 1754 he wrote what may be regarded as a far more suitable epitaph.

> I never omitted any one public opportunity in proper time and place of defending and strengthening the true and only foundation of our civil and religious liberties, when it was every day most zealously attacked, and of doing all in my power that all the subjects of this government and this royal family should understand and approve of those principles upon which alone their happiness is fix'd and without which it could never have been rightfully established and must in time fall to ground. And also that I was as ready whenever occasion was offered by the writings and

> attacks of unbelievers, and by all its precepts and most beneficial to human society in the only way proper by shewing it in its native light, with which it shines in the New Testament itself, free from the false paint with which some of the undeserved dirt with which others have covered it.[11]

Whatever his epitaph, Hoadly's tomb reflects his demand that neither the Church nor the state should bind consciences and that religious freedom was the birthright of all Britons. These are concerns of the early eighteenth century, but they are the foundations of modern freedoms and celebrated in the symbols on Hoadly's tomb.

1 W.S. Lewis (*et al*. eds.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Yale, 1935-1982, 42 vols., vol. 33, p. 339.
2 The wax medallion was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale in May 1842.
3 Dix, Noonan and Webb sold a copy of the medal on 8 September 1998 (lot 963). Kirk was a medal designer, having sculpted, among others, commemorative medals for the death of Lord Mansfield in 1777 and the Battle of Quiberon Bay in 1759.
4 The engraving in J. Hoadly *Works of Benjamin Hoadly DD*, London, 1773, 3 vols, is ascribed 'drawn by N. Hone, after a wax model by Mr Gosset, done in the year 1756 and engraved by James Basire, 1772'.
5 J. Milner, *Letters to a Prebendary being an answer to Reflections on Popery by the Revd J Sturges … with remarks on the Opposition of Hoadlyism to the Doctrines of the Church of England*, 7th Edn, London 1808, p. 265.
6 J. Sturges, *Letters to Bishop Lowth* quoted in Milner *op. cit.*, p. 307.
7 In B. Hoadly, *The Reasonableness of Conformity*, London, 1703.
8 W. Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate: Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761)*, Cambridge, 2004.
9 G. Sanna, 'How heterodox was Hoadly?' in W. Gibson and R. G. Ingram (eds) *Religion and Identity in Britain 1660-1832*, Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
10 See W. Gibson, '"A Happy Fertile Soil which bringeth forth Abundantly": The Diocese of Winchester, 1689-1800' in J. Gregory & J Chamberlain (eds) *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800*, Boydell & Brewer, 2002.
11 Hoadly, *Works*, vol. 1, p. xxv.

Nonconformist Churches in Canada 1850–75

Malcolm Thurlby

BY 1850 GOTHIC had become the predominant style for church architecture in what is now Canada. At least by 1843, the reputation of Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-52), that great champion of the Christian or Pointed style of architecture, was known in Montreal. In that year, Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, the superior of the Sulpicians, wrote to Pugin to ask for plans for the projected church of St Patrick in the city.[1] There is no record that Pugin replied but even if he did his advice was not heeded. The church, built between 1843 and 1851, has overly tall proportions, thin buttresses and a flimsy west (south) tower that is not articulated separately from the façade.[2] There is a single roof over nave and aisles and an interior elevation, based on Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, with lath-and-plaster rib vaults on wooden piers painted in imitation of stone.

In the Atlantic provinces, new Anglican Gothic churches presented a more 'correct' picture. In Fredericton, NB, the newly arrived Bishop John Medley (1804-92), fired with enthusiasm from the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society, commissioned both the chapel of St Anne (1845-6) and the new cathedral

Fig. 1. St Andrew's Presbyterian, Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON, 1831 interior.

Fig. 2. St Paul's Presbyterian, Hamilton, ON, William Thomas, 1856 exterior from NW (SE).

(1845-8). Both were designed according to strict Ecclesiological principles by Frank Wills.[3] The cathedral is based on St Mary's, Snettisham (Norfolk), with a choir to the design of William Butterfield that includes a copy of the east window of Selby Abbey. Wills also built two Anglican wooden churches in New Brunswick, at Maugerville and Newcastle, with a separately articulated chancel, nave, porch and tower and steeply pitched roofs. The tradition of wooden churches was continued in New Brunswick in the highly original work of Bishop Medley's son, Edward (1838-1910).[4] In 1856, Wills modified the design of Fredericton Cathedral for Christ Church Anglican Cathedral in Montreal, PQ, which was finished after his death by Thomas Seaton Scott.[5]

Newfoundland was host to another champion of the ecclesiologists, Bishop Feild, who commissioned the new Anglican Cathedral (1848) from G.G. Scott. Scott's clerk of works was William Hay (1808-88), who designed other churches in Newfoundland and Labrador, which were positively reviewed by *The Ecclesiologist*.[6]

At that time, Upper Canada, Ontario as it is today, could not boast quite the same degree of ecclesiological, or Puginian, fanaticism. However, through the 1840s and early 1850s there was an increasingly correct expression of Gothic. In 1845 in Toronto,

Fig. 3. St Paul's Presbyterian, Hamilton, ON, interior to E (W).

William Thomas designed St Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral, with a flat east front inspired by York or Ripon cathedrals.[7] Details of the west façade, like the stiff-leaf capitals, deeply undercut arch mouldings and label stops, followed Early English precedent, and were truthfully executed in stone. Such truth to material was lacking in the interior; in detail the main arcades appear to be convincingly Early English but construction was in wood and plaster in imitation of masonry. Following a fire in 1849, Thomas Young's classicizing, James Gibbs-inspired Anglican Cathedral of St James, Toronto, which had been built in 1839, was replaced by the present Gothic edifice to the design of Fred. Cumberland and Thomas Ridout.[8] Here, in addition to the external detailing executed in stone, most of the internal features are truthfully expressed, and, in contrast to St Michael's Roman Catholic Cathedral, there is a fully articulated clerestory. Unfortunately galleries were included in the Gibbsian tradition inherited from the previous church, which were only removed in 1888.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, except for Roman Catholic churches in Quebec in which a Baroque tradition prevailed, the Gothic style was almost always used for Roman Catholic churches.[9] However, reference to Pugin's *True Principles* is rare; lath-and-plaster vaults and reflection of the Santa Maria-sopra-Minerva tradition prevailed, as in the United States with the work of the Irish-born, New York-based architect, Patrick Charles Keely (1816-96).[10] For the Anglicans, Gothic was almost universal as there was a strong desire to recreate the image of the English country parish church in the new world.

Gothic also enjoyed great popularity outside the realm of Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian churches all adopted Gothic. Although it was to vie with Romanesque, the bond of Gothic and Christianity seemed to hold strong, and there was not the variety of style experienced in English nonconformist churches of the time.[11] In this regard, the situation in Canada was closer to that in the United States.[12] There, in 1856, George Bowler's, *Chapel and Church Architecture*, presented designs in various styles but his observation that accompanied Design No. 11, a Gothic church, is instructive.[13] He wrote, 'There is perhaps no style of architecture more perfectly adapted to the purposes of church building than that of the design which we here present. The idea has been very commonly diffused that this style is more costly than others; but such does not prove to be the fact. The Gothic is no more costly than others, while it presents advantages which no other style gives for chaste ornament and beautiful effect'. In England, the case for Gothic for nonconformist churches was articulated by F.J.

Fig. 4. St Matthew, Halifax, NS, William Thomas, 1856, interior to E.

Fig. 5. Fredericton, NB, Wilmot Methodist, Matthew Stead, 1852, exterior from NW.

Jobson, and one more than a little influenced by Pugin.[14] Jobson stated that 'Gothic architecture is Christian architecture, as distinctly and emphatically, as the Egyptian, Greek and Roman are Pagan'.[15] Further, 'the propriety of employing Gothic Architecture on houses for Christian worship might be argued on other grounds - such as the confusion of apprehension or knowledge occasioned by our use of Pagan Architecture. Who has not felt the uncertainty of apprehension, and the incongruity of ideas, arising from the sight of a Chapel in Roman or Grecian Architecture when he entered a city or town for the first time? On looking upon the building (unless an inscription-board was on it) he could not tell whether it was a Concert-room, a Theatre, a Town-hall or a Chapel. But who, on seeing a Gothic chapel, has had any difficulty in determining its appointed purpose? Its ecclesiastical form made known its use, at first sight, and without any possibility of mistake. What can more fully manifest the fitness and propriety of erecting buildings for Christian worship in the Gothic style of architecture?'[16] Jobson also suggested that Gothic is more economical than Grecian or Roman, not least as he pointed out that there was no need for all the arrangements and enrichments of Gothic architecture.[17]

From the point of view of the function of the nonconformist sanctuary, the appropriation of the Gothic style presented a problem in that the recommended models were medieval basilicas with a long nave with aisles and a separate chancel. As such they were hardly ideal for the word from the pulpit and quite different from the James Gibbs-inspired preaching boxes as at St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake, ON (1831) (Fig. 1).[18] The Gothic models may have been stylistically 'correct' but, for a service in which there was emphasis on the word from the pulpit rather than ritual, the box was much better. Then, there were several 'wants', as listed by Jobson; the room for the Sunday School, classrooms, vestries, and a large room for prayer meetings and social gatherings.[19] These tensions led to an interesting variety of solutions.

For Chalmers Free Scottish, now Chalmers-Wesley United Church, Quebec City, 1851-53, John Wells took an essentially Gibbs-inspired plan with the west (east) tower partially projecting with tall side walls and a low-pitched roof.[20] These elements were well established both in Canada and the United States. Stepped buttresses are reserved for the corners of the church and tower, and there are large pointed traceried windows. The whole is elevated over a full basement. This was the norm as indicated by George Bowler who believed that Sabbath schools, a large and commodious vestry, public lectures and classrooms, should all be accommodated in a basement.[21]

Hamilton, ON, St Paul's, formerly St Andrew's, Presbyterian, by William Thomas, 1854, adopts a similar plan to Chalmer's church in Quebec City but the detailing displays a far superior knowledge of medieval sources (Figs. 2 and 3).[22] Ashlar construction and the detailing of the mouldings and capitals follow late Early English/Decorated precedent. The proportions of the tower complete with stone spire are convincingly medieval, and there is even variety in the window tracery in the Decorated manner of the fourteenth century, albeit in wood rather than stone. The design was adapted from that proposed for the Anglican church in Hamilton by Thomas.[23] With this we witness the sort of rivalry between denominations experienced in England.[24] However, the disposition of the plan and the proportions of the elevation are not medieval. The interior is an adaptation of St Andrew's Presbyterian, Niagara-on-the-Lake, in which galleries occupy three sides of the space and cut across the windows (Fig 1 and 3). It is as if the interior has been dropped down inside the shell of the building without any regard for complementary articulation. The result is that the exterior is not a truthful expression of the interior division. There is a full basement for schoolrooms and offices. A similar arrangement is encountered in St Matthew's Halifax, NS, also by William Thomas (Fig. 4).[25] In Kingston, ON,[26] essentially the same scheme was adopted by the

Fig. 6. Fredericton, NB, Wilmot Methodist, Matthew Stead, 1852, interior to E.

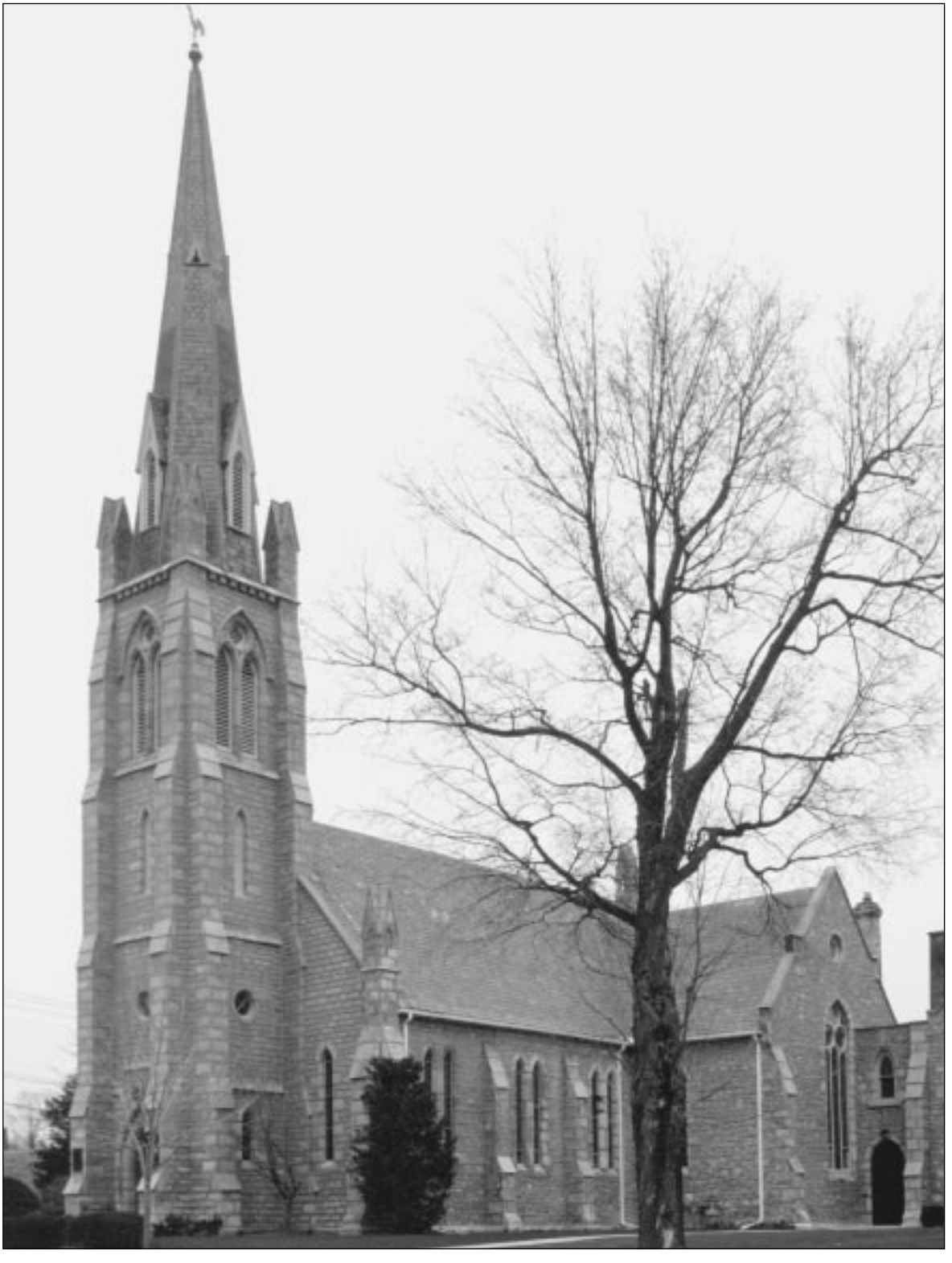


Fig. 7 Guelph, ON, St Andrew's Presbyterian, William Hay, 1857, exterior from SW.

Fig. 8. Guelph, St Andrew's Presbyterian, interior to W.

Fig. 9. Galt, ON, Knox Presbyterian, James Smith, 1869, interior to W (E).

local architect, William Coverdale, for Sydenham Street Methodist, now United (1851-2), and still survives at Newburgh, ON, Methodist, now United (1854-8). This is in keeping with contemporary work in the United States

In St David's, formerly Grafton Street Methodist (1866), Halifax, David Stirling, created a larger version of the Gothicized Wren-Gibbs-inspired St Matthew's Presbyterian church in that city, but one that is more convincingly Gothic with the hammerbeam roof and concomitant steep pitch from the exterior. In this regard it provides an interesting analogue for works like the Congregational Chapel in Bridport (Dorset) by Poulton and Woodman.[27] The façade of this chapel is repeated in John Power's Congregational Church in Kingston, ON (1864).[28]

In Fredericton, NB, Wilmot Methodist, now United, by Matthew Stead (1852), represents a larger, aisled version of a Gothic adaptation of the James Gibbs tradition (Figs 5 and 6).[29] Constructed in wood as appropriate for New Brunswick, Stead's church has a full basement, giant wooden piers in the sanctuary with suspended gallery on three sides in the tradition of James Gibbs's St Martin-in-the-Fields, London (1721-6).[30] This Gibbs church had served as the model for the classicizing Anglican cathedral in Quebec City (1800-04),[31] while Gothic adaptations appeared in Notre-Dame in Montreal, PQ (1823),[32] and Old

Stone church in Saint John, NB (1824).[33] In Wilmot Methodist there is a lath-and-plaster high pointed barrel vault with incursions and groin vaults over the galleries. The latter is along the lines of St James, Poole (Dorset), of 1820 by John Kent and Joseph Hannaford, where local tradition claims that the nave piers are of pine trunks from Newfoundland.[34]

In Ontario, William Hay is especially important for the promotion of Pugin's True Principles. Having served as G.G. Scott's clerk of works for the Anglican cathedral in St John's, Newfoundland, Hay worked in the diocese of Newfoundland, which included Bermuda, before moving to Toronto in 1853.[35] Hay's essay entitled *The Late Mr. Pugin and the Revival of Christian Architecture*, published in 1853, provided a clear and concise summary of Pugin's *True Principles*.[36] He applied these to several Anglican churches in Ontario and to the Roman Catholic St Basil's in Toronto (1855-6), and adapted the Gothic basilica to nonconformist use in his design for Gould Street United Presbyterian, Toronto.[37] Unfortunately the latter church is destroyed but Hay's drawings survive.[38] Here he dramatically shortened the chancel of a medieval church to provide a small vestry and made the nave a broad rectangle with a steeply pitched open-timber roof.[39] At the south-west angle he placed a tower and broach spire, a disposition analogous to A.W. Pugin's placement of the north-west tower at St Peter's, Marlow (Bucks.) (1845-8).[40] There was a full basement, and in keeping with medieval models but in contrast to the nonconformist norm, there was no gallery in the sanctuary. Hay's St Andrew's Presbyterian, at Guelph, ON (1857), is still extant (Figs 6 and 7). The masonry details follow

Fig. 10. Hamilton, ON, Centenary Methodist (United), A. H. Hills, 1868, W (S) facade.

Fig. 11. Hamilton, Centenary Methodist (United), interior to E (N).

Pugin's True Principles, as is evident in the window construction with random sizes to the ashlar of the jambs. Inside, the gallery is confined to the west end of the nave (Fig. 7). As in his Toronto Gould Street church, the proportions of the sanctuary (nave) are wider and shorter than in a medieval basilica. St Andrew's is much grander than the nearby Wesleyan Methodist box and, most interestingly, a rival to William Thomas's St George's Anglican in town (1851), which was unusual in being Romanesque.[41]

With Hay's departure to Halifax in 1862, his practice was taken over jointly by Thomas Gundry, his former partner, and Henry Langley (1836-1907), a former pupil.[42] Langley's nonconformist churches continued the tradition established by Hay. Port Hope Baptist, ON, Gundry and Langley (1867),[43] with its south-west angle tower and spire represents a reworking of Hay's Gould Street presbyterian model, while in Georgetown, ON, Baptist Chapel, Langley, 1869, the central west tower follows Hay's St Andrew's at Guelph. At the same time, Toronto-based architect, James Smith (1832-1918), who had apprenticed with William Thomas, built something similar but on a more massive scale in Galt, ON, Knox Presbyterian (1869). Smith broke from the tradition of Thomas's use of galleries on three sides of the sanctuary, opting instead for a deep, steeply pitched gallery at the west (east) end (Fig. 9).

Gothic was not universal for Canadian nonconformists, and Romanesque provided a valid alternative for those who feared the association of popery with Gothic. A scaled-down version of the Lombard Romanesque of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, complete with the characteristic arched corbel table, is seen in Grace Church at Niagara-on-the-Lake (1852) by William Thomas, for the Free Kirk Presbyterians.[44] On a much larger scale Thomas provided a twin-towered version of this design in Toronto Cooke's Presbyterian (1858), for the Irish Free Presbyterians.[45] St Paul Street First Methodist, now United, at St Catharines, ON (1861-3), adopted the same placement of a central western tower as Matthew Stead's Wilmot Methodist in Fredericton, although the style was Lombard Romanesque. The same is true for both the First Baptist Church in Brantford, ON (1857), and the Baptist Church in Woodstock, ON. On the same principle of Lombard Romanesque as Grace, Niagara-on-the-Lake, but on a much larger scale, there is Hamilton Centenary Wesleyan Methodist (United) church of 1866-8 by Albert Harvey Hills (Figs 10 and 11).[46] There is a gesture towards Gothic with the stepped buttresses and pinnacles on the façade but Romanesque principles predominate. The interior has a segmental lath-and-plaster vault, slightly arced seats and the wrap-around gallery to focus on the pulpit platform.

In St Andrew's Presbyterian, Ottawa, ON (1872), William Tutin Thomas, son of the Toronto-based William Thomas, we witness something quite different.[47] From the exterior the design seems to

Fig. 12. Ottawa, ON, St Andrew's Presbyterian, William Tutin Thomas, interior to SE (SW).

Fig. 13. Halifax, NS, Fort Massey, David Stirling, 1870, interior to E.

belong to a medieval Gothic basilican tradition complete with tower and spire at the north-west (north-east) angle, and even a clerestory. On the interior, the five-bay basilican nave and aisles are retained but with a wider and taller arch halfway down the 'nave' as if opening to transepts (Fig. 12). Instead of the seating following a regular east-west axis towards the pulpit platform with organ behind filling the chancel arch, as in St Matthew's, Halifax (Fig. 4), the pulpit platform is removed to the south transept where the significance of the space is emphasized with a rib vault. The organ is in a gallery at the east end and there is a matching gallery for extra seats for the congregation at the west end. The ground-floor seating is then arranged around the pulpit with the focus across the width rather than the length of the sanctuary. The scheme is quite un-medieval but far better suited to the word from the pulpit. A similar seating arrangement was originally used in Charlottetown, PEI, St James Presbyterian Church (Auld Kirk), by David Stirling and William Critchlow Harris, 1877.[48] The idea goes back to a meeting- house tradition as in Barrington, NS, Old Meeting House, 1765, and Old Covenanters' Meeting House, Grand Prè, NS, 1804.[49] It was subsequently used in St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Quebec City, 1809-10,[50] and in 1855 for the Free Church of Scotland at Desable, PEI.[51]

The octagonal plan made just two appearances in Ontario, at

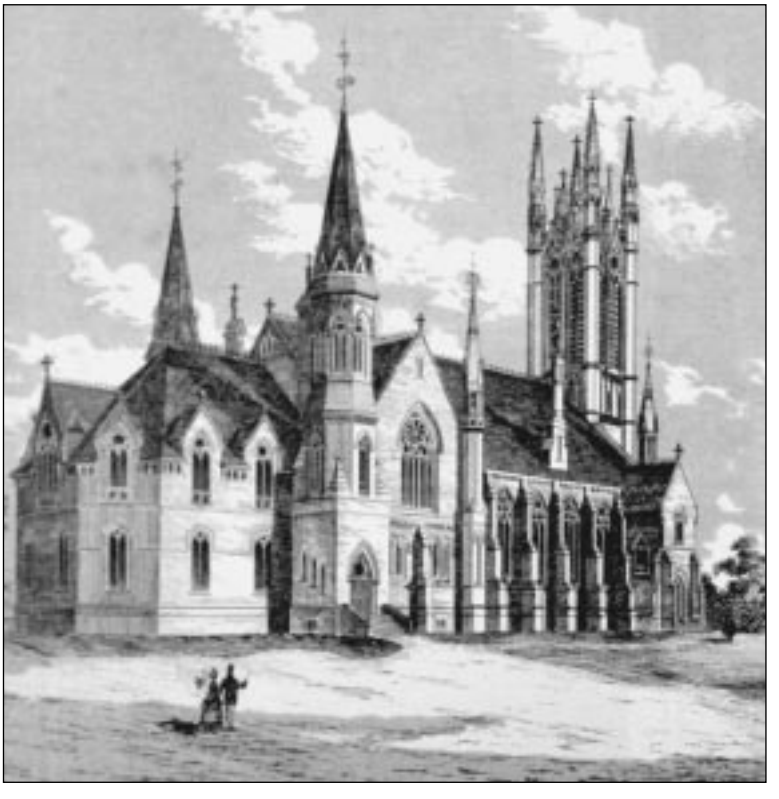


Fig. 14. Toronto, ON, Metropolitan Methodist (1870-2), Henry Langley, exterior from SE (NW).

Second Congregational, now United, Speedside[52] and St Andrew's, Dalhousie Mills.[53] On a much larger scale, Matthew Stead adopted the octagonal plan for the Methodist church at Marysville, NB.[54] While the octagonal plan was exceptional, the impressively monumental scale of Marysville Methodist was far from an isolated phenomenon in the early 1870s. Indeed, it was at this very time that the idea of larger nonconformist churches became a reality, a Canadian version of what in England Christopher Wakeling has called 'metropolitan super chapels'.[55]

Fort Massey Presbyterian in Halifax (1870), was designed by David Stirling (Fig. 13), who had been in partnership with William Hay in Halifax 1862-3. The church was highly praised in a contemporary report: 'the interior has a rich and pleasing effect and with a multitude of pillars, corbels, capitals and arches has almost a cathedral appearance. In form and style there is nothing similar to it in Nova Scotia'.[56] Once again, the idea of rivalry seems to have been at work. In Halifax St Mary's Roman Catholic cathedral was extensively remodelled and enlarged by P.C. Keely between 1860 and 1874.[57] Grafton Street Methodist is discussed above, and St Paul's Anglican was expanded first with the addition of aisles in 1868 and then the creation of a fully articulated chancel in 1872.[58] Fort Massey is indeed unusual in terms of nonconformist church design of the time in that it has a nave and aisles, and clerestory windows. The proportional relationship between nave and aisles is not that of a medieval church and comes closer to contemporary Anglican work in England like G.F. Bodley's St Augustine's, Pendlebury (Lancs.) (1869-74). However, unlike Bodley's church, there were seats in the aisles at Fort Massey, so from the functional point of view of hearing the sermon and seeing the pulpit, the placement of these seats was less than satisfactory. Be that as it may, the quatrefoil piers, moulded arches, the clerestory and the carved corbels for the wall posts and capitals that carry the roof all provided a sense of Gothic grandeur. It is cathedral-like in terms of St Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral, and representative of the establishment like Holy Trinity Anglican, Yarmouth, NS. The inclusion of transepts may also be associated with the idea of the great church and in this case they are more practical in that they provide lateral space around the pulpit platform. The now destroyed Westminster Presbyterian, New Glasgow, NS, is also by David Stirling, in which he adapted the façade from Fort Massey to a wooden construction. The interior also used an elaborate roof but rather than being divided into nave and aisles it was a vast open hall with arced seats around the pulpit platform. This was much better suited to the requirements of Presbyterian sermon.

In describing Metropolitan Methodist church, Toronto, as built to the design of Henry Langley between 1870 and 1872, C. Pelham Mulvany said 'we may regard [it] as the Cathedral of Methodism'.[59] Perhaps spurred on by the desire to rival the nearby Roman Catholic cathedral, the tower and spire of which had recently been completed (1865-9) by Henry Langley, the Methodists commissioned a grand new church. Metropolitan Methodist seated 1800 and the monumental 'chancel' housed the Sunday School and offices. The church was destroyed by fire in 1928 except for the tower but the interior served as the model for the smaller Welland Avenue United at St Catharine's, ON (1876), by Sidney Rose Badgley.[60] The internal arrangement was not unlike Stead's Wilmot Methodist church in Fredericton but with lath-and-plaster rib vaults, and delicate cast-iron columns.

Subsequently, the east end arrangement with Sunday School and offices was much favoured, not least in churches Langley produced in partnership with his nephew, Edmund Burke (1850-1919), at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto (1874-5), Wesleyan Methodist, Woodstock, ON (1876), St Andrew's Presbyterian, Saint John, NB (1877), and First Baptist, Winnipeg, MB (1881). These and later churches used an amphitheatrical seating plan in the sanctuary, and in the mid 1880s Richardsonian Romanesque style based on Trinity Church, Boston, MA, became popular. Examination of these aspects is the subject for a different paper.[61]

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2 Throughout this essay directions are given according to the liturgical compass, with the geographical compass points in parentheses.

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8 Shirley Morriss, 'The Nine-Year Odyssey of a High Victorian Goth: Three Churches by Fred. Cumberland', *Journal of Canadian Art History*, II, no. 1 (Summer 1975), pp. 42-54; Thurlby, 'Medieval Toronto', pp. 27-31; Shirley Morriss with Carl Benn, 'Architecture' in *The Parish Church and Cathedral of St James, Toronto*, ed. William Cooke (Toronto 1997), pp. 179-215 at 194-206; Geoffrey Simmins, *Fred. Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 124-139; 252-254.

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11 Christopher Wakeling, 'The Nonconformist Traditions: Chapels, Change and Continuity', *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society*, ed. Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (Manchester, 1995), pp. 82-97.
12 Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York 2002), pp. 56-83.
13 George Bowler, *Chapel and Church Architecture, with Designs for Parsonages* (Boston, Cleveland and New York, 1856).
14 F .J. Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture as appropriate to the Buildings of Nonconformists particularly to those of the Wesleyan Methodists: with practical directions for the erection of Chapels and School-Houses* (London, 1850).
15 Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture,* p. 15.
16 Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, pp. 43-44.
17 Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, pp. 45 and 49.
17 Marion Macrae and Anthony Adamson, *Hallowed Walls: Church Architecture of Upper Canada* (Toronto and Vancouver, 1975), pp. 199-204; Malcolm Thurlby, 'Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario: A Study in the Meaning of Style', *Historic Kingston*, 35 (1986), pp. 96-118 at 96-97.
18 Jobson, *Chapel and School Architecture*, pp. 58-60.
19 Mathilde Brosseau, *Gothic Revival in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa 1980), p. 38, cat. 6.
20 Bowler, *Chapel and Church Architecture*, pp. 9, 12-13.
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22 Macrae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, pp. 148-149.
23 McArthur and Szamosi, *William Thomas*, pp. 79-81.
24 Wakeling, 'The Nonconformist Traditions', p. 89.
25 McArthur and Szamosi, *William Thomas*, pp. 102-105.
26 Jennifer McKendy, *With Our Past Before Us: Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Kingston Area* (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1995), pp. 79-82.
27 Christopher Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in South-West England* (London 1991), p. 110.
28 Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in South-West England*, p.111; McKendy, *With Our Past Before Us*, p. 84, fig. 43.
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34 John Newman, *The Buildings of England, Dorset* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 318; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset, II, South-East*, part II (London 1970), pp. 192-195, pl.118, interior to W.

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37 Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect, Edmund Burke* (Montreal and Kingston, 1995), pp. 20-22.

38 Angela Carr, 'From William Hay to Burke, Horwood and White: A Case History in Canadian Architectural Draughting Style', *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, 15/2 (1990), pp. 41-51, fig. 1; Carr, *Toronto Architect, Edmund Burke*, ills. 3.4 and 3.5.

39 A similarly proportioned adaptation of the chancel of a medieval church for the vestry of a nonconformist church is found in Design No. 2 in George Bidlake, *Sketches of Churches Designed for the use of Nonconformists* (Birmingham, 1865).

40 Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (London, 1971), ill. 92.

41 Macrae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, pp. 220-1; McArthur and Szamosi, *William Thomas*, pp. 74-6. Thomas's Anglican church did not last long. It was replaced between 1870 and 1872 by a Gothic town church designed by Henry Langley, a pupil of William Hay. In turn this was rivaled by the Roman Catholic church which took on French Gothic cathedral-like features of the apse-ambulatory east (west) end and twin towered façade: see Malcolm Thurlby, 'The Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception at Guelph: Puginian Principles in the Gothic Revival Architecture of Joseph Connolly' *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, 15 (1990), pp. 32-40; idem, 'Joseph Connolly's Roman Catholic Churches in Wellington County', *Historic Guelph*, XXXI (1992), pp. 4-31.

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45 McArthur and Szamosi, *William Thomas,* pp. 76-77.

46 Hamilton Times, 29 May 1866, p. 2; *Hamilton Evening Times*, 22 February 1868, p. 3.

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53 Macrae and Adamson, *Hallowed Walls*, pp. 261-262.

54 Finley and Wigginton, *On Earth as it is in Heaven*, pp. 161, 171-173, 176.

55 Wakeling, 'The Nonconformist Traditions', p. 92.

56 *Halifax Reporter*, December 11, 1871, p. 2, column 3, quoted in Garry Shutlack, *Halifax Mail-Star: Tuesday, May 31, 1977*, p. 16, and Elizabeth Pacey with George Rogers and Allan Duffus, *More Stately Mansions: Churches of Nova Scotia 1830-1910* (Hantsport, NS 1983), p. 98.

57 J. Philip McAleer, *A Pictorial History of the Basilica of St. Mary, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1984).

58 J. Philip McAleer, *A Pictorial History of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1993), pp. 87-89, 92-96.

59 C. Pelham Mulvany, *Toronto: Past and Present until 1882* (Toronto 1884), p. 161; Carr, 'From William Hay to Burke, Horwood and White', pp. 42-43.

60 The original interior is illustrated in William Dendy, *Lost Toronto* (Toronto, 1978), pl. 82.

61 For the amphitheatrical plan in Ontario churches, see Thurlby, 'Nineteenth-Century Churches in Ontario', pp. 103-104; Westfall and Thurlby, 'Church Architecture and Urban Space', pp. 129-133; Westfall, *Two Worlds,* p. 132; and especially Carr, *Toronto Architect, Edmund Burke*, pp. 22-38. On amphitheatrical plans in the United States, see Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre*, pp. 112-145.

FROM THE EDITOR

Ecclesiology Today has come a long way in a very short time. The 1997 versions were photocopied onto A4 sheets & stapled in the top left hand corner. The current edition has been typeset & produced by a professional printer, has almost 100 pages and contains a number of articles that make a major contribution to knowledge. The journal is seen as a serious contributor to academic debate and something any self-respecting University or research library cannot afford to omit from its collection.

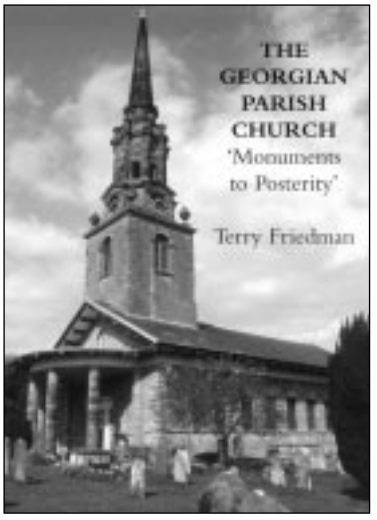
As editor I receive far more material than I can ever publish and some form of selection is necessary. A distinct change in recent years has been that much of the current material is from well respected senior members of the academic community. However, there is still space for other contributions and I try very hard to ensure that each edition is balanced; that it is not over academic on the one hand but also that it is serious and makes a contribution to knowledge. How well I succeed only you will know.

We do have a house style though it is rather relaxed. There is no statement of dos and don'ts. You write the item and I will edit it as needed. The footnote style used can vary between articles as long as there is clarity, and where appropriate, no footnotes at all will be welcomed. The test is "does the item say something interesting and make a contribution to knowledge?" Everything else is secondary. The exception is illustrations which need to be of a publishable standard. This does not mean they have to be of a professional standard but an out of focus, over exposed "snap" won't do either. And in case anyone suggests it, "Photoshopping" the lamp post out is not a viable alternative to a well composed and well taken shot.

So keep the contributions flowing.

John Elliott
January 2005

Book Reviews



Terry Friedman:
The Georgian Parish Church: Monuments to Posterity **(Spire Books, Reading, 2004, 205pp, 124 pls, 45 col. pls, £33.95 pbk, ISBN 0-9453615-3-9)**

Books about Georgian churches are few, and so it's a pleasure to welcome this big new arrival from the enterprising Spire Books. At its core are six case studies, of a kind that will be familiar to readers from Dr Friedman's articles in the Georgian Group Journal, with a useful thirty-page introduction and a brief postscript. The chosen six are a reminder of how diverse the 18th century church could be; only the sweet little Binley church in Warwickshire, a 1770s building here attributed to Capability Brown and Henry Couchman, fits the preaching-box stereotype. As for the others, the 'Fifty Churches' are represented by Archer's extravagant St John, Smith Square in Westminster, the big early Georgian town church outside London by the mighty but long-demolished St Paul, Sheffield, the later Georgian equivalent by David Stephenson's All Saints, Newcastle, and estate churches by Nicholas Revett's Grecian Ayot St Lawrence. The Gothic Revival comes in with the successive recastings of St Margaret, Westminster - rather a freak, this one, with its lavish Parliamentary repair budgets, imported stained glass and special arrangements for the Speaker's Pew.

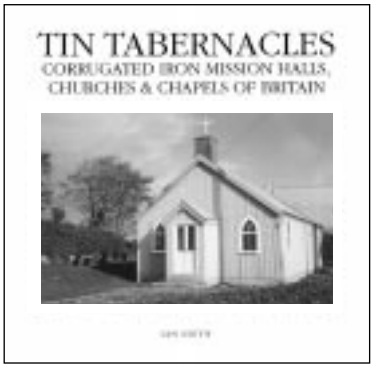
Sources for all the six are explored with exemplary thoroughness, including masses of unfamiliar drawings and views. For instance, we see the original, much less decidedly Greek elevation at Ayot St Lawrence, before the rather Chambers-esque turrets were removed from the ends of its flanking screens. But perhaps the most arresting image is a 1740s painting of the fire-ravaged interior of Archer's St John, peopled like an Italian capriccio with figures flitting between the great calcined columns. The Blitz claimed the original, so this very strange picture is shown in an old monochrome photograph; but many other images are in colour. The quality in these cases is not always of the best, but the overall profusion means that points in the text are almost always underscored visually. Documentary sources are cited at length too, which sometimes slows the story down, but which does allow the past to speak in its own voice. How wonderful to learn that, on completion of the spire of All Saints Newcastle, one Private John Burdikin ascended it, 'raised his body on his head, with his feet in the air, and remained in that inverted position for some time. He is now a hairdresser in Gateshead.' Likewise, who would have guessed that the church's circular plan may have

echoed a belief that the district's now obsolete name of Pampedon was a corruption of "Pantheon"? Immediately, a line of associations runs from Tyneside to Hadrian, his Wall, and his rebuilding of the Pantheon in Rome itself - without displacing the acknowledged source of Stephenson's plan in Gibbs's circular variant design for St Martin-in-the-Fields.

Here and there the text may risk over-interpretation. For instance, the giant pilaster order at St Paul, Sheffield is presented as grounds for reading it as a pseudo-peripteral temple, after Hawksmoor's decidedly temple-like St Alphege, Greenwich. But the Sheffield building lacks the pedimented ends that would clinch a temple derivation, and the giant order seems more like a spillover from house architecture, where it had been the most exciting new fashion of the 1700s. Looking further afield, it's notable too that contemporary Continental architects from Juvarra to Christoph Dientzenhofer were deploying giant orders on their churches, without obvious echoes of the temple model. But this is a minor point, and only serves to illustrate how much lovers of Georgian churches will find to stimulate them here.

Simon Bradley

Ian Smith:
Tin Tabernacles: Corrugated Iron Mission Halls, Churches & Chapels of Britain
(Camrose Organisation, Pembroke, 2004, 198pp., col. and b&w plates throughout, £24.95, ISBN 0 9547126 0 9, order on-line at http://www.TinTabernacles.com



This is a beautifully presented, large format book, full of excellent, often very evocative photographs of this byway of ecclesiology. Corrugated iron, we learn, was first mass produced in England about 1830 in Richard Walker's 'patent corrugated iron factory' in Bermondsey. Galvanising, developed in the later 1830s, gave protection, and the stage was set for the use of a new material in cheap, easily erected buildings. The first corrugated iron church went up in London in 1855.

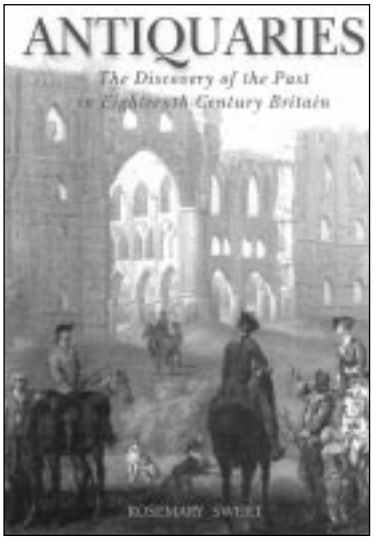
Kits could be bought off the shelf from manufacturers and builders' merchants, and a basic church could be obtained for under £100 for the congregation to assemble. Corrugated iron churches knew no denominational boundaries and were pressed into service by Anglicans, non-conformists and Roman Catholics alike. The result was at the opposite end of the architectural spectrum from Butterfield, Bodley and Street, but the buildings were a cheap and easy way to plant a place of worship until something better could be afforded. Of course, just like uncompleted towers at hundreds of Victorian churches, something better did not always arrive and it may come as a surprise just how

many functioning tin tabernacles Ian Smith has tracked down.

As a pictorial survey this is excellent and the illustrations receive full explanatory captions. However, the main text (a minor part of the book, fortunately) is a huge disappointment. It tries to operate on an over-ambitious social and economic canvas. The author is clearly not an historian and is lured into some vacuous or poorly written statements, for example: 'Religious influences within the upper classes were increasingly apparent during the nineteenth century and as some of the Evangelists found places in Parliament, they were in a position to bring about some radical social changes by the middle of the century'. He quotes the numbers of new and rebuilt churches up to 1870, and blithely says 'this exponential rise continued through to the outbreak of the first world war.' It didn't!

This is surely the most comprehensive survey of the subject and the lovely presentation, if nothing else, is to be recommended.

Geoff Brandwood



Rosemary Sweet:
Antiquaries: The discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain
(Hambleton and London, London, 2004, 473 pp., 47 pls, £25.00 hdbk, ISBN 1 85285 309 3)

Our understanding of eighteenth-century antiquarianism as something between history and archaeology, or perhaps synonymous with both, has matured somewhat from Sir Walter Scott's image of those 'who eagerly identified Roman camps from hearsay rather than fieldwork, collectors of curios and old armour, uncritical and credulous and ignorant of the essential discipline of their scholarship.' Nevertheless, there is still the widely held view that their real achievements were around the Mediterranean rather than in Britain. Of the archaeologists who made discoveries in Italy, Greece and later Egypt, the collectors who bought the artefacts, the Grand Tourists who eagerly adopted the fashions and the artists who drew inspiration from these countries, a huge amount has been published and assimilated. It is all the more surprising therefore, that so little work has been undertaken on those who, concurrently, sought a more informed understanding of Britain's past.

Sweet soon dispenses with the concept of the antiquaries as amateurs, in the pejorative sense, eccentrics, 'the eighteenth-century equivalent of stamp collectors or devotees of Civil War re-enactments'. Rather, she seeks to establish their scholarly credentials and demonstrate the significant contribution they made to the Enlightenment and the more general intellectual climate of the period. Early chapters consider the rise of the

antiquary within this intellectual context, the individuals who worked in the discipline, along with the societies and networks they used to transmit and share information. Subsequent chapters examine the way antiquaries approached the study of different periods of British history: the ancient Britons; the Romans in Britain; the Anglo-Saxons; the Middle Ages. Then consideration is given to the antiquaries' contribution to the concept of national heritage and the debates that surrounded the notion of preservation, especially in the context of medieval architecture and the '*restorations*' of Wyatt. The final chapter considers some of the ways in which antiquarianism succeeded in moving from the prerogative of the ruling elite to reach a much wider, non-specialist audience.

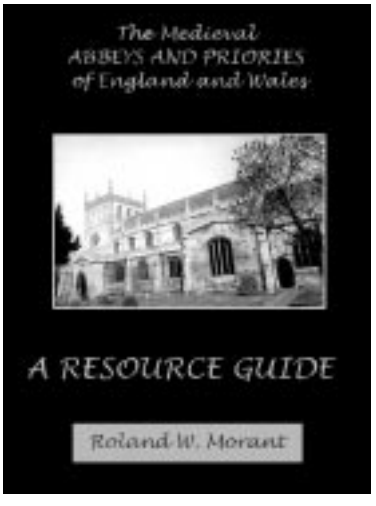
Although information about many of the key characters and events of this book can be found elsewhere, it is the way that Sweet considers the wider picture of their achievements and places antiquarianism in the context of eighteenth century intellectualism that is the real strength of the book. And for those interested in the genesis of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival, there is much to be discovered here about the endeavours of Browne Willis, John Carter and John Britton.

This is history at its most readable and engaging. Rosemary Sweet is to be congratulated for this stimulating and valuable contribution to antiquarian scholarship.

Christopher Webster

The past few months have seen an unusually large submission of items for review. While we are not able to include full reviews of all of these books, members might be interested to know of the following.

Roland W Morant:
The Medieval Abbeys and Priories of England and Wales: A Resource Guide
(Trafford Publishing, Crewe, 2004, 560 pp., 20 pls, £21.00, pbk, ISBN 1-4120-2604-0)

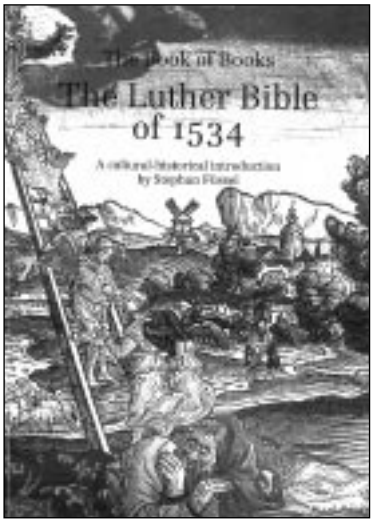


This could prove to be a very useful work of reference, 'the first of its kind to list all the significant remains of monastic houses which have survived in England and Wales since the Dissolution.' An Introduction summarises the existing sources of written information which are currently available. This is followed by a Directory of Monastic Sites that lists all the religious houses where significant remains are to be found. This is cross-referenced to the remaining chapters in the book which look specifically at, for instance, Chapels and churches provided for lay people; Choirs, chapels and crypts; Screens; Cloisters; Refectory ranges etc. The

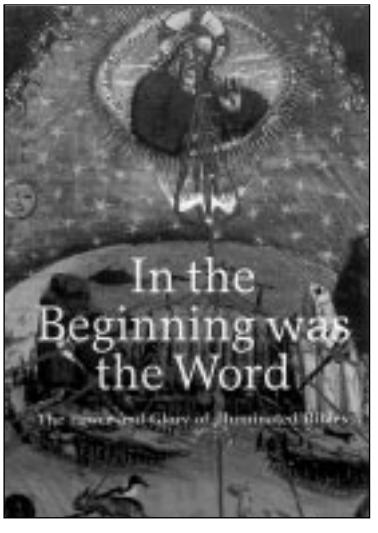
book is essentially pages of lists in each category, rather than a prose account, and as such will provide much useful and easily accessible material for researchers.

Geoffrey N Wright: ***Discovering Abbeys and Priories*** (Shire Publications, Princes Risborough, 2004, 128 pp., many illustrations, mainly in colour, £7.99, pbk, ISBN 0 7478 0589 X)

The book traces the history of monasteries in Britain from Anglo-Saxon times to the Dissolution. The author describes the different monastic orders, the daily life of the monks, the layout of the buildings, the influence of the religious house on life in medieval times etc. It includes descriptions of over 200 sites open to the public.



The Luther Bible
(Facsimile edition, Taschen, Koln, 2003, 2 vols plus separate Introduction, approx 900 pages, col. throughout, £69.99 hdbk, ISBN 3822824704)

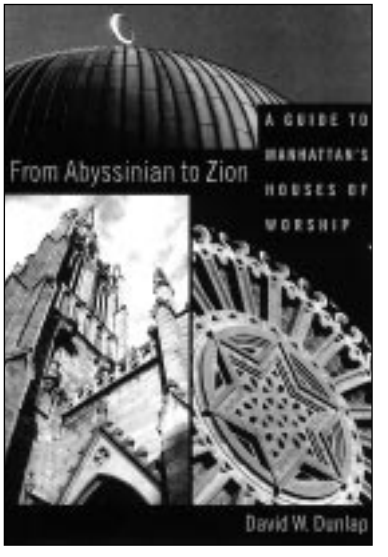


Andreas Fingernagel and Christian Gastgeber (eds):
In the Beginning was the Word
(Taschen, Koln, 2003, 416 pp., col. throughout, £34.99 hdbk, ISBN 382283064 X)

These two editions from Taschen are remarkable for their substantial size, for the quality and extent of the colour reproduction, and, given the foregoing, for their modest price. The Luther bible 'which weighs well in excess of 1 stone' is a complete reproduction of the 1534 edition with its delightful wood-cut illustrations and decorative capital letters. A separate Introduction volume provides informative contextual material including an account of early German bibles and the printing industry of the period, Luther as reformer and translator, translations of the bible and use of the vernacular etc. While similar facsimile editions retail at hundreds of pounds, this one represents remarkable value at just seventy.

In the Beginning was the Word takes a similar theme, but looks at a rather earlier period: that of the one-off, manuscript bibles. Chapters include: Bible production in medieval monasteries; Textual traditions and editorial revisions; Luxury bible manuscripts; Bible manuscripts of the Jewish and Eastern Orthodox faiths and much more. The large format book is extensively illustrated with examples of illuminated bibles, all superbly reproduced to form a sumptuous volume and visual delight.

David W Dunlop:
From Abyssinian to Zion: A Guide to Manhattan's Houses of Worship
(Columbia University Press, New York, 2004, 391 pp., approx. 900 pls, £17.00 pbk, ISBN 0-231-12543-7)



Any Society member intending to visit New York is likely to find the trip much enhanced by a copy of this book in the pocket. It alphabetically chronicles 1079 of the city's principal religious buildings, almost all of which are illustrated. Twenty-four neighbourhood maps pinpoint each location. Listings include the history of the congregation and its buildings, descriptions of architecture, and accounts of prominent priests, ministers, rabbis, imams and leading personalities in many of the congregations. Those of us who assume New York is essentially a city of (admittedly impressive) sky-scrapers will be astonished at the architectural quality, diversity and interest in its religious buildings, the majority of which come from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Oh that someone would produce a similar volume for London!

Some Reflections on the Work of the Late Father Peter Blagdon-Gamlen

Paul Velluet

FOR MANY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, news of the death in early March of Father Peter Blagdon-Gamlen will have stirred memories of that essential and most useful publication, *The church travellers Directory*, compiled by Blagdon-Gamlen and published in two editions by The Church Literature Association from 7, Tufton Street, in 1966 and 1973.

His obituaries published in the 19th March issue of *The Church Times* and the 26th April issue of *The Times* provided full and generous profiles of this 'idiosyncratic parish priest in the Anglo-Catholic tradition'. However, only modest space was devoted to his work on *The Directory*; not only a significant work of reference for the church-going traveller in the mid 'sixties and early 'seventies, but an essential primary source for understanding the pattern of Anglican public worship and liturgical practice in diverse churches across England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland during a period of radical change in the life of the Church.

Without in any way detracting from his most valuable *Martin Travers, 1886-1948: A handlist of his work*, published by the Society in 1997 and which comprised a tribute to Travers by Brother Leonard Buckley, four other short articles on Travers and a substantial expansion and revision by Blagdon-Gamlen of the original list of Travers' work prepared by Bro. Buckley as part of a larger and earlier Society publication, it is his *Directory* which has particular significance for those with an interest in the development of the pattern of Anglican public worship and liturgical practice in the mid-to-late 20th century.

In his preface to the second edition of *The Directory*, Blagdon-Gamlen suggested that the purpose of the publication was to provide information on the location of churches which had one or more of the following: daily eucharist a sung eucharist each Sunday; confessions at fixed times; and continuous reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. In providing such comprehensive information, church by church, on a county by county basis, Blagdon-Gamlen provided a worthy successor to the *Church Guide*, published by The English Church Union and Messrs. Mowbray, which had last appeared in 1951. This, in turn, was a successor to *The Tourist's Church Guide*, which the young Michael Fane 'liked to pore upon' in the 1890s in Compton Mackenzie's *Sinister Street* (see Book 2 Chapter 6 - Pax); which identified with symbols those churches across the United Kingdom which

possessed the six points of incense, lights, vestments, mixed chalice, wafer bread and eastward position.

Blagdon-Gamlen's *Directory* has had few rivals in recent years. Only Penguin Books' *The good church guide: A church-goer's companion* (edited and compiled by Anthony Kilminster with Audrey Rich, 1982) which offered 'a unique catalogue for the tourist of the services, history and architecture of Anglican churches in England', and was intended, in the words of its editor, 'to serve as a consumer guide', has offered similar and, indeed, more detailed information; but limited to 450 churches.

With the rapidly increasing pace of liturgical change across the Church of England and the diversity in practice which it brings, there is greater need than ever for a new and substantially revised edition of *The church travellers Directory*. However, that is no reason to disregard Blagdon-Gamlen's work of the 'sixties and 'seventies. His *Directory* will remain an invaluable primary source of information on liturgical practice at a critical stage in the history of the Church in the 20th century.

Letters

From: Dr Jennifer M. Freeman

I was delighted that Alan Watson drew attention to St Hugh's Church, Charterhouse, Mendip, Somerset, designed by the architect W. D. Caroe.

St Hugh's is a consummate achievement in church work. Much that is remarkable, subtle and gloriously understated resides in this little building perched high in the Somerset Mendips. In origin, it was a social centre for lead miners who worked around Charterhouse in the early years of this century. Its conversion to a church took place over a long period from 1908 to 1930 under the auspices of a minister who had a special interest in the miners. Only the fireplace and scullery now recall its humble beginnings. Its roughcast exterior with buttresses dying into the walls and window tucked under the eves give the building an air of Voyseyesque domesticity. Within, in his treatment of the nave, Caroe drew on local 17th century work, which he highlighted with Arts and Crafts touches. Simple chairs and plain panelling in the nave are seen in subdued lighting. By contrast the chancel is full of light and clarity. In this church Caroe lifts the concept of a simple, handcrafted interior to new heights of sophistication. He did this without compromising the historical antecedents that made his design possible or straining for effect. In my view St Hugh's marks a highpoint in Arts and Crafts consciousness and celebrates the coalescence of the many ideas that form it. Do visit it!

8 Kensington Gate
London W8

From: Arthur Percival

History of Throwley Church, Kent

John Owen, a Society colleague, has recently published an illustrated history of the parish church of Throwley. This is a medieval building restored, like most, in Victorian times.

I enclose a copy of the shortish note on the history which will appear shortly in our own monthly Newsletter.

Throwley, about 3 miles SW of Faversham, is an un-nucleated parish with some fine landscape. Its best known building is

Belmont, the seat of successive Lords Harris. Now in the ownership of an *ad hoc* charitable trust, this houses the finest collection of clocks and watches outside the national museums. It also has close associations with cricket, since one of the Lords Harris led England in the first Test series against Australia and introduced Test cricket to India.

In the autumn the Parish Church of St Mary of Charity will be publishing a series of 8 free leaflets about the Church and its features of interest.

I am a member of the Ecclesiological Society and very much enjoy *Ecclesiology Today.*

Faversham Society,
Preston Street,
Faversham,
Kent ME13

Throwley Church is the subject of a masterly new illustrated history by our member John Owen. This is no mere guide (though it will serve as a very good one) but a scholarly account of the building's evolution and architecture. Helpfully, it begins with a one page outline of the main points of interest. The indications, says John, are that the first church was built *c.*800-825. It would have been of wood, simple and barely distinguishable from a farm building. Between 1130 and 1160 it was succeeded by a Norman structure of nave and chancel, not unlike Goodnestone Church, though a little larger. Later, as the population grew, the Church was enlarged by the additions of aisles, chapels and a tower. By 1510 it looked much as it does today, except that until it was heightened in the late 1860s the tower was one storey lower. It was of more than local importance, serving as mother-church to chapels at Wilderton (near Faversham Golf Club) and Leaveland. With the Sondes family living at the manor-house nearby till they moved to Lees Court in the 1650s, impressive monuments to members of it were installed in the Trinity (South) Chapel. Later, the Lady (North) Chapel came to serve as the mortuary chapel for the Harris family, of Belmont. The outcome is that after Faversham Church Throwley contains the grandest array of fine monuments in our area. John's new book covers all this ground in detail, but readably, and can be warmly recommended. It has been handsomely printed in Faversham by Statshop, who kindly print the Society Newsletter free of charge. It is on sale at the Fleur de Lis Heritage Centre, price £4.95 (£5.95 by post).

Odds & Ends

THE CAMPAIGN TO PRESERVE ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE

Robert Halliday.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH in Cambridge, now recognised as a crucial masterpiece of Victorian architecture, was only saved from neglect and possible demolition by an active preservation campaign.

From the Middle Ages All Saints Church stood in what is now St. John's Street in the city centre. Between 1801 and 1851 the parish's population rose from 750 to 1,400 (excluding University members) partly due to the development of the Jesus Lane area in the east. By then the church, which was generally regarded as unattractive, had become cramped, while its tower obstructed the road. From 1852 the idea of building a new parish church in Jesus Lane was mooted. George Frederick Bodley was commissioned as architect in 1860: a plan was accepted in 1862, and the new church was consecrated in 1864, after which the old church was demolished. At the new All Saints Bodley first used the 14th century English Gothic design, which became his preferred style. William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown were to produce a spectacular east window, and further contributions by other artists and craftsmen up to 1944 created a remarkable interior.[1]

Yet as the new church was being built the parish's residents were being drawn to the suburbs and their houses converted into commercial premises or student lodgings. The parish's population fell to 1,200 in 1861 and 760 by 1901, while in 1938 the vicar complained that it had dropped to 350 (with disproportionately few young people) and that his congregation was normally less than 40.[2] (Paradoxically the parish's decline may have preserved the church's Victorian interior from any alteration.) Although Hereward Hard was appointed vicar in 1945, a diocesan report of 1956 suggested that All Saints had little future as an independent parish church, and suggested incorporation into Westcott House, the adjoining theological college (or, if no other use could be found, as a venue for staging religious drama).[3] Nikolaus Pevsner praised the church when lecturing locally, but by the late 1960s there were complaints that the interior was so dark that the decorations could not be seen.[4] Redundancy loomed by 1970, and after the final service on 22 July 1973 the parish was merged with Holy Sepulchre (better known as The Round Church).[5]

All Saints' ceased to be maintained, and the roof fell into a

perilous state. By 1975 plans to incorporate it into Westcott House or transfer it to the University Theological Federation were dismissed as unrealistic because of the expense of restoration, heating and maintenance. Decay did not pass unnoticed. Storm damage led Diarmaid McCulloch of Churchill College to complain about its neglect, as 'the church has a strong claim to be the most beautiful 19th century building in Cambridge', while the Victorian Society protested that 'the tangle of ecclesiastical procedure' prevented its preservation. Continued criticism compelled the diocesan officials to give assurance that the church was receiving serious consideration.[6]

By 1979 the diocese was devising plans for partial demolition and a remodelling of the surviving sections. The implications were circulating through unofficial channels, for in March Stanley Bowles, the chairman of the Cambridge Preservation Society, and three fellows of Jesus, headed by the steward, Dr. Duncan McKie, wrote to the *Cambridge Evening News* stressing the need to save the church, and suggesting a transfer to the Redundant Churches Fund. Representatives of the Cambridge Preservation Society and the Victorian Society opened communication to gather further details of the scheme and discuss ways of saving the church.[7] The plans were made public in May 1979. Devised by Peter Foster, an ecclesiastical architect from Huntingdon, who had been surveyor to Westminster Abbey, they proposed the removal of the south aisle and the two west bays of the nave. The rest of the nave would then be turned into student accommodation or lecture rooms for Westcott House. The spire, with the chancel and east window would be preserved, hopefully under the care of the Redundant Churches Fund.[8]

It is doubtful that the diocesan authorities could have anticipated the tide of protest that followed. Dr. Hugh Mellor, the Victorian Society's architectural adviser, expressed disappointment, while the Cambridge Preservation Society continued to object. The Cambridge Civic Society argued that All Saints should be used and maintained so that the full interior and exterior beauty could be preserved and appreciated. Again, a transfer to the Redundant Churches Fund was suggested. The diocese was accused of trying to implement the plans by stealth, but the Bishop of Ely, Peter Walker, denied secrecy, saying the plan had been reached after open discussion.[9] (The constitution of the Redundant Churches Fund compelled it to remain neutral in the conflict, but as its brief was to preserve entire churches, rather than partially remodelled ones, it is uncertain that it could have taken the truncated east end.)[10]

Tim Cockerill a solicitor and his wife Chloe, from Weston Colville, near Cambridge, decided to form The Friends of All Saints Church, aiming to mobilise the forces of those who wished

to preserve it. They corresponded with other potential supporters. Marian Dunlap Hardy, the wife of an emeritus fellow of Jesus College offered her services with a charming letter saying how she had attended the final service at All Saints', including the passage:

> A church, it seems to me, is an amalgam of people and their prayers enclosed by architecture and love of God.

The architect Stephen Dykes Bower, the greatest living Gothic Revival architect, and an expert follower of the Bodley tradition, joined the campaign at the end of 1979, writing:

> This particular church is so good that it seems incredible that its mutilation could even be considered.

Nicholas Helliwell, the City Council's Conservation Officer offered support. Some letters objecting to the plans appeared in the local press.[11]

Perhaps it could be said that the first skirmish in the preservation campaign took place on 12 January 1980, when the Victorian Society visited All Saints during a Cambridge tour. Peter Foster came to discuss the new plans, and met an unsympathetic reception.[12]

The developers marshalled their forces on 25 January 1980, when the *Cambridge Evening News* published a favourable full-page article on the plans. It was estimated that the conversion would cost £500,000, mostly to be provided by the University Theological Federation and diocesan funds, with a public appeal for the east end. A leader column gave tacit support, with the medical simile that 'amputation was better than gangrene' if it meant the retention of parts of an empty and deteriorating church. The *Church Times* suggested that if the plans were rejected All Saints' could face demolition.[13]

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings expressed reservations, but was not ready to oppose the plans if they meant the preservation of some of the church. Others took a stronger stance: Dr. John Maddison, who would succeed Hugh Mellor as the Victorian Society's architectural adviser, said the scheme was 'entirely inappropriate'; while Elizabeth Hodder, the chair of the Cambridge Civic Society, said it was 'completely terrifying'.[14]

On 29 January 1980 an informal meeting was held to discuss the best way to preserve All Saints' in its entirety, where the Cockerills and others decided to write letters to appropriate national and local heritage organisations. The inaugural meeting of the Friends of All Saints followed on Saturday 16 February in Wesley House, a Methodist theological college in Jesus Lane,

attended by 23 people. Tim Cockerill said that fifty such letters had been sent. John Tanfield of the Cambridge Preservation Society and Richard Lyon, a local architect, set out objections to the plan. Alternative uses were proposed, such as a museum, heritage centre, meeting hall or an extension of the Fitzwilliam Museum or Round Church. A committee was appointed, including Richard Lyon; Dr. Duncan McKie; Matthew Butler of the Ancient Monuments Society; Dr. Colin Cunningham, an architectural historian; Peter Larkworthy, a church restorer from Baldock (descended from Farrar Bell of Clayton and Bell); Dr. Hugh Richmond of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments; Peter Needham, a student of St. John's College and chairman of the Cambridge branch of the Victorian Society; with Tim and Chloe Cockerill as chairman and secretary respectively. (Nicholas Ray, an architect and fellow of Jesus College later joined the committee.) Not everybody was confident that All Saints would be saved: there was a fear that the proponents of the new plans had the power and prestige to carry them out, but it was felt that a stand should be made.[15]

Eleven days later Sir John Betjeman gave vital moral support by agreeing to stand as a patron of the Friends, writing:

> I remember Bodley's All Saints with its Kempe glass as one of the best Bodley Churches in the country. Please count on my support. I wish you luck with the appeal.

Two days afterwards Nikolaus Pevsner's son, Thomas, wrote to say that his father, too, would be glad to be a patron. By the end of February 43 people (excluding committee members) had enlisted as Friends of All Saints. Sir John Summerson, the art historian and curator of Sir John Soane's Museum, accepted an offer to be a patron at the end of March. The Friends grew to number 70, including James Bentley, the conduct (senior chaplain) of Eton and a research fellow of Sussex University; David Verey, the architectural historian, and Anthony Symondson. Throughout many members of the Friends maintained a letter-writing campaign, writing to the diocese, Cambridge City Council and other architectural and heritage organisations, all expressing the need to preserve All Saints.

Meanwhile All Saints received coverage in the satirical magazine, *Private Eye* on 29 February 1980, in its 'Nooks and Corners' column, (a regular feature written by Gavin Stamp who would join the Friends of All Saints'). The feature emphasised All Saints' importance and directed a cynical tirade against the diocesan authorities for neglecting it. The plans were ridiculed as unworthy of the Church of England, and it was suggested that they were cunningly devised to be impractical, so that rejection

could be followed by demolition. Another feature followed in the more august *Country Life* on 13 March, in a review of threatened or endangered historic buildings.

On 11 April the *Cambridge Evening News* published an article on the Victorian Society's opposition to the planned development. The idea of a transfer to the Redundant Churches Fund seemed more appealing.[16] At their second meeting in Jesus College on 21 April the Friends decided to produce a leaflet about the church, and contact potential supporters among residents of the parish. The Cambridge branch of the National Trust felt unable to involve itself directly, but published an article on the Friends in its newsletter, believing that its members would be sympathetic.[17] On 21 May Cambridge City Council's planning committee unanimously turned down the diocesan plans for All Saints' saying they would destroy a church of importance, were unnecessary to the city's needs, and would be incongruous in the area. David Urwin, the chief planning officer, was quoted: 'the whole thing is very much an integrated design by a very important Victorian architect ... you cannot mess about with buildings like that'.[18]

The Friends of All Saints had done much to ensure that the plans were rejected, having made the City authorities aware of the full implications, while mobilising opposition, much of which might otherwise have never have been expressed. At the Friends' meeting on 2 June there may have been relief, and even joy that All Saints had been saved, but the struggle was not over, as they still had to find a use for the church. Thus they had to continue to marshal support. By July they had printed 1,000 membership pamphlets. It was decided to send copies to heads of colleges, architects, local businesses and societies, but a full leafleting campaign was delayed until there were definite plans for the church's future.[19] The Cambridge Civic Society was ready to co-operate in full, saying that All Saints should be a top priority for Cambridge: its autumn newsletter included a feature by Tim Cockerill and a publicity leaflet for the church.[20] A letter from Tim Cockerill in the *Architectural Journal* further boosted the Friends' membership.[21]

There were some hopes that the church could be retained as a place of worship. A proposal that the city's Muslim community might use it as a mosque was unrealistic, as this would have necessitated the removal of stained glass, human images, pews, and installation of washing facilities.[22] Dr. Cunningham made approaches to the local Russian and Greek Orthodox churches, but neither group could afford to take the building, and it was impractical to adapt it as a Pan-Orthodox church, as there would be clashes over services.[23]

The Fitzwilliam Museum gave All Saints a welcome publicity boost between September and November, when it staged a major exhibition about the work and activities of William Morris and his associates in Cambridge. The event, prepared by Stephen Wildman (who had attended the 29 January meeting) and Duncan Robinson, was in a large measure inspired by the plight of All Saints, which featured prominently in the displays and Stephen Wildman's preview lecture. The Fitzwilliam Museum displayed leaflets for the Friends throughout the event. The exhibition catalogue (still the standard study of the activities of Morris and Company in the area) contained much information on All Saints and an appeal for its preservation. Related Morris tours visited All Saints. *The Times* ran a review of the exhibition, which prompted a feature and two letters about the church.[24]

Towards the end of 1980 the Archdeacon of Ely agreed to organise a meeting to discuss the church's future.[25] This was convened at Westcott House on the evening of 8th December under the auspices of Sir Ronald Harris, the First Church Estates Commissioner and chairman of the Central Board of Finance of the Church of England. Tim Cockerill and individual representatives of other organisations who had supported the Friends met representatives of the diocese of Ely, the Redundant Churches Committee of the Church Commissioners, Cambridge City Council, and the Redundant Churches Fund It was agreed that All Saints was now recognised as an important example of Victorian (and early 20th century) art and architecture, but it was hard to find a use for it, while decline and neglect meant that restoration might cost £150,000.

Matters had reached an impasse. All Saints was now recognised as a valued and important historic building, which deserved preservation, but finding an appropriate use was difficult. One proposal was that it should be divided into offices by the installation of internal floors and walls. The idea of a competition to decide on a use was also suggested. There was a hope that the Redundant Churches Fund would be interested in taking over the building, although this was far from certain. In March 1981 the Friends discussed the possibility of staging an exhibition in the Central Library, and seeking support from national bodies such as the BBC or the Victorian Society.[26]

In June 1981 the Redundant Churches Committee of the Church Commissioners met to discuss the building. No consensus could be reached, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the chair, gave the casting vote in favour of vesting All Saints in the Redundant Churches Fund. The takeover was agreed upon on 7 December 1981, and confirmed by the Privy Council on 16 December.[27]

There was one sad casualty of the campaign: All Saints' Victorian vicarage. With no proper owner since Hereward Hard left, it had become a notorious local squat. In recompense for the loss of All Saints', Westcott House was given the site of the vicarage and its garden, for redevelopment.[28]

All Saints was the first Victorian church to pass into the care of the Redundant Churches Fund, this marked a new development in the Fund's policy, showing that it could now take on Victorian churches of quality. The Friends and the Fund quickly established a harmonious relationship. The Friends arranged for the Citizen's Advice Bureau to hold a key. Hereward Hard became the other keyholder, and his love, learning and reverence for the church ensured that the visits he guided were memorable occasions. Dense vegetation had grown in the valley gutter between the nave and the aisle, from which rain had leaked down the central arcade, destroying the wall paintings there. The roof was fully repaired, and an efficient gutter installed by mid 1983, to the designs of Julian Limentani of the Marshall Sissons partnership, at a cost of £41,000.[29] In June and July 1983 the Friends held open afternoons to publicise the church, staging exhibitions about the Redundant Churches Fund and George Bodley. (At this time Stephen Humphrey published his monograph on the church's history.) In 1984 Cambridge City Council offered £2,500 to repair the stained glass; the Friends acquired cinema lights, which were installed to spotlight the chancel arch; Tim Cockerill participated in a sponsorship run, covering a half marathon in just under two hours, to raise £155; while Dr. Martin Richards of the Centre for Family Research at Cambridge University planted a Victorian garden in the space between the church and Jesus Lane. Flowers still grow here: it contains several endangered species, while the geraniums have cross-pollinated, to produce a variety that is unique to All Saints Church!

In 1987 Hirst Conservation of Laughton in Lincolnshire, directed by Elizabeth Hirst, conserved parts of the nave and aisle wall paintings, which had deteriorated greatly since the 1960s, especially after the church's closure.[30]

After the death of Hereward Hard, the last vicar, in 1993, his ashes were laid outside the east end of All Saints, in tribute to his dedication to the church.[31]

Meanwhile, in 1994, the Redundant Churches Fund changed its name to the Churches Conservation Trust. In 1998 Susan Cupitt, a member of the East Anglian Potters Association thought that All Saints would make a good venue for the Association's annual winter exhibition. Her husband, Don Cupitt, obtained the Trust's approval to stage the exhibition, which proved a great success, and has become an annual event.

The Friends of All Saints was wound up on 25 July 1999. They had admirably achieved everything they had fought for, having prevented the church's demolition, ensured its full preservation, and given expert guidance throughout. Their remaining funds were transferred to the Churches Conservation Trust. Continuity was maintained, as Chloe Cockerill now works for the Trust.

All Saints received good publicity when Simon Jenkins gave it favourable comment in his guide, *England's Thousand Best Churches* (1999). In 2000 the Churches Conservation Trust appointed a custodian to ensure that the church was opened to the public on a regular basis. It attracted over 10,000 visitors during the next eighteen months. In 2001 and 2003 the English Wall Paintings Workshop of Faversham, directed by Tom Organ, undertook two extensive campaigns to fully conserve the wall paintings that had not already been treated by Elizabeth Hurst. In September 2002 All Saints was the setting for a service to celebrate the work of the Churches Conservation Trust. Tim and Chloe Cockerill and the Friends Group, with the power and effectiveness of their vision, energy and tenacity showed how individuals can make a difference in the preservation of England's ecclesiastical heritage.

Notes

This paper has been compiled from the archives of the Friends of All Saints, now stored in the Cambridgeshire Record Office (R.100/93) and additional sources as listed below. The Cambridgeshire Collection (the local studies department of Cambridge Central Library) has also furnished information. I am grateful to Tim and Chloe Cockerill for their help in the preparation of this paper.

CEN	Cambridge Evening News
Cambs. Coll.	Cambridgeshire Collection

1 Stephen Humphrey, *The Salt of Noble Sentiment in Jesus Lane*: *the Victorian Rebuilding of All Saints' Church, Cambridge* (Ecclesiological Society, 1983) contains the fullest account of the church's history with a detailed account of its architectural and artistic development. For some observations on the medieval church before demolition see J. W. Clark, 'Annals of All Saints' Church', *Ecclesiologist* 137 (April 1860) 57-65. A recent study of how parochial and clerical affairs affected All Saints is Peter Mountjoy, 'The life within the shell: ecclesiological change in a Cambridge parish', *Ecclesiology Today* January 2000, 23-27.

2 *All Saints Parish Magazine* January 1938 (Cambs. Coll., C.83.01).

3 *Cambridge City Churches: Report Of The Committee Appointed By The Bishop Of Ely* (typescript, 1956) (copies with the Friends archives and at Cambs. Coll., C.83.01).

4 *Cambridge News*, 27 Sept 1969; CEN 28 Nov 1970; see also N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cambridgeshire* 1st ed., 1954, 174-5, 225; 2nd ed., 1970, 221; 287.I visited All Saints in the mid 1960s, when a primary school child. My memories are of a dark church: I cannot remember noticing the wall paintings, which were the first thing to strike me on a return visit in 1999.

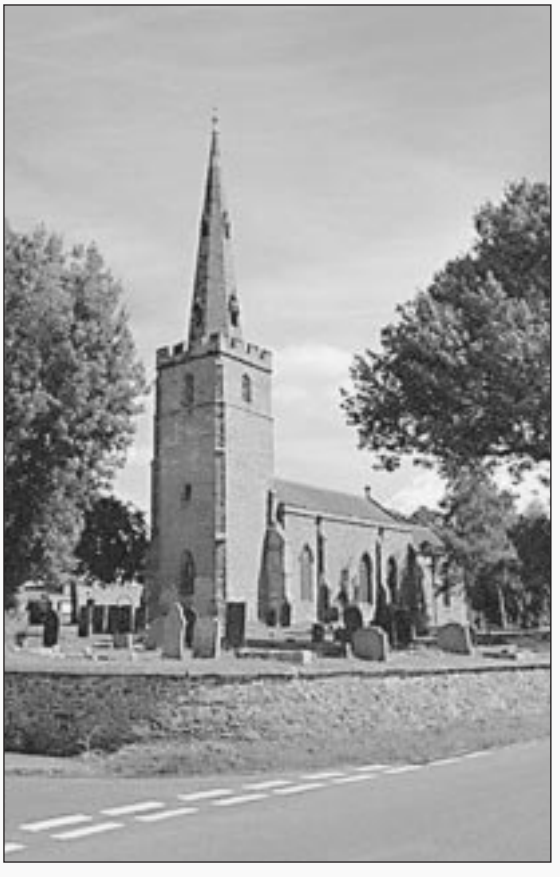
5 *All Saints Church, Cambridge: A Service To Give Thanks For The Life Of All Saints Parish* (Cambs. Coll., C.83.01); CEN 29 July 1970; 6 Aug 1970; 5 Feb 1971; 8 Feb 1971; 15 Feb 1971; 24 Nov 1972; *Guardian* 30 July 1970.

6 CEN 19-20 January 1976; 13 June 1977; 30 June 1977 4 July 1977; *Victorian Society Annual Report*, 1977.
7 CEN 5; 14; 30 March 1979; correspondence with the Victorian Society in the archives of the Cambridge Preservation Society.
8 CEN 1 June 1979
9 CEN 6-7 June 1979; *Cambridge Civic Society Newsletter* spring/summer 1979.
10 CEN 29 Jan 1980.
11 CEN 19 November; 3 December 1979.
12 *Victorian Society Newsletter* spring 1980.
13 CEN 25 Jan 1980; 1 Feb 1980; *Church Times* 15 Feb 1980; a letter in the CEN of 19 Feb 1980 said that at a diocesan committee meeting attended by sixty people, only seven voted against the plans.
14 CEN 25; 28 Jan 1980.
15 CEN 26 Feb 1980.
16 CEN 11; 13; 19 April 1980.
17 *Cambridge National Trust Centre Magazine* 46 (Spring 1980).
18 CEN 28 May 1980; (CEN 20 May announced the development sub-committee meeting 'tomorrow').
19 CEN 9 June 1980.
20 *Cambridge Civic Society Newsletter* Autumn 1980.
21 *Architectural Journal* 8 Oct 1980, 683.
22 T. Insoll, 'The Cambridge Mosque and Muslim community', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 90 (2001) 128; CEN 20 June 1981.
23 At time of writing the local Greek Orthodox Church regularly uses St. Clement's, while the Russian Orthodox community uses the chapel of Westcott House.
24 Duncan Robinson and Stephen Wildman, *Morris and Company in Cambridge* (Fitzwilliam Museum, 1980), 2-3; 29-33; CEN 30 Sept 1980; 11 Nov 1980; *The Times* 30 Sept 1980; 6 and 9 Oct 1980; 14 Nov 1980.
25 A letter from the Archdeacon (CEN 17 Oct 1980) tried to defend the diocesan policy on All Saints, saying that it had many functioning churches to maintain, and that it had sought organisations that might take on All Saints before suggesting partial redevelopment.
26 *Victorian Society Annual 1979-80.*
27 CEN 16 June 1981; 12 Aug 1981; 4 and 7 Dec 1981 *Church Times* 24 July 1981; *Victorian Society Annual*, 1981, describes the vesting of the church in the Fund, and also contains an interesting paper by John Maddison, 'ecclesiastical exemption, church building and the law', (5-19) on the preservation of disused Victorian churches.
28 CEN 4 Dec 1981; *Cambridge Weekly News* 24 January 1985.
29 CEN 22 July 1982.
30 CEN 29 Jan 1987; 3 July 1989.
31 CEN 11 Aug 1993; *Jesus College Cambridge, Annual Report*, 1994.

Church Crawler *January 2005*

Villagers see church spire swaying

Bystanders in the Leicestershire village of Sapcote sounded the alarm at the start of September when they noticed that All Saints church spire was rocking as the bells were being rung. Now the church has been sealed off after being declared structurally unsafe and emergency scaffolding erected around the structure which dates back to the C12. On initial inspection nothing was found until all ten bells were rung when a crack was found in the spire. Church leaders were warned it could collapse in a storm. Head bell ringer Michael Brown said "We didn't notice it moving at the time, it was only when someone mentioned they'd seen it rocking more than it should have done that we got a bit nervous. It's only the very top of the tower that's in the real danger of coming down - the first 150ft or so are fine. But the engineer who has been looking into it all said he certainly wouldn't like to be around in a force eight gale." In the meantime services have transferred to the village hall and quotations are being sought for repair, whilst hoping that the spire does not fall and cause greater problems.



Sapcote church on a calm day

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Hawksmoor's masterpiece restored to glory

Christ Church, Spitalfields, East London was one of the "Fifty New Churches" (only about a dozen were actually built) ordered by an Act of Parliament in 1711. These churches were built on an unprecedented scale to inspire awe not just for God but for the Crown. The doors of the church reopened to the public on 2nd September after a restoration project that began in 1977. Red Mason the architect and the Friends of Christ Church had secured the spire and portico, strengthened the roof and restored the original fenestration as well as putting back the stairs to the south door. This latest work has seen the galleries put back, a new reredos installed behind the high altar and the original colour scheme recreated. It secured the largest grant ever given to a church by the Heritage Lottery Fund of £5.9million, with extensive further fundraising besides, and it seems worth every penny, although the HLF's insistence that the Victorian stained glass in the east window should remain has been questioned by Arts critics. The Society enjoyed its annual Dykes Bower lecture there in December, when Red Mason explained the complexity and scale of the work. There is a fine gallery of pictures at http://www.christchurchspitalfields.org/.

"Unique" miners' church lands £392k grant

In October 2004 English Heritage pledged £392,000 to help save a unique Nuneaton church from falling down. Colliers in the Galley Common area of the town originally had pennies deducted from their wages every week to build St Peter's Church - the village miners' chapel - in 1907. It was built in a revolutionary post-Victorian "arts and craft" style - and is a listed building. To obtain the EH grant the community must raise £175,000 themselves by next April.

The unusual Arts and Crafts church of Galley Common

Parish worker Mick McTighe said: "According to English Heritage, our architect has provided a unique and nationally significant design solution to save the building that will involve constructing a new skeleton around the existing structure. External walls, roofs, doors and windows will look exactly the same as they do now, but will in effect enable the attractive inside to be preserved without intrusive structural changes. We are now on the final mile to saving the building from being lost for all time."

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Former pub opens as church.....

In an odd reversal of conservation, a pub which closed down in the early 1990s has reopened its doors as a church. The Gelynog pub in Beddau, near Pontypridd, South Wales, lay empty for about four years until it was bought by Elim Pentecostal Church. Elim has spent 10 years and up to £80,000 on renovations, which have included turning part of the bar into a lectern for the minister. A stained glass window depicting a holly bush – the English translation of the name of the former pub – has also been kept. Now the church has been officially opened to the community, with an auditorium for 120 people in part of the former bar, and other rooms renovated for local groups to use.

The church's minister, the Rev Raymond Smith, said "We have got churches which have been made into pubs and clubs and I think this is the church striking back." Of the lectern he said "You can still see marks from where it was used as a bar, such as a stain from where someone left a glass which we could not quite rub all off."

.....church into pub.....

Liverpool's oldest Roman Catholic church, St Peter's in Seel Street dating back to 1782, has undergone a £2m renovation to convert it into a stylish new restaurant and bar. The company Lyceum has agreed to retain the space within the church and the first balconies that surround the main area. An office development would have almost certainly led to a first floor being added and the balconies demolished. It is due to

open in the summer of 2005. Before St Peter's was converted it held 22 bodies in its crypt. Of those, seven were priests, including Father Bede Brewer, one of the founders of the world-famous Ampleforth College in Yorkshire. All the bodies have now been removed and re-interred.

.....church into drop-in centre

Work to convert St Lawrence Church, in Dial Lane Ipswich, into a new drop-in centre and café for Age Concern is due to start in January 2005 and expected to open in August the same year. Age Concern's Suffolk chief executive, Daphne Savage said: "The borough council is carrying out the major restoration and making the necessary structural changes – but we shall have to complete the fitting out and furnish it all out. It will cost us about £100,000 and we're already looking at ways of raising the money."

St Lawrence, Ipswich

The church was last used as a place of worship in 1974 and was officially declared redundant in 1980. It was transferred to the Ipswich Historic Churches Trust and occasionally used for special events until dry rot was discovered in the floor in the 1990s, forcing it to be removed. Since then the church has been shut up waiting for a new use – although the impressive tower with some of the oldest bells in the town was restored in the late 1990s. "We are hoping that we can officially open on August 10. That's the feast day of St Lawrence and it would be very appropriate," said Mrs Savage.

. . . and church into circus school

The Churches Conservation Trust announced on 27th November that the Bristol church of St Paul, Portland Square is to be leased to Circus group Circomedia. The CCT have been restoring the church and Circomedia will now be able to install a full scale flying trapeze rig, a sprung dance floor and tumble runs. It is hoped the circus training centre will help regenerate the St Paul's area of the city. The Grade 1-listed late Gothic church was opened in 1794 and closed in the 1990s. St Paul's remains a consecrated space, allowed to hold six services a year (on the ground). A cafe in the centre will be open to the general public and there will be a glass wall between it and the training space. Adaptation work to fully convert St Paul's for circus work will take 3-4 months. It is hoped that the centre will be fully operational by spring 2005.

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Churchcrawlers and worshippers defy 'threat to health'

Air inside churches may be a bigger health risk than that beside major roads, research suggests. One report found church air to be considerably higher in carcinogenic polycyclic hydrocarbons than air beside roads travelled by

45,000 vehicles daily. It also had levels of tiny solid pollutants (PM10s) up to 20 times the European limits. The study, by Holland's Maastricht University, published in the European Respiratory Journal, says that December, with churches lighting up candles for Christmas, could be an especially dangerous month for the lungs. The Dutch team set out to examine the air quality in churches, as they are often poorly ventilated, with candles burning all day, and frequent use of incense. Both could, in principle, be expected to have some harmful effects. The researchers analysed the particulate matter concentration found in the air of a small chapel and a large basilica in Maastricht following lengthy use of candles or a simulated service in which incense was burned. The particles can penetrate very deep into the lungs and trigger various lung and heart conditions. After nine hours of candle-burning, the church air had PM10 levels of 600 to 1000 micrograms per cubic metre - more than four times higher than before the start of the first morning mass. The study also found very high concentrations of polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons, also known to be carcinogenic and various types of free radicals which are highly reactive molecules that damage lung tissue and can trigger or exacerbate inflammatory reactions, including those connected with major respiratory conditions such as asthma and chronic bronchitis.

The researchers claim that priests and people working for long periods in churches are at greater risk than ordinary worshippers, and that worshippers devout enough to spend several hours each day in church could also be affected. A spokesman for the Church of England said that during candle and incense-burning ceremonies the doors of churches were often open, with people coming in and out. He said many factors would govern pollution levels, such as the height of the church, and whether the high level windows were open. He also took issue with the idea that churches were poorly ventilated - pointing out that many are notorious for being draughty!

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Other News in brief

St James Idridgehay, Derbyshire, faces an uncertain future unless plans to use it as a community hall are realised. The PCC plan to convert the north aisle, installing domestic facilities and utilising the nave as the village's meeting place. Visitors will find an exhibition of the scheme in the church and a public appeal for the estimated £180,000 needed will be launched once permission is granted. The church dates from 1844 and was designed by H.L.Stevens.

St James, Idridgehay

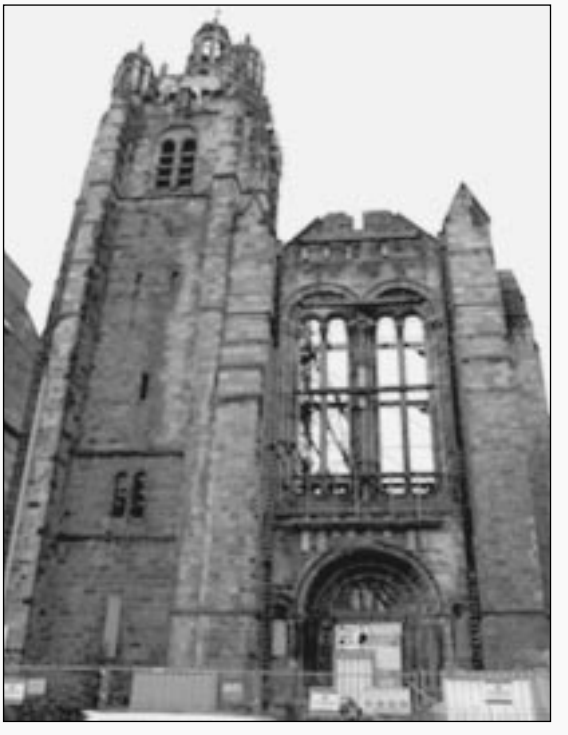
Long Lawford, Warwickshire villagers are fighting a second plan for their disused church. Application has been made to convert St John's church into a studio with two parking spaces, which is seen as an interim step in the church

St John's church, Long Lawford

becoming a house, something already fought off in 2003. PCC chairman Bill Cleaver said although the church was redundant, the graveyard was still used. Villagers fear the graves will be disturbed in order to supply the building with power and water services. The crumbling Grade II listed church of 1839 fell into disrepair after being decommissioned in 1995, when it was declared unsafe. Pevsner (1966) reports the church as still having most of its original fittings.

In November thieves smashed a church's stained glass window installed in memory of Royal Air Force heroes - the night before a service to commemorate them. Veterans who visited **Longstanton, Cambs** were heartbroken to discover the magnificent coloured window at All Saints Church had been damaged by the burglars. One parishioner, Helen Dykes, said: "It is a magnificent window, beautifully coloured. It depicts the airmen and aircraft and parts of the airfield. People from all over the world have come to see it." The window was installed in the early 1990s.

Another CD-Rom has been published in the Digital Atlas of England Series. Joining Rutland, the new CD covers **Huntingdonshire** (ISBN 0-9549018-3-5) and has nearly 6000 high definition images, a large number being of churches with their fittings and monuments. Further details of this and other volumes can be found on the internet at http://www.digiatlas.net/publications.html, together with an updated version of Panorama which runs the programme. It is planned to review this in the next edition of *Ecclesiology Today.*



The rather sad exterior of Strathbungo church

The Catholic church in **Stornoway** was left a burnt-out shell by a fire which broke out in the early hours of the morning of 26th November. Residents close to the Holy Redeemer church were evacuated as a

precaution as fire units from across the island tried to extinguish the blaze. The church was only built in 1991. Elsewhere in Scotland a crumbling A-listed church on Glasgow's south side is to be saved by a new development project. **Strathbungo** Parish Church on Pollokshaws Road, which dates from 1886, is to become part of a new housing block. Its clock tower, facade and spire will be retained during a £2.2million project to convert it into 28 flats for social renting.

A spire on a mid Wales church has been restored - more than 25 years after it was demolished. Villagers in **Boughrood**, Powys, raised £30,000 in just over a year to build the new spire at St Cynog's church having also paid for it to be demolished in the 1970s when it became unsafe. The new 50ft-high church spire was lifted into place by crane on Monday, after being pieced together nearby. The church, originally dating from medieval times, was rebuilt in 1854 by C.H.Howell.

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And finally

I could not write this article successfully without you, the members, keeping me informed of what is happening in your area. However the views expressed are often my own or those of contributors, not the EcclSoc. I can be contacted on Email at churchcrawler@blueyonder.co.uk or by conventional means at Phil Draper,10 Lambley Road, St George, Bristol BS5 8JQ. Please send articles, newspaper clippings, with photographs too preferably, together with a SAE for return if required.

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