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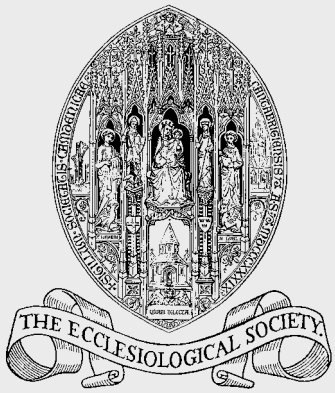

Journal of the Ecclesiological Society

Ecclesiology Today

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Issues 47 & 48 for
December 2012 & July 2013
published April 2014

Chairman's letter

Dear Fellow Member

You will immediately see that this is a bumper volume of *Ecclesiology Today*. It is in fact a joint edition, for December 2012 and July 2013. Though, alas, we are still behind with our production cycle.

There is a unifying set of themes to the articles in this volume – how do we properly value, keep, and use what we have inherited from the past?

The important article by Ingrid Brown on Scott's Hereford screen sharply highlights some of the practical issues. When the legacy is something rather dominant, is suffering from corrosion, is seen as old-fashioned and ugly, symbolises something one would rather it did not, and gets thoroughly in the way, what does one do? It is not difficult to guess, though, perhaps unusually, this is one of those stories that does have a happy ending.

Jane Kennedy's lecture on possible developments at Ely Cathedral deals not with inherited objects, but with inherited space and planning. Over the centuries the interior at Ely has been altered many times: how should this shape our view of its future?

Sally Badham's article raises worrying issues about our legacy of church monuments. Whilst acknowledging the excellent work often done by the organisations and congregations responsible for churches, she points out many ways in which things can, and sometimes do, go wrong. Of most concern is the damage caused by bats in churches, a problem which has largely arisen in the last thirty years or so.

In his article, Julian Litten gives a brief history of ledgerstones, and explains the work of the Ledgerstone Survey. As the article explains, these monuments can be of considerable interest, both individually and for their broader social significance. Some of them are elegant, even beautiful. But we have no handlist, so cannot yet properly assess or value these items. And, how anyway should one look after objects which may form a substantial part of the stone floor surface?

Finally, Linda Monckton's article deals with church closure. She demonstrates how the rate of closure has slowed down since the late 1960s, and how the pattern of re-use is changing. Each one of these buildings has been the subject of a sometimes complex series of choices about its future: it is fascinating to see the patterns that have arisen from these individual decisions, and to reflect on what the future might hold.

I hope you find these articles both enjoyable and thought-provoking.

Trevor Cooper
Chairman of Council

The Hereford Screen

Ingrid Brown

Introduction

THE HEREFORD SCREEN was hailed in 1862 as 'the finest piece of modern metal work in existence ... there is nothing ... which will bear even a moment's comparison'.[1] *The Illustrated London News* considered it 'the most noble work of modern times ... the largest art-work in metal of which we have knowledge, ... [which] stands forth to the world as a monument of the surpassing skill of our land and our age' (Fig. 1).[2]

But in less than fifty years, the 1897 edition of *Architecture* deemed it as 'gorgeous ... but not so particularly artistic ... a great deal too gaudy and glittering for its place',[3] and by the early twentieth century, the object was damned in Batsford & Fry's *Cathedrals of England* as 'tortured art metalwork ... a melancholy commentary on the transience of even the most eminent taste'.[4]

The screen, designed in 1861–2 by leading Gothic Revival architect Sir George Gilbert Scott and produced by renowned

Ingrid is a recent MA graduate in architectural history, with a particular interest in nineteenth-century churches and cathedral furnishings.

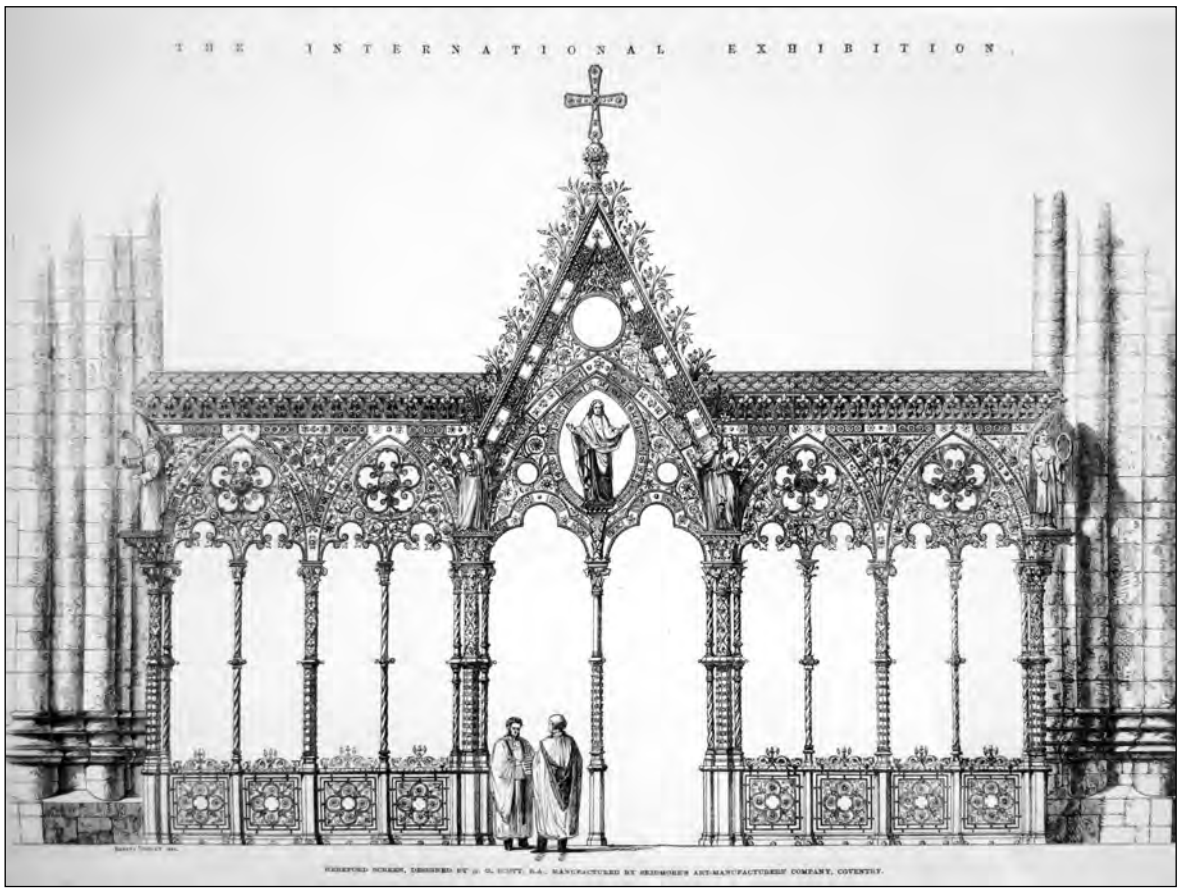


*Fig. 1: Contemporary print of the Hereford screen at the 1862 Exhibition (*Illustrated London News*, 30 August 1962)*

Coventry metalworker Francis Alfred Skidmore, was made for Hereford cathedral, at the time ill-suited to new liturgical needs, and formed part of Scott's larger undertaking to restore the cathedral to its former glory. Made from a variety of gleaming materials, including iron, brass and copper, the screen became central to Scott's scheme, and answered the contemporary desire to reinstate a division between the choir and nave, in accordance with emerging ecclesiastical reform movements.

Displayed at the International Exhibition to great acclaim, it was famed before it even arrived at the cathedral. The combination of Scott and Skidmore in its design, both leading figures in the Gothic Revival, and the innovative techniques employed in its production, ensured its success, attracting considerable enthusiasm.

A decade later, Christopher Dresser's 1871 *Principles of Victorian Decorative Design* extolled Skidmore's 'correct and very beautiful treatment of material, one of the finest examples of artistic metalwork with which we are acquainted'.[5] Despite the considerable acclaim, however, much less was said of the proposed purpose of the screen at Hereford.

As ironwork became unfashionable in the latter years of the century, concerns for the practicality of the ostentatious screen at the cathedral began to surface. Shortly before his death, Scott declared himself unhappy with the design.[6] In the 1930s, Hereford's dean and chapter increasingly felt the obtrusiveness of the screen on the function of their cathedral, strongly desiring its removal. The matter soon aroused national interest, and became the subject of contentious debate. Noted defenders of Victorian art and architecture, John Betjeman and Nikolaus Pevsner, argued for the 'sense of mystery and length' which the screen effected in the cathedral,[7] and as a Victorian 'monument of the first order', should be retained for its historic and practical value.[8] But the dean firmly believed Scott and Skidmore's creation spread 'an atmosphere of gloom and decay' within the cathedral.[9] Finally, amidst significant controversy, the screen was removed in 1967.

By the late twentieth century, after failed attempts to preserve it and nearly three decades in storage, the screen was eventually acquired and restored to its former glory by the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) in London, where it stands today (Fig. 2). Displayed above the main entrance hall of the museum, the screen does little to give away the many eventful perambulations it has endured.

The aim of this paper is to shed light upon the extraordinary journey of this object from its inception through to today, and show how its final resting place in the Victoria & Albert Museum returns the screen to the environment for which it was originally created.

Fig. 2: The Hereford screen. As it is today, in the National Ironwork Galleries, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. This photograph, viewing the screen face on, is taken from a vantage point not generally open to the public.

The original commission

By the time Sir George Gilbert Scott arrived to restore Hereford cathedral in 1858, the building had suffered over two centuries of damage and destruction. Many of its prized Norman features were obliterated, and its interior was entirely unsuited to contemporary needs.

The collapse of the great western tower on Easter Monday of 1786 had prompted a melangè of alterations particularly detrimental to Hereford's choir, undertaken by the prominent eighteenth-century architect James Wyatt (1746–1813).[10] But by 1813 visitors described the choir as 'so deranged ... it was beyond description',[11] and there were structural problems: in 1841 Robert Willis (1800–75) described the cathedral as having 'scarcely a vertical pier or wall in the whole building', with the crossing piers expanding outwards under pressure from Wyatt's alterations.[12]

In 1832, a determined drive to reform the choir was instigated on the arrival of dean John Merewether, who began a petition in 1835 to 'open up the Saxon arch' behind the early eighteenth-century altar-screen which had been installed by bishop Bisse in

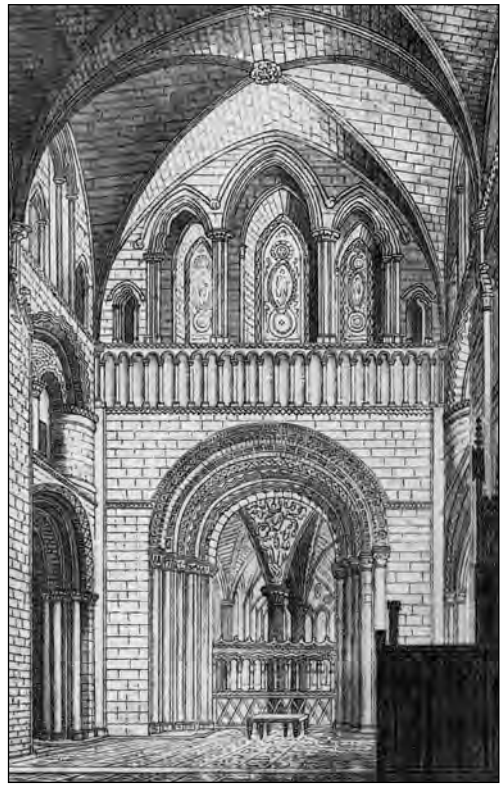
the choir (Figs. 3 & 4).[13] Merewether appointed early Gothic Revival architect L. N. Cottingham to direct the works,[14] and he, according to Pevsner, brought the 'first considerable feeling for Gothic' to the cathedral.[15] But Cottingham's insistence on removing the ancient stone pulpitum to enable the repair of the weak crossing proved an unfortunate alteration, given that Hereford was the only cathedral whose pulpitum had retained its original place beneath the west arch of the crossing (Fig. 5).[16]

Merewether's campaign finally came to an end in 1853, when Cottingham Junior absconded with his wages for the final stage of the restoration, before its completion.[17] Thus, by the mid nineteenth century, Hereford's choir remained incomplete, and the cathedral was largely unfit for nineteenth-century purposes.

At the time, new ecclesiological movements, and the influential publication of *The Ecclesiologist* provided the driving force behind restorations throughout the country's churches.[18] The chancel, serving what was seen as the essential liturgical

Fig 3 (left): Choir, Hereford Cathedral, c. 1841, showing Bishop Bisse' s Grecian panelled altar-piece and screen before its removal. (J. Myles, L. N. Cottingham, 1787-1847 – Architect of the Gothic Revival *(London, 1996), p. 99, pl. 49)*

Fig 4 (right): Choir, Hereford Cathedral, c. 1841, after Cottingham's restoration, exposing the 'Saxon arch', under which the high altar stands today. This is essentially the same view as Figure 3. (ibid, p. 99, pl. 50)



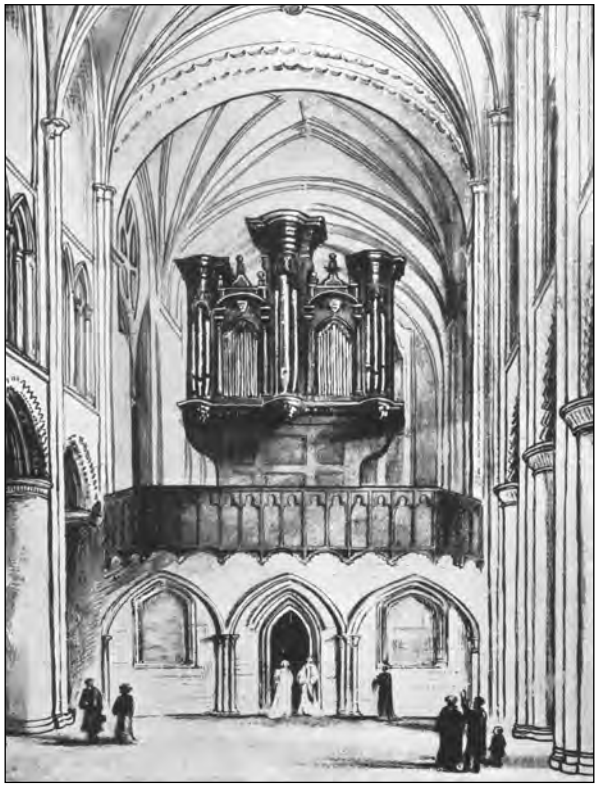
function of a church, became a primary focus in the many campaigns, to be designed and furnished in the fourteenth-century gothic style.[19] Screens were to be reinstated to comply with new liturgical needs, to effect a partial separation between the choir and the nave, without cutting off the congregation from the proceedings. The demand to introduce screens created much work for the most successful architects and craftsmen of the day, and significant impetus to work in the gothic idiom.[20]

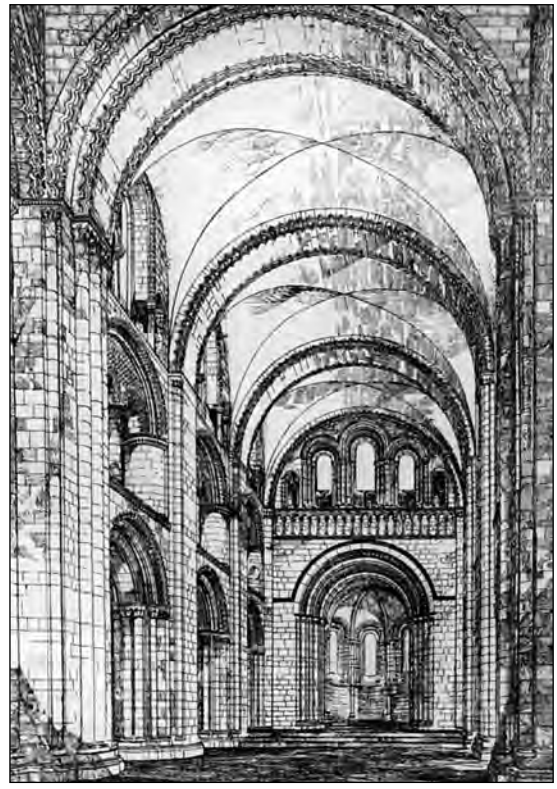
Sir George Gilbert Scott, pre-eminent among Gothic Revival architects, was at the forefront of the burgeoning church building and restoration campaigns.[21] Pevsner considered his churches to be 'as archaeologically accurate as anything of the same date by Pugin'.[22]

In October 1854, the dean and chapter at Hereford called upon Scott to undertake a survey of the damaged building, and by November he had reported that both structural and aesthetic work needed to be carried out with urgency. Scott was appointed

Fig. 5 (left): Old stone pulpitum, Hereford Cathedral c.14th century. Removed by Cottingham in 1841. From a painting of 1830. (Aymer Vallance, Greater English Church Screens *(London, 1947), p. 73, pl. 58)*

Fig. 6 (right): Sir G. G. Scott's reconstruction of the Norman choir, Hereford Cathedral. Note for example the change to the windows as compared to Figure 4. (Undated, published in The Building News, August 1878; *reproduced in G. Aylmer & J. Tiller (eds.),* Hereford Cathedral - A History *(London, 2000), p.209)*





chief architect of a renewed restoration campaign, and on 8 October 1858, signed a detailed specification for the works with his contractors Messrs. Ruddle and Thompson.[23]

Despite his primary concern to preserve the old masonry, Scott was aware of the dean's desire to restore space and light to Hereford's badly cramped choir.[24] The architect provided an extensive specification document, setting out his recommendations. In accordance with contemporary preferences, Scott planned to open out the choir (Fig. 6), and advised that decoration and furnishing be designed in the appropriate gothic idiom. He recommended the ironwork be undertaken by John Hardman of Birmingham, Potter of London, or Francis Skidmore of Coventry, all prominent Victorian metalworkers well-acquainted with medieval ecclesiastical design.[25]

It is clear from the exceptionally detailed manuscript that not even the smallest feature escaped Scott's eye: the document is strewn with his own sketches, providing a fascinating insight into his deep-seated archaeological interests in restoration (Fig. 7), even though today he is often considered as overzealous in his alterations.[26]

Despite the comprehensive outline of the works, however, the specification is virtually silent on the issue of the screen, which is surprising considering it was later to be the central focus of the new choir. However, a vague outline of the chapter's wishes for its design appear in the Cathedral Statement of Appeal, launched later during the restoration.[27] It appears that the dean and chapter merely requested the reinstatement of a division in the choir

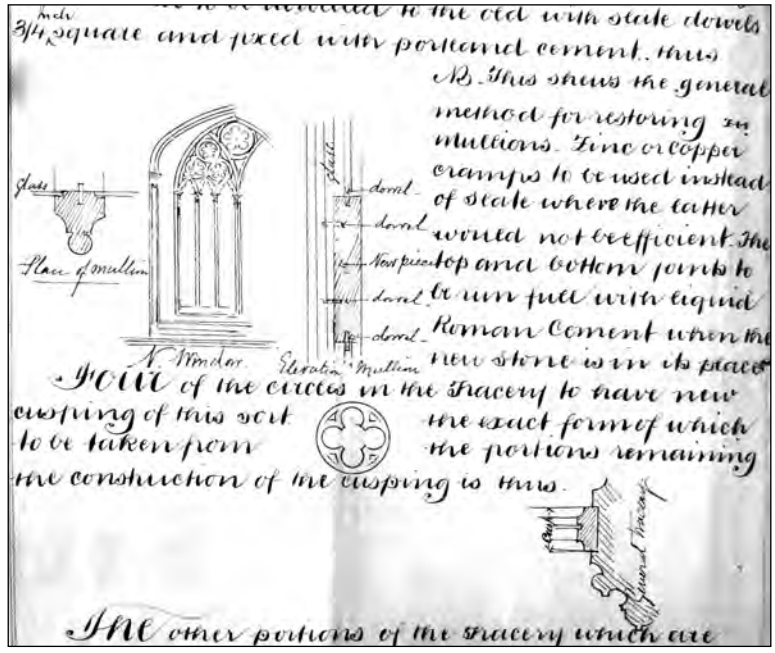


Fig. 7: Extracts from Scott's 1858 Specification for the restoration works at Hereford Cathedral, with his sketches in the margins.

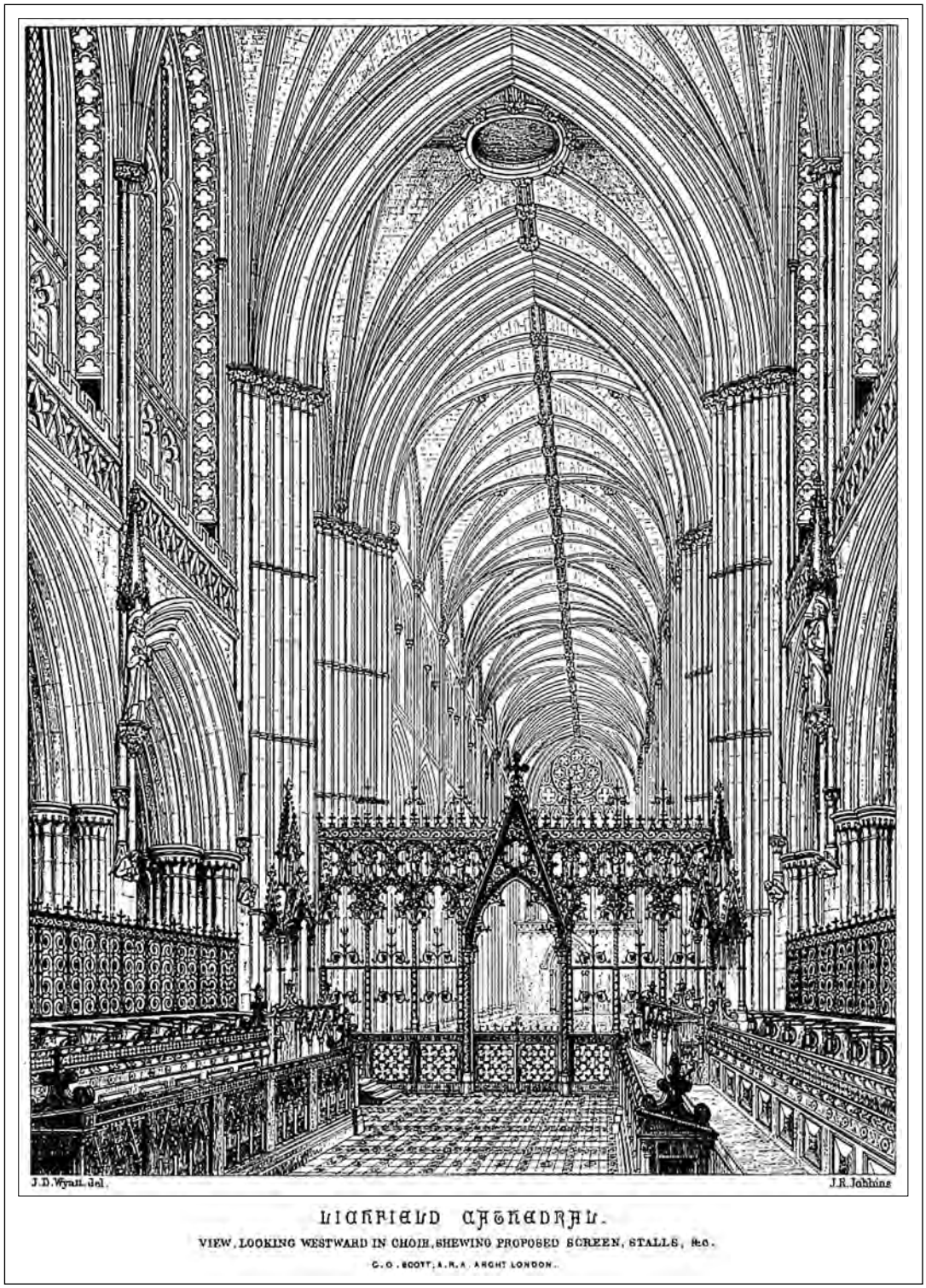


Fig. 8: Lichfield Cathedral Choir screen, Sir G.G. Scott & F.A. Skidmore, 1861–2. Scott's original contract drawing for his proposed choir and screen, looking west. The screen is less ornate in Scott's drawing than Skidmore's final product. (J. Drayton Wyatt, undated, probably c.1861)

Fig. 9: Lichfield Cathedral choir screen, as it is today. Sir G.G. Scott & F.A. Skidmore, 1861–2. (Groenling)

without 'severing it from the remainder of the Church by a solid Screen of Stone', but were undecided as to any particular style or materials. For the design, their instruction to Scott was no more specific than a request for an 'open unobstructive Screen' to replace the old 'close structure of stone'.[28] The matter was left 'open for consideration'. Scott's expertise was invited to solve the somewhat paradoxical requirement for a new screen which would allow the congregation to be involved in the liturgical proceedings, but still provide a separation. The dean and chapter specified their approval of Scott's contemporary work at Lichfield and the earlier Ely commission, as 'an arrangement already carried out with great practical advantage'.[29]

At Lichfield, Scott, working in collaboration with Skidmore, provided the dean and chapter with an openwork choir screen of metallic construction (Figs. 8 & 9). This, their first metalwork

screen, although more ornate than the architect intended, remains in its original position to this day. The open design proved highly successful in satisfying the need for a division which did not obstruct vision from either side, less achievable in stone or wood. Scott declared metal as 'the only material which will unite the conflicting demands' of the practical and aesthetic needs of the nineteenth-century choir screen.[30]

Scott and Skidmore

Francis Alfred Skidmore was born the son of a jeweller in Birmingham in 1817, later joining his father's workshop following an apprenticeship in his youth (Fig. 10).[31] The family moved to Coventry, where Skidmore developed great skill as a gold and silver smith, and became involved in ecclesiastical metalwork. His success resulted in the display of some of his finest pieces at the prestigious 1851 Exhibition at Crystal Palace (Fig. 11).

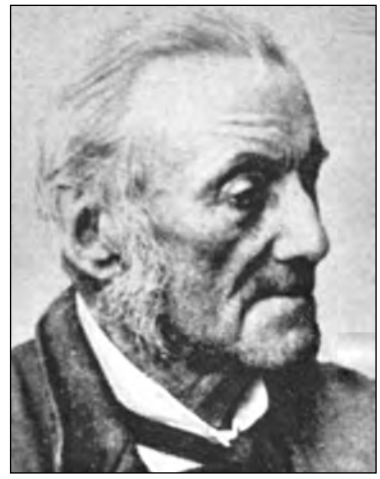


Fig. 10: Francis Alfred Skidmore, in old age. Portrait published in the Coventry Evening Telegraph, *8 February 2000.*

Fig. 11: Chalice, silver-gilt and enamel, by Skidmore and Sons, made for the 1851 Exhibition. (Victoria and Albert Museum, British Galleries: 1329-1852. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Skidmore's predilection for the medieval style gained him much favour among eminent Gothic Revival architects, including Arthur Blomfield with whom he worked at Chester cathedral, [32] and Alfred Waterhouse, architect of the Natural History Museum in London. Skidmore's skill in gold and silversmithing, and membership of the both the Oxford Architectural and the Ecclesiological Society ensured his pre-eminence in this niche market. George Edmund Street, prominent architect of the Revival who trained in Scott's office, acclaimed Skidmore's minutely-detailed bible cover as his 'best work'.[33]

Scott first became acquainted with Skidmore through his work at various Coventry churches. Scott was enthused by recent advances which made iron a viable material for producing large-scale architectural objects economically. As a result of his successful partnership with Skidmore at Lichfield, Scott was doubtless inclined to recommend Skidmore to manufacture the new metalwork choir screen at Hereford. [34]

Project and design

By December 1860, restoration at Hereford was well underway, and attention finally turned to the redesigning of the east end. The chapter deliberated the arrangements of the choir, alongside 'screens to be designed with a view to good workmanship'.[35] The design of the screen was first formally discussed in detail at a meeting on 31 December 1861, when Scott's 'drawings for a Skreen at the West end of the Choir' were approved. The architect advised its installation 'in the strongest Terms', to be manufactured by Skidmore's Coventry firm.[36]

In his tender, Skidmore outlined the intention to 'undertake to make a Skreen of Iron, brass, mosaics, Enamels' according to an accompanying sketch to be 'further developed by G. G. Scott Esq Architect'. Skidmore offered the screen to the dean and chapter for £1500, which was half its anticipated cost, upon condition that the screen was first 'allowed to be exhibited ... during the forthcoming International Exhibition ... the said Contract to include the Delivery of the Skreen free of Charges at Hereford'.[37]

The dean and chapter quickly accepted Skidmore's generous offer, and offered the use of cathedral workmen to assist with its installation once complete.[38] However, Skidmore's intention to display the screen at the Exhibition implied an incredibly narrow production timeframe, given the event was due to begin in less than six months.

In anticipation of this, the dean and chapter initiated a Restoration Fund, in order that Scott and Skidmore's 'great works' would reach completion without delay. By the end of

1861, the grand total of £3,893.10*s*. had been raised, with £1724. 10*s* received.[39]

The screen was in progress by January 1862. Skidmore and his workforce of over seventy men worked rapidly towards its completion.[40] Five months later the screen was virtually complete, a phenomenal feat given the variety of materials and techniques employed in its production.[41] Although unfinished, the screen was hastily transported from Skidmore's Coventry workshop to the grand South Kensington venue of the Exhibition, and prepared for display by 1 May, the inaugural date of the event.

The International Exhibition

Skidmore's masterpiece took pride of place in the Exhibition's 'South-Eastern Transept', amongst a variety of metalwork from both local and foreign workshops (Figs. 12, 13, 14a & b).

Scott and Skidmore were hailed for their revolutionary use of metal in a church furnishing of such immense size, but it was Skidmore's innovative techniques which attracted great admiration, and demonstrated his skills at the cutting edge of technology.

The *Illustrated London News* applauded the screen's purpose, not as a choir furnishing, but as 'an object of beauty ... in view of the ornament applied to it'. The sensitively detailed plates in J. B. Waring's *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition 1862* exemplify the scale and extent of labour involved in producing the screen (Fig. 15).[42] The *Art Journal* hailed the sculpture as 'Truly artistic in conception and design'.[43] However, some contemporary concerns for its proposed role at the cathedral were voiced. The description accompanying Waring's plates stated: 'Very great praise is due both to the designer and artificers of this magnificent screen, although its use in a church where the Protestant service is performed seems more than questionable'.[44]

Installation and re-opening

The Exhibition came to a close in November 1862, and the installation of the screen at the cathedral was begun. In an appeal for funds, the dean emphasised that the 'universal admiration which has been excited by this most beautiful specimen of metal-work' would 'justly give grounds for a belief that the dean and chapter would not be disappointed ... when the Screen is placed in its proper position'.[45] Scott had enumerated his scheme for the new choir, to include: 'the introduction of a magnificent open Screen of Metal-work, in lieu of the ancient Stone Screen, thereby opening out the Choir to the Nave, and rendering nearly the

Fig. 12: Section through 'east transept' of International Exhibition 1862. Hereford screen shown at right, in 'south-eastern' transept. Contemporary engraving. ('Views of the International Exhibition (Interior)', National Art Library, London 1862, p. 7)

Fig. 13: The Hereford screen at the 1862 International Exhibition, viewed from an upper mezzanine level. (Contemporary engraving)

Fig. 14a & b: The Hereford screen, contemporary photographs of screen at the International Exhibition, 1862.

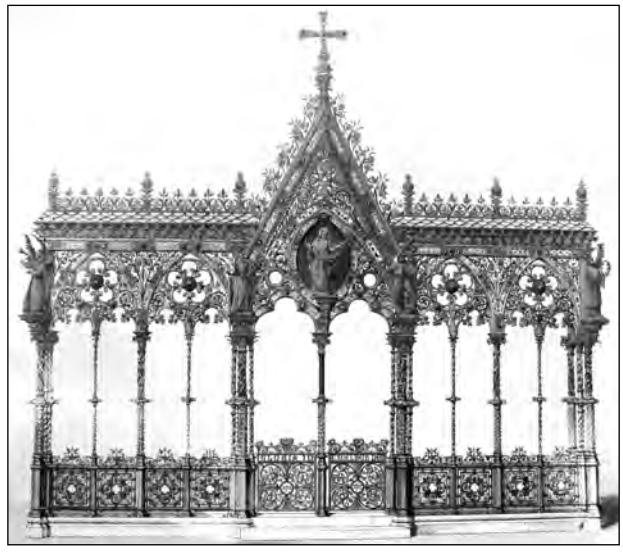


Fig. 15: Hereford screen. Contemporary chromolithograph. (J. B. Waring, Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the 1862 Exhibition *(London, 1862), Plate 113)*

entire Church available for public worship, an alteration of the greatest practical importance ...' (Fig. 16).[46]

The cathedral re-opened to the public on 30 June 1863, recorded as the 'day ... which witnessed one of the greatest of the many architectural triumphs of Mr Scott's genius and skill'.[47] The *Guardian* reflected on a time 'when men sought to patch up the ravages of time by shams and ignoble deceptions ... hiding the ancient glories of churches', adding 'Thank God, that time was past! The essence of our present restorations was to renew the old, not destroy it'.[48] Skidmore's creation formed the central focus, 'dazzling with brilliance ... undoubtedly the most remarkable object in the cathedral', as the choir formed a procession from the cloister to their seats, singing the 68th Psalm.

The grandeur of the occasion did much to conceal the dean and chapter's earlier frustrations with the screen. The 1864 chapter minutes reveal that there had been difficulties installing it, with cathedral workmen kept 'many weeks waiting' while its situation was deliberated. Skidmore did not favour the chapter's proposed arrangements, and insisted it be placed more directly beneath his monumental Corona to effect soft lighting upon his creation.[49] Delays ensued while the metalworker demanded the screen be projected 'further from the Stalls', with workmen engaged in 'erecting ... and subsequently removing, and re-erecting' the screen. The changes necessitated the 'returns of the Screen .. to be enlarged', unhappily incurring the chapter additional expense.[50]

The chapter minutes of 15 August 1863, shortly after installation, records Skidmore's request from the dean and chapter to ensure that 'no Person be allowed to take any Photograph or Sketch of the Screen in the cathedral at any time during six months next ensuing without the consent in writing of

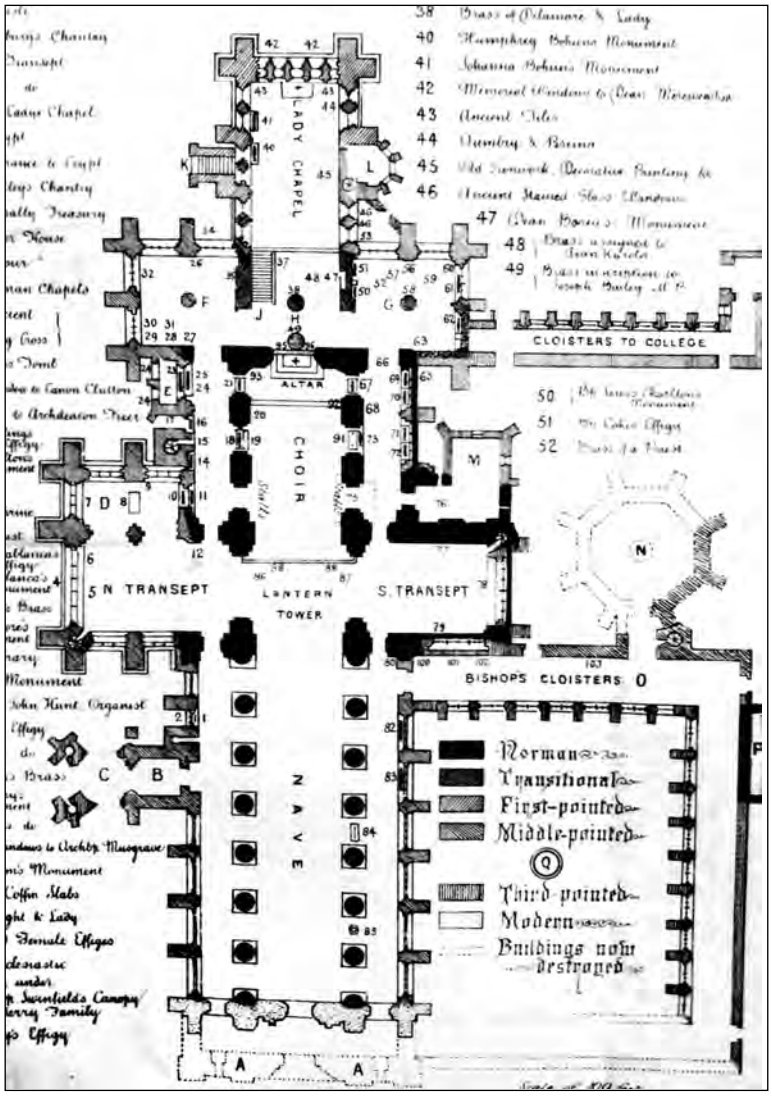


Fig. 16: Hereford Cathedral, part of a nineteenth-century ground plan showing Scott's new choir arrangement, with the screen at the termination of choir, protruding slightly into the nave. (Lithograph, 'Guide to the Restored Portions of the Cathedral Church of Hereford', Deighton & Son of Worcester, c.1863)

Skidmore's Art Manufacturers Company'.[51] This is doubtless indicative of concern for his professional interests, perhaps in protecting or patenting his design, or ensuring control over the marketing of his work.

Despite the friction described above, contemporary commentary appeared largely favourable once the screen was *in situ*. Scott was commended for his ability to provide a 'sufficient division between the Nave and the Choir ... permitting the occupants of both the Tower and Nave to participate in the service ... a complete vindication of the advantage and beauty of metal-work for the purpose to which it is here applied'.[52] Indeed, Skidmore's insistence on the screen's placement beneath the corona ensured the intended effect, described as 'gem-like' under its lighting and 'suggestive of jewels on a crown' (Figs. 17–22).[53]

*Fig. 17: Hereford Cathedral choir, view towards north transept, early twentieth-century view showing Skidmore's corona above the screen. Considerable care was taken over the extent to which the screen protruded into the nave, to manage the way the light from the corona fell on it. (*The Architect, *'Cathedral Series' No. 414, 14 November 1902)*

Fig. 18 (top): Hereford Cathedral nave, view looking east, probably between 1865 and 1885. The gas standards lining the nave are clearly seen, and the central gas corona can just be glimpsed. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01146)

Fig. 19 (bottom): The nave in 2013, showing approximately the same view as Figure 18 (though the perspective is different, the use of a wider-angle lens allowing the photographer to be closer to the altar to capture the view). Without the screen, the focal point is now the high altar, although the 1992 corona under the tower offers a resting point for the eye. (Michael D. Beckwith)

Fig. 20: The screen in position at Hereford, seen from the nave, probably between 1865 and 1885. Although the screen provides something of a barrier, especially when the low doors are closed, the choir and the high altar can still be seen quite easily. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01154)

Despite the artistic appreciation of the screen, there remained a distinct lack of commentary on its function in the church. The *Ecclesiologist's* 1863 review of the restoration only referred to the object as 'Mr Skidmore's magnificent brass screen, well known at the Exhibition of 1862'.[54] In his report of the restored cathedral in the *Hereford Journal*, the Revd W. Heather, Honorary Secretary of the Diocesan Church Building Society, emphasised his experience of its purely visual impact while standing at the heart of Scott's choir, 'at once fascinated with the splendid Norman arch opened up by dean Merewether', and 'at once astonished at the effect produced by Mr Skidmore's screen ... [surpassing] the most sanguine expectations that had been formed by it'.[55]

Design

As complete, the screen comprised an immense variety of metals and precious materials, produced from eight tons of iron, copper and brass, and lavished with more than 50,000 pieces of mosaic, enamels, and cut and polished stones. The piece was virtually covered with lavish adornment, colour and gilding, down to the most insignificant detail. Even the base was rendered from solid polished marble from Devonshire quarries.[56]

The basic composition of the design, with its tympanum, arcaded arches, and gabled centrepiece, reflects its architectural

Fig. 21 (left): The screen at Hereford, seen from the choir, probably between 1865 and 1885. The screen creates a separate space for the choir, whilst being transparent to the nave. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01120)

Fig. 22 (right): The screen at Hereford, looking north, probably between 1865 and 1885. As in Figure 20, the lectern adds to the sense of the nave being a separate space from the choir. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01121)

character, akin to the early French gothic style pre-1240. But the beauty and sensitivity of the detail indicate its likeness to far more delicate objects, such as finely engraved silver and gold, and jewellery (Figs. 23 & 24 and front cover). One can imagine the powerful visual effect of the screen under light, whether natural or artificial, with its profusion of patterns, reliefs, and reflective materials, making even the smallest elements shimmer and sparkle.

The fine craftsmanship evident in every detail at Hereford indicates the hand of an experienced smith, and is a reminder of Skidmore's early aptitude for detailed designs in precious metals,

Fig. 23 (top): The Hereford screen today, at the V&A. The screen is placed on a mezzanine balcony, approached from either side, as here. The use of polished brass and strong colours makes the work glitter.

Fig. 24a (bottom): The gates of the screen, at the V&A. It can be approached closely, allowing appreciation of the variety of materials, the incised motifs and the use of inlays.

Figs. 24 b–e. Details of the screens, showing a variety of decorative devices, a technical triumph.

Fig. 24f (above): Detail of the screen: the liturgical south end. Note the inlay work and use of semi-precious stones.

Fig. 24g (right): The central mandorla of the screen. At the top of this section is a decorated cross, not easily seen in the screen's current position until one is close.

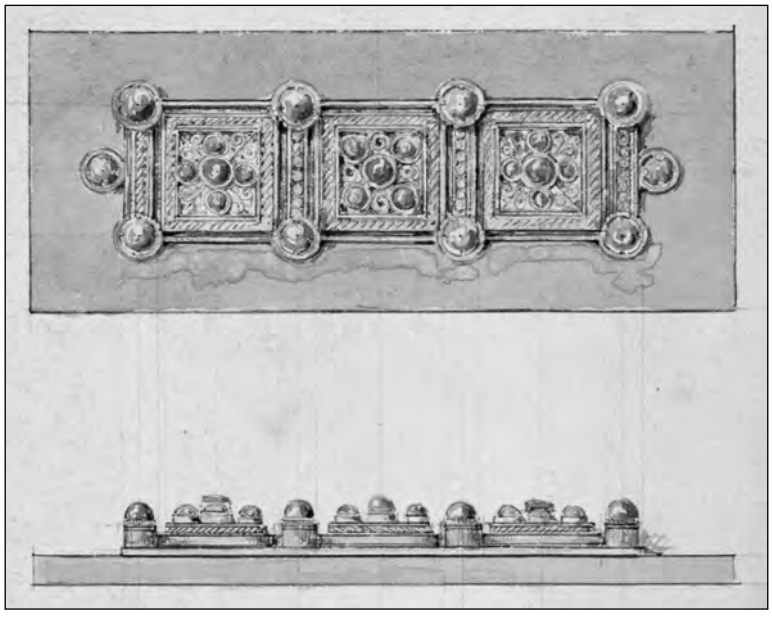


Fig. 25: Presentation design by Skidmore, a jewellery piece consisting of enamel mosaic and semi-precious stone elements set in a metalwork mount similar to that on both the Albert Memorial and the Hereford screen. (F.A. Skidmore, 1859-76; pencil, pen and ink and watercolour. Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints & Drawings Study Room: E.378-2006. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

not surprising given his background in fine jewellery and church plate (Fig. 25). Skidmore's methods distinguish him from his contemporaries, including the famous Birmingham metalworker, John Hardman, whose designs demonstrated much less in the way of filigree and ornamentation (Figs. 26 & 27).[57]

Skidmore would exploit these skills to their limit in his work for the Albert Memorial (1866–73) (Figs. 28 & 29). This royal monument displays many characteristic elements and techniques developed at Hereford, such as its scrolled foliate motifs, virtually identical to those of the screen (Fig. 30). Their increased sophistication indicates Skidmore's unrelenting drive for perfection, allowing him to render extraordinary delicacy from materials of great strength.

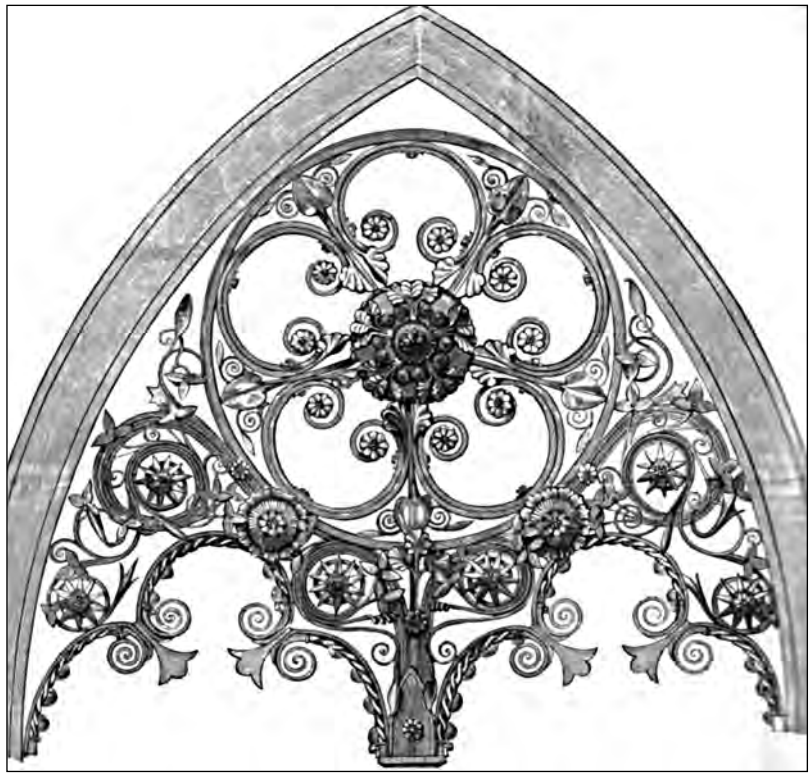
Changing attitudes

Reverend Francis Havergal's 1863 *Guide to Hereford cathedral* marvelled at the production of the screen, 'conducted on the highest artistic principles', emphasising the effectiveness of time upon its appearance, where 'each succeeding year subdues the brilliancy of the metalwork and softens the colours'.[58] However, by the close of the century, metalwork began to fall from favour and the screen became victim to rapidly changing tastes.

The June 1897 edition of *Architecture* considered Hereford's screen as 'gorgeous, but not so particularly artistic ... a great deal too gaudy and glittering for its place'.[59] This appraisal was not solely aimed at Skidmore's work, but formed a broader critique of

Fig. 26 (top): Portion of Hereford screen. Illustration showing apex of one of the arcade arches. (Christopher Dresser, Principles of Victorian Decorative Design (1872), p.150)

Fig. 27 (bottom left and right): Metalwork gate and railing showing foliate detail, by Hardman of Birmingham. (Christopher Dresser, Principles of Victorian Design *(1872), pp.146–7)*



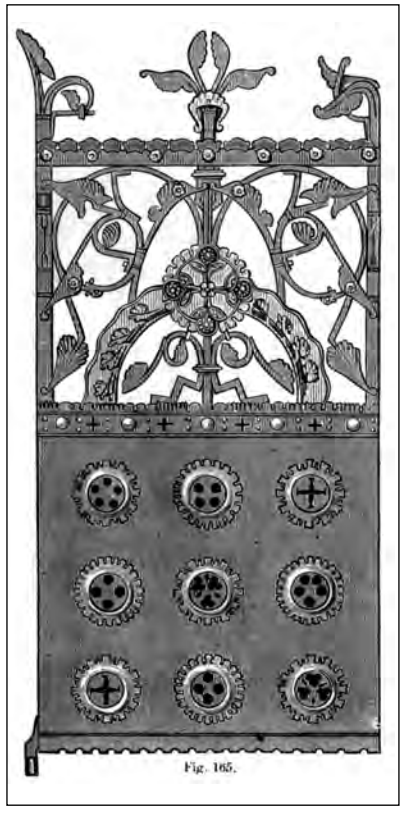


Fig. 28: Detail of canopy of the Albert Memorial, South Kensington, London. Sir G. G. Scott, F.A. Skidmore, 1866-73.

the craftsmanship of the period in which the screen was created, in which the author further criticised Boulton of Worcester's sculptures upon the screen as 'clumsily modelled'. The author considered Scott's restored choir as ruinous to the ancient cathedral, and blamed the result on the 'violent agitation' of the prevailing theories, 'exercising the minds of those interested in matters ecclesiastical on this very question of whether choirs ... should or should not be curtailed ... and also on the subject of opening out of choirs by the removal of obstructing screens ... [which] Scott let himself be influenced by'.

The zeal which held sway over ecclesiastical design in the middle of the century was now being questioned. Did such movements provide any benefit to the ancient fabric of cathedrals throughout the country? Indeed, the very factors that prompted the introduction of the screen at Hereford – the need to satisfy contemporary needs and evolving tastes – were those which were to influence the controversy surrounding its eventual removal.

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the continued evolution of liturgical needs. The Eucharist gained increased prominence as the central act of Anglican worship, and drove new

Fig. 29: Detail of gates surrounding the Albert Memorial.

trends in church layout and furnishing.[60] The partially-divided nave and choir of the nineteenth century was now transformed into the desire for an entirely open arrangement, with no barrier between the congregation and clergy. Numerous churches began to reject the Ecclesiologist's 'gothic' church for its inability to provide a more corporate style of worship.

In many cases, elaborate screens were deemed obstructive to the demand for a more centralised church interior, with the altar moved directly beneath the crossing in an entirely unobstructed setting; as a result, many screens throughout the country were removed.[61]

At Hereford, the condition of the choir became a considerable issue for the dean and chapter. The enormous, once glittering screen was now rapidly decaying, and formed an increasing bone of contention for both the cathedral and its regular worshippers.

The very technologies that captivated Skidmore probably drove the rapid deterioration of his creation, with his demand to 'light the cathedral with gas', which would, he said, 'do as much as anything else to attract a congregation.'[62] But it is the sad reality that Skidmore's gas standards and corona, which so beautifully lit the cathedral, produced a continuous build up of moisture, an inevitable by-product of gas burning. The largely unventilated interior and the use of harsh nineteenth-century coal gas provided a damp atmosphere severely detrimental to the highly corrosive materials of the screen. The cutting-edge bimetallic construction and relief of its design probably further generated its own corrosion, attracting 'electrolytic reactions', and acting as a large

battery due the damp conditions while it was in storage.[63] The effects of combining such materials and technologies would not have been known at the time, given the lack of experience in these emerging techniques.

In a chapter meeting in March 1934, Canon Streeter spoke in favour of the screen's removal,[64] and two months later, the advice of the Central Council for the Care of Churches was sought for its official removal.[65] The matter was discussed by the Council at a meeting in December, which considered whether the retention of the screen would be justified 'as an example of the rich and costly work of its period', or if its desired removal could be warranted as 'incongruous with the ancient building'. The Council resolved that it 'would not view with favour the removal of the screen'.[66] It was suggested the cathedral preserve the screen as a vestige of its Victorian history, or alternatively, restore the choir to its original position, which was 'pushed into a place for which it was never intended'. Only then would they consider removal. The impracticality of the recommendations and the dean's lack of enthusiasm meant the matter was again brushed aside.

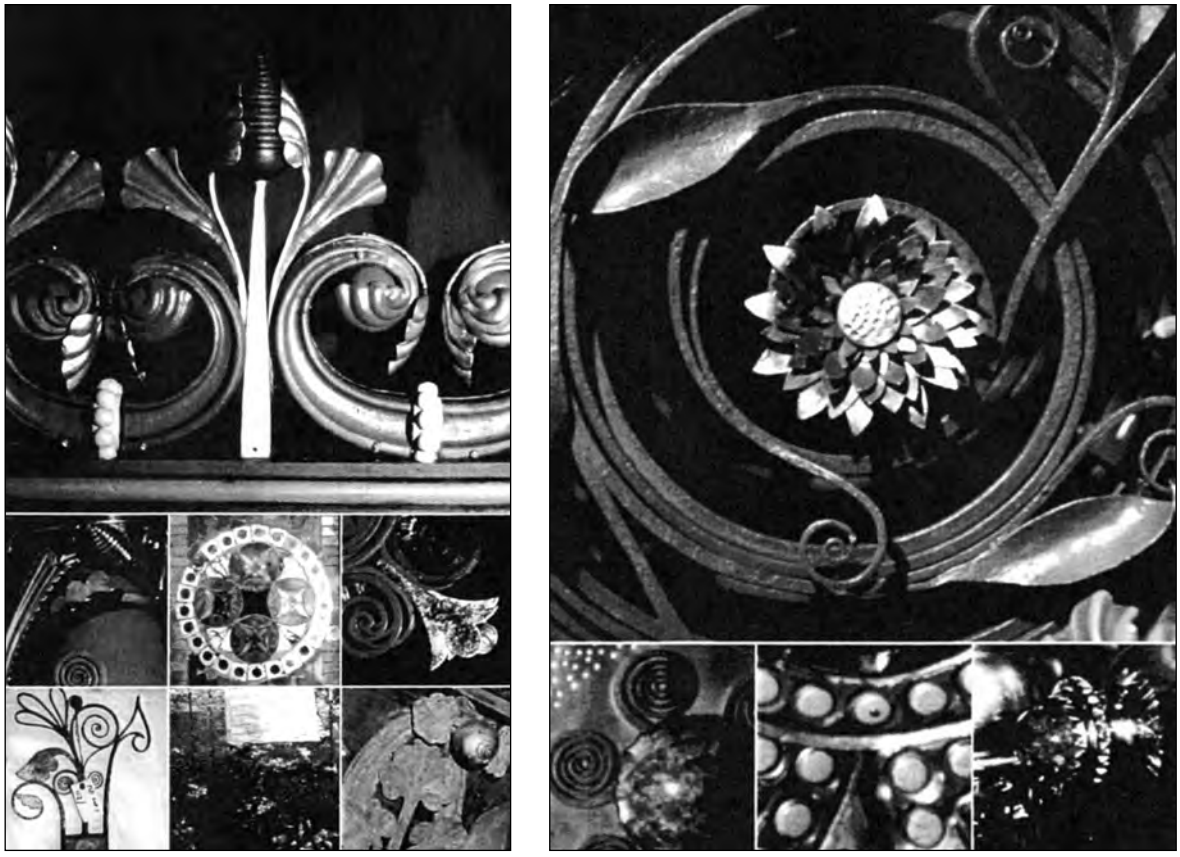


Fig. 30: Detail of decorative elements on the Albert Memorial. (Albert Memorial Restoration Appeal leaflet, c.1991)

Fig. 31: Salisbury cathedral, looking east into the choir, probably between 1865 and 1895, showing Scott & Skidmore's metalwork screen before its removal in 1960. Despite the degraded image, the generally open character of the screen can be seen. Unfortunately this image omits part of the cross at the top of the screen. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.00086)

The Friends of Hereford cathedral felt passionately that the removal of the screen would benefit the cathedral interior. They likened the involvement of the Council to a committee of experts, drawing comparison to the Royal Academy. The Friends believed the Council's reluctance to permit removal stemmed from their bias towards a 'cultural view', and ignorance of the realistic, practical concerns of those actually involved with the cathedral.[67]

A renewed attempt for removal was again met with refusal, with the Council wholly unwilling to permit removal of 'some of the most distinguished work of the period just because people of today do not admire it'.[68]

Tensions escalated, and in 1939, Lisle Carr, bishop of Hereford expressed his long frustration with the screen for both liturgical and aesthetic reasons, describing it as 'a real obstacle to worship', and 'entirely unworthy of the beautiful building'.[69] However, with the outbreak of World War II nothing further was done for a time. In 1948, dean Burrows (1947–1961) sought the advice of the Royal Fine Art Commission. At a meeting held by the Commission on 3 January, the chapter's reasons for removing the screen were discussed, with noted architect and architectural historian, John Summerson, among the Commission's panel.[70] It was again resolved that the screen should be retained. The dean thanked the Commission but disagreed, disappointed at the resolutions, and decided to delay consideration ' until the views of the Friends ... had been obtained'.[71]

By the 1960s, an emerging distaste for England's Victorian art and architecture began to surface, and reignited attempts to remove the screen at Hereford. Many commercial proposals to demolish prominent Victorian monuments and buildings provoked outrage, including that for Scott's Midland Hotel at St Pancras and the Albert Memorial in South Kensington.

In churches, the combination of changing tastes with the desire for an open liturgy resulted in a proliferating 'anti-screen fever'.[72] Their aesthetic and practical value was questioned once again, with many declaring such screens only provided an obstructed view in the church.[73] Scott and Skidmore's metalwork screen at Salisbury was deemed a 'halt to one's vision', and consequently removed and sold as scrap metal (Figs. 31 & 32).[74]

At Hereford, the screen had become frustrating to those involved with the functioning of the cathedral. But without permission to remove the screen, or any alternative to incorporate it elsewhere, no action could be taken. However, a proposed

Fig. 32: Salisbury cathedral, showing Scott & Skidmore's metalwork screen before its removal in 1960. The importance to the overall design of the cross surmounting the screen is apparent. (Undated postcard)

scheme by the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum in Coventry to acquire the screen for an intended Museum of Industry provided renewed hope. Following the arrival of dean Price in 1961, a determined drive to eliminate the object was instigated. Dean Price expressed his delight at the proposal, emphasising that he did not want Hereford's screen to suffer the same fate as Salisbury.

The Herbert Art Gallery endeavoured to launch their proposed Museum of Industry. Their curator, Cyril Scott, notified the Victorian and Albert Museum (V&A) of his intention of his intention to acquire the Hereford screen as an 'outstanding example of the work of Francis Skidmore ... an artist very badly represented in our collections at present'.[75] The ambitious venture was presented to the South Kensington museum in the hope of receiving financial backing towards their purchase of the screen, should it become a reality.

However, within weeks, the dean and chapter's decision to remove the screen reached the national press, and provoked a heated public debate. Protests flooded the papers, divided between arguments for the artistic, historic value of the screen against those for its practical and aesthetic incongruity in an ancient church. Opinions ranged from noted authorities to laymen, and the involvement of Nikolaus Pevsner, John Betjeman and the Victorian Society, gave the controversy a higher profile.

Many feared the plans to preserve it would render it an object of 'Victoriana' in a museum collection. The Cathedrals Advisory Committee notified the dean of the 'spat of protests' they received, opposing its removal to the Coventry museum. The Council emphasised the screen represented 'a very notable achievement of the craftsmanship of the past century ... the best work of that century from our greater churches', and urged cleaning and repair 'rather than relegation'.[76]

The matter soon became contentious. The *Daily Telegraph* published an article in which the dean and chapter were provocatively labelled 'the Destroyers', accused of mutilating the ancient monument. Peter Fleetwood-Hesketh, the architectural correspondent for the paper and author of the review, likened the dean's actions to that of a 'naughty baby ... breaking things', arguing that the removal of the Victorian screen would go against 'every reputable authority' in the country.[77]

The possibility of removal led in some cases to drastic assumptions. One woman from Ledbury feared that were such an action allowed, it may lead to cathedrals themselves being pulled down in future, to be replaced by 'angular modern monstrosities'.[78] Professor W. F. Grimes of the Cambrian

Archaeological Society emphasised that despite the prevailing dislike towards Victorian art, 'it should not be forgotten that the Victorian period was part of the history of the country'.[79]

Many argued that 'medieval builders did not intend the whole building to be comprehendible at a glance', in that screens contributed a 'useful architectural purpose ... giving the eye something to rest on at an intermediate point'.[80] Some demanded the object be appreciated for its purpose within a cathedral, and that 'to preserve a screen in a museum is not the right way of preserving it'.[81]

Nonetheless, the dean received considerable support from many locals and prominent authorities. Significantly, prominent architectural historian, Alec Clifton-Taylor, reassured the dean that he had long considered that 'whatever may be the somewhat macabre merits of this screen ... it was no asset to Hereford' while acknowledging the opposing views of his 'old friend Nikolaus Pevsner on this subject'. Clifton-Taylor added that its installation at Coventry would enable far better appreciation by 'High Victorian enthusiasts'.[82]

John Betjeman, founder of the Victorian Society, contested the arguments for the practical and aesthetic incongruity of the screen, arguing that, historically, screens enabled 'clergy and choir [to] sing the daily offices undisturbed by visitors and pilgrims on their way to the shrines at the east end'. (But this was surely the function of medieval, not Victorian screens.) Betjeman insisted on Scott's ingenuity in designing a screen to both obscure the 'anticlimax' of the newly exposed east end, and the 'tunnel-like' effect of the cathedral, while light enough to enable visibility of the choir and high altar.[83]

Canon Dawson of Salisbury described the screen as a work of 'spiky, blatant vulgarity', and blamed its installation upon the 'debased fashion' of the Victorian era.[84] Dawson criticised the decision-making process of the Central Advisory Committee, creating difficulties for chapters wishing to 'substitute good modern work to inspire the congregations of this age .. who will deny ... setting itself up as an arbiter of taste for the cathedrals of this country'. Dawson praised the successful removal of Salisbury's screen, 'where the record stands ... and actions speak much louder than words'.[85] But not all churchmen were on the dean's side. Seiriol Evans, dean of Gloucester, accused Hereford of 'ritual and architectural nonsense' in their justification to remove the screen, and turn the choir and nave 'into one large room for the occasional large service'. Evans blamed their ignorance of the 'strength and scholarship' that Scott brought to the designs of his screens.[86]

Despite the tensions, removal of the screen was finally confirmed shortly after the New Year in 1967. Dismantling commenced on 6 February by Henshaw & Son, architectural metalworkers from Edinburgh, at a cost of £1888.10s. (Figs. 33 & 34). Work took place through the night to incur minimal disturbance. With the original drawings of the screen lost, the metalworkers used two large photographs of the object, taken at different angles, as a guide to dismantle the piece according to a logical sequence. This would facilitate possible future re-assembly of the screen.

However, by the 1970s, it was clear that Coventry's intentions to preserve the screen in a Museum of Industry were not to materialise. The Gallery was unable to acquire a building 'big enough for the screen', despite help from the local council.[87] Fresh controversy ensued. In 1979 the *Birmingham Evening Mail* reported that city councillors were 'trying to decide what to do with the massively elaborate choir screen' and were considering a range of options, including selling it to America.[88]

Finally, Coventry Council sought the advice of the V&A, pleading that that the screen should be housed in 'more appropriate premises before it begins to suffer unduly'.[89] In 1982, strategies to rescue the screen were discussed between the

Fig. 33: Henshaws Architectural Metalworkers dismantling Hereford choir screen in 1967.

Council and the museum. At last, on 20 May 1983, the screen was officially transferred to the possession of the V&A in a formal gift declaration, whereby 'Such gift to ensure [sic] for the benefit of the Nation and to be under the care and subject to the order of the Secretary of State for Education and Science'.[90]

The crates containing the screen at Coventry were prepared for their transportation to London, where the object first stood over a century previously. It was deposited in the museum's storage warehouse in Battersea, and it was to remain out of the public eye for nearly two more decades.

V&A restoration

The major re-organisation of the V&A's National Ironwork Galleries in the 1990s provided fresh hope for the screen, lying in pieces on the floor of the storage warehouse. Marion Campbell, then Curator of the Ironwork Galleries, instigated a project of large-scale restoration. The goal of the campaign was to restore the 'flamboyant object which the screen was when designed and installed'.[91] The V&A aimed to have the screen ready for display by 2001, to coincide with the centenary of Queen Victoria's death, and their own exhibition, 'The Victorians'.[92]

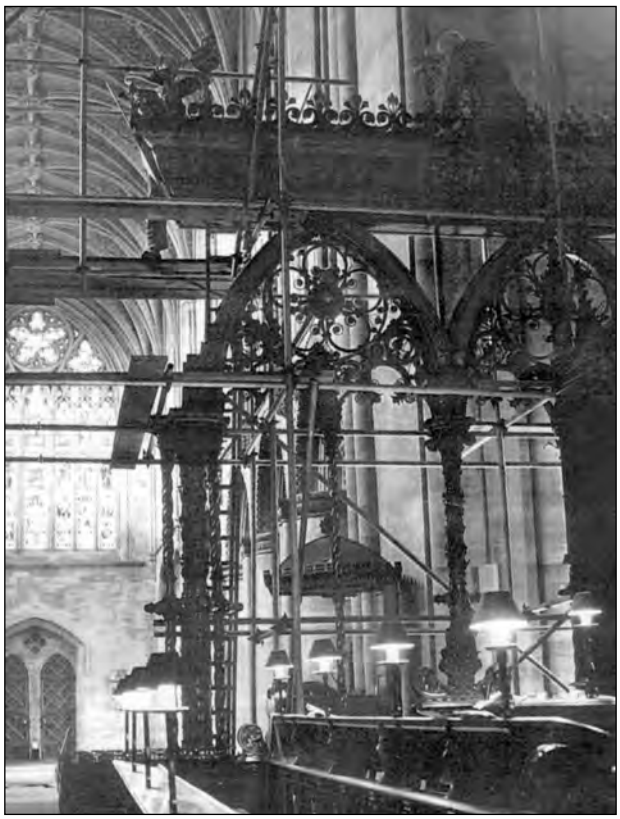


Fig. 34: Hereford choir screen, looking west, with scaffolding erected for dismantling, 1967.

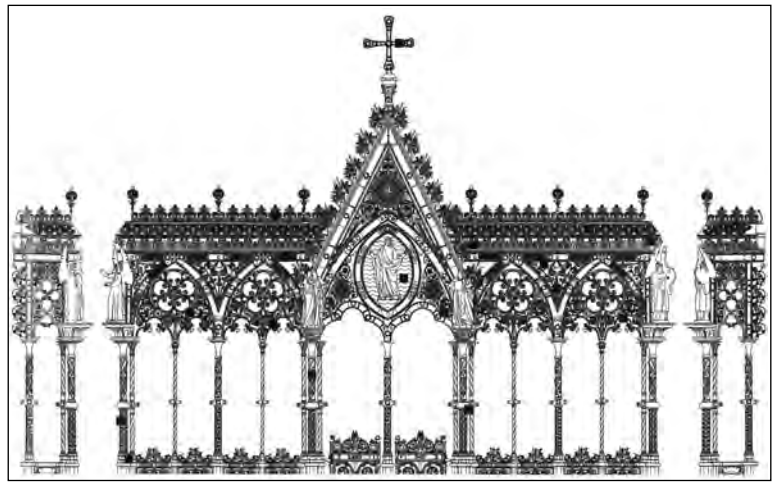


Fig. 35: Line drawing of Hereford screen rendered by conservators from old photographs. c.1998.

Following a successful application for funds from the Heritage Lottery Fund, and a major drive for remaining funds, restoration commenced by 1999. It was undertaken by conservators Plowden & Smith, and involved painstaking, tedious labour in restoring the over 14,000 pieces of the screen, variously spread amongst the packing crates (Fig 35). Many parts were in poor condition, corroded and with loss of paintwork.

Gradually, the assembly of the component parts began to take shape (Figs. 36 & 37), the reconstruction making use of an innovative life-size stencilling of the object onto the wall where it would be displayed (Fig. 38). The screen was finally unveiled in a glittering ceremony on Ascension Day, Thursday 24 May 2001. *Building Conservation* praised the screen's situation, which 'jars fantastically well with the other more sombre exhibits within the Ironwork Galleries'.[93]

Discussion and conclusion

It is hoped this article will go some way in bringing to attention the fascinating working relationship between Scott and Skidmore. The screen provides a rich insight into the collaboration between two celebrated Gothic Revival designers, who together produced some of the finest, most innovative metalwork of their era.

However, despite the concentration of modern scholarship on the Gothic revival period within which Skidmore had such prominence, he remains a little-known figure today. His life and career bear greater consideration, particularly given his involvement with some of the most prolific Victorian designers. Upon his death in 1896 his remarkable output was to be found in 22 cathedrals, 300 parish churches, 20 public buildings, and numerous private mansions, and much can still be seen today.[94]

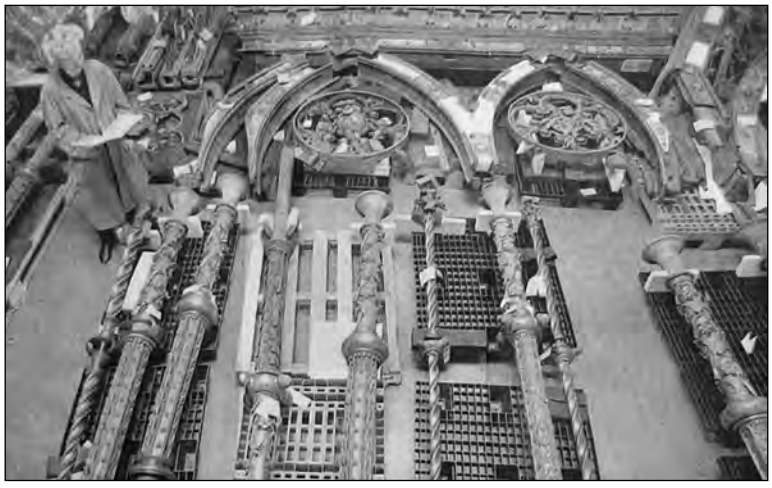


Fig. 36: The V&A's Diana Heath, Lead Conservator, with the screen laid out for assembly.

Ironically, were it not for the Hereford screen's perambulations, Skidmore's fine craftsmanship may not have been brought to light, for the V&A's restoration highlighted Skidmore's unique workmanship, and the many innovative techniques he

Fig. 37: V&A conservator, Jodie Glen-Martin, at work on the restoration of the Hereford screen. (Published in The Guardian, *8 March 2001)*

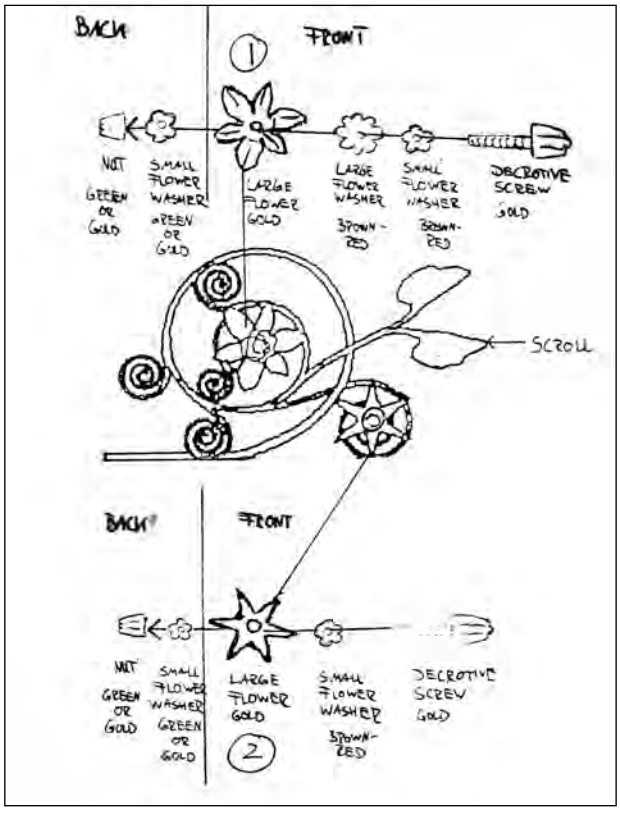
Fig. 38: Life-size stencil of Hereford screen, V&A, in preparation for trial assembly.

used, with each motif comprising a multitude of component parts to form a whole (Figs. 39 & 40). This final stage in the screen's troubled history has enabled a wider appreciation of the Victorian metalworker's phenomenal energy and the technical genius that produced the object.

Skidmore's work was driven both by cutting edge technological developments of a newly-industrialised England, and by the contentious theological debates which provided the need for his work. These helped shape the High Victorian era within which he and Scott worked, and the project at Hereford was inevitably caught up with these preoccupations.

These are further exposed by Scott and Skidmore's collaboration at Durham which led to a little-known and informative controversy that prevented the installation of a screen very similar to the one at Hereford, and reveals other contemporary attitudes to such ostentatious objects in church interiors. At Durham, Scott's and Skidmore's original proposal incited vehement protest by its archdeacon, Edward Prest, in 1874 as 'a design which does not harmonise with the severe grandeur of the cathedral', and 'Because the screen .. will be so large and so highly decorated as to necessarily attract the eye to itself and will mar the impression made by the solidity and simplicity of the Architecture of the nave and the greater part of the Choir'.[95] A screen of marble and alabaster was erected instead (Fig. 41).

The same could be said of Hereford's screen. Indeed, Scott later realised that the object was unsuited to its purpose at Hereford, and he lamented that it was 'too loud and self-asserting for an English church'.[96] Skidmore's masterpiece may have done little to elicit solemn devotion amongst Hereford's worshippers,



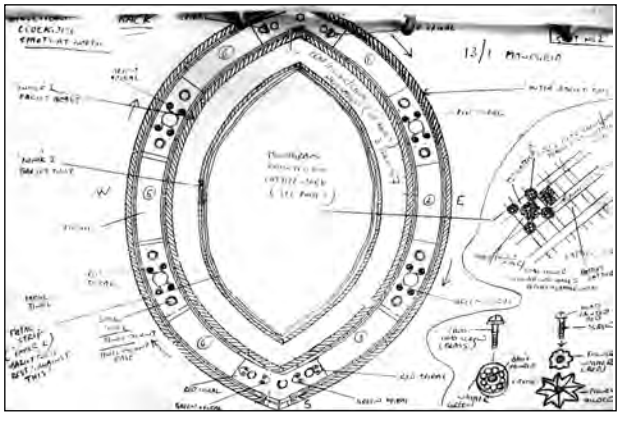


Fig. 39 (top): Component parts of Hereford screen. Conservators' sketches for re-assembly. Plowden & Smith, April 2000. (V&A Metalwork Department, Plowden & Smith Record Sheets Vol. 3, ref: PS/VA/002)

Fig. 40 (bottom): Mandorla, Hereford screen. Conservators' sketch. Plowden & Smith, April 2000. (V&A Metalwork Department, Plowden & Smith Record Sheets Vol. 3, ref: PS/VA/002)

perhaps driven to distraction by the mesmerising detail of the gleaming object.

Ultimately, perhaps, the V&A has restored the purpose for which the screen was originally conceived, as an object intended for large-scale display. It is a happy, if somewhat uncanny, coincidence that the Hereford Screen, a true 'South Kensington object', finds its final resting place in an institution whose own existence was conceived from that same event which also catapulted Skidmore into the limelight, in 1851 (Fig. 41).[97]

Fig. 41 (top): Durham cathedral, looking east into the choir, probably between 1865 and 1895, showing Scott & Skidmore's screen, which remains in place today. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01048)

Fig. 42: (Bottom) The Hereford screen, today. View from ground-floor visitor's hall & entrance, V&A, London.

Today, modern architectural historians have praised the retention of the Scott and Skidmore screen at Lichfield, 'where the cathedral authorities had the sense to restore Scott's work rather than throw it out' upon the whims of fashions and liturgy. But the fascinating history of Hereford's screen bears testament to its unique position amongst its counterparts.[98]

The screen may be seen at the Victoria and Albert museum, London, near the front entrance. Admission to the V&A is free. It is open 10.00 to 17.45 daily, and 10.00 to 22.00 on Fridays (selected galleries remain open after 18.00). Closed 24, 25 and 26 December.

Acknowledgements

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VIEWPOINT: The creation of liturgical space at Ely Cathedral in 2013: possibilities

A lecture given in Ely on 28 April 2013

Jane Kennedy

Jane Kennedy, Architect, is a partner in Purcell, a leading firm of architects. As Surveyor to the Fabric for Ely Cathedral since 1994, she has overseen a period of major restoration within the Cathedral and its precincts. Elsewhere, her work has encompassed Selby Abbey, Kew Palace, several Oxbridge colleges and Stowe, one of England's finest country houses.

To Abbot Suger, as to his master St Augustine, this process [of building the church] is not so much the physical labour as it is the gradual edification of those who take part in the building, the illumination of their souls by the vision of the divine harmony that is then reflected in the work of art.[1]

CHALLENGED TO GIVE a lecture on the creation of liturgical space at Ely Cathedral in 2013 – today – I set as my starting point how two questions, from different people, helped shape my thoughts. Recently when speaking in one of Purcell's offices about the value and variety of architectural work we do with churches and cathedrals, a young colleague asked me 'what is liturgy?' And when talking to the cathedral guides at Ely about the many aspects of my role as cathedral architect, I was asked 'What has an architect to do with liturgy?'

My answer to the first question can be short: liturgy I understand to be the words of the service, its music and the movement of the clergy and the laity. It encompasses the daily offices, Sunday Eucharist, the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi and so forth, installations and great events.

The answer to the second needs more consideration.

The way I approach the care and development of any building or site is dependent on my understanding of its history and significance. It is further informed by my understanding of the way my clients use or propose to use their building. This is why an architect needs to understand the development of liturgy.

In this lecture I will try to explain how Ely Cathedral (Figs 1–3) has been used liturgically from the Saxon building until today. I will set out some ideas for how the chapter might develop what is here, and what changes might be needed to provide a setting for a richer liturgy.

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Ely cathedral: the history of the building and its liturgy

How does the history of this building – Ely Cathedral – relate to the liturgy our predecessors used? To put it another way, why is this building here? and why is it of such a form and size? and what happened inside and, indeed, outside it?

Well, in truth we know remarkably little about what has happened here liturgically. We have records of great events, we understand much of the building history, we know some of the psalms, chants and prayers and we get glimpses of what might have been happening from records in other places. Given this lack, perhaps if we can understand the development of liturgy before the year 970 when Dunstan rededicated the church, how that affected the design of churches, and how medieval liturgy developed generally, we can then look at this particular building to see if it gives us hints about how all of that was worked out here

A plan for the ideal city of God: St Gall and Strabo

The St Gall plan (Figs 4 & 5) of an idealised Benedictine Monastery was drawn at Reichenau in the early ninth century and kept at the monastery of St Gall. It shows the monastery as Ideal City of God. The church has many altars to allow all the monks to say the mass each day. In the early Benedictine rule the office was said hourly or continuously. The layout would preclude its use as a pilgrim church. The western towers and apse are intriguing.

Fig. 1: A late nineteenth-century view of the empty nave at Ely Cathedral, looking east. The octagon can just be glimpsed above the crossing. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01053)

Fig. 2: Ely Cathedral, a late nineteenth-century view looking north across the crossing (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs: 15/5/3090.01055)

The production of this plan in Reichenau is of significance. Because it was here, in 842, that Walafrid Strabo wrote an important history of liturgical use known as the *Libellus*. Strabo is noted for introducing the *Gloria Patrie*, that is the 'Glory be to the Father . . .' which we use at the end of the psalms. His book was not entirely regimental and allowed diversity; for example at baptism he said that the infant could be immersed three times to mark either the three days Christ spent in hell, or for the Trinity, but in the latter case one immersion could also signify the Trinity! It suggests that the European church was diverse in its practices and that Strabo was trying to record and respect a variety of traditions.

Liturgy in the Saxon Church at Ely

More specific rules for liturgy in the Saxon churches were set out by King Edgar of England in the 970s in the *Regularis Concordia*, which must have had a great bearing on the design and use of the Saxon monastery at Ely. There should have been for example, an Oratorium, for prayer in a gallery over the west door. The body

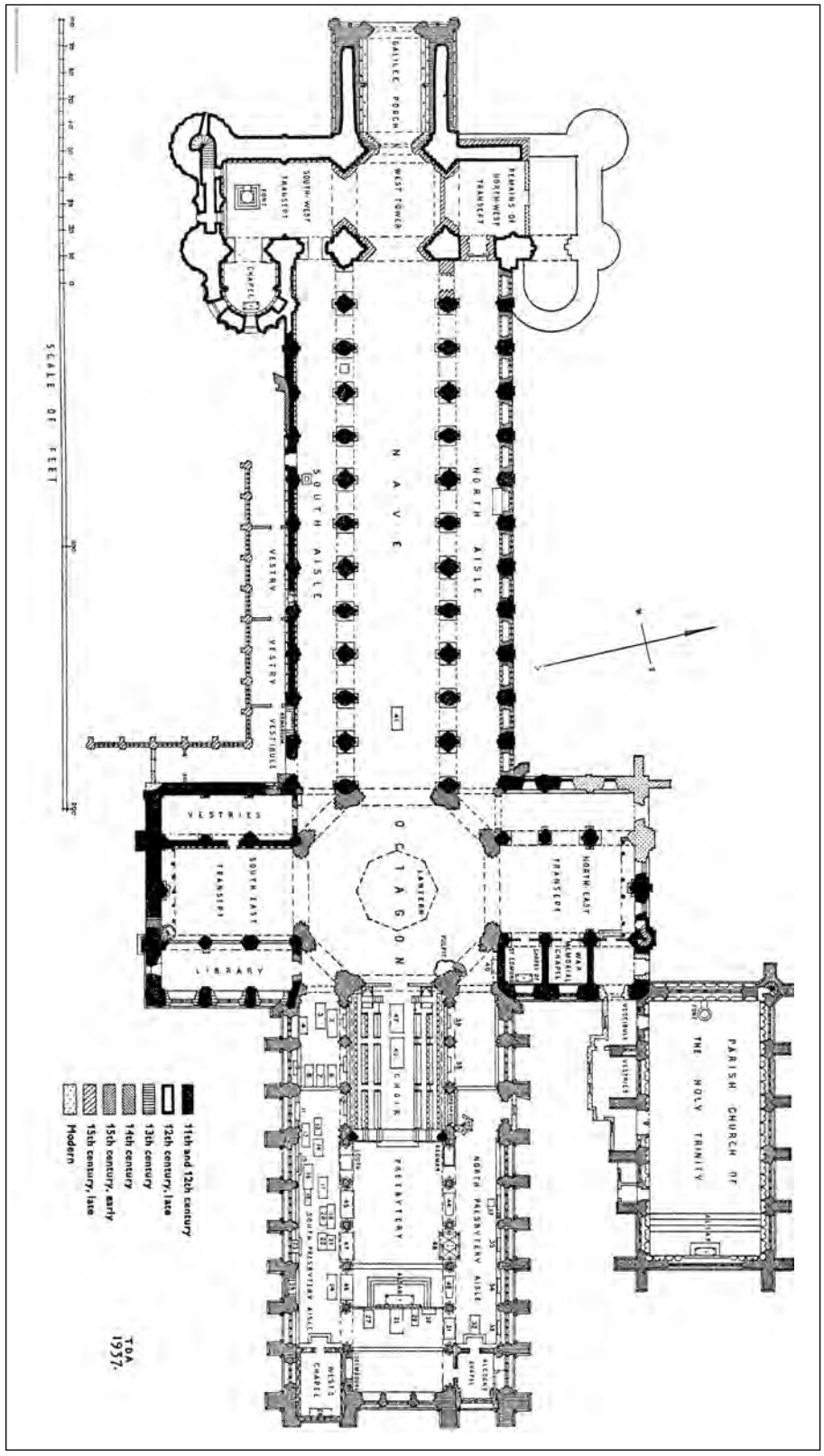
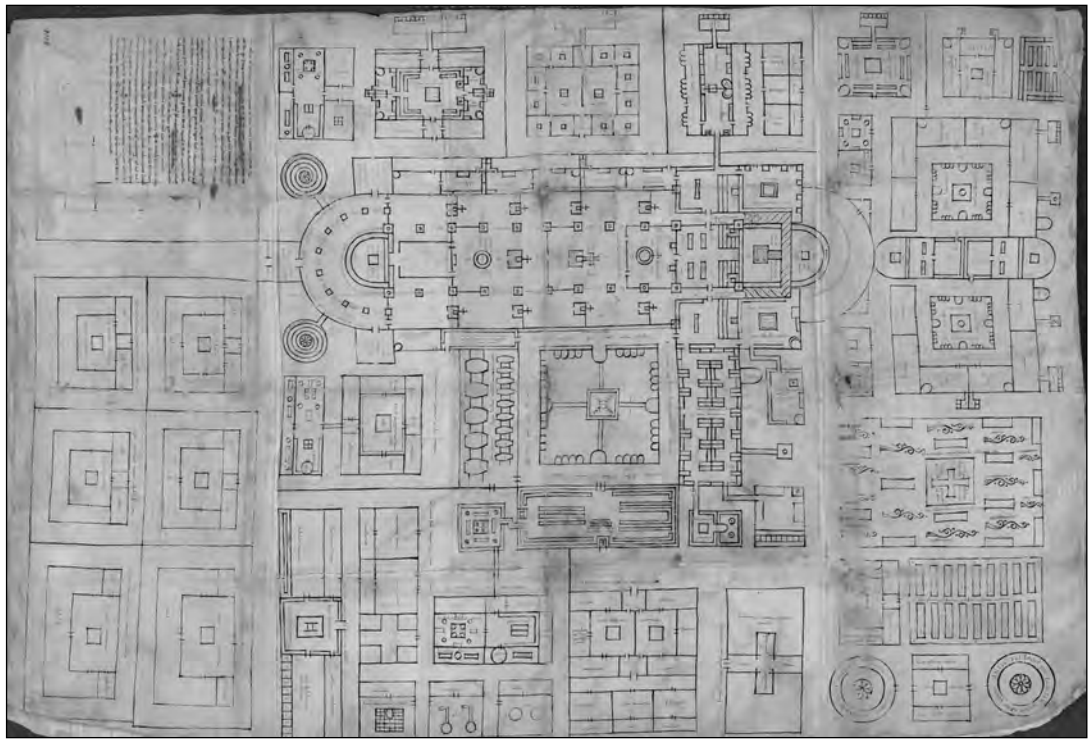


Fig. 3: A plan of Ely Cathedral in 1937. The cloister lay to the south of the nave, where vestries are shown. The adjoining building to the north, shown here as Holy Trinity Parish Church, is the Lady Chapel, now restored to the use of the Cathedral. Note the position of the choir and presbytery, compared with that shown in Figure 17. (T D Atkinson, 1937)



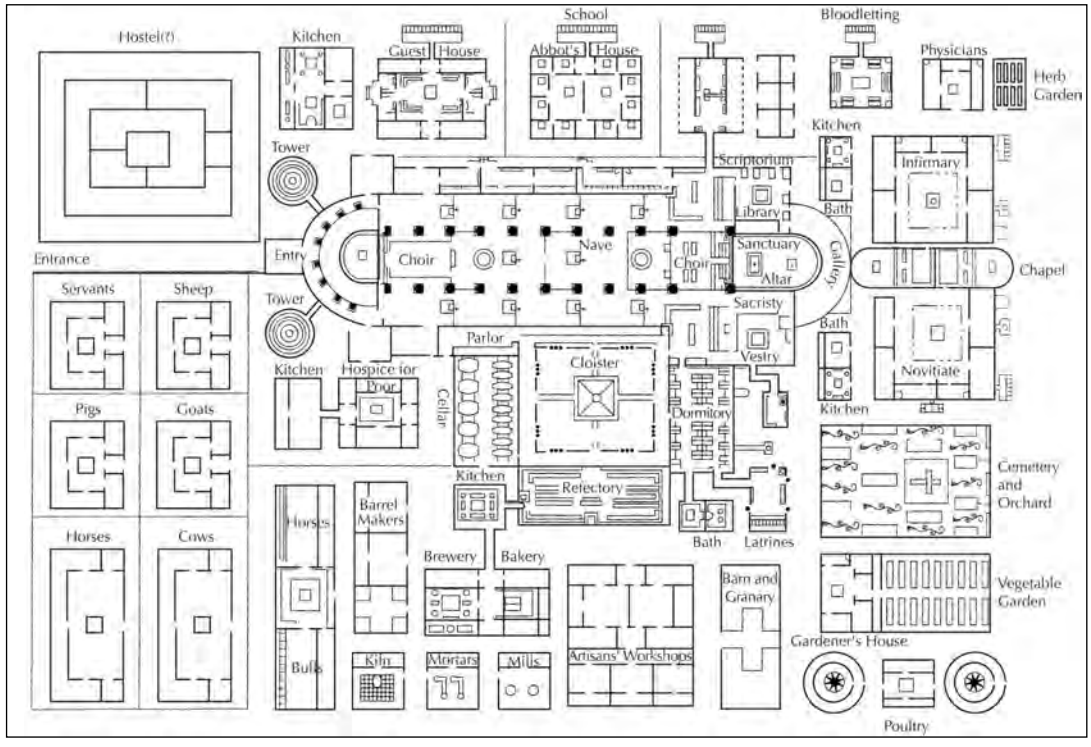


Fig. 4 (top): The early ninth-century St Gall plan

Fig. 5 (bottom): The St Gall plan, redrawn and relabelled. The sanctuary and altar have an apse, and the choir area lies at some form of crossing. There are twin towers at the entrance.

of the church was called Ecclesia and was separate from the Choir. Liturgies are set out, and singing was to be used in the building, and specifically, for example, choirs were to sing from bridges or galleries in transepts at Tenebrae in Holy week.

What might this tell us about the Saxon church? There may well have been western towers and an internal western gallery and there should have been arrangements for choirs at high level. The monastery may, indeed, have been laid out as St Gall.

Our next source is the *Liber Eliensis*, written by a monk of Ely in the twelfth century, in its excellent modern translation by Janet Fairweather.[2] The routine liturgy is not described, presumably because it was universal, but we can read about what was special. Great significance was given to the feast of the Purification of St Mary (Candlemas). We read that Cnut came every year if the weather allowed and that the same feast day was chosen for the rededication of the church by Dunstan in 970. On that occasion there was a great Procession of the 'Archbishop, many bishops and pastors' who went first to the domestic buildings, then to the Abbey Church, the titular Altar of St Peter and in the south part the chapel of St Mary. There were then seven days of feasting!

The contemporary 'Benedictional of St Aetholwold', the greatest Anglo-Saxon manuscript, which was produced in Winchester, illustrates blessings for use on a variety of occasions including one for the candles for the feast of the Purification.

Liturgy in the Norman building at Ely

All of this is tantalising because we have only hints and some fragile archaeological evidence for the Saxon church and monastery at Ely. We do of course understand very well the Norman rebuilding. Its plan and proportions were based on the Roman basilicas (Figs 6 & 7), as were no doubt, the Benedictine churches at Norwich and Peterborough. From Norwich there survives a 'Customary' or description of the services from the second half of thirteenth century. Norwich's early liturgy was based on that at the Abbey of Fécamp in Normandy. Of Norwich it has been said that 'If the building of a cathedral such as Norwich was "intended to impress the English with the power of the Norman conquerors and the divine favour reflected in the majesty of the churches", then that intention was realised daily and visibly in liturgical ritual'.[3] The same must have been true for Ely.

So the liturgy perhaps becomes part of a political change and statement. The Norwich Customary has some specific recommendations; for example, there must be a four to five person

space between each monk in a procession. There are directions for antiphons to be sung on particular saints' days, instructions on how to sing them, including the requirement for two monks to go to the altar and sing verses alternately from there. At Easter three monks were to dress as women and to go to retrieve the sacrament from the sepulchre and enter the choir after the third responsary. At the procession before Mass on the feast of the Raising of the Cross (15 September) a priest was to carry the cross in procession through the precinct, with relics suspended from its arms, and thence to the high altar where all the monks were to go up, genuflect and kiss the cross.

It is likely that the liturgy and customs at Ely were similar. Processions remained important and as at the Saxon rededication at Ely, they moved through the precinct as well as the church.

But there is still a great deal that we do not know. Ely was built with bridges across the ends of the transepts as at Winchester (Figs 8 & 9). These could have been used for the split choirs singing Tenebrae in Holy Week. But why were they removed in the early twelfth century (Fig. 10)? What else happened in the wide and commodious galleries or triforia at Ely? Were there

Fig. 6: The fifth-century basilica of S. Sabina, Rome, looking towards the altar and apse (Louis. H. Hamel Jr)

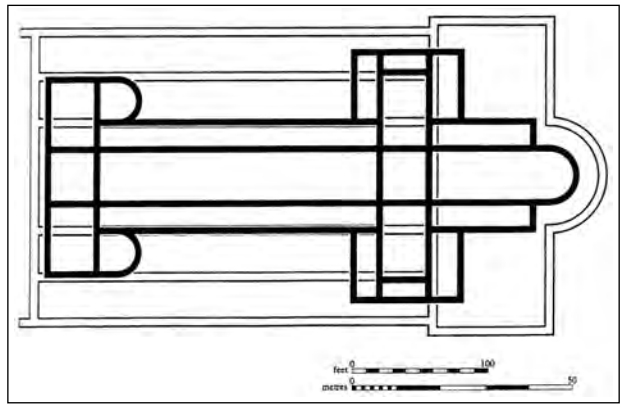
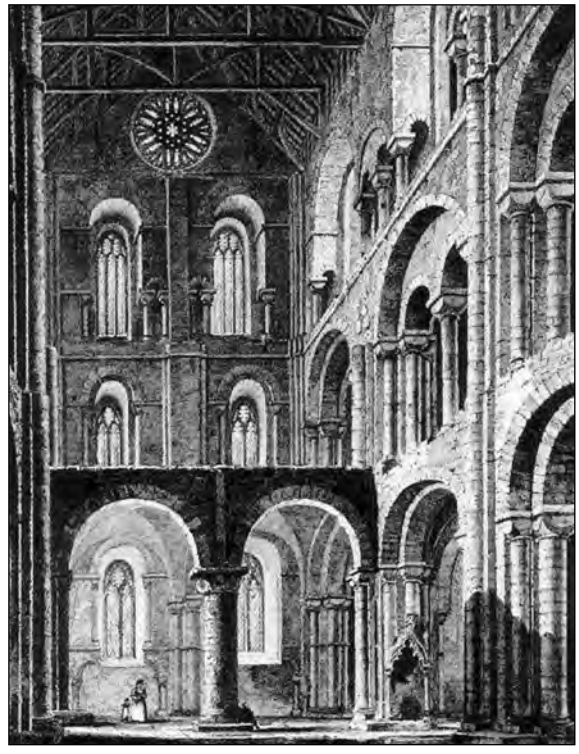


Fig. 7: Plan of the Roman basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura (outline plan) with the plan of the Norman Ely Cathedral superimposed

altars here to allow the monks to say mass each day without impeding pilgrims on the floor of the church? How were the western transepts and turrets to be used, and was a western gallery built or intended here? Is it significant that these parts of the building were being constructed as the bridges in the transepts were removed?

It is not unlikely that the west front was used liturgically, on Palm Sunday for singing and music, if not on other occasions (Figs 11–13). More of the galleries were originally open to the west and the complexity of these transepts is tantalising.

Figs 8 and 9: Two views of the bridge across the ends of the transepts at Winchester Cathedral



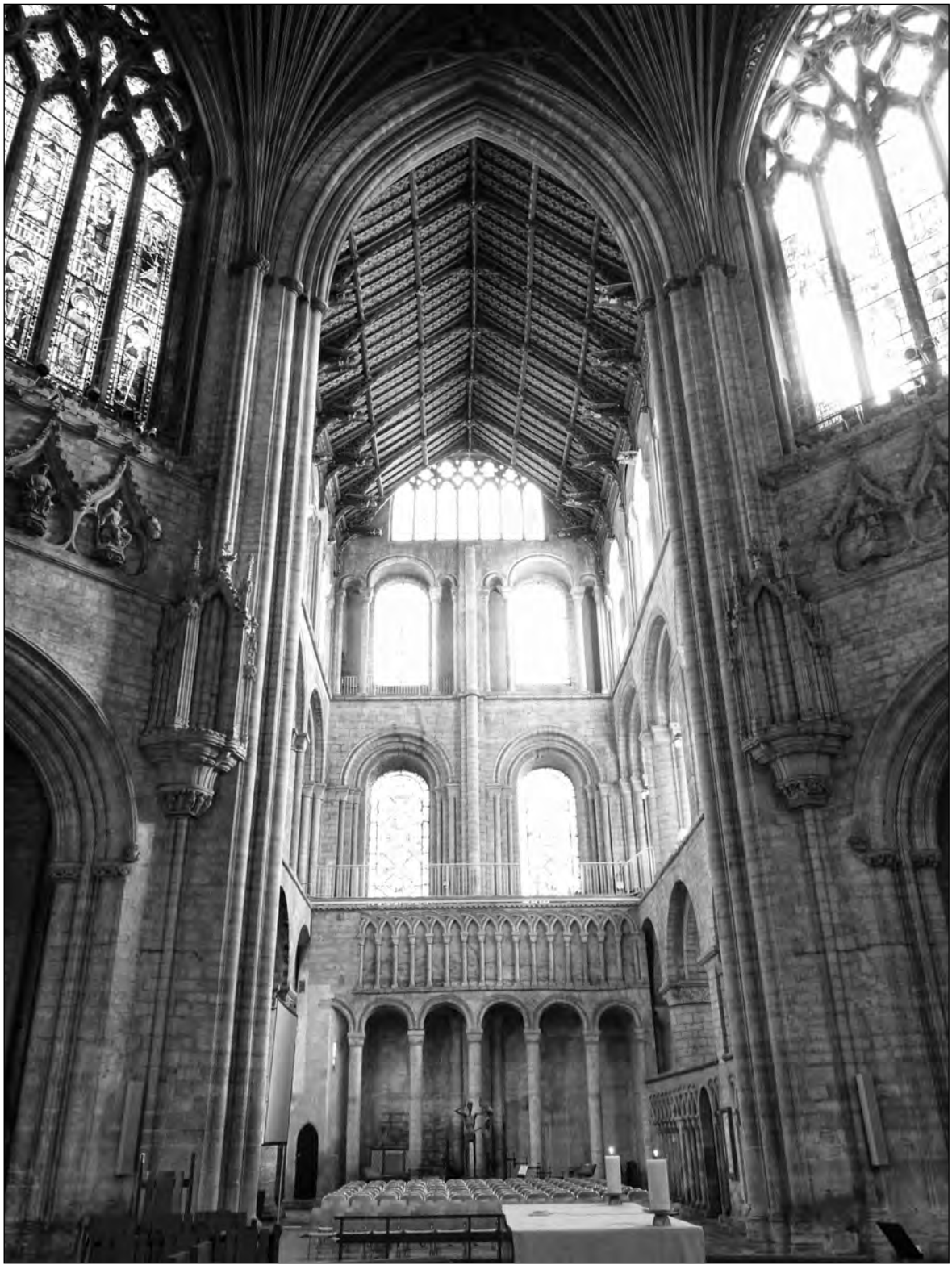


Fig. 10: The south transept of Ely cathedral, showing the position of the bridge (Cheekablue)

The Gothic cathedral at Ely and its liturgy

Architecture of the High Gothic period is understood to begin with Abbot Suger's rebuilding of the Abbey church at St Denis in the 1140s .We do have accounts of what he was trying to do and at both the consecration of the building, and the subsequent translation of the relics, there were elaborate processions and celebrations, this liturgy being the ultimate goal of Suger. No doubt there were similar festivities at Ely when the cathedral was enlarged and developed by Bishop Northwold in the thirteenth century. His arrangements made much of the shrines of Etheldreda and her relatives and the new plan was at least in part to accommodate pilgrims (Fig. 14a).

But what of the regular liturgy at Ely in the medieval period? The most universal form was the Sarum Rite, established in the eleventh century, and which became prevalent throughout southern England. For example on a normal Sunday the celebrant in procession would sprinkle Holy water on the high altar and then all other altars. All altars had to be washed on Maundy Thursday. So they would probably had to have been on the

Fig. 11: The Galilee porch at the west front of the Cathedral

Fig. 12: The roof of the Galilee porch

ground floor. More elaborate processions were prescribed for feast days (and there were a great many of these) and it is likely that the monks at Ely would leave by the south door, process around the cloister and return in at the west, perhaps through (what we call) the Prior's Door. On Palm Sunday the procession would go through the precinct; as we do now, but no doubt by a longer route and with greater conviction!

We know that there was a daily mass and eight offices. Only one mass could be said at the High Altar each day, but as all ordained monks had to say mass daily there must have been many altars, but it is hard to think where they could have been placed. The monks' offices were sung, of course, in the choir under the crossing. Laity and guests worshipped in St Peter's church on the other side of the pulpitum.

From the thirteenth century there was a daily Mass of the Virgin. The Lady Chapel was initially in the south choir aisle. We know that many people attended and that the reason for building a new Lady Chapel (Fig. 14b) was to accommodate pilgrims and to separate the laity from the monks. The laity did not partake in the Mass: simply watching and seeing the elevation of the host was the goal.

Of other medieval practices we know little, but fragmentary information helps to paint the picture. In 1258 monks were given permission to wear hats in church. Later a clock was provided in the cloister because there was a constant problem of monks being late for services. If they were away on business, vicars choral deputised for the monks at the offices. Later professional singers were hired leading eventually to the formal appointment of lay clerks.

Fig. 13: Interior of south-western turret, showing a confluence of wall passages which may have been used by musicians

Pilgrimage remained hugely significant and it is hard to overestimate the significance of the cult of Ely's female saints. Pilgrims entered by the north door in the north transept and would walk to the Lady Chapel in the south aisle and then to the shrine. The body of a saint was an existential link with heaven and the best thing you could do was to place your head within the architecture of the shrine (see Figure 15 for an example).

External processions were very much part of the medieval tradition and not only for consecrations. In Eamon Duffy's book *The Stripping of the Altars* there is a detailed description of the procession and routine for Palm Sunday at Long Melford.[4] This was not an exception. The splendid painting of the procession for Bishop Cox's funeral tells us even in the post-Reformation period there were external liturgies here, and that the inside and the outside were seen as continuous. Perhaps this was a reworking of the vision of the monastery (as the St Gall plan), as the ideal city of God

The Lady Chapel, begun in 1321 (Fig. 16), is the latest medieval addition to the cathedral (apart from the enlargement of the cloister about 1500: another puzzle – we do not know why this was done). The explanation for the Chapel's building lies partly in the outcome of Bishop Walpole's visitation and his

concern that the monks en route to the choir had to meet women going to the Lady Chapel in the south aisle. But the scale of the Chapel demonstrates the importance of the cult of the Virgin and pilgrimage. Men and boys sang in the chapel and it has been suggested that the design was specifically to enhance polyphonic singing which became popular at this time (despite, it seems, a ban imposed on it by Pope John in 1322).

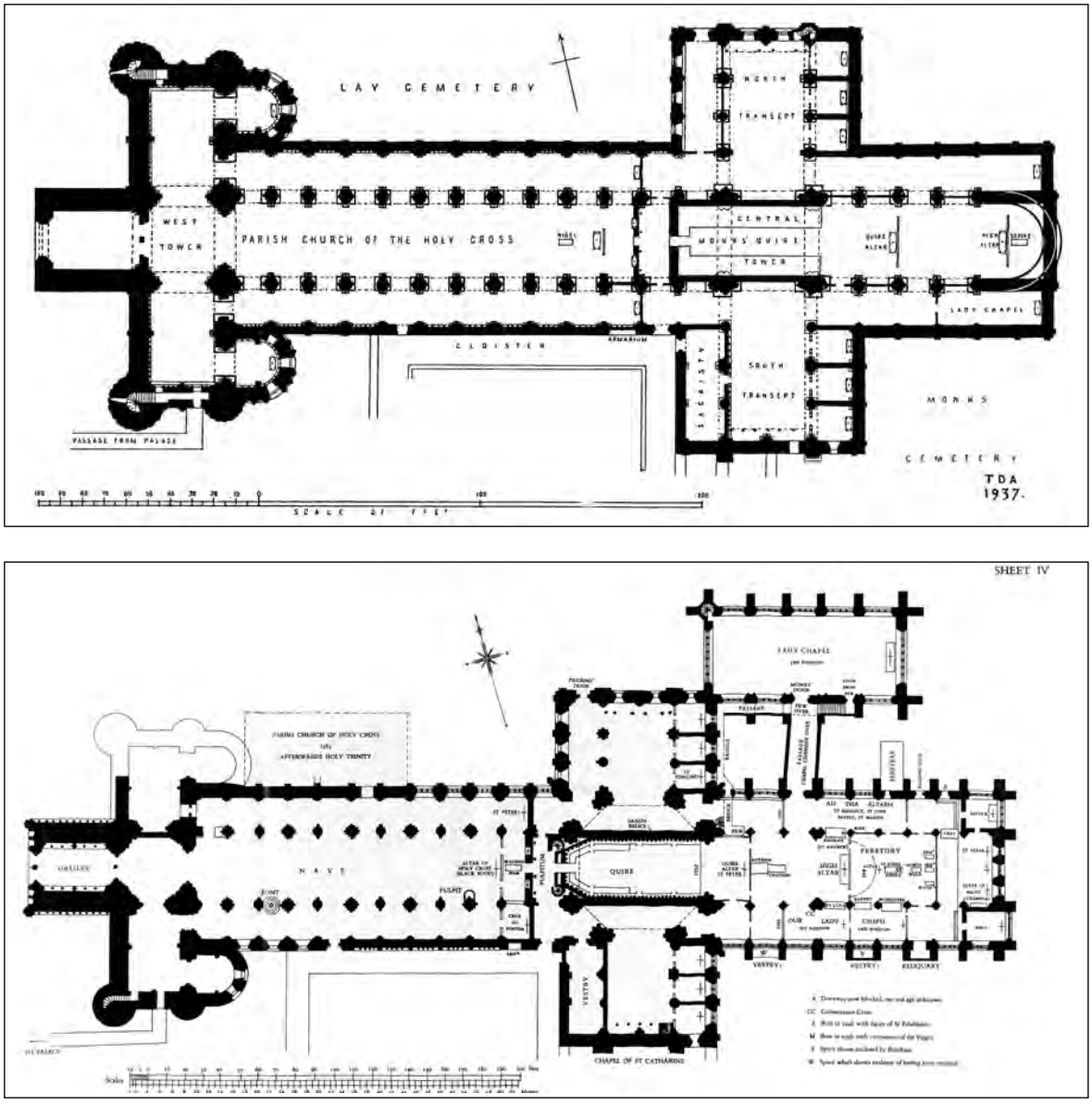


Fig. 14. Plans of the Cathedral, by T. D. Atkinson. What is today called the Prior's Door, probably part of a processional route, lies at the west end of the north side of the cloisters.
14a (top): Plan showing the Cathedral in about 1225. Note the position of the Lady Chapel in the south aisle of the Choir.
14b (bottom). As it was in about 1530. The Lady Chapel is in a separate building to the north, connected to the main body of the Cathedral by a passage.

Fig. 15: The reconstructed shrine of St Frideswide at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford

There was a screen in the Lady Chapel to divide the sanctuary from the laity. It is useful to remind ourselves of the medieval plan of the cathedral after the construction of the Octagon and to remember the separation of monks and priests.

Post-Reformation changes

We know a little more about liturgy following the Reformation. The shrines and many altars were removed along with sculpture, paintings, vestments and books and manuscripts. Cromwell locked the cathedral to save it from further desecration during the Civil War. After the Restoration of the Monarchy there were in 1668 seven communion services per year, at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, first Sunday in Lent, the Sunday nearest St Bartholomew's day and two others. In 1770–71 the pulpitum was taken out and the choir stalls were moved to the east end of the building in order to open up the Octagon. By 1781 there was communion once a month. Services were held in the choir (Fig. 17). The congregation moved west to a 'preaching place' in the nave, where they were joined by congregations from St Mary's and Trinity Churches, and others who had not been attending services. The cathedral congregation then went back to choir for communion and the doors were shut! I do not imagine these were formal processions but the movement of the congregation and the possibly ecumenical mix for the sermon must have made the services interesting.

The revivals of the nineteenth century saw great changes in the cathedral and can most clearly be seen now in the work of Sir George Gilbert Scott (Figs 18–21): his font placed to make a baptistery in the south-west transept, the removal of the choir west to its present position and the additional seating and screens

to enrich it, the high altar and reredos, pulpit and the elaborate nave and choir floors. These provided clear divisions and places for each part of the liturgy and established new traditions which continued into much of the twentieth century, when the Sunday pattern was for a rolling matins, sermon, and communion which meant two hours in the choir for the clergy and musicians. One of the most significant results of the nineteenth-century 'restorations' of churches was to relegate the west end of the buildings to near secular use. The gothic liturgical use of western apses, gallery and altars was not rediscovered.

Fig. 16: Two views of the Lady Chapel. The floor is new (installed at the Millennium), and has underfloor heating.
16a (above) Looking east.
16b (below): Looking west. The spandrels of the arches are filled with scenes from the Life of the Virgin.

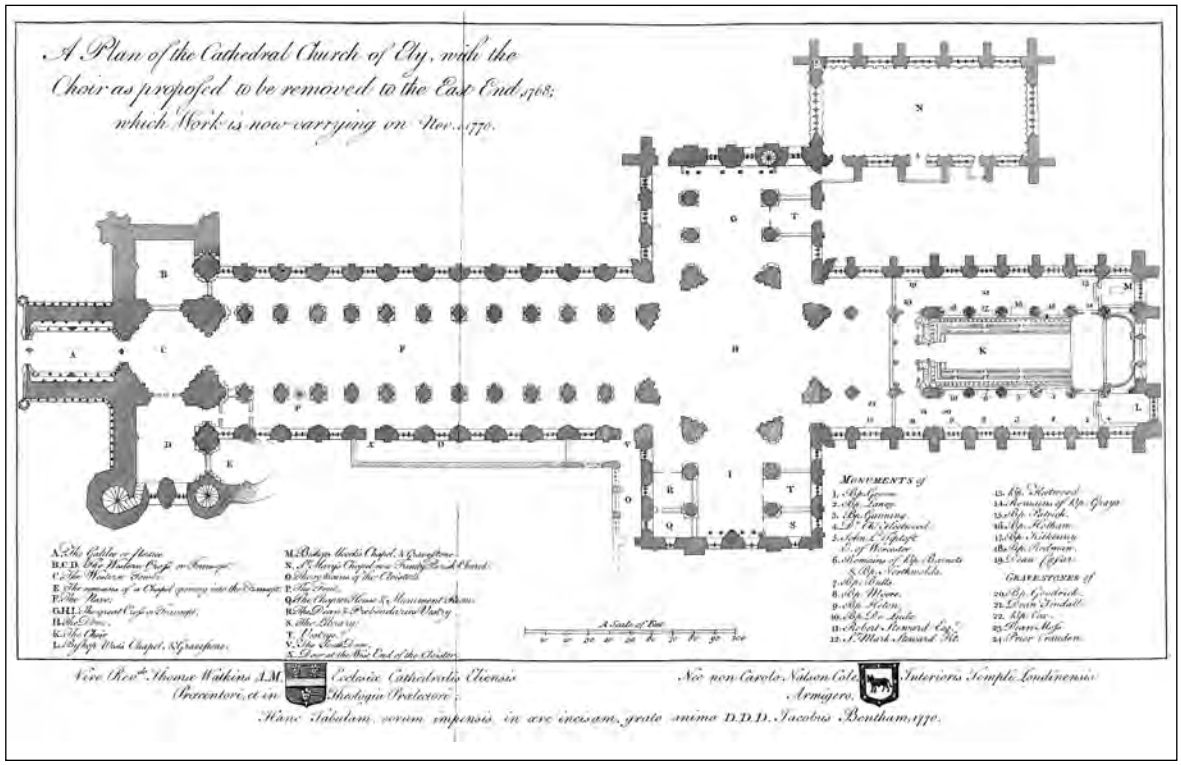


Fig. 17: A plan of the Cathedral in 1770. The pulpitum has been removed, and the choir stalls moved to the east end of the building. (From James Bentham, The History and Antiquities . . . of the Cathedral Church of Ely . . ., 1771)

Fig. 18: An early view of the font in the south-west transept, part of the major works carried out in the Cathedral by Sir George Gilbert Scott from 1847 onwards

Fig. 19: The choir stalls in the late nineteenth century, looking west, moved to their current position and enlarged by Sir George Gilbert Scott, who also introduced a screen. See Figure 3. (Anon. Cornell University Library, A. D. White Photographs:

Late twentieth-century liturgy

Our modern liturgy in the Anglican Church follows the provisions of the second Vatican Council held in 1962. From this came the ideas for west facing nave altars with the congregation being invited into the celebration of the Mass. In 1957 there had been an experimental ordination in the Octagon at Ely, and this was followed by the introduction of a temporary nave altar in 1960. In due course the noted church architect George Pace was commissioned to design furniture for the Octagon. The altar, communion rails, clergy and choir seating were all designed by

Fig. 20 : The east end of the cathedral, remodelled by Sir George Gilbert Scott. 20a (above): Scott's reredos (Phil Champion); 20b (right): the view east from the choir stalls

him and placed here between 1970 and 1978. Ely is fortunate in having a natural setting for this, as other cathedrals with stone screens to the choir and smaller crossings have all done similar work but struggled with the physical constraints. We are surely right to make the most of this very special place.

In the 40 years since Pace created the Octagon setting, liturgy and forms of worship have changed and developed. The ideas of Richard Giles and David Stancliffe have changed parish and cathedral liturgies and encouraged the involvement of the whole body of the people in the Eucharist through movement and procession. Advice now given by the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England (CFCE) is to anticipate liturgical change in something like a 20 year cycle. So in thinking about how to plan, re-develop, change and conserve our great churches what future liturgies must we consider?

Fig. 21: Looking down at the eastern arm of the Cathedral, showing the elaborate flooring in the choir and presbytery (A. Treedson)

Fig. 22: The chapel at St John's College, Durham, looking east

Approaching the design and use of churches today

It will be clear that I do not think you can separate liturgy from everything else which happens in churches. Certainly Abbot Suger did not and nor, I am sure, did the great builders and restorers at Ely: Bishop Northwold, Alan of Walsingham or Gilbert Scott. In learning about the history of the liturgy and how it has shaped our cathedral we understand how things come to be as they are. I am going to make some suggestions for Ely, but before I go on to look at what might happen here next, I will describe some work which I have done, or am doing in other places, so that you can understand my approach.

Durham St John

I learned a good deal about all kinds of liturgies when I was appointed to redesign the interior of the chapel at St John's College Durham, also the chapel of Cranmer Hall, the Anglican and Methodist theological college. Under the guidance of the warden, Steven Croft, now bishop of Sheffield, I spent some days in residence at the college, meeting staff and students. I attended

early morning services in the tiny chapel, compulsory for the 80 or so theological students, much freer and larger evening college communion in the main hall, and experimental evensongs with audio visual presentations, saxophones and dance. I heard about the use of the chapel by the Roman Catholic students, choirs and education groups. And I was challenged to create an interior to accommodate all of this in the most flexible manner.

The work (Fig. 22) meant removing nearly all of the interior fittings, simple pitch pine stalls and heaps of cheap twentieth century furnishings, whilst keeping the seventeenth century choir woodwork of Bishop Cosin. We laid a new, heated level stone

Fig. 23 (top): Peper Harow church, Surrey, after the fire of December 2007

Fig. 24 (bottom): the nave of Peper Harow after restoration

floor throughout and commissioned new stackable benches which allow the chapel to accommodate all for matins, but which can be moved and stored under the organ gallery to create an open space. We also commissioned a new ambo, and font, from furniture designer Martin Grierson (who designed Ely's paschal candlestick) and installed decorative lighting. I am told that the chapel continues to be used both for innovative and traditional worship

Peper Harow

Last year I completed the rebuilding of the parish church of Peper Harow after a devastating fire. For many years I have worked, through a small independent trust, to advise local churches on the

Fig. 25: The nave of Peper Harow, looking east

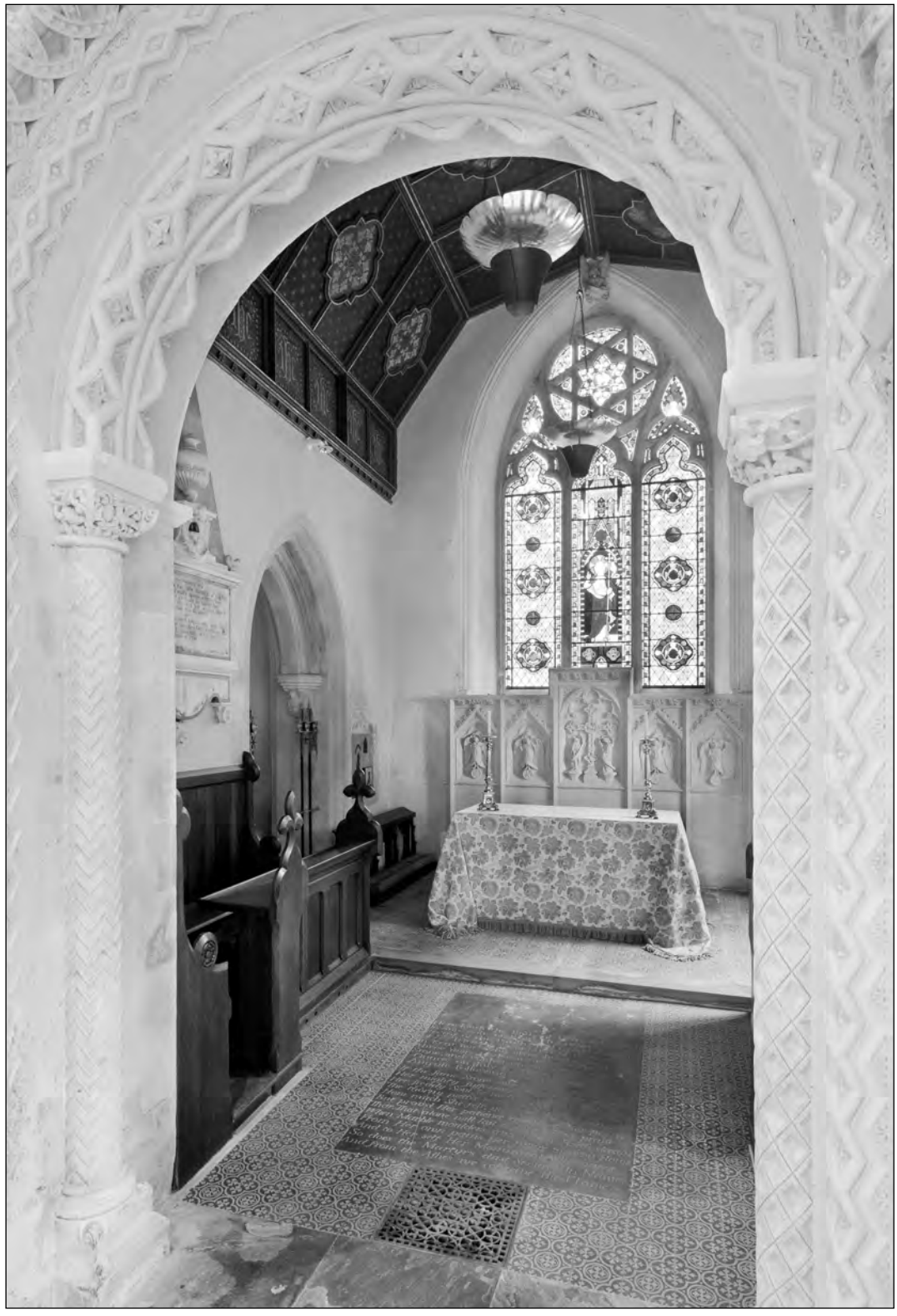


Fig. 26: The chancel of Peper Harow, looking through the Norman chancel arch

Fig. 27: Newcastle Cathedral, the nave looking east

Fig. 28: Newcastle Cathedral, the choir stalls, looking west

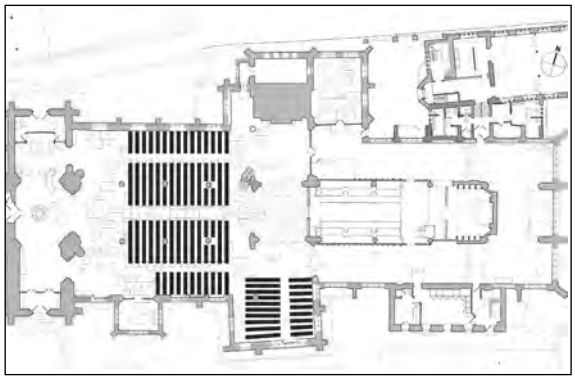
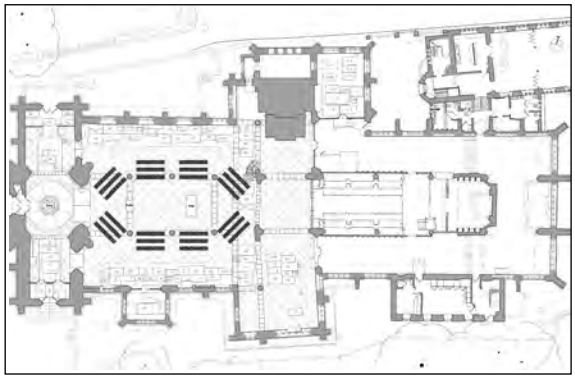
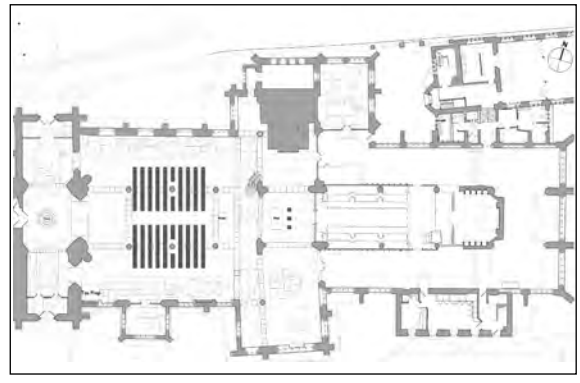
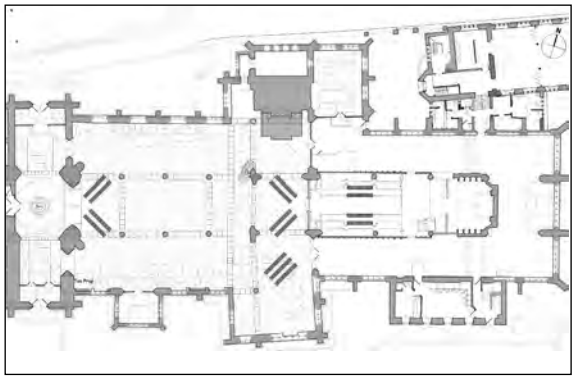


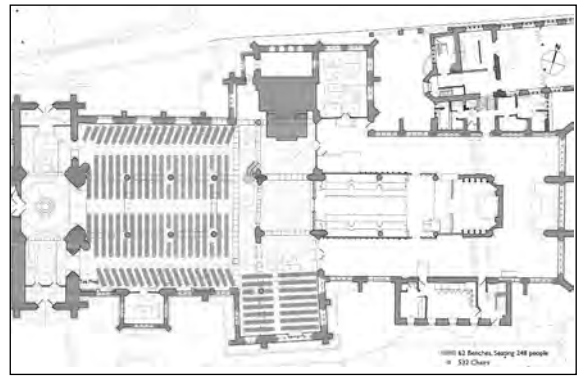
Fig. 29 (left): Seating at Newcastle Cathedral: the mid twentieth-century arrangement

Fig. 30 (below): Proposed arrangement of seating at Newcastle Cathedral.
30a (top left): for Sunday eucharist;
30b (top right): alternative for Sunday eucharist;
30c (bottom left): possible choir seating positions;
30d (bottom right): large event seating.









adaptation of buildings to accommodate community uses. Here under the leadership of the rector John Fellows (now retired and serving in West Wratting) we worked with the congregation of a highly traditional rural parish to plan a rebuilding (Figs 23–6) which would allow flexible arrangements for both community events and worship in a cleared and light nave, with underfloor heating and moveable furniture. The small chancel with decorations by Pugin has been fully restored and can be used separately for small services.

Newcastle

Newcastle cathedral like Ely has a fixed and beautiful choir (Figs 27 & 28). It was created in the late nineteenth century when the parish church of St Nicholas became a cathedral. It is used for evensong and no one would wish to alter it. The cathedral has a reputation for its fine and dignified liturgy. But the nave is filled with pews constraining movement for liturgy, music or drama. I am currently working on a scheme to remove all the nave pews, take up the floor, install heating and relay a new floor with new moveable benches, chairs and liturgical furniture (Figs 29 & 30). The scheme has developed over several years under the inspiration of the dean, Chris Dalliston. New lighting has been installed and we have just gained approval for the rest of the changes from the CFCE and the work may go ahead next year.

It will allow a diversity of cultural events but more importantly a revitalised liturgy with the opportunity for experiment and change.

Ely: some possibilities

And what about Ely?

Let us consider the history of our Lady Chapel. As Trinity parish church it was fitted out with fixed pews in the nineteenth century, all removed in the 1930s and a grand English altar devised by Stephan Dykes Bower was made and installed in the 1960s. By the 1980s the altar was taken down during repairs and having fallen out of fashion it was not put back, awaiting a further review

Fig. 31: The Processional Way to the Lady Chapel, dedicated in the year 2000.
(Richard Bryant / arcaidimages.com)

of the liturgical use of the Chapel. This had to wait another 10 years until the construction of the Processional Way (Fig. 31) encouraged more use of the Chapel. A new floor with heating began a transformation and made the Chapel habitable in winter months. The introduction of the statue of Mary focussed attention on the sanctuary in a way no-one really admired (Fig. 32) and John Maddison's altar and reredos has refocused attention here (Fig. 33). Candlemas processions have begun here for many years, reminding us of that early feast of the Purification and the King's struggle to reach Ely through icy fens. More services now begin here, and evensong and compline are held regularly in the Chapel. But could we use the Chapel even more?

Any plan for liturgical change must be holistic. So the first thing we need when thinking about change is a liturgical plan. The precentor has begun work on such a document and the chapter are developing it. It must be informed by an understanding of the significance of the building and its contents. We value most of our building, and it is impossible now for example, to think that we might move the choir stalls as Scott and Essex did: there is rightness about their location. We may not however have the same strength of feeling about Scott's font.

The challenge for Ely is to be a cathedral developed and dignified for livelier and more engaging worship. Cathedrals should be at the forefront of liturgical practice and have the expertise and resources to do this. In the recent past Peter Sills experimented with Advent and Easter liturgies and created events of wonder which engaged all. We must think and plan for the whole building and for congregation, musicians and the clergy. We could process more often and we might go further afield, perhaps out through the South door and via the Bishops garden (Fig. 34), process the line of the former cloister returning through the Prior's Door. The Sunday service might begin with the congregation, choir and clergy at the west end for the confession at the font, moving west for the Word in the nave with congregation seated facing north and south and the lessons read from a central ambo; we could move and congregate closely around the altar under the Octagon for the Eucharist, recessing then as a body eastwards and into the Lady Chapel for refreshment as a gathered community. This might not happen every week, and we need to have special liturgies for festivals, and to mark the liturgical year in our pattern of use. Advent, Christmas, Candlemas, Lent, Holy Week, Easter and Pentecost all demand new and creative responses which we can accommodate within and without the building.

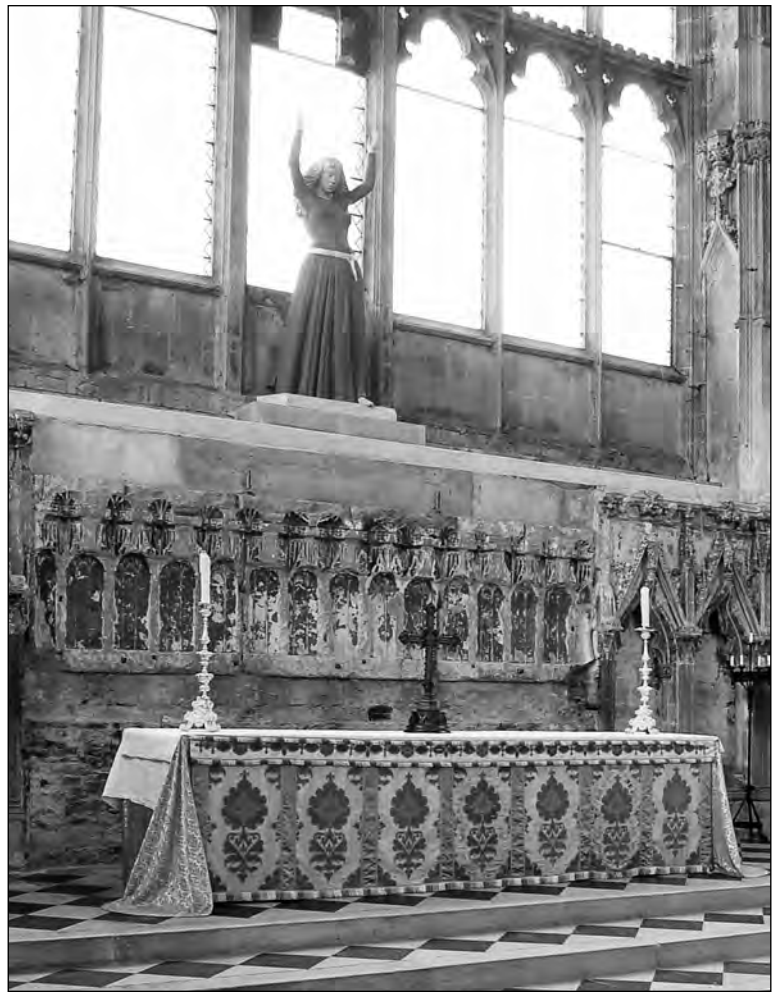


Fig. 32: The statue of the Virgin Mary at the east end of the Lady Chapel, installed in the year 2000

How then might we enhance our building for such liturgies? We need I suggest to rethink the use of the western end of the cathedral. At the moment it is for outsiders: those who can't pay or who feel awkward about joining the congregation. Can we rediscover the liturgical significance of the south west transept and make this space more special? We need new font or a new setting for an old font and we need simple liturgical furniture which is moveable, and lightweight moveable choir stalls to place our musicians in different locations. A new floor in the Octagon would mark this as a special place and should surely be of the same quality as the nave and choir. We should have a simplicity in uniform seating and we want to feel warmer, by improving the heating and by undertaking more processions. We should commission new lighting for the Octagon as a setting for worship, even considering a great corona like Aachen. We want access to

Fig. 33: Reredos and altar in wrought and cast iron, steel and gold leaf by John Maddison, 2012

Fig. 34: A view of the Bishop's Garden, which lies to the south of the cathedral nave

the former cloisters and the enhancement of the north side of the precinct and its link with the High Street.

★ ★ ★

Whatever we do now must be of the highest quality. We have the space within which to work and we should make the most of it and use the whole building when we can. We must enhance our cathedral liturgy through good lighting, furnishings, flooring, works of art, and vestments. Let us maintain our dignified traditions whilst not being afraid to experiment. If developed together, both clergy and laity and those who care for and look after the building will as Abbot Suger saw it, learn together for the illumination of our souls.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 Otto van Simson *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (Princeton, 1988), p.129.

2 Janet Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth, compiled by a Monk of Ely in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005).

3 David Chadd, 'The medieval customary of the cathedral priory', in Ian Atherton (ed.), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City, and Diocese, 1096–1996* (Hambledon Press, 1996), 314–24, p.317. The plan in Figure 7 is by Chris Kellish and is from Eric Fernie, 'The architecture and sculpture of Ely Cathedral in the Norman period' in Peter Meadows and Nigel Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), 94–111.

4 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (Yale, 1992).

VIEWPOINT: Problems affecting church monuments: a personal perspective

Sally Badham

Sally Badham was President of the Church Monuments Society 2008–13 and is the author of many publications on medieval church monuments

We like to think that we live in enlightened times in which both our historic churches and their contents are valued and well looked after. Generally this is so, but various factors can put the contents of churches at serious risk, as I discuss below for tomb monuments. Monuments are just one category of church treasures which can suffer from these pressures, but what I have to say about them is illustrative of other artefacts also, such as stained glass windows, silver and other metalwork, fabric hangings, woodwork, and paintings. What follows is a personal perspective and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Church Monuments Society, Monumental Brass Society or Ecclesiological Society or indeed any other organisation.

The legal status of church monuments

One sense in which monuments are unique is their legal status. Most contents of churches are technically owned by the parish who exercise a degree of autonomy in what they do with them subject, of course, to the Faculty Jurisdiction legislation. Monuments are not, however, owned by the church in which they were erected. There is a long history of case law on the subject, dating back to Lady Alice Wyche's case of 1469.[1] Following the death of her husband, Sir Hugh Wyche, a former Lord Mayor of London, she had set up a tomb monument for him in the chancel of St Margaret's Lothbury, London. This does not survive as the church was destroyed in the Great Fire, but we know that heraldic funeral armour, including a coat armour, silk pennon and sword, hung about the tomb. The Rector of the church, the Revd Thomas Tonley, took the funeral armour down on the grounds that the chancel was his freehold and that he therefore exercised sole rights over it and its contents. Lady Wyche brought a bill of trespass in the King's Bench and her case prevailed, the judgement being that a person placing chattels in a church as a memorial did not lose his private property in them.

Since then, it has become firmly established that monuments and their accoutrements belong to the heir-at-law of the person commemorated. Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* states that:[2]

> A monument may not be removed at the pleasure of the Ordinary or incumbent. On the contrary, if either they, or any other person shall take away or deface them, the person who set them up shall have an

> action against them during his life, and after his death, the heir of the deceased shall have the same.

This was restated in the Faculty Jurisdiction Measure 1964 and still holds force:[3]

> A monument 'includes a tomb, gravestone or other memorial and any kerb or setting forming part thereof' (n.b. 'includes'). The definition probably does not cover, for example, a bench given in memory of deceased, but possibly includes a window commemorating a deceased person; it certainly includes armour, a sword and similar funeral accoutrements.

Even if the person commemorated by the monument is unknown or their heir-at-law cannot be traced, the church has no rights in a monument. Ownership then devolves to the Crown, in practice as personified by the Treasury Solicitor.[4]

Sales of church treasures

The legal status of church monuments and associated armour *should* mean that congregations have no right to sell monuments or parts of them such as associated funeral armour even if they have a dire financial need for funds.[5]

This was certainly judged to be the case when, in 1976 the rector and churchwardens of St Andrew, Thornhaugh, near Peterborough sought a faculty authorising them to sell a spectacular jousting helmet of *c.*1520 which had hung above the tomb of William, Lord Russell of Thornhaugh (d.1613). It was argued that the ownership of the tomb and all its accoutrements remains in the heir-at-law to Lord Russell. Accordingly, the chancellor distinguished the case from those of church-owned plate where faculties for sale had been granted because the plate ceased to be used for purposes for which it had been given to the church and ruled that the consistory court had no jurisdiction to grant a faculty to the petitioners for the sale of the helmet. However, two years earlier a faculty was granted in another diocese for the sale of an early sixteenth-century Flemish or Italian jousting helmet, which was part of the funerary accoutrements associated with the tomb monument at Broadwater (Sussex) of Sir Thomas West, 8th Baron de la Warr (d.1529). It was originally fitted with a contemporaneous chain, front and back, for securing to the monument. In this case the helmet seems wrongly to have been assumed to have been church property. The chancellor noted that the helmet had long been dissociated from the tomb and during the long period that it had been kept in a bank vault for security the only request to view it had been made by staff at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The

helm was purchased at Sothebys in February 1974 for £22,000 and fortunately is now in the Royal Armouries.

Sadly, the reality is that faculties to sell parts of monuments, usually funeral armour or portrait busts, do still get granted, sometimes due to ignorance of the legal position. A notorious recent case concerns the sale at auction on 8 December 2010 for £55,800 of the armet from Wootton St Lawrence church (Hampshire), following the issue of a faculty by the Winchester Diocesan Advisory Committee (DAC). The armet had been on loan (although not on display) to the Royal Armouries for some time, but in its use as a piece of funeral armour it originally formed, together with a pair of spurs, a pair of gauntlets and a dagger, an essential component of the ensemble of the church monument to Sir Thomas Hooke (d.1677). The Chancellor subsequently cancelled the faculty and a new hearing is planned, but regrettably at the time of writing (June 2013) a date has yet to be arranged. Further comment on this case is best left until after that hearing. The Church Buildings Council (CBC) has recently issued excellent new guidelines on the sale of church treasures, which, *if adhered to*, should help to guard against abuses of the system.[6]

Theft

Just as the intrinsic value of monuments can give Parochial Church Councils (PCCs) unwelcome ideas of selling them to raise funds, it also makes them a target for thieves.

There are two key factors at work here. The first concerns insecure fixing of monuments which provides an opportunity for thieves. The church authorities at Dauntsey (Wiltshire) were warned by the Monumental Brass Society that the brass to Dame Anne Dauntsey (d.1539) was insecure. No remedial action was taken and in 2004 it was stolen and has not been seen since. This loss is particularly distressing as the monument was unique in its iconography. Secure fixing can certainly deter opportunist thieves. At Holbeach (Lincolnshire) an attempt was made to steal the brass to Joan Welby (d.1488), but all the perpetrators managed to achieve was to bend the inscription plate (Fig. 1).

Occasionally there is an outbreak of apparently related thefts of brasses. In July and August 2002, five brasses were stolen from Lacock (Wiltshire), Fairford (Gloucestershire), Beckington, Langridge and Swainswick (Somerset). The first was subsequently returned but of the others there is no trace. I was particularly saddened by these losses as they included several of the brasses that I knew from my early days as a brass-rubber in the late 1960s.

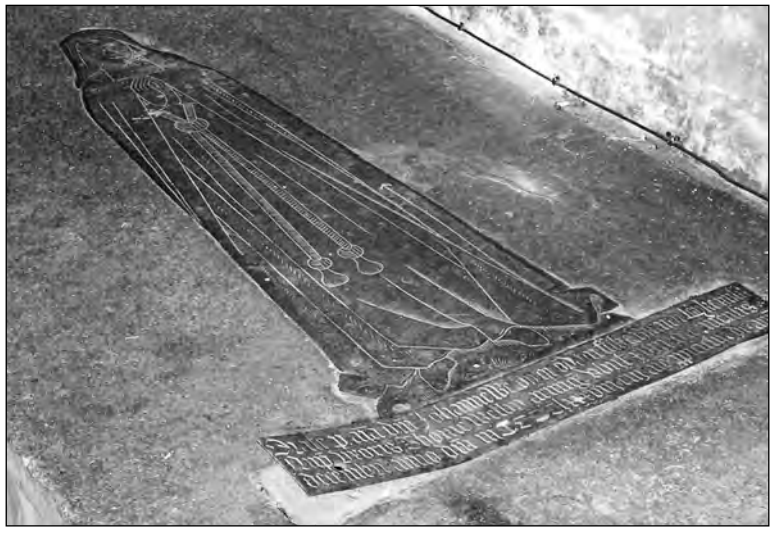


Fig. 1: Holbeach (Lincolnshire). Brass to Joan Welby (d.1488) with the corner of the inscription bent by thieves. (Photo: Tim Sutton)

Thieves may have been deterred to an extent by the fact that brasses are very well recorded;[7] brasses stolen in recent years from Lowthorpe (Yorkshire), Wilne (Derbyshire) and Radwell (Hertfordshire) were all returned because they were recognised when they were offered for sale. This may have deterred some thieves because they thought that brasses were too hot to handle, but it has not deterred all. There have been two thefts since 2008. The kneeling effigy to Richard Billingford (d.1432) was taken from St Benet, Cambridge. On 30 March 2013, the theft was of a civilian and wife of *c.*1520 from East Peckham (Kent) (Fig. 2), which brass had been conserved and securely re-fixed in 1989; the

Fig. 2: East Peckham (Kent). Stolen brass to an unknown couple c.1520, shown during conservation. (Photo: William Lack)

removal looked to be a very professional affair.[8] Then between 14 and 21 July 2013 the figure of Sir Thomas Wingfield (*c.*1496) from Letheringham (Suffolk) disappeared (Fig. 3).

Carved monuments are by no means as well recorded as brasses and possibly present an easier prospect for re-sale, especially if not well secured. In the summer and autumn of 2012, a spate of thefts and attempted thefts of carved monuments took place in Herefordshire and adjoining counties. Two of the targeted monuments were insecure. At Newland (Gloucestershire) the thieves took the top section of a broken late fourteenth-century

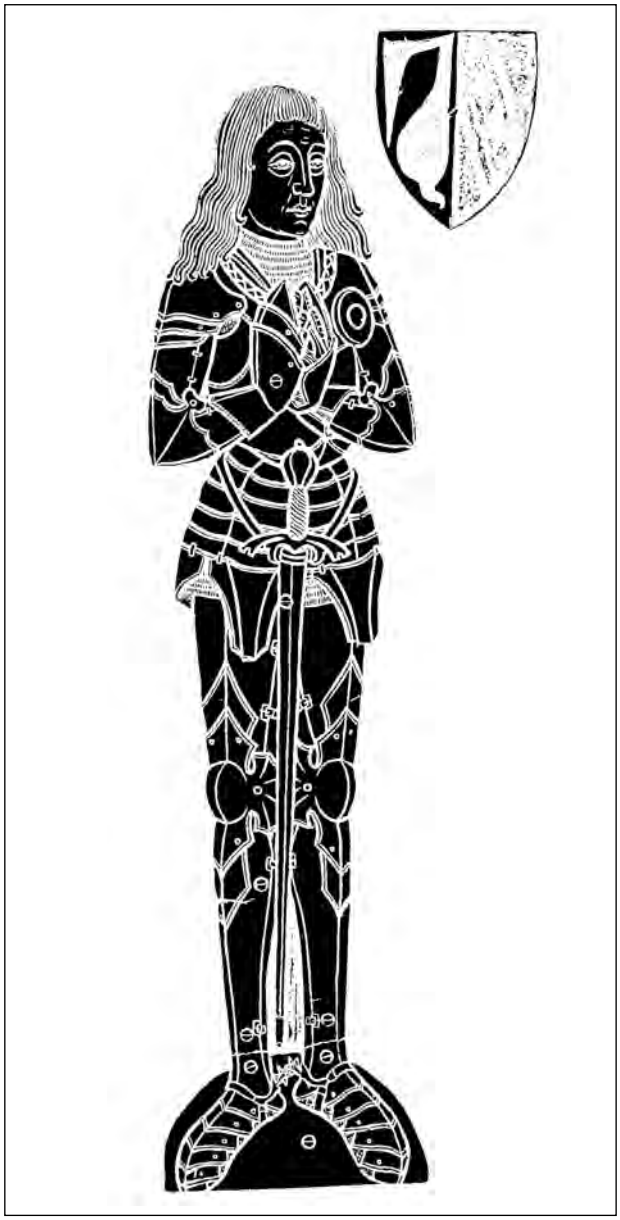


Fig. 3: Letheringham (Suffolk). Stolen brass to Sir Thomas Wingfield (d.1496). (Rubbing: Martin Stuchfield)

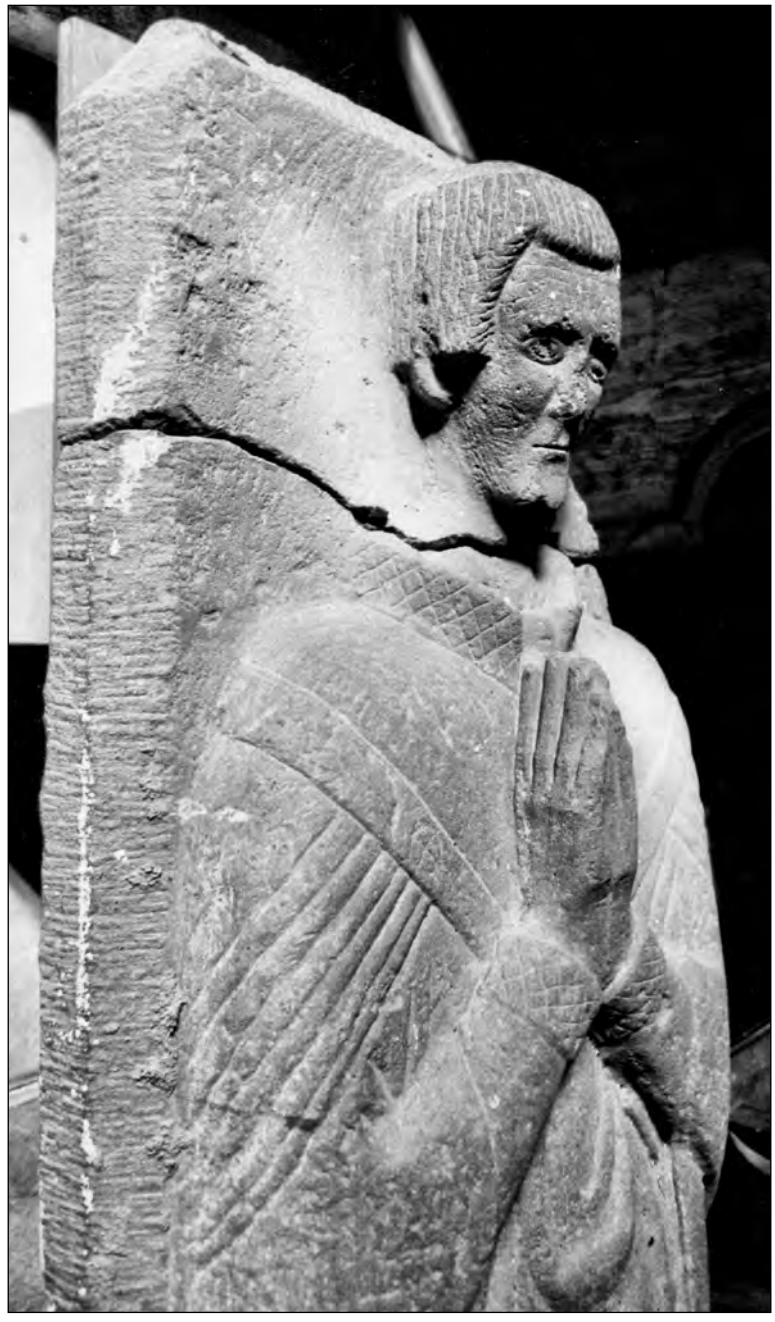


Fig. 4: Newland (Gloucestershire). Relief effigy of unknown priest of early fourteenth-century date; upper part stolen. (Photo C B Newham)

effigy of a priest which was lying loose on a wooden support (Fig. 4). Shortly after, thieves struck at Castle Frome (Herefordshire), removing a military demi-effigy holding a heart, indicating a heart burial, probably commemorating Adam de Lacy (d.1297). There was a large crack behind the effigy and another towards the bottom right-hand side which would have aided their task (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5: Castle Frome (Herefordshire). Stolen demi-effigy probably to Adam de Lacy (d.1297). (Photo: Brian & Moira Gittos)

Better security might have saved these monuments, but that is not always the case. In the same period in the same general area monuments were stolen from Abbey Dore and Foy (Herefordshire), and from Grosmont (Monmouthshire). At Abbey Dore church, the thieves removed from the metal brackets that held it in place a stone coffin lid commemorating the heart burial of Bishop John de Breton (d.1275). The brackets themselves were left in place so it appears the thieves came prepared and used tools of some sort to remove the plaque from the wall. Targeted thefts of this sort are especially hard to guard against. This spate of thefts was, in my view, probably the work of a group of thieves stealing to order, given the similarity of the type of monuments mostly chosen and that the thieves came armed with tools. In one case they did not succeed. This was the attempted theft of the charming late thirteenth-century heart burial monument of a lady of the Berkeley family at Coberley (Gloucestershire) last October

Fig. 6: Coberley (Gloucestershire). Heart burial for lady of the Berkeley family. Theft was attempted but failed. (Photo C B Newham)

(Fig. 6) Thieves had quite boldly wandered into the open church with tools for the job and attempted to lift the monument. In doing so, the effigy was uprooted and the stone edges damaged where a crowbar was used on it. Luckily, they were either scared of being disturbed or gave up when they attempted to handle the deceptively heavy lady and looked back down the hundred metre walk back to the car park. When the churchwardens and the architect discovered what had happened, they acted quickly to get conservators to reset the monument with a hidden system to prevent her from being levered up in the future.[9]

Portrait busts are another popular target for thieves, especially those by renowned sculptors, as most are not secured to the rest of the monument. Some stolen monuments are recovered, like the bust of Susanna Boret from Shoreham (Kent) carved *c.*1739 by the famous sculptor Henry Cheere, which was spotted by an eagle-eyed member of staff in the auction house at which it ended up (Fig. 7). Another good outcome was the return in 2011 of the bust of Dr Peter Turner (d.1614), an eminent physician and botanist, to St Botolph's, London, from which it had been stolen in 1941. Both were happy endings, but not all cases end that way. There are some pre-emptive solutions adopted by conservators,

Fig. 7: Shoreham (Kent). Bust of Susanna Boret c.1739; stolen but recovered. (Photo: Paul Britton)

including security fixings with strong stainless steel threaded bars that are set in epoxy resin and which go into the bottom of the bust and the top of the base. Disadvantages are that this interferes with the integrity of the monument and furthermore a determined thief could cause considerable damage if trying to remove the bust with a crowbar.

These cases underline the second aspect of the problem, namely that both brasses and carved effigies are attractive to collectors and attract huge sums. Fragments of brasses found by those using metal detectors frequently appear on the internet auction site ebay. These sales are entirely above board, assuming that the sellers have found the items legally, but collectors who buy such items undoubtedly help to create a market generally. In consequence, an average price for a single brass Lombardic letter has quadrupled over the past few years and small portions of brasses of unknown provenance sell for considerably more. This is a difficult issue for me as I have several good friends who collect brasses of unknown origin; they are all of the utmost integrity and would never buy anything they suspected was stolen, but it is the unintended result of their collecting that worries me. If there is a market, it provides the temptation for others to steal from churches and to try to sell monuments illegally and the larger the market, the increased likelihood of inflated prices and the greater the temptation for would-be thieves. The thieves see the item as having monetary value only; the buyers are interested in them from a historic or artistic viewpoint; but separated from their context such fragments lose their archaeological value and the nation loses part of its heritage. Collectors may argue that if they abstain from buying a brass or monument offered for sale, someone else will undoubtedly buy it. Admittedly, recent sales bear this out and ultimately it is a matter of personal conscience but, in my view, nothing can fully justify such collecting. The issue is no different from the better-known problems arising from the uncontrolled sale of ancient antiquities in the Near East.

Decay

Monuments are inevitably subject to decay over time, requiring expensive conservation work to rectify, but many factors exacerbate the problems. Chief of these is poor upkeep of the church fabric, including damaged rainwater goods, blocked drains and worn-out pointing, especially when it results in water ingress. The consequences can be dire for monuments. High relative humidity and damp affect monuments, as internal wooden dowels and corroding metal fixings will expand. Both can lead to splits and, in the case of rusting ferrous armatures, to the staining of the stone. Damp can also weaken joints made with plaster and organic

Figs. 8 (left) and 9: (right): Starston (Norfolk). Detail of hanging wall monument to Bartholomew Cotton (d.1613) prior to and during conservation.
(Photos: David Carrington)

adhesives and thus endanger the structural stability of the sculpture. Wall monuments secured to the wall with iron fixings are particularly vulnerable, as illustrated by the monument to Bartholomew Cotton (d.1613), at Starston (Norfolk) before it was conserved in 2005 (Figs. 8 & 9). If affected by damp, iron fixings can rust and fail, causing parts of monuments quite literally to fall off the wall. Congregations that fail to rectify these problems may find that they cannot get insurance for the church and consequently have to close the building until conservation work is carried out.

Damp can also affect other types of monuments. Amongst recent conservation projects is a group of monuments to the Martyn family in the Athelhampton Chapel in Puddletown church (Dorset). Before the work the monuments were in a very sorry state. The oldest effigies are a military figure and lady of *c.*1300 carved from Ham Hill stone that had been built into the base of the canopied tomb to Nicholas Martyn (d.1594). The knight was against the south wall and was partly covered with black algae. A mid fourteenth-century tomb chest with another military figure was also badly affected by disfiguring algae. In the south-east corner of the chapel was a partly-disassembled alabaster tomb dating from *c.*1470, with two of the tomb chest sides mounted directly on the wall (Fig. 10). Alabaster dissolves if exposed to water and when this monument was taken apart for conservation it emerged that the panels had begun to dissolve from the inside outwards, as well as having many breaks, probably from when the monument had previously been moved into the corner. It has now been relocated in the centre of the chapel,

Fig. 10 (top): Puddletown (Dorset). Alabaster tomb of c.1470 before conservation. (Photo: Tim Sutton)

Fig. 11 (bottom): Puddletown (Dorset). The same tomb after conservation. (Photo: Tim Sutton)

where it will be protected from damp and can be viewed from all angles (Fig. 11).

Conservation of these monuments formed just a small part of a more wide-ranging project to make the chapel more weather tight, which included work on roof timbers, drains, removing exterior pointing and replacing with lime mortar, laying new flagstones on half the floor, and removing interior plaster and replacing with lime mortar. Only then was work on the effigies worthwhile. In their post-conservation state they are transformed, but the entire project cost in the region of £100,000, of which some £30,000 was for the conservation of the monuments. This is a huge sum for a typical parish and involved a major fundraising

campaign, with grants being obtained from both local and national sources. Those who love our churches and their contents owe a great deal to congregations like that at Puddletown who work so hard to preserve our national heritage.

Re-ordering

A great deal of re-ordering has been carried out in churches in the last few decades, much of it to adapt the interiors to respond to changing views on how churches should be used, both during services and by the wider community. Careful consideration is usually given to the effect on the overall architecture of the building, but there is variable success in lessening the adverse impact on monuments in the affected area. I vividly recall my dismay when visiting the church at White Waltham (Berkshire) some fifteen years ago to record the rare thirteenth-century Purbeck Marble inscription slab to Joan Saddoc, only to discover that it formed the floor of the kitchen area.

There are other examples. Norfolk has only about twenty medieval carved effigies. Two of them, an unknown civilian and a female of late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date, are in St Agnes's, Cawston. Unfortunately, the organ was moved in front of them a few years ago.[10] The two effigies are inaccessible (Fig. 12); since the wall against which they are placed has plaster dropping from it they could well also be at risk of deterioration.

Fig. 12: Cawston (Norfolk). Two early-fourteenth-century effigies trapped behind a recently-moved organ. (Photo: Jon Bayliss)

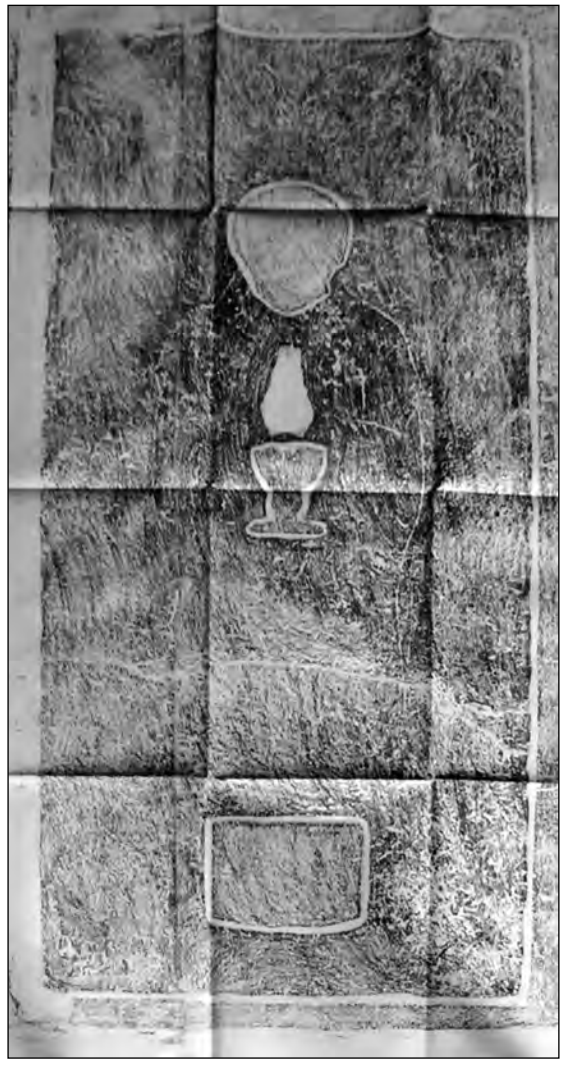
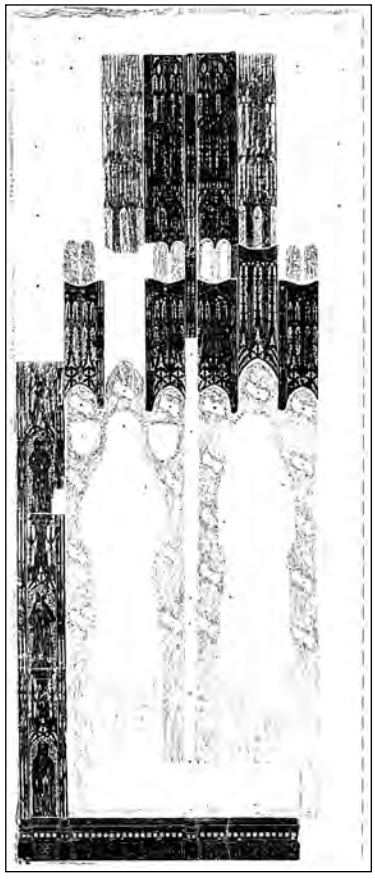


Fig.13: Boston (Lincolnshire). Destroyed Flemish incised slab of c.1330–40. Rubbing by F.A. Greenhill in Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London.

Fig. 14: Boston (Lincolnshire). Rubbing of destroyed brass to William Nutting and wife Agnes (d.1420). Artwork by William Lack from various rubbings.



Boston church has one of the most important medieval parish church floors in England, with large numbers of brasses, indents and the largest single collection of Flemish incised slabs in the country.[11] In 1983–4 two floor monuments were lifted to install under-floor heating and a permanent nave altar; one was a brass to John Nutting and his wife Agnes (d.1420) and the second a Flemish incised and inlaid slab of *c.*1330–40 to an unknown priest (Figs. 13 & 14). They were stacked at the west end of the nave for a time, but subsequently they and other loose monumental slabs were all consigned to a skip. Some of the inlay from the brass was saved, but many plates went missing and have never been recovered. Regrettably, this is not an isolated example as other loose monuments have apparently been known to have been disposed of by churches, certainly

without a faculty, including at St Mary Redcliffe Bristol and Bainton (Yorkshire).[12] Other churches, including at Abergavenny (Monmouthshire), have moved loose monuments and other carved stones into the churchyard in the name of de-cluttering. This will undoubtedly result in damage by weathering.

Unlike modern houses, churches do not have damp-proof membranes, hence floors need to breathe. Inappropriate floor coverings, especially foam, plastic or rubber-backed carpets, trap moisture and the monuments beneath suffer. The surface of ledger slabs and incised slabs break down, leading to an irretrievable loss of detail. Brasses turn green with corrosion; the brass at Greystoke (Cumberland) to Richard Newport (d.1551) is just one example of the damage that can be caused (Fig. 15). Corrosion can be arrested and the appearance of affected brasses partly ameliorated by conservation work – albeit at a price – but the damage to stone slabs is irreversible. Further problems arise with coconut or other coarse matting, which traps grit and dirt which will abrade the surface of the brass or slab. Sometimes loose carpets are fixed with sticky tape; at Bocking (Essex) the tape runs over a brass in the chancel, potentially causing damage.[13] An even more worrying problem is that some carpeting contractors, worried about

Fig. 15: Greystoke (Cumberland). Brass to Richard Newport (d.1551). Extensive green-coloured corrosion is present both in the incised lines and around them, appearing in this digitally-enhanced black and white photograph as pale-coloured metal. (Photo: Martin Stuchfield)

possible complaints about uneven wear when carpets are laid over old floors, put down a screed of concrete, irrespective of whether they leave monuments beneath it and very often without the knowledge or approval of the PCC or DAC. This has happened in a number of churches, including at Hornchurch (Essex) and Watton-at-Stone and Letchworth (Hertfordshire), in all of which there were brasses trapped beneath, although at Letchworth the concrete was subsequently carefully removed from over the brass.[14] At other churches, including at Orsett (Essex), the carpet contractors filled in the indents of lost brasses, smearing over the outlines of the indents, in ignorance of their heritage value.[15] Such distressing incidents could be avoided if DACs laid down conditions as to the type of carpets to be used in churches and PCCs kept a careful watch while such carpets are laid.

Floor tiles secured with impervious cement also have the effect of not allowing the floor to breathe; moisture is diverted into nearby walls and monuments. This is probably the cause of the deterioration of two of the important monuments at Wingfield (Suffolk). That to John de la Pole, 2nd duke of Suffolk (d.1491), and his wife, Elizabeth of York (d.?1503), sister of Edward IV and Richard III, is affected by damp at low level on the carved Purbeck marble plinth in particular (Fig. 16). A green biofilm is evident at the eastern end and the Purbeck marble is extremely fragile, showing signs of disaggregation and fracturing typical of Purbeck marble in damp conditions. An earlier tomb to Michael de la Pole, 2nd Earl of Suffolk, who died at Harfleur in 1415, and his wife Katherine, daughter of the Earl of Stafford (d.1419) is even more badly affected by damp where it abuts the tiled floor. On the north side of the chalk chest is a built-in sedilia, a unique composition. Water has clearly entered the stone, leading to powdering of the surface and loss of sculpted detail. Even the slightest touch results in the surface crumbling away.

Fig. 16: Wingfield (Suffolk). Detail showing the effect of damp on plinth of the monument to John de la Pole, 2nd duke of Suffolk (d.1491), and his wife, Elizabeth of York (d.?1503). (Photo: Tim Sutton)

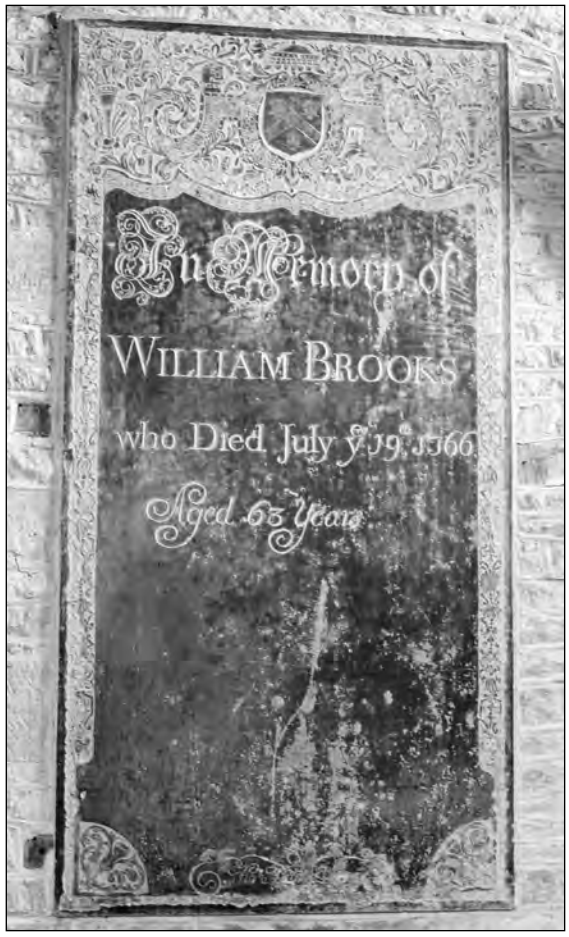


Fig. 17: Cogges (Oxfordshire). Ledger slab to William Brooks (d.1766) remounted on wall during re-ordering; in this case, a sensible solution to reflooring. (Photo: Tim Sutton)

Fortunately the PCC, which has an excellent record of keeping the church in a good state of repair, have engaged a conservator to investigate the causes of the decay and propose remedial action.

Let me stress that I am not a complete Luddite on the issue of re-ordering and reflooring churches. Re-flooring can be carried out to the satisfaction of congregations, while preserving the monumental heritage. I applaud the solution reached at Cogges (Oxfordshire), where a series of very fine ledger slabs were re-mounted on the walls (Fig. 17).

Inappropriate cleaning methods

There is also the issue of inappropriate cleaning. Brasses should *never* be cleaned using metal polishes or other chemical cleaners. These contain abrasives and/or acids, which can quickly remove the engraving. The delicate edging detail on the unusual brass of *c.*1685 at Giggleswick (Yorkshire) to the Lister family has suffered in this way (Fig. 18). It was formerly brightly polished on a regular basis, but fortunately the parish have recently been persuaded to

Fig. 18: Giggleswick (Yorkshire). Over-polished brass of c.1685 to the Lister family; the detail shows the loss of the fine engraving at the edge. (Photo: C B Newham)

stop this. Usually brasses only require dusting, but if particularly dirty, they should be cleaned with Renaissance micro-crystalline wax. White spirit should not be used. Any blue or green corrosion should only be removed by a trained conservator. Possibly even worse is the use of abrasive electric floor polishers. Floor monuments which have suffered as a result of such treatment are at Lowestoft (Suffolk) and Boston (Lincolnshire). Brasses at Lowestoft, including an unknown civilian and wife of *c.*1540 show the smearing from water and scratching which results from such use (Fig. 19). Where parts of the metal inlay are lost, as here, tears can develop.

Carved stone monuments are even more susceptible to damage by inappropriate cleaning. The surfaces of stone, plaster and terracotta are vulnerable and, therefore, dust levels around sculpture should be kept low in order to reduce handling and cleaning to a minimum, ideally just dusting with a soft brush. However, the delicate surfaces of sculpture should not be directly cleaned as this can damage decorative elements, especially painted surfaces. On no account should proprietary cleaners be used as the consequences can be irreversible. The alabaster monument of *c.*1500 to members of the Bulkley family at Beaumaris (Anglesey) is an extreme example of this. Allegedly, the former vicar's mother regularly cleaned it with Vim and wire wool, resulting in surface detail literally being dissolved away and the surface detail appearing blurred (Fig. 20).[16] Proprietary cleaners may be excellent for use in the home, but are utterly unsuitable for delicate surfaces in churches.

Fig. 19: Lowestoft (Suffolk). Detail of brass of c.1540 to an unknown lady showing adverse effects of the use of an electric floor polisher – smearing with water and scratching of the surface, and loss of the lady's right shoulder. (Photo: Martin Stuchfield)

Church closures

Another problem is that of monuments in redundant churches which are sold for other purposes. A paper by Linda Monckton in this issue demonstrates that the number of churches affected each year has remained fairly static, but a distinction needs to be made between numbers and quality, including the artefacts in these churches. When churches become redundant and are sold, monuments are considered as part of the fixtures and fittings despite their unique legal status explained above. They are not listed separately from the building itself. They remain in the building after it is sold, although the Church Commissioners can, subject to Bishop's directions, remove a monument from a redundant church before it is sold if a new home can be found for the displaced monument. In practice, removal may occur for brasses, as has been the case for many in Norwich churches,[17] but not usually for larger monuments, although two I know about are the thirteenth-century incised slab moved from Aconbury to Bromyard church (Herefordshire) and the mid fourteenth-century effigy moved from Upleatham to Kirkleatham Old Hall Museum (Yorkshire), although in the latter case vandalism was the trigger.[18] Neither the CBC nor the Church Commissioners

Fig. 20: Beaumaris (Angelsey). Detail of alabaster tomb of c.1500 to a member of the Bulkley family showing effects of aggressive cleaning. (Photo: Maddy Gray)

keep records of any such removals. Nor is there any database of monuments in former churches. It is impossible, therefore, to quantify the problem caused by church closure.

When a church is being considered for closure and sale, the Statutory Advisory Committee on Closed and Closing churches of the CBC, which advises the Church Commissioners, prepares a Critical Information Summary to provide a synopsis of heritage and planning information relating to the church and its contents, including monuments. This document is well-designed for the purpose for which it is intended, but regarding monuments it only gives a brief description and a single photograph of the important monuments. Minor monuments receive no mention. Assuming that the resources could be found, it would be desirable for all monuments to be recorded in a separate survey with measured drawings, plans and photographs, whether they are to be left *in situ* or relocated. When monuments are removed their new location could also be noted. Such a record should be lodged with a central body and preferably put on the internet so that there is public access to the information.

There has been a succession of difficult cases recently. In 2012 churches were sold at Wolferlow and Welsh Bicknor (Herefordshire), with their monuments *in situ*. They included two late thirteenth-century effigies of ladies. In the whole of England there are only forty-four effigies of this type, most being less fine or less well-preserved than the two Herefordshire examples. That at Wolferlow is of national importance, first because of its high sculptural quality, but secondly because it is the only known example of an effigy of a woman with the iconography of angels lifting the facecloth back from the face of the deceased (Fig. 21). St Margaret's, Welsh Bicknor, is intended for community use; in

Fig. 21: Wolferlow (Herefordshire). Church closed and sold. Upper part of late fourteenth-century effigy of a lady showing angels lifting the facecloth back from the face.
(Photo: C B Newham)

Fig. 22: Horton (Northamptonshire). Church closed and awaiting sale. Monuments in chancel. (Photo: C B Newham)

the church there were formerly memorials to the Vaughan family, which were at some stage removed to St Mary Courtfield, but the female effigy remains. Wolferlow will become a private house; the new owner is very enthusiastic about the effigy and is likely to look after it, but this does not mean that there will not be problems further down the line. The Church Commissioners have difficult decisions to make in such circumstances and there are many obstacles, including cost, to moving monuments, but I was particularly dismayed by the decision not to remove the Wolferlow monument. It may be regarded as creating the unfortunate impression that such monuments are just so much lumber to be sold off with the building, whereas in these cases they are a valuable part of our sculptural heritage.

One current case promises to set even more intractable problems. St Mary Magdalen, Horton (Northamptonshire) has not been in use since 1998, due to falling plaster resulting in an inability to obtain insurance for safety reasons. In the chancel there is a range of wall monuments (Fig. 22). The brass, now mounted on the wall behind glass although previously a floor monument, is a good example commemorating Roger Salisbury (d.1491). There is also an alabaster wall monument of *c.*1580 incorporating kneeling praying effigies to Sir William Lane and his wife, flanked by their children. In addition there is a grey marble wall monument of 1756 in memory of Edward Montagu and his wife Henrietta. Carved by James Lovell, it is thought to have been designed by Horace Walpole. There are also two war memorials in the church to individuals who died in the Boer War and the First World War. None of these are significantly different in type and importance from other monuments which have remained in churches which have been declared redundant and sold, although as a collection they have regional significance.

However, there is one more monument in this church, which is of national importance. Right in the middle of the chancel is a large alabaster Renaissance tomb chest on top of which are effigies of a man in armour and his wife (see rear cover). Clearly in its present position it would present a problem to any future owners. One solution being considered is to move it to the end of the south aisle at the new owner's expense, but it is not only the size and position of the monument which present challenges. The monument commemorates Lord William Parr (d.1546) and his wife Mary, who survived him.[19] Parr was the uncle of Catherine Parr, the last wife of King Henry VIII. Monuments open windows on to our past and some, like this one, commemorate people familiar from our history books, which adds to their heritage value. There is surely a strong case for the Parr monument being preserved for the nation by being removed

Fig. 23: Mansell Gamage church (Herefordshire). Cross slab. Illustration from RCHME*, Herefordshire (1934), Vol III, plate 47.*

from Horton before the church is sold. Ideally the chancel might be walled off from the rest of the building and vested in the Churches Conservation Trust, even though it is apparently against current policy for them to take on just part of a church.

There are various strategic issues relating to monuments and other artefacts in closed buildings going into private ownership. Monuments which remain in churches after they are sold pose a challenge because covenants to ensure their continued well-being are not, realistically, enforceable. There is no system of monitoring whether the monuments are well preserved and whether owners are respecting the provision for enabling public access. The first owners may do so but not always. When Braiseworth church (Suffolk) was sold in the 1970s the interesting brass of Alexander Newton (d.1569) was still in it. The new owners removed it to put it on display in their farmhouse, where it is believed still to be.[20]

Problems are even more likely further down the line. Panton church (Lincolnshire) was sold in 1974 for use as a store. At that time the upper half of a high-quality military effigy of *c.*1345 was built into the north wall of the chancel. It was removed before 1989 by the second owners; enquiries in the village indicate that no-one knows where it is now, so it must be presumed to have been destroyed.[21] Again, Mansell Gamage church (Herefordshire), which was declared redundant in 1971 and is now a private house, contained a cross slab of such high quality that it was illustrated in the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments volume on the area (Fig. 23). Before the sale, it was in the chancel, against the north wall. The monument was glimpsed in 2008, outside, against the south wall of the house, where it is totally open to damage from wind, rain and frost, which will destroy the intricate carved detail.[22]

There have been some worrying problems with monuments in churches converted to community use. In 1981, a thirteenth-century Purbeck marble effigy of a priest from Holy Trinity, Shaftesbury (Dorset) was hoisted up the belfry out of sight after the church was sold; fortunately, it was recovered and transferred to the abbey museum in 1995. When St Thomas's church at Scarborough (Yorkshire) was converted into a theatre, the high quality, early fourteenth-century military effigy, which had previously been in the old Town Hall, was boxed in under the stage; it was subsequently transferred to the town museum, but it spent some years outside facing the ravages of the North Sea weather before being put into store elsewhere in the town in 2010.[23] Both cases had good endings – but only eventually.

In 1973 the Church Commissioners decided that Woodhorn church (Northumberland) should be used as a museum. Ashington UDC acquired it in 1973 and duly opened it as a

museum which featured a large number of monuments, many from Woodhorn but also from elsewhere. This sounds like the ultimate good solution, but the museum was closed before January 2001 when many items were removed. Yet nine others remained *in situ*, ranging from a carved early fourteenth-century effigy commemorating Agnes de Valance to a hanging wall monument commemorating Elizabeth Addison (d.1807). An art gallery in the building also having failed, the local authority has attempted to sell it but as far as is known has been unsuccessful in finding a buyer willing to take it on with restrictive covenants.

More examples could be given where access difficulties have been experienced and where monuments are not being properly protected. They highlight other important issues. Owners are not at present given any guidance on how to care for the monuments of which they will become the custodian. They are given no indication of the damage that could be caused by inappropriate cleaning or attempts to move them. Such potential abuse could be easily guarded against in the future by providing an information pack based on the admirable ChurchCare website.[24]

Monuments are not recorded by the Land Tribunal and changes of ownership of buildings are not notified to the Church Commissioners so there is no means of making new owners properly aware of their responsibilities. This too could perhaps be changed by including a covenant in the sale deeds. Monuments in listed buildings, whether in public or private ownership, are protected by legislation and local authorities could enforce care if notified of cases where damage is suspected. Listed Building protection could be used in this way even where covenants fail, although I know of no cases where this has been done. However, not everything in a listed building is of the quality its grade suggests; this can give rise to unwarranted attention being given to poor artefacts in highly listed buildings and insufficient attention to outstanding pieces in grade II or unlisted buildings. Local Authorities do not always understand the difficulties and generally assume retention *in situ* is the best option whatever the context or particular issues. This raises the question of whether leaving monuments in former churches really is the best long-term solution or whether it would be more appropriate and in the public interest to relocate more of them before the initial sale takes place, although that will not be easy.

Bats

In my view the most serious problem affecting the good preservation of many monuments is bat damage. Bat urine and faeces are extremely damaging to church monuments, as indeed they are to other important artefacts in churches. Bat urine decays

Fig. 24: South Petherton (Somerset). Detail showing bat damage to the brass to Sir Giles Daubeney (d.1445). (Photo: Tim Sutton)

to form ammonium hydroxide, which is an alkali. It is chemically aggressive and can cause pitting, staining or etching of porous or polished materials. Monumental brasses are particularly badly affected by the urine; it causes corrosion that is evidenced in a disfiguring spotted appearance to the surface, as shown by the very fine brass to Sir Giles Daubeney (d.1445) at South Petherton (Somerset) (Fig. 24). Sadly, this is by no means an unusual sight now, but it is a relatively recent development. When I lived in Norfolk in the early 1970s I rubbed many brasses in East Anglia and at that time none that I can recall was damaged by bats. Today most Norfolk churches house colonies of bats and it is rare to find a brass that has not been damaged as a result. This is true for many other parts of the country also.

The presence of large colonies of bats in churches presents major problems for custodians. Bats as a species are protected under European and national law. All species of bats and their breeding sites or resting places are protected by the Wildlife and Countryside Act 1981 and the Conservation (Natural Habitats etc) Regulations 1994. As bats are protected, their roosts and access points must not be disturbed. It is an offence for anyone intentionally to kill, injure or capture a bat, deliberately to disturb a bat in such a way as to be likely significantly to affect the ability of any significant group of bats to survive, breed, rear or nurture their young, or the local distribution of abundance of that species. It is also an offence to damage or destroy any breeding or resting place used by bats, or intentionally or recklessly to obstruct access to any place used by bats for shelter or protection.[25]

Churches must find other ways of protecting their monuments. Brasses are easier to protect than some other types of monuments as they can be covered. It is important, however, that this should be done in a way that does not cause other damage to the brasses. As explained above, carpets with impervious backings, such as rubber, trap moisture and cause corrosion. One solution, adopted at Cley next the Sea (Norfolk) and Tattershall (Lincolnshire), is to have metal or wood frames made with perspex sheeting to catch the bat droppings (Fig. 25). These allow free air flow over the monuments. However, they are unsightly, cumbersome to move when a visitor wishes to view the brasses and could cause accidental damage.

Sculptured monuments are also being damaged by bat urine and faeces. The small numbers of medieval wooden effigies surviving in this country are susceptible to damage to the surface coating which has been built up over the centuries. Urine can also harm precious original paint and other surface finishes on historic monuments. Build-up of faeces on the porous surfaces of monuments, especially marble and alabaster is also problematic. The accretion hardens and if it is then subject to moisture, which is common in churches, it can cause marked discolouration and other harm. This is a particular problem at Stanford on Avon (Northamptonshire), although many other churches also suffer both from the damage and the high cost of clearing up after bats. Relief monuments can be protected to an extent by covering them with sheets of plastic but this is unsightly, prevents them being seen and enjoyed by congregations and the wider public and creates a damp micro-climate which leads to other conservation issues. Conservation sheeting such as Tyvec, a moisture resistant, airtight and vapour permeable membrane providing superior air and moisture management, is much more

Fig. 25. Cley next the Sea (Norfolk). Special cover to save brass from damage from bat droppings and urine. (Photo: Martin Stuchfield)

suitable for both monuments and other sensitive surfaces in bat-affected churches.

Urine marks on significant objects such as monuments cannot be removed by any normal cleaning process and must be left to an accredited conservator, although even then pitting may remain. Cleaning with water or chemicals such as detergents or bleach should be avoided in the case of historically important artefacts, as it can do serious damage to objects and building fabric. Dry cleaning methods like brushing can also lead to severe surface damage particularly if the stone surface is fragile. Hence, cleaning up after bats can put a severe stain on the finances of cash-strapped congregations. The church authorities at Stanford on Avon have been told that to clean just one badly stained white marble monument could cost in the region of £15,000. This church has a nationally important collection of exceptionally fine monuments, which were professionally conserved fairly recently, but also houses colonies of over 400 Pipistrelle bats and other species in lesser numbers, which are causing soiling and degradation of all the church fabric. The numbers there are increasing every year. A two-year project funded by Natural England and English Heritage, which helped with limited cleaning and covering of certain monuments has ended. The heated bat box, which was installed as part of the project, has not reduced the bat numbers and they still fly throughout the whole church. Now that church members are to take back cleaning responsibilities they are anxious about the health risks associated, in particular, with inhalation of bat droppings through the nose and mouth. This church could face eventual closure if something is not done.

Stanford on Avon is by no means an isolated case. Ellerburn, near Pickering (Yorkshire) is another church where the congregation was driven out of the church after bats adopted it as a habitat some twelve years ago. It now acts as a home for hundreds of bats and the fabric and furnishings are suffering as a result. Moreover, some members have fallen ill after coming into contact with the bats' waste. The financial cost has been huge. Parishioners raised £10,000 to construct sites in a nearby barn and a heated lych-gate, but the bats did not move. In total £29,000 has been spent so far by the congregation to try and solve the problem, a huge sum for such a tiny place. Yet only after a very long campaign did Natural England promise to grant a licence to block up some of the entry points in the church. Another example is Holme Hale (Norfolk), a fine church with an early brass and interesting memorial slabs. The bats – an estimated 260 natterers – roost in the nave and so are free to urinate and defecate all over the interior of the church, raising concerns about

the increasing levels of damage, filth, smell and health and safety risks, especially where small children are concerned. The decision was taken to employ a firm of commercial cleaners to clean the church up to the height of the roof timbers, at a cost of £2,250, but this was only a temporary solution. The church is now being cleaned on a near-daily basis, in the hope of encouraging its use despite the difficulties.[26]

It is not, of course, only monuments that are affected. The church of St Peter ad Vincula at South Newington has an outstanding collection of medieval wall paintings, yet having survived the Reformation they are now threatened by bat urine.

Of course it is important that our native species should be protected, but I firmly believe that a much more realistic balance needs to be struck between bats' needs and the protection of our national heritage and the health of people visiting and attending churches. The CBC have long been grappling with this thorny issue, and a recent debate in Parliament shows how they are succeeding in bringing the problem to the government's attention, but they face an uphill struggle.[27] Yet the longer it takes to tackle this problem, the more damage will be done to our church treasures and the greater the bill that ordinary parish churches will have to face. We must wake up to the fact that we just cannot afford for our historic churches to be turned into bat barns.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted a number of problems which affect good preservation of church monuments, but it should not be concluded from this that churches and their contents are in a state of crisis. Examples of bad practice have been cited, but so too have exemplars of sensitive re-ordering and conservation. It is hoped that the former will act as a warning and the latter as beacons of good practice worthy of emulation. A good deal of valuable conservation work is being carried out in churches across the country, driven by dedicated congregations willing to expend time and effort to raise funds for such work. Long may their efforts prosper.

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Notes

1 J. H. Baker, 'Funeral monuments and the heir', *The Irish Jurist*, vol. 5 n.s. (1970), 391–405, at 398–99.
2 E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (2nd edn, 1761), vol. 1, 453–54.
3 http://www.churchcare.co.uk/images/Monuments_Symposium/The_law_relating_to_monuments_in_churches_and_churchyards_-_Alex_ McGregor.pdf (accessed June 2013).
4 Ex info. Revd Alexander McGregor, Deputy Legal Advisor to the Archbishops' Council and General Synod.
5 For an invaluable survey of cases, see D. Wilson, 'Roubiliac, the earl of Pembroke and the Chancellor's discretion: preservation of the nation's heritage by the Consistory Courts of the Church of England', *Church Monuments*, 21 (2006), 141–84.
6 www.churchcare.co.uk/images/sale_of_treasures.pdf (accessed June 2013).
7 Very full lists of extant brasses are contained in M. Stephenson, *A List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles* (London, 1926, Appendix 1938, repr. London, 1964) and are being updated in the *County Series* volumes by W. Lack, H. M. Stuchfield and P. Whittemore.
8 Ex info. Martin Stuchfield.
9 Ex info. Sally Strachey Conservation.
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11 S. Badham and P. Cockerham (eds), '*The Beste and fairest of al Lincolnshire': The church of St Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire, and its Medieval Monuments* (Archaeopress, Oxford, 2012).
12 Ex info. Brian and Moira Gittos.
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14 Ex info. Martin Stuchfield.
15 Ex info. Martin Stuchfield.
16 Ex info. Maddy Gray.
17 The displaced brasses are now in the safe custody of the Norwich Museums Service.
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19 J. Bayliss, 'The monument of William, Lord Parr', *Church Monuments*, 28 (2013), forthcoming.
20 Ex info. Martin Stuchfield.
21 Ex info. Mark Downing.
22 Ex info. Brian and Moira Gittos.
23 Ex info. Brian and Moira Gittos.
24 http://www.churchcare.co.uk/churches/conservation/caring-for-conservation-of-artworks-historic-furnishings (accessed June 2013).
25 http://www.churchcare.co.uk/images/ShrinkingtheFootprint/bats.pdf (accessed June 2013)
26 Ex info. Martin Stuchfield.
27 The debate can be found at http://tinyurl.com/mnv6w5y. Newly published research from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport can be found at www.batsandchurches.org.uk/latest-developments/. The final report on this research is expected to be submitted to Defra at the end of January 2014 and will be used to inform decisions on appropriate use of deterrents in churches to mitigate problems caused by bats. Guidance on the DCMS's Places of Worship Grant Scheme, which can make grants in respect of the VAT incurred in cleaning and repairing damage caused by bats, as well as towards some of the measures which might re-locate them, is at www.lpwscheme.org.uk/background.htm. Current guidance from the Church of England can be found here: www.churchcare.co.uk/images/Shrinking theFootprint/bats.pdf.

Ledgerstones and the Ledgerstone Survey of England and Wales

Julian W S Litten

IT WAS ON THE 26 November 1789 that John Elwes of Stoke-by-Clare, Suffolk died. He was seventy six years old and had spent the last twenty-six years as a notorious miser, keeping his annual expenditure down to £100 a year, which sum included the wages of his three servants. He ate frugally, spent hardly anything on clothes and reduced his home to a ramshackle ruin but he invested his money in building expensive town houses in St James' and Marylebone. At the last, he was buried in the chancel of St Mary's, Stoke-by-Clare beneath a plain black marble ledgerstone, with the following inscription:

JOHN ELWES E*sq*
Died *November 26th* 1789
Aged 76 Years.

A simple marker with the shortest of inscriptions, which reflects the frugality of his life, even though his estate was worth, in today's figures, twenty million pounds.[1]

Ledgerstones can tell us much or, as with that commemorating John Elwes, nothing at all about the individual buried in the brick grave beneath. They are fascinating genealogical records, but few people have ever taken time to study the floor of their parish church and read the inscriptions on the ledgerstones. Yet here is to be found a wealth of information on the leading families living in the parish between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their names, occupation and, if they had them, their armorial bearings. As a result of the *1857 Burial Act*, and unless one happens *to* be a monarch, a Roman Catholic bishop, or a member of a long-established noble family with its own dynastic burial vault, there is little possibility of anyone being buried as corporeal remains within the confines of a church building today. But this was not the case between 1650 and 1850 when intramural burial was seen as the privilege of the middling sort, most of whose graves are marked by ledgerstones set into the floor (Fig. 1).

Whilst the decorative nature of mural monuments and memorial brasses has ensured their preservation, ledgerstones have generally lost out. As Dr Roger Bowdler observes: 'Ledgerstones

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Fig1: Grundisburgh, Norfolk. Ledgerstone of Abigail Bloys (d.1652). This excellent stone is a highly-important example of the transition from incised slab to ledgerstone. The heraldic achievement is contemporary and the letter-cutting is of the highest quality. (Jon Bayliss)

are the most valuable genealogical record after parish records yet they are treated as the ugly ducklings of church memorials. For too long they have been walked on and ignored'.[2] Over the succeeding years many of these stones have met with a variety of abuses, either having been broken, removed, relocated or covered over as the result of successive reordering schemes or, as is increasingly the case today, hidden beneath broadloom carpeting. As the simplest of funerary commemoration, ledgerstones have generally gone unrecorded or just been ignored (Fig. 2). Many have been eroded by centuries of shuffling feet, subjected to damage from bat urine, or simply scratched by furniture having been dragged across them. In Holbeach church in Lincolnshire, those at the west end of the church have been considered a suitable base for storing the wrought-iron flower stands, at Tilney All Saints in Norfolk they serve as a hard-standing for the new lavatory pods and at St Osyth in Essex they are hidden under carpeting. (If they are to be covered then it would be prudent to take a rubbing or make a record of them first.) Conversely, recent reorderings have exposed ledgerstones, as at St Stephen's, Norwich and St George's, Alie Street, City of London.

Burial within the church

Burial within the confines of the parish church was seen as a mark of social distinction, increasingly adopted by the middling sort during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The relaxation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the Commonwealth saw an increasing number of the *nouveau riche* utilising their parish churches as places of intramural burial, and not even the reintroduction of the faculty system at the Restoration of the Monarchy reversed this trend; after all, it was seen as a lucrative, if infrequent, income for both the incumbent (perhaps of the same family or owing his living to them) and the churchwardens. The upper echelons of early mid eighteenth-century society took the concept of intramural burial in their stride, it being considered almost unthinkable for them *not* to be buried within their parish church. And it was an expensive option too, for the cost of construction of a brick grave and the provision of a ledgerstone could amount to as much as £25,000 by today's standards.

In 1747 the Revd Dr William Watson summarised the understanding among the ecclesiastical authorities of the Church of England in the middle of the eighteenth century on the matter of intramural burial:

Fig. 2: St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn, Norfolk. Ledgerstone to Robinson Cruso (d.1773). A good example of a simple ledgerstone, of which many thousands can be seen in churches up and down the country. Master Cruso was the son of Robinson Cruso (d.1794), 'Upholder of King's Lynn'. An Upholder was the equivalent of today's house-furnisher and customarily performed the funerals of the professional classes and gentry during the period c.1650–1825. (The Churches Conservation Trust (Friends of St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn))

> Because the Soil and Freehold of the Church is in the Parson alone, and that the Church is not, as the Churchyard is, a common Burial-place for all the Parishioners, the Church-wardens, or Ordinary himself, cannot grant Licence of Burying to any Person within the church but only the Rector, as Incumbent thereof . . . yet the Church-wardens by Custom may have a fee for every Burial within the church, by reason the Parish is at the Charge of repairing the Floor.[3]

This was highly important in those small conurbations where the ownership of a vault or brick grave in the parish church established the possessor's position in the social hierarchy of the village or town.

Writing in 1683 the diarist John Evelyn recalled his father-in-law's disgust with the

> novel Custom of burying every body within the body of the Church & chancel, as a favour heretofore granted only to Martyrs and great Princes, the excess of making churches Charnel-houses being of ill and irreverent example, and prejudicial to the health of the living; besides the continual disturbance of Pavement, and seats, the ground sinking as the carcases consume.[4]

Indeed, the effluvia within churches as a result of burying the dead in double wood coffins rather than in coffin, shell and case gave rise to the expression 'the stinking rich'.

In the eighteenth century countless members of the professional classes sought intramural burial (Figs 3 and 4). Doctors, solicitors, high-ranking soldiers and gentlefolk provided incumbents of city, town and village churches with a steady income in an age where wealth became the yardstick of rank. Occasionally, the more important tradespersons found space for intramural burial, such as Joseph Wilson, 'Publican, Late of the Black Lion' who died in 1790 and lies beneath a black marble ledgerstone at the west end of the nave in St Peter's, Great Walsingham, Norfolk. Both the outward and visible pomp of the funeral and the quality of the grave were indicative of the status in society of the deceased, and both might be stipulated by the individual concerned.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, churches in the larger towns were beginning to run out of space for ledgerstone-capped brick graves. Some of the families who had acquired brick graves in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had either died out or, as was more usually the case, had moved to other parts of the country. From a commercial point of view a grave was income-generating while a family continued to

Fig. 3: Norwich Cathedral, north choir aisle. A pavement of well-kept ledgerstones and indicative of how such buildings adopted the role of intramural burial ground for the professional classes and gentry of the City. The altar-frontal chest has been fashioned so as not to sit upon the ledgerstones. (Roland Harris)

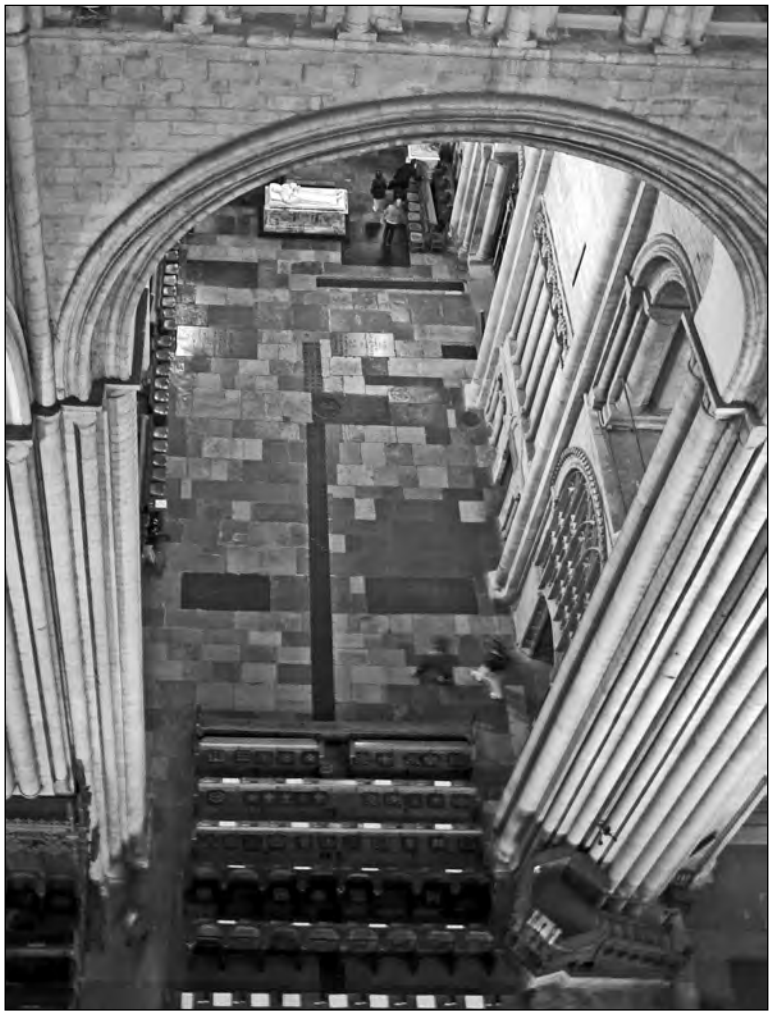


Fig. 4: Norwich Cathedral, north transept from the central tower gallery. The interruption by ledgerstones of the chequered medieval floor can be easily seen from this arial view, as can be the east-west axis on which ledgerstones are almost always placed. (John Maine, RA)

patronise the grave with successive corpses, but if the family had moved away and no longer availed themselves of the space, the grave became non-productive. It was, in fact, dead space. Each *new* brick grave eroded the incumbent's freehold, but existing brick graves could not be emptied nor resold, and neither could they be trespassed on, as was the case with earth graves in the churchyard. However, there are a number of instances where brick graves were reused, with the original ledgerstone left *in situ* and the new inscription being cut into it wherever space allowed.

The extent to which a church was used for intramural burial can be gauged by comparing the total number of burials within

any one year to the notifications in the burial registers indicating those who were buried within the church. For example, of the thirty-three burials in 1647 at Thaxted, Essex, five took place within the church, though not one ledgerstone with that date survives. Whilst there was no compulsion to identify a grave with a ledgerstone, it may well be that the lack of such stones at Thaxted can be blamed on the re-flooring of the building under Randall Wells in 1911.

There were rules of etiquette governing the distribution of the grave space within the building. The majority of the ledgerstones of the clergy tend to be within the chancel, if not within the sanctuary itself, and in the centre aisle of the church if space in the chancel was not available. The west end of the church was popular for those requiring a double-width brick grave. The nave was considered to be a prime location for those seeking single-width brick graves and, of lesser importance, the north and south aisles of the nave. Vaults constructed beneath private pews were rarely marked, but their location was often mentioned on the associated mural monument by the preamble, 'In a Vault near this place . . .'; re-flooring and under-floor heating programmes frequently bring such vaults to light. That there was no compulsion for a grave to be marked leads one to realise that there is no guaranteed way of calculating the total of inhumations, brick graves and vaults within a church building merely from the number of ledgerstones present.

While it was left to the decision of the incumbent as to who may or may not be buried within the church, he was not empowered to grant permission for the construction of a brick grave or vault. Strictly speaking, this was the responsibility of the bishop of the diocese through the faculty jurisdiction system. In fact, hardly any brick graves and very few burial vaults were constructed by faculty. Only twenty-six faculties for vaults in the county of Essex – part of the London diocese – were issued between 1690 and 1830, fourteen of which were confirmatory faculties, which is to say faculties applied for after the vault had already been constructed. From this information we can deduce that about 95% of brick graves and vaults were constructed without a faculty, which was probably due to the fact that faculties were expensive to procure.

Ledgerstones

The majority of graves within churches were only cut when the need for burial arose; pre-need purchase – so as to ensure a prime

position within the building – was exceptionally rare. From a comparison of the dates of death quoted on the ledgerstones and the date of burial recorded in the registers, the delay between death and burial in a newly-made brick grave averaged five days; a very short time indeed for the grave's construction and many of them must have been put to use before the mortar was fully dry. Temporary covering stones were usually provided – though in those regions where stone was scarce, a recessed stout wooden cover, well caulked, would be sufficient security – until such time as the inscribed ledgerstone was ready for setting. Occasionally these temporary stones were not replaced and became the ledgerstone itself, and it may well be that many of the freestone slabs described in NADFAS[5] Church Recorders' inventories as 'anonymous, inscription eroded' are nothing more than the original temporary sealing slabs. Of course, the lack of an incised marble ledgerstone may be attributable to the inability on the part of some families to raise the necessary finance, or it may mark the grave of a deceased child from the early part of the marriage of a couple who had moved away from the town and laid their roots elsewhere. We shall never know. Furthermore, some families delayed the provision of a ledgerstone until after the death of the senior male member of the household, and there are numerous examples where inscriptions begin their tale in recording the death of the father and then go on to record his spouse's demise, even if the latter had taken place some years prior to the former (Figs 5 & 6).

At the east end of the nave at All Saints', South Lynn, Norfolk is a large black marble ledgerstone laid in 1781 by a Mr Curtis, 'Maltster of this Town', over the grave of his wife, Elizabeth. The opening words, *Sacred to the Memory of*, are followed by a large gap, presumably intended to eventually take his own inscription; below this is the inscription to his deceased wife and then another, that to Mary Curtis, his second wife, who died in 1790. However, the upper section, the part of the stone he intended for himself, remains blank to this day. Could he have married for a third time and be buried elsewhere, with his third wife? Or could it be that he is indeed beneath the stone at All Saints and that all three marriages were childless, so that there was no relative around at the time to see to his inscription?

Precisely how many ledgerstones still cover the graves of those whom they record remains unknown. Many were resited during church restoration schemes in the nineteenth century, furthermore a great number have been subjected to multiple use.

Almost all of the late medieval grave-markers, and a few of the memorial brass indents, in St Nicholas' Chapel, King's Lynn have been reused on at least one occasion between the mid seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, some of them having as many as three additional inscriptions to unrelated individuals.

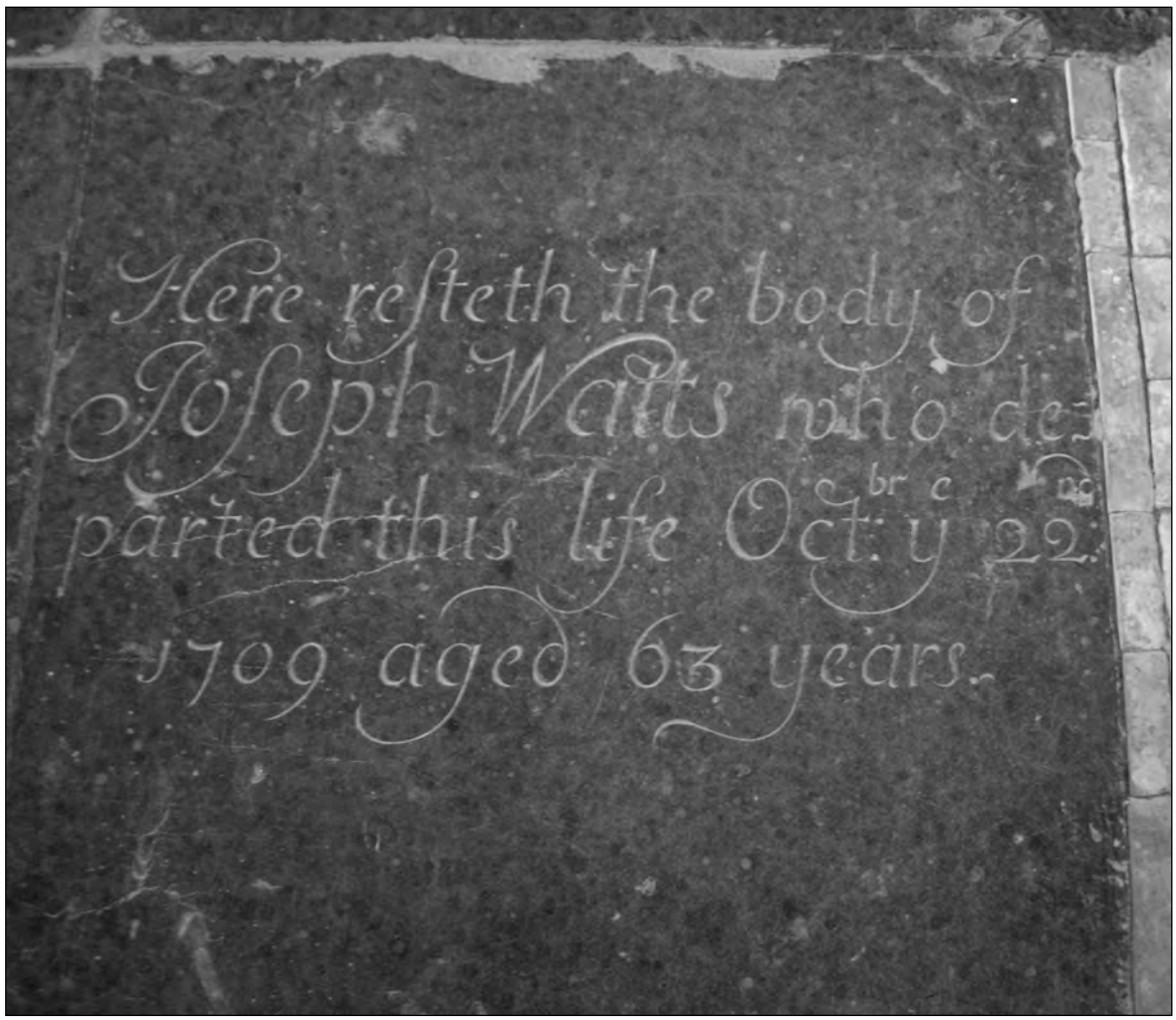
The craftsmen who letter-cut ledgerstones largely remain an enigma. Between 1717 and 1719 the antiquary, John le Neve, issued a five-volume work entitled *Monumenta Anglicana, being inscriptions on the monuments of several eminent persons deceased in or since 1600 through to 1715,* in which he recorded some of the ledgerstones supplied by the Stantons of Holborn, having received the information from the Stantons themselves. The Stantons – Thomas (*c.*1610–74), his nephew William (1639–1705) and William's son, Edward (*c.*1681–1734) – had a flourishing studio providing architectural sculpture and over two hundred and twenty-five mural monuments and ledgerstones between 1639 and 1730. From le Neve's list it can be ascertained that the Stantons usually provided both the mural monument and the ledgerstone, though 99% of their clients opted for a ledgerstone as

Fig. 5: Breckles, Norfolk. An example of a simple ledgerstone,commemorating John (d.1658) and Mary Webb (d.1656). Although she predeceased her husband – which tells us that this slab was not laid until after his death two years later – the husband is named first, a not untypical occurrence. (Chloe Cockerill)

Fig. 6: Saxthorpe, Norfolk. An eloquent ledgerstone with baroque armorials to Alice Hagon (d.1773), a local brewer's wife; a fine period piece with excellent lettering. That she shares the grave with her grandson, who pre-deceased his grandmother by eleven months, leads one to speculate that the occasion of his death was the reason for Alice Hagon to order the construction of an adult-sized brick grave for her eventual use as well. It is to be presumed that the child had to await his grand-mother's death before a stone incorporating details of his death was laid, which was not unusual in such instances. (Jon Bayliss)

the sole form of commemoration. A receipt discovered amongst the Calthorpe papers in the Norfolk Record Office by Jon Bayliss, issued by the late seventeenth-century sculptor-lettercutter Michael Losnetz of King's Lynn for an extant ledgerstone to Barbara Strutt at East Barsham, Norfolk, has helped to identify a number of similar ledgerstones in the King's Lynn area. Losnetz's peculiarity was to cut the lower case 'w' in the archaic form, as an 'i' and a 'u' (Fig. 7). To date, seventy-eight ledgerstones in this style have been identified in churches in north-west Norfolk, but how many of them emanate from the Losnetz studio has yet to be ascertained. No doubt the discovery

Fig. 7: East Ruston, Norfolk. Ledgerstone to Joseph Watts (d.1709). The archaic form cutting the letter 'w' as 'i' and 'u' (seen here in the word 'who') indicates that this stone was cut by Michael Losnetz (1670–1730), a King's Lynn mason working from a yard alongside Lynn's South Quay. Many of the merchant ships using the port sailed back from the Lowlands with various cargoes as ballast, including black marble for architectural and funerary sculpture. (Alison Wakes-Miller)



of further sculptors' receipts among family papers lodged in county record offices up and down the country will provide evidence for ascribing even more ledgerstones to identifiable chisels. Letter-cutting trends are a subject deserving much more attention than they have had to date, a subject into which the Ledgerstone Survey (discussed below) can feed valuable information.

As mentioned earlier, by the end of the eighteenth century burial space within churches, particularly town churches, was beginning to run out, the situation only being saved by the establishment of private joint stock cemeteries, such as Kensal Green (1832) and Highgate (1844), both of whom offered large and expansive freehold sites greater than that available within parish churches. The *Metropolitan Interment Act* of 1850, introduced as a reaction to the London cholera epidemic of 1848, put a stop to the use of churches in the Cities of London and Westminster for burial and empowered those two City authorities to establish burial grounds along the lines of the joint stock cemetery companies. A further outbreak of cholera in London in 1854 led to the *Burial Act* of 1857 and extended the garden cemetery system nationwide.

Recording ledgerstones

Just about the worst place to put a monument is to set it into the floor. It gets trampled on, scratched, swept, washed and abused in so many other ways. Consequently very few survive in pristine condition and fewer still display their original beauty, for it was not at all uncommon for the incised letters to be gilded and the heraldry to be emblazoned. As discussed above, ledgerstones have been poorly treated over the years: countless thousands were discarded during re-flooring schemes in the nineteenth century, and the number currently covered by pew-bases and carpet cannot be estimated. Furthermore, they tend to be treated as just part of the flooring and it is not at all unusual to see chairs, pianos, drum kits, and all the other paraphernalia associated with today's worship being placed upon them, when all they are really asking for is a measure of respect and a little non-slip polish (Fig. 8).

The desire to record ledgerstones is not new. Writing in 1764 Ralph Bigland, Somerset Herald, bemoaned how

> Many grave-stones are often half, and others wholly covered with pews, &c. many also are broken, and by the sinking of graves not only inscriptions are lost, but the beauty of the church defaced, all these and many other evils might be remedied, in case every parish was obliged

Fig. 8: Norwich Cathedral, Norfolk. Bouchon Chapel. Two fine early eighteenth-century ledgers to members of the Bouchon family, Norwich merchants. Nowich Cathedral keeps its ledgerstones in pristine condition – an example to us all – thus allowing us to see how fine such ledgerstones must have looked when they were first laid. The use of non-slip polish also highlights the presence of the slab, thus discouraging its use as a surface for the storage of furniture. (Roland Harris)

> to have, in like manner as abroad, a monumental book, to be kept with the register, wherein every inscription should be fairly written, under the inspection of the minister officiating; for which purpose a fee should be paid: nor would it be amiss, if every parish had the ichnography (plan) of the church on a large scale, with proper references to each person's grave or family vault. This ought especially to be done when any old church is repaired, or pulled down in order to be rebuilt.[6]

There are about 250,000 ledgerstones left in England out of an estimated former total of 750,000, thus the formation of the Ledgerstone Survey of England and Wales in 2002 was not before time. Using a network of volunteers and the Records compiled by NADFAS Church Recorders, the Survey aims to visit every church in England and Wales to plan, transcribe, photograph and comment on the condition of the accessible ledgerstones and, where possible, those currently concealed by carpet and part-covered by pews and stalls. Initially, a pilot scheme was required to test the recording system. The Survey was particularly fortunate at an early stage of its existence to receive the support of the Churches Conservation Trust and it was they who generously provided support officers and a base at their national headquarters for meetings of the Survey's executive and as a place where the completed surveys could be lodged. Furthermore, they offered the churches in their guardianship in Norfolk for the test scheme, which was undertaken by the King's Lynn NADFAS Church Recorders. As was expected, the partial covering of ledgerstones by items of fixed furniture and the worn nature of some of the inscriptions were the main frustrations, though it is hoped that the recent development of RFI (Reflective Transformation Imaging) photography by the Archaeological Computing Research Group at the University of Southampton will be able to render legible the faintest of inscriptions.

The only comparable survey of funerary monuments was that undertaken by the Monumental Brass Society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though this is now being reviewed and revised on a county-by-county basis to include indents and, indeed, all forms of brass inscriptions to be seen in churches.[7] For the ledgerstone recorder, the ten-volume survey of hatchments in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland published between 1975 and 1994 under the editorship of Peter Summers, provides valuable assistance in identifying heraldry on the floor slabs.[8] Modern recording techniques will allow for the work of the Ledgerstone Survey to be completed at a faster pace,

with the large number of ledgerstones probably by the end of the present century, though in actuality it cannot be completed until the floor surface beneath every pew-plinth and organ case has been examined and every carpet has been stripped from our church buildings.

It is a daunting but thrilling task, and as it progresses it will help us realise that ledgerstones are not quite as boring as some would have us believe but that they have a highly important part to play in our understanding of funerary commemoration between 1650 and 1850. By the time the Survey is complete it is to be hoped that these so-called 'ugly ducklings' of the letter-cutters' craft will have shed their down and acquired their gaudy plumage and become, if not swans, then at least the ruddy ducks of funerary sculpture.

The Ledgerstone Survey is keen to recruit additional volunteers. The Survey can be contacted via its website www.lsew.org.uk. The mailing address is c/o the Churches Conservation Trust, Society Building, 8 All Saints Street, London, N1 9RL.

Notes

1 J. Timpson, *English Eccentrics* (Norwich, 1994), 142-45.
2 D. Lovibond and R. Young, 'Church tries to save its trampled treasures' in *The Times* (22 July 2002).
3 W. Watson, *The Clergy-Man's Law* (4th edn, London (H. Lintot) 1747), 387.
4 J. Evelyn, *Diary*, 18 February 1683.
5 National Association of Decorative and Fine Art Societies.
6 R. Bigland, *Observations on Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials as preserved in Parochial Registers* (London (Richardson and Clark), 1764).
7 William Lack, H. Martin Stuchfield and Philip Whittemore of the Monumental Brass Society have been producing revised county lists of monumental brasses (extant and lost) and indents since 1992.
8 Peter Summers and John Titteron (the latter joint editor of most volumes), *Hatchments in Britain* (10 vols., Chichester, 1974–94).

‘An age of destruction’?: Anglican church closure past and present

Linda Monckton

Unless positive steps are taken there is real danger that the second half of the twentieth century will be remembered as an age of destruction of religious art and architecture comparable to the ravages of the Reformation and the Civil War.

Marcus Binney[1]

To the incumbent the church is a workshop; to the antiquary a relic. To the parish it is a utility; to the outsider a luxury. How to unite these incompatibilities?

Thomas Hardy[2]

Linda Monckton works for English Heritage, where she is Historic Environment Intelligence Analyst for Social Impacts; previously she was Head of Research Policy, Places of Worship. This article is based on a short talk given by the author at a seminar held at the Society of Antiquaries on 26 April 2013 entitled ‘Piety in Peril’.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND carries a significant burden of responsibility with regard to the management of a large estate of church buildings, many of which are listed as of special interest and therefore require greater protection from change and alteration. Specifically the Church of England’s estate accounts for 45% of all Grade I listed buildings in England and about 20% of all Grade II and II* buildings. This is unmatched by any other single asset type or single estate owner in the country.

The provision of places for worship depends on the combination of population and religious belief, and changes in these can lead to closure of churches no longer required for worship. Although examples of the ebbs and flows of church provision can be found throughout history, the issue of church closure became a political focus only after the Second World War and the introduction of the 1969 Pastoral Measure. In 1976 Marcus Binney claimed, in the quotation at the top of this paper, that ‘there is real danger that the second half of the twentieth century will be remembered as an age of destruction of religious art and architecture comparable to the ravages of the Reformation and the Civil War…’.

Using data kindly provided by the Church Commissioners,[3] this paper assesses the accuracy of Binney’s prediction by setting out the facts of closure since 1969. It will identify past and possible future trends, and assess how churches are re-used and the sustainability of solutions for re-use. It will review what these trends show us and what issues they raise in terms of the protection of historic places of worship. I am from English Heritage, not a church body, and so much of what I say focuses on listed status and the protection of churches as heritage assets.

I hope to take a strategic overview of the state of play of church closure within this context.

In the final section I briefly address questions of significance, authenticity and sustainability. The quote from Thomas Hardy at the head of this paper highlights the dilemma in reconciling the different perspectives of those involved in caring for and appreciating our church buildings. Varying views on what is important or 'significant' tend to underlie many debates about appropriate change or re-use after closure of historic places of worship. The clear articulation of significance – as a means to achieve a shared understanding of just what that importance is – lies at the heart of the planning system, whether operated by secular (local) authorities or by Church bodies under the Ecclesiastical Exemption Order 2010.

But as will become clear, I believe that talking about 'extended use' and 're-use' (after closure) *separately* misses the point – they are, arguably, two sides of the same coin. At various stages of a church's lifecycle many changes may be proposed or carried out. Many of these present the same issues regarding significance, authenticity and sustainability regardless of whether the church is continuing in use and adapting to extended use, or whether it is closing as an Anglican place of worship and developing a new use. I touch on these questions at the end of the paper.

One major caveat. Binney's aim in 1976 in making his prediction was to provoke, but it raises a real concern about the debate surrounding church closure, which tends towards the alarmist. The question is not 'is church closure an issue' (it demonstrably is); the question may be 'how large an issue is closure within the context of other risks to the significance of church buildings'. This can only be fully addressed if closure is set within the context of the resources and movement of faith communities, the impact of migration, and demographic trends. At its simplest, people move faster than buildings and therefore demographic trends will always have an impact on the historic environment. The broader picture would analyse closure, therefore, within the context of new buildings as well. The Church of England opens as well as closes churches and together these trends would provide a fuller picture of the issues and the state of the Church. This brief paper does not attempt to elucidate this broader context, but an awareness of it is essential in taking a wider view.

In all this I have three aims. First, to set out some facts on what has been happening. Secondly, to consider what an analysis of these facts points towards. Thirdly, to raise a question about what

further evidence might be most helpful. The scope is Church of England churches within England.

This is work in progress in the sense that it is a basic introduction to what the data can tell us; but I think the data has much greater potential, which I have only started to explore in this paper.

Church closure since 1969

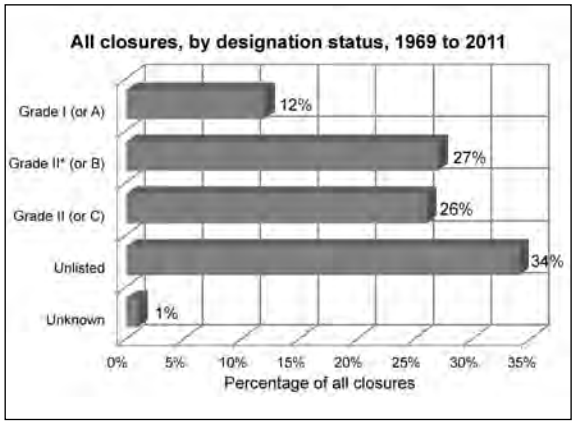
Since 1969, 1873 Church of England churches have been closed. This represents approximately 11% of the Church of England building stock. Of these closed churches, a 'future use' has been established for 1771. This term has a precise and slightly surprising meaning – that a future has been settled for these churches: this future could involve preservation, re-use *or demolition*, and does not mean the building has found what would commonly be described as a new use.[4] The difference between these figures – 102 churches – therefore represents those for which a future use, or solution, is still being sought.

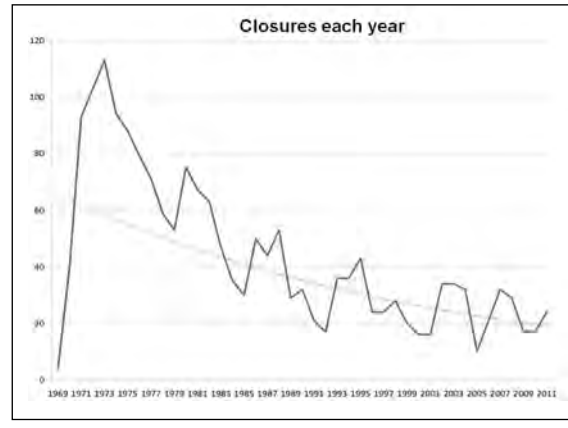
Closure is not synonymous with lack of survival and does not mean that these buildings have been lost. Sustainable re-use is the option found for most of these buildings and this does not inevitably lead to significant loss of character. Although the risk to significance is generally perceived to be greater than when the church remains in use, it is important to make the point that these are not diametrically opposing states: change occurs in both – the key is, of course, managing that change. Change of use after closure however can more often lead to drastic or radical change rather than gradual or accretive change occurring whilst still in use.

As shown in **Figure 1**, just over a third of all closed churches are highly-graded listed buildings (Grade I or II*, the highest

Fig. 1 (bottom left): This graph shows the grade of listing of closed churches. For example, 34% of closed churches have been unlisted.

Fig. 2 (bottom right): This graph shows the number of churches closed each year. The number of closures per year has dropped significantly over the last forty years.





grades of listing). A quarter are Grade II. Just over a third are unlisted. A small proportion of buildings are listed as 'unknown' in the Church Commissioners database, largely due to the nature of early recording.

These figures for the closure of listed church buildings need to be understood in the context of all the churches that the Church of England holds. Inevitably, decisions on closure tend to be driven by pastoral or similar considerations, and therefore one might have expected from this that listing would not act as a barrier to closure.

It is surprising, therefore, that some 65% of closed churches are listed buildings, whereas approximately 76% of the Church of England estate is listed. In other words, listed churches have been slightly *less* likely to close than non-listed ones.

We can explore this further. **Table 1** shows that 5% of Grade I buildings have been closed, 10% of Grade II★ have been closed, and 11.5 % of Grade II have been closed. In contrast, 22% of unlisted churches have been closed.

Thus overall the higher the grade the *less* likely a church is to be closed. It may be that having listed status provides protection (constraint) against closure, or that being listed correlates well with other factors which make closure less likely.[5]

Figure 2 shows the rate of closure since the introduction of the Pastoral Measure. This shows that the high rates of annual closures in the period after the Measure was introduced have not (as then feared) been maintained. The longer perspective allows us to see that this peak was partly as a result of a glut of churches, especially highly graded ones, waiting to close. The trend for closure continues but it has levelled off over the last 40 plus years.

However one continuing factor leading to closure is demographic change. The influence of such change is not new. Much of the church closure of the fifteenth century was attributed to depopulation and (more familiar to us) financial burden. By 1600, for example, Norfolk had lost about 16% of its

Table 1: Number of closed churches, by designation status

	Number of churches at this grade	Closures	
		Number	*As proportion*
Grade I	4220	215	5.0%
Grade II★	4812	492	10.0%
Grade II	4238	490	11.5%
Unlisted			22.0%

parish churches.[6] Then, as now perhaps, resources and migration of worshippers was the most significant factor affecting the relationship between a parish church and its community.

So whilst the overall picture looks reassuring – that the rate of church closure has diminished – this does need to be seen in the context of the continuing decline in some Christian religious observance in the twentieth century, in much of western Europe. The census figures (**Fig. 3**) show one aspect of this story. As a result of this, the geographic distribution of churches has not come into balance with the population that uses it.

This situation is by no means unique to England. In the Netherlands since the year 1200, some 19,000 churches were

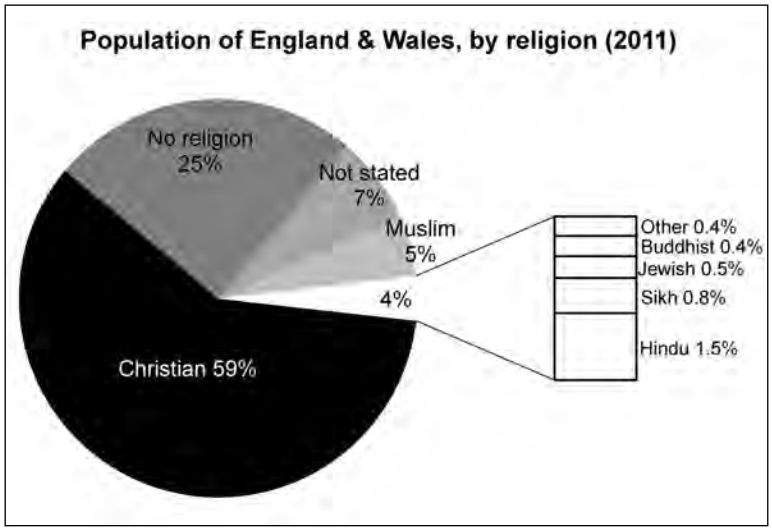
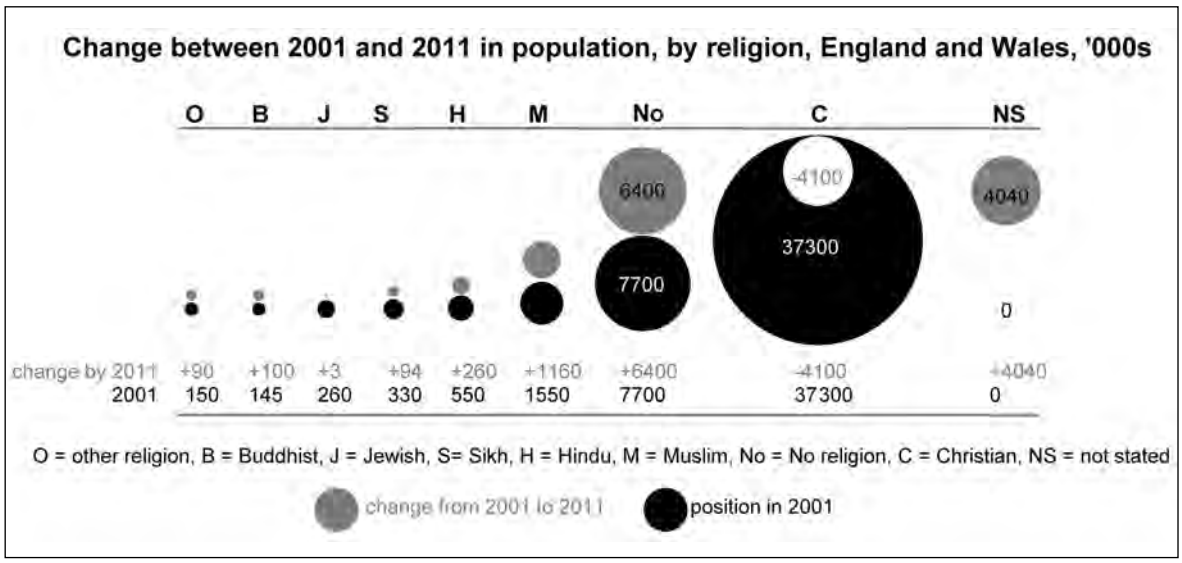


Fig. 3a (left): This chart is based on the 2011 Census. It shows the proportion of people in England and Wales identifying themselves with a particular religion. For example, about 59% of people identified themselves as of the Christian religion in 2011.

Fig. 3b (below): This chart compares the 2001 and 2011 Censuses for England and Wales. It shows in the lower row of circles the number of people identifying themselves with a particular religion in 2001. The upper row of circles shows the change in that number in the 2011 Census. The units are '000s. For example, about 1,550,000 identified themselves as Muslim in the 2001 Census, and this had increased by about 1,160,000 people by 2011. Note that only the 2011 Census gave the opportunity for people not to state their religion. All figures rounded.



constructed – by 2007, only 4240 (that is combined RC and Protestant) still had their religious function.[7] Between 1970 and 2009, 927 churches were closed, a rate of 25 per year, very similar to the current state of play in England. However it has been predicted in the Netherlands that over the coming decade this figure is set to rise considerably and some predictions suggest up to four closures per week.

What happens to closed churches

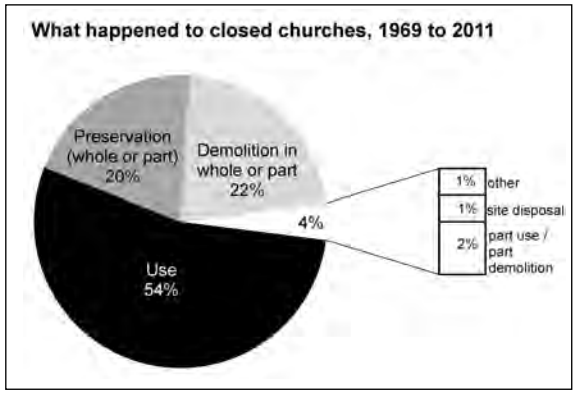
As shown in Figure 4, over the forty year period since the introduction of the Pastoral Measure in 1969, a new use has been found for over one half of closed churches. Just over one fifth have been demolished, and about one fifth have been 'preserved' largely but not exclusively by the Churches Conservation Trust (CCT). Churches vested in the CCT are not closed for worship and have a small number of services each year and are open to the public. They are sometimes developed for other uses but essentially this option is to enable preservation of those highly-graded churches which would be most vulnerable to change or for which an active use cannot be found.

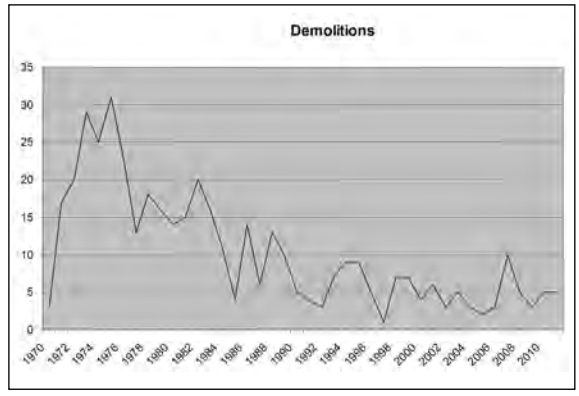
The rate of demolition (Fig. 5) has slowed down since the late 1980s from a peak of 23–31 per year in the mid 1970s to between 3 and 5 per year since 2008. In fact, 73% of these demolitions took place within 20 years of the Measure being introduced. Of those demolished, three quarters were unlisted (316 at end of 2011), and only 6% (36) are known to have been Grade I or II* (compared with the approximately one half of the Church of England's building stock which is at these higher grades of listing) (see Figure 6).

If one considers only those churches for which an active use is found, that is setting aside those demolished or cared for the CCT, then three types of re-use predominate: residential, ecclesiastical (i.e. use by other Christian bodies), and community

Fig. 4 (bottom left): The chart shows what has happened to closed churches. For example, about 54% have found a new use.

Fig. 5 (bottom right): This graph shows the number of closed churches demolished each year. The number of demolitions per year has dropped over the last forty years.





use, each of which have taken about one quarter of closed churches (Fig. 7). A further one sixth (16%) are used as monuments.

A potentially desirable re-use option is the use of a church building for Christian worship. Currently over 150 buildings are occupied by non-Anglican Christian communities. The use of closed churches by 'other Christian bodies' has been rising and more quickly that any other individual or collective new use. In the first twenty years of the Pastoral Measure 61 churches were re-used in this way (5.5% of all closures during that period); in the next ten years 35 (11%); and in the subsequent eleven years it was 55 (14%). I explore this trend in more detail below.

Where does closure happen?

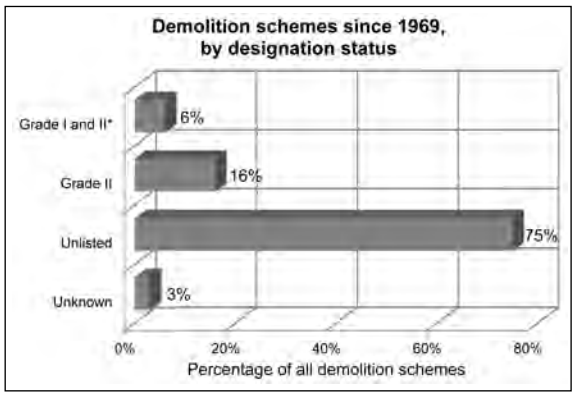
Just under one half of closures have been rural (Fig. 8). A more detailed analysis (Fig. 9) shows the predominant location of different types of re-use, and this is summarised in Table 2, to which has been added an analysis of the typical grading. None of this is perhaps surprising, but does emphasise how the environment of a closed church may well constrain its future use.

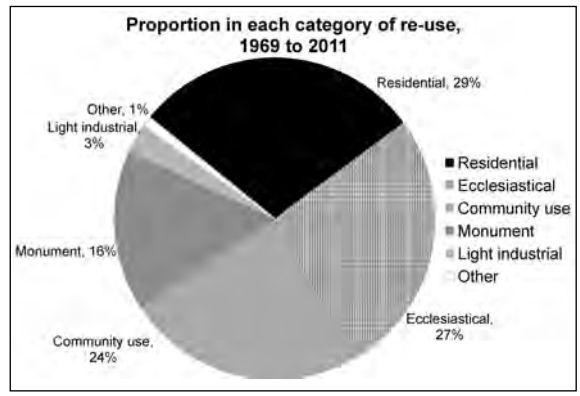
Fig. 6 (top left): This chart shows the grade of listing of demolished churches. About 75% of demolished churches were not listed.

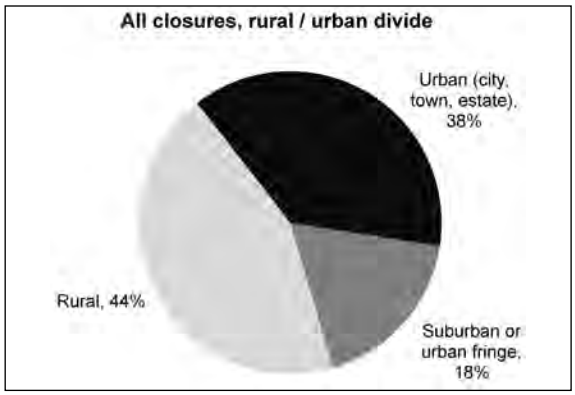
Fig. 7 (top right): This chart shows how closed churches were re-used (when not demolished or cared for by the Churches Conservation Trust). For example, some 24% of closed churches which were not demolished were given a community use.

Fig. 8 (bottom left): This chart shows the broad location of closed churches. For example, about 44% of closed churches have been in rural areas.

Fig. 9 (bottom right): This chart shows how various types of use of closed churches are split between different types of location. For example, use of closed churches by 'Other Christian Body' (OCB) is weighted away from rural locations, with a preponderance in town/suburb.







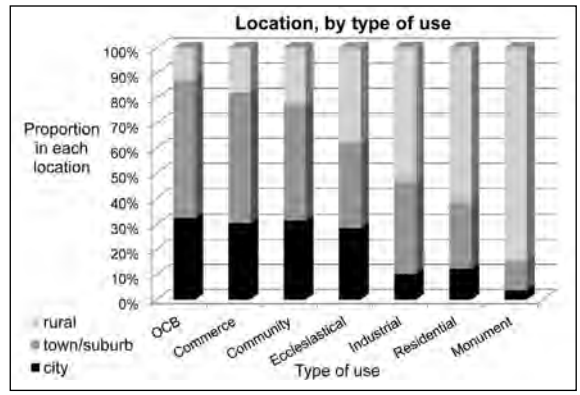


Table 2: The predominant location and typical grading of churches having different types of re-use after closure

Type of re-use	*Predominant location*	*Typical grading*
Monument	Rural	Listed
Residential	Rural	Listed
Community use	Urban	Listed
Other Christian bodies	Urban	Not listed

Emerging trends

I believe there are three emerging trends.

One trend has been for a decreasing number of *listed* buildings to be closed over the past 43 years (Fig. 10). There has been a commensurate increase in the numbers of unlisted buildings being closed.

In particular, Grade I closures have experienced a downward trend, and have consistently remained the lowest numerically in terms of closure. From 1969 to 1989, 153 Grade I churches were closed, in the subsequent twenty years this number was 53.

Grade II* buildings accounted for the bulk of the early closures, especially in the 1970s. From 1969 to 1989, 391 Grade II* churches were closed, in the subsequent 20 years this number was 85.

Grade II buildings have followed a more constant path; as this has remained numerically constant it now means that Grade II buildings account for a larger proportion of closures than the highly graded ones. From 1969 to 1989, 259 Grade II churches were closed, in the subsequent 20 years this number was 208.

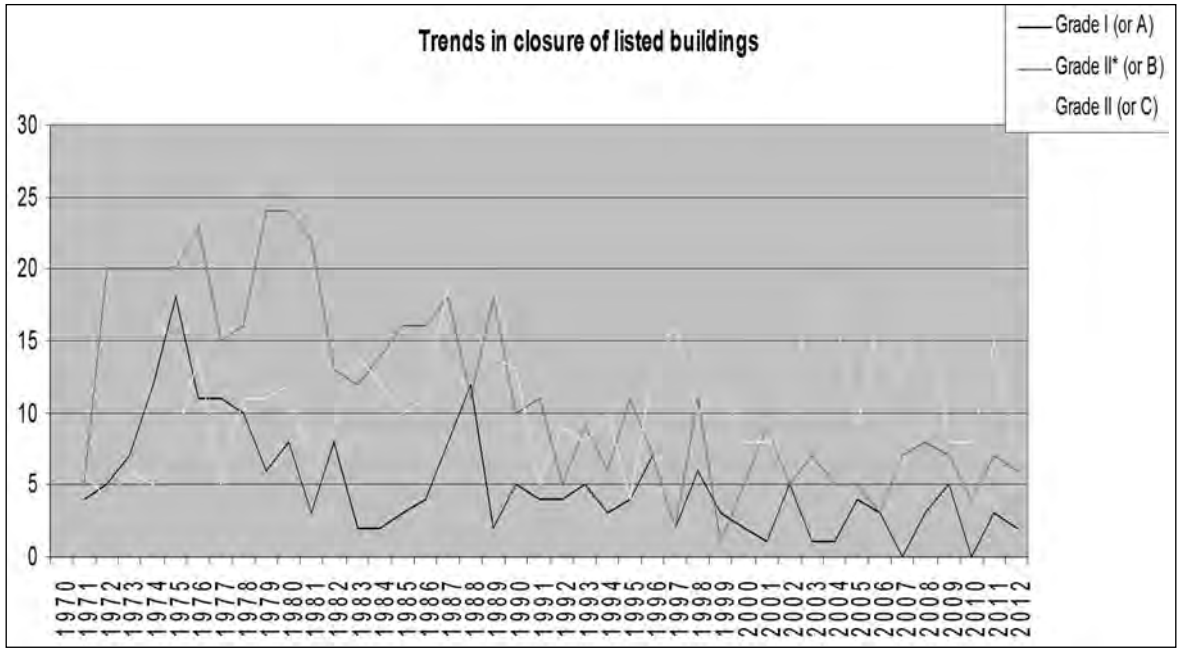


Fig. 10: This graph shows the number of churches closed each year, broken down by grade of listing. In recent years, the closure of Grade II (and C) churches has been more common than of more highly-listed churches.

This downward trend in the number of listed buildings being closed is flattening off gradually. Of listed buildings being closed, there has been a rise in the number of Grade II churches.

Secondly, there are specific issues with both nineteenth- and twentieth-century buildings. In absolute numbers – not surprisingly given the accepted 'over-churching' that occurred in the nineteenth century – the nineteenth century accounts for a significant proportion of all closed churches. In line with the overall statistics, the actual numbers have reduced considerably between the first half and second half of the operation of the Pastoral Measure, but the proportion of Grade II nineteenth-century buildings has doubled in the last twenty years.

There is casework evidence that suggests designation (i.e. listing) is of paramount importance for the protection of twentieth-century places of worship. Without formal designation, empirical evidence suggests that many twentieth places of worship may be abandoned, neglected or closed. In fact, for twentieth-century churches, the actual number closed has increased by about 10%, and the proportion of listed twentieth-century churches closed has more than doubled in the last twenty years. Added to which, 23% of all churches demolished are of the twentieth century. In my view, twentieth-century churches are often seen as a 'soft target' for closure. Given the protection designation gives against demolition, this evidence flags up a real possibility that this is a significantly under-designated group.

The third trend, as indicated earlier, is that use by 'other Christian bodies' has been rising more quickly that any other individual or collective future use.[8] Currently over 150 buildings are so used; this is generally an urban phenomenon, and this in part accounts for why approximately 86% of these are either nineteenth- or twentieth-century buildings. There are clear indications that the rise in the numbers of such buildings is a rise in the use of *listed* buildings (Fig. 11). Predominantly this is an increase in the use of Grade II buildings but there is a noticeable although lesser rise in Grade II*.

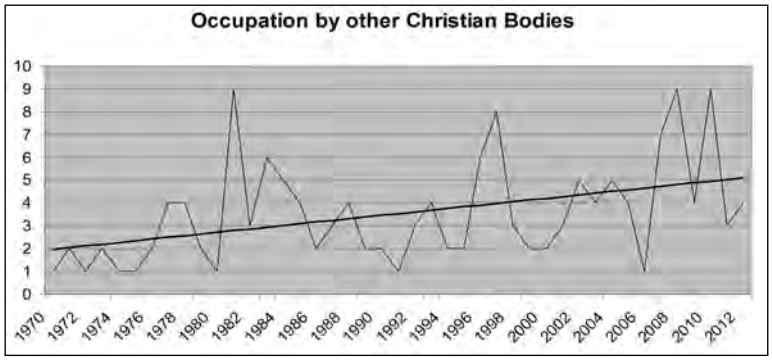


Fig. 11: This graph shows the number of churches closed each year which were passed over to other Christian bodies. The number in recent years is higher than forty years ago.

This last trend raises a number of particular issues about the relationship between new building owners and their places of worship which are of relevance to English Heritage, the Church Commissioners and local authorities. English Heritage research into *Caring for Places of Worship* in 2010 raised some of these issues and recent work by the University of Roehampton has been considering this in the London borough of Southwark. Although developing this theme is beyond the scope of this article, further targeted work would be useful in helping to protect the special character of listed Anglican buildings which are still in use as churches but are now owned by other Christian bodies and fall within the secular listed building system.

What would help ensure enhanced protection of historic places of worship?

One pressing need is to establish a clearer criterion for assessing significance for twentieth-century church buildings – this would be a first step towards a thematic approach to twentieth-century church buildings and help decision-makers have a context for assessing their value. Ensuring that protection via listing is appropriate for twentieth-century church buildings is a priority.[9]

More generally, I suggest that many of the arguments and issues surrounding decision-making with regard to the re-use of closed churches apply equally to consideration of extended use solutions for churches still in use by the Church of England. For both of these there are areas where we need better evidence, and greater clarity on the impact of change. As ever the core of the issue is defining character through identifying agreed or at least mutually accepted values.

What, then, would help with the practicality of managing sound decision-making and even, perhaps, streamlining everyone's efforts when seeking extended use or re-use solutions – that is, for obtaining a sustainable future? I believe we need four things:

1. Mechanisms for agreeing on understanding of 'authenticity' and 'sustainability', and issues of 'significance'
2. Better understanding of the effectiveness of extended (or shared) use of live church buildings in preventing closure
3. Better evidence on the sustainability of re-use solutions once churches are closed, and their impact on character
4. Evidence on how the social, economic and demographic profile of areas allows us to assess viability of extended use or re-use functions

Obviously these are flagged as suggestions rather than a must-do list – and any real advance will require agreement between parties about what would help.

Thomas Erne, a German theologian, recently said 'it is assumed that churches are a sign of general social acceptance of religion' and 'as effective symbols (in use) they should be preserved but changes must not run contrary to the character of the building'.[10] This reminds me of Philip Larkin's account of visiting a church in his poem 'Church Going':

> . . . Back at the door
> I sign the book, donate an Irish sixpence,
> Reflect the place was not worth stopping for.

The fundamental question is, how can change – to a church building in use or closed – be allowed without ending up as a church like Larkin's – a place no longer worth seeing.

Acknowledgements
I owe the Church Commissioners a debt of gratitude for providing access to their database, and to Andrea Mulkeen and Giona Mckenzie in particular for support and guidance in its analysis. All errors, however, remain my own.

Notes

1 Marcus Binney and Peter Burman, *Change and Decay: the future of our churches* (London, 1977), p. 27.

2 Thomas Hardy, 'Memories of church restoration in 1906' (paper delivered to SPAB and published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, July, 1906; reprinted in E. Brennecke (ed.), T*homas Hardy, Life and Art: Essays, Notes and Letters Collected for the First Time, with an Introduction by Ernest Brennecke, Jr.* (New York, 1925)).

3 Readers will probably be familiar with the introduction of the Pastoral Measure 1968 (which came into force in 1969) and which followed on from a series of reports commissioned by the Church Assembly (as the predecessor to the General Synod) including the Bridges report of 1960 . In essence the Measure was a response to the reduction in clergy numbers (see e.g. http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1968/may/13/pastoral-measure (accessed 12 June 2013)). Amongst other things this Measure enabled greater flexibility in the range of options available for re-using Anglican churches. The report led to the setting up of the Advisory Board for Redundant Churches, and the Redundant Churches Fund, now the Churches Conservation Trust (CCT), highlighted by the Council of Europe in 1989 as a worthy model for other countries. This system for closure was augmented by the Revised Pastoral Measure in 1983 and superseded by the Mission and Pastoral measure of 2011 which came into force on 1 July 2012. This legislation is concerned with the reorganisation of parishes as a whole rather than exclusively the church building, although it takes on board the impact of such reorganisation on the possible redundancy of church buildings. The system requires information to be recorded by the Church Commissioners, who are the body responsible for deciding on solutions to closure. A major effort on the part of the Closed Churches section of the Commissioners has led to the computerisation of all their Pastoral Measure records in the last few years.

4 This, as other terms in this paper, are drawn from the Church Commissioners categories used for logging redundant church futures.

5 For example, as discussed later in the paper, town churches form a high proportion of closures. These town churches are almost certainly less likely to be listed than rural ones.
6 R. Morris *Churches in the Landscape* (1989), page 335.
7 From a talk given on 'Reuse of Religious Heritage in the Netherlands' by Ben de Vries, spokesman of the Cultural Heritage Agency in the Netherlands, EHHF Vienna and Bratislava, May 2009.
8 At present when considering non-Anglican faith use the only option available to the Church Commissioners is the use of the building by other Christian faith groups.
9 This is a planned project (NHPP 4D1: project in 2013): http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/professional/protection/national-heritage-protection-plan/plan/activities/4d1
10 Quoted in G. Weiss, 'Closure of Protestant and Catholic Churches in Germany', 2009, accessed April 2013 from http://ehhf.english-heritage.org.uk/upload/pdf/Weiss.pdf?1368488735

OBITUARY: Terry Friedman (1940–2013)

This is an abbreviated version of the obituary by Evelyn Silber of the University of Glasgow, which appeared in The Sculpture Journal*, 2013. It is reproduced here by kind permission.*

Terry Friedman, who has died aged 72, was a rare being: a scholar curator working in a regional museum, and an outstanding architectural historian, educator and collector. Between 1969 and 1993, as Keeper of Decorative Art Studies at Temple Newsam, Leeds, and, later, as Principal Keeper at Leeds City Art Gallery, where he was largely responsible for setting up the Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture, he made a major but largely unsung contribution to the cultural life of his adopted city. One of the finest architectural historians of his generation and the leading authority on eighteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture, he was the author of two classics – *James Gibbs* (Yale 1984) and the magisterial *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (Yale 2011) for which he was awarded the Berger Prize in 2012.

Born in Detroit, Michigan into a liberal Jewish family, Terry attended the University of Michigan before moving to the Courtauld Institute of Art in 1964 where he wrote his doctorate on James Gibbs. In 1969 he moved to Leeds, which would be his home for the rest of his life, to run the BA in the History of Decorative Arts and Museum Studies, then a unique partnership between municipal galleries and university. Based at Temple Newsam House, the course nurtured a number of able curators and scholars who went on to heritage, curatorial and academic careers

In 1982 the Henry Moore Sculpture Galleries extension to Leeds City Art Gallery was completed. This development marked the beginning of the Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture (which in 1993 became the Henry Moore Institute). Terry moved to the Art Gallery to set it up. With a succession of able assistants, he rapidly made his mark. The inaugural exhibition, *Henry Moore's Early Carvings 1920–1940*, sensitively installed and accompanied by a scholarly, well designed catalogue, seminars and talks, set the pattern for the programme that followed. The development of archival and sculpture collections to embrace the processes of making sculpture as well as the finished product became – and has hitherto remained – a key feature of the collecting policy, buttressed by the Henry Moore Foundation's financial support.

In 1984 Terry became Principal Keeper at Leeds City Art Gallery. In this new role he and his colleagues brought about a decade of memorably beautiful exhibitions, accompanied by well researched catalogues. These shows, lavish by comparison with many municipal gallery exhibitions, were made possible by the Foundation's financial support, partnered for a period by the Arts Council's 'Glory of the Garden' funding, but it was Friedman's

drive, catholic but discriminating taste and commitment to excellence that took full advantage of the opportunities offered.

In 1993 Terry took early retirement from Leeds to dedicate himself to the massive research project on which he had already been working for several years in his spare time – a study of the architecture of eighteenth-century British churches, a huge but somewhat neglected field demanding exhaustive researches in country archives and record offices, to say nothing of trawling contemporary sources for evidence about liturgical practice, modes of musical performance and literary and social references. Projects of this scope are more usually undertaken these days by teams of university-based researchers supported by Research Council grants but Terry took this on as an independent, self-funded scholar. Tales are often told of Nikolaus Pevsner's peregrinations in the course of his epic Buildings of England series. Terry's were no less assiduous and perhaps equally idiosyncratic. Meticulously prepared for each field trip with contacts and appointments made, armed with a package of neatly pencil-written file cards, references, photocopies, photos and plans, camera and reels of film, he would establish himself at a local b&b. There he alternated his attentions between the regional record office or archive and church fieldwork. For the latter he would negotiate the hire of a car and driver (a Motown native, he never learned to drive) from a local firm. Thus, he and his gear were chauffeured from one rural church or vicarage to another, entirely focussed on the landscape and on the visits and discoveries ahead. No doubt he gladdened (and occasionally worried) many a cleric and archivist with his intense interest in and appreciation of the material in their care and the information he could impart. Anyone who chauffeured him on such a trip can also attest to his zest and humour in the chase and the delight he took in sharing his acute observations.

A stream of articles in *Georgian Group Journals and two more substantial works, Church Architecture in Leeds 1700–1799* (Thoresby Society 1996) and *The Georgian Parish Church: 'Monuments to Posterity'* (2004) preceded his authoritative study of eighteenth century English churches, the culmination of more than 20 years' work. It realisation was assisted considerably by support from the Paul Mellon Foundation.

A lifelong collector, Terry's taste embraced contemporary art and design, architectural drawings, sculpture and textiles. He was a generous donor, making substantial gifts to the Leeds City and University collections, Middlesbrough Institute of Contemporary Art, the Mellon Centre and the RIBA drawings collection.

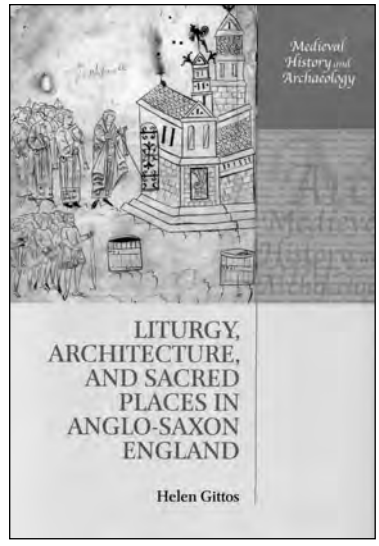
Solitary, touchy and, at times, rudely outspoken or wickedly witty in his criticisms, Terry was also immensely warm, supportive

and generous to young artists, curators and scholars whose confidence grew through his confidence in them. He would buy the work of young sculptors and made a point of attending their shows. The exhibition catalogues he masterminded were invariably sold at or even below cost price, so mindful was he of his mission as an advocate of sculpture, to ensure that students could afford them.

Architecture and art had given him a lifetime's fascination and joy. He rejoiced in passing on his enthusiasm and knowledge.

Book reviews

Helen Gittos, ***Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England***. Oxford University Press, 2013, 350 pp., 87 ills, £65 hbk, ISBN 978 0 19 927090 3



Relatively few attempts have been made to use liturgical sources to add to our understanding of the ways in which churches were used in the past, or to use buildings to add to our understanding of past liturgy. This book represents a sustained attempt to do both. Neither is an easy task. The number of liturgical texts to have survived from Anglo-Saxon England is relatively small, and almost all relate to monasteries and cathedrals, which are now only known from archaeological excavation. The physical evidence for local church buildings remaining in many of our present-day parish churches is greater but fragmentary, and its relationship to the surviving liturgies is in most respects difficult to establish. Partly in order to overcome these difficulties, Gittos not only considers the detail of the surviving liturgies themselves, but also considers what both liturgical and other written sources reveal of the ways in which churches were perceived in religious and theological terms, and the kind of religious culture they represent.

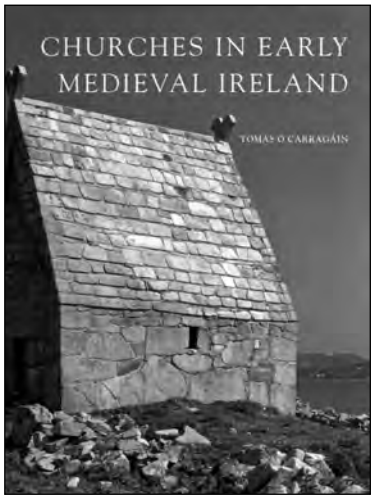
Wisely, no attempt is made to be comprehensive or definitive. Instead, discussion is focussed on specific themes: the reasons for the presence of multiple churches on many early ecclesiastical sites; processions (not least between the different churches on individual sites); surviving architectural evidence relating to the function of church buildings; consecration ceremonies (where concepts of religious space begin to take centre-stage); ways in which different liturgical customs (such as those relating to the Palm Sunday liturgy, or to marriage, for example) suggest how particular elements of the buildings (such as principal entrances) may have been appreciated, designed and used.

Within the limits of what survives, a wide range of Anglo-Saxon liturgical sources is used, set against a judiciously drawn backdrop derived from contemporary continental sources. There are detailed analyses of some rites as represented in individual manuscripts, and variations are revealed by a comparison of sources – there is, for example, a six-page table, supported by two further pages of notes, comparing church dedication rites as found in eleven books – and an Appendix provides a useful summary discussion of individual sources. Some of the analysis will not be easy reading for the non-specialist, but there are significant new insights into the forms and evolution of liturgy particularly in the later Anglo-Saxon period from which the bulk of the evidence survives. The sections of the book which deal with architectural evidence are easier going, perhaps because they contain less original detail, their strength lying more in a bringing together of a large amount of otherwise scattered material.

Taken as a whole, the book is successful in showing how different kinds of evidence can be brought together in a mutually illuminating way. Those with a serious interest in the Anglo-Saxon Church and in Anglo-Saxon churches should find much of interest in both the method

and the content. It is not – and does not claim to be – the place to look for a comprehensive overview of the development of liturgy and church use before the Norman Conquest. It is no disrespect to the work to conclude that it provides a number of stepping-stones on the way to creating such an understanding, but that current knowledge and thought mean that goal is still some way off – and may never be fully attainable given the partial nature of the evidence.

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, Oxford



Tomás Ó Carragáin, ***Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory.*** Yale University Press, 2011, 392 pp., 298 ills, £40 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 300 15444 3

It has long been appreciated that early medieval churches in Ireland stand outside the mainstream of European architectural development, displaying a remarkable attachment to single-chambered forms and to the presence of multiple churches on a site long after integration of functions and buildings had become established elsewhere in western Europe. In this book, the first comprehensive treatment of Ireland's pre-Romanesque churches for a generation, Ó Carragáin not only explores the character of the buildings and the ways in which they were used, but also proposes explanations for their particular form. The principle argument, reflected by the final element of the subtitle, is that Irish church builders, almost no matter what their position in relation to internal political divisions within Ireland, understood the form of church buildings as maintaining an association with the missionaries who first employed them. The particular form of interest in the native past, it is argued, arose during the first generations after the fifth-century conversion, when Ireland was relatively isolated from the rest of Europe, and was deeply rooted by the time it again became more fully attached to mainstream European culture a century later. The result was a form of building which partly derived from Roman (including Romano-British) traditions but also reflected an association of churches with the Temple of Solomon, and an arrangement of dispersed ecclesiastical sites which evoked the Christian cities of Jerusalem and of Rome.

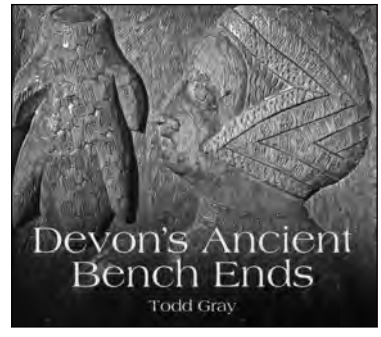
The argument is based upon detailed examination of the form and evolution of Irish churches before the twelfth century. This is not a new subject, but recent archaeological and architectural investigations have revealed new evidence, and many previous interpretations are shown – with unfailing courtesy to their authors – to be in need of modification. An example, where Ó Carragáin extends earlier revisionism, is the short chapter on dry-stone 'beehive' or corbelled structures of the tenth to eleventh centuries (exemplified by the famous Gallarus oratory, Co. Kerry) once thought to be the key to understanding early Irish churches as a whole. Here, by contrast, they are definitively shown to have had a limited geographical distribution within peninsular Kerry; the few buildings elsewhere of the same form can all be related to patrons who had reason to express an associated with the area. This is the almost the only building type, throughout the nearly seven centuries covered by the book, which can be shown to have a regional significance.

At the start of the book, the evidence for seventh- and eighth-century timber churches at major sites which provided the templates for later stone buildings is carefully teased out. Although no timber building survives, the nature of the later stone buildings enables their form and even much of their construction to be reconstructed with some certainty particularly when it is combined with archaeological evidence from Ireland and judiciously chosen parallels elsewhere in north-west Europe. The forms and features of the mortared stone buildings of the tenth to twelfth centuries are similarly subject to detailed typological and thematic analysis. As with their timber predecessors, it is argued that the simplicity of form does not preclude sophisticated symbolic resonances. Particularly striking is the evidence for the power traditional models of church building retained even after the adoption of some Romanesque architectural elements in the twelfth century. Throughout, consideration is given to the influence of patrons, both ecclesiastical and secular, and the associations individual patrons sought to cultivate through their building choices, especially in the context of competition between Dublin and Glendalough (Co. Wicklow) in relation to eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform. Of particular value is an extended exploration of the ways in which churches were used, notably in relation to the Mass, baptism and burial, which employs the physical evidence of the buildings to complement that of written sources in attempting to reconstruct something of liturgical practice and worshipping experience both before the eleventh-century Gregorian reform and during its protracted adoption.

This is a physically large book, and may at first appear daunting. It is, however, both well written and a pleasure to read, a rare quality in a work of such academic weight. The apparatus of the book – maps gathered together at the beginning, descriptive list of church sites at the end, in addition to the expected index, notes and bibliography – renders it easy to use, even for those not familiar with Irish geography, history or buildings. And the text is enlivened by generously sized plans and photographs, many of the latter in colour and of considerably beauty as well as clarity. Anyone wishing to understand the early Irish church and its physical remains, will find this book both rewarding and exceptional value for money.

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, Oxford

Todd Gray, ***Devon's Ancient Bench Ends.*** The Mint Press, Exeter, 2012, 192 pp., 300 col. pls, £17.99, pbk, ISBN 978 1 903356 61 6



This introduction to the 2500 plus medieval bench ends in Devon is well written, lavishly illustrated and nicely produced. The pictures are crystal clear, showing both whole ends and details.

An introduction covers a range of issues – terminology, previous studies of benches, a brief history of seating in churches, who made the benches and so on. The next section covers seating of the clergy and laity, dates, costs and construction of late medieval benches, and church seating 1600–1800. Finally the book chronicles the Victorian reaction against the 'wretched horse box (Georgian) pews' which led to the restoring of medieval benches and the carving of neo-Gothic ones. Devon had three important nineteenth- century companies doing the

latter, which are described in some detail. A second section examines social issues to do with church seating, post-medieval seating plans and disputes over seat possession. A lengthy final section focuses on the bench ends. Chapters cover form, designs (folk art, gothic architectural decoration, foliage, religious images, Renaissance motifs) and the craftsmen and their tools.

Though Devon bench ends have long been celebrated both for their quantity and their quality, this is the first book devoted purely to them. I have no doubt that the general public will enjoy this volume. However, it will surely irritate, as well as please, ecclesiologists. Why?

Firstly, quite a lot of the material is not about 'ancient bench ends'. The space devoted to the subsequent social and architectural history of church seating, however interesting, is only tangentially relevant.

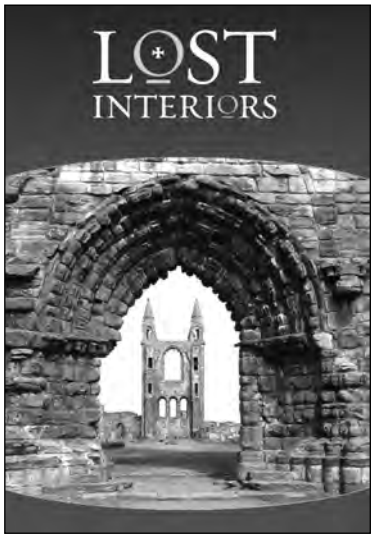
Secondly, the approach is somewhat old fashioned. Benches are treated as individual art objects, though they were usually erected as sets (see the Ecclesiological Society's own recent book on pews). Likewise the numerous close ups, though valuable in themselves, tend to isolate motives from the overall ensemble, making it hard to identify associations between general forms and specific decorative themes

Thirdly, the treatment could be more rigorous. For instance, the map showing the distribution of 'Gothic' bench ends should show that of Renaissance ends as well, in order to point up Gray's claim (surely correct) that the bench ends of south-east Devon differ in style from those of the north and west. Indeed more qualitative data (maps and tables) to underpin generalisations about styles and distribution would have been welcome. Again, some of the claims about dating (e.g. the benches at Ashcombe which are surely Jacobean) and style (the Churchstanton benches are both in Somerset now and clearly belong to the Quantock tradition not to Devon at all) seem hard to justify.

Fourthly, the book doesn't list churches with numerous, or special bench ends, so it wouldn't easily serve as a handbook for visitors. Moreover, the pictures are not numbered so one doesn't always know whether features referred to in the text are illustrated or not.

In short, this book doesn't quite know what it wants to be. However, this ambiguity will mean that it attracts several different audiences, one of which will surely be ecclesiologists!

Joshua Schwieso



David McRoberts, ***Lost interiors, the Furnishings of Scottish Churches in the Later Middle Ages.*** (ed. Stephen Mark Holmes). Aquhorties Press, Edinburgh, 2012, xxi & 250 pp, 197 pls (most in colour), ISBN 978 0 955759154

The late Monsignor David McRoberts delivered his six Rhind Lectures on the furnishings of later medieval Scottish churches to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in March 1970, and they were immediately recognised as a landmark in the developing knowledge of the pre-Reformation Scottish Church. It has therefore been a major cause of regret that his declining health meant he was unable to write up the lectures for publication before his death in 1978. We must be very grateful that they have at last been expertly edited, augmented, equipped

with a full apparatus of references, and illustrated with a rich range of images. Warm thanks are due to Stephen Holmes for undertaking this task, and to the Aquhorties Press of the Scottish Catholic Archives for publishing the results.

As is evident from the range of his publications, McRoberts had a profound understanding of both the documentation associated with the acquisition and deployment of the items that enhanced the celebration of the liturgy, and of those fixtures and furnishings that had survived. Armed with this knowledge, it was one of his missions to show that the interiors of Scotland's medieval churches must have been glorious.

In his introductory lecture he conceded that: 'the principal difficulty in assessing the standard of church furnishing ... is the very serious lack of surviving remains. The next difficulty lies in the literary sources which ... are few and differ very much in character'. Despite that caveat, the information he was able to convey to his audience was a revelation to many, as he systematically worked his way through the chief areas of the churches where the furnishings were located: sanctuary, choir, nave, sacristy, and treasury.

It is true that in places the lectures can read as something of a polemic: McRoberts was a man with a mission, and what he said lost nothing in the telling. It should also be said that he was not the first toiler in the vineyard, because important work had already been carried out by such as John Dowden, Francis Eeles and James Richardson. But he was the first to take such an all-embracing view, and what he said was almost invariably based on the firmest foundations.

He also had some remarkable discoveries to make known. It had been assumed, for example, that the hostility of the reformers to the sacrifice of the mass had meant that painted altarpieces had been almost totally obliterated, with the exception of the van der Goes Trinity College panels that had passed into the royal collection. However, McRoberts was able to demonstrate that a sadly mutilated panel at the collegiate church of Fowlis Easter was a retable with the iconography of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, a theme that was reflected in other furnishings in that church.

The last word should go to McRoberts himself, as he summed up his aims at the end of the final lecture: 'I hope I have been able to adduce sufficient evidence to show that the greater Scottish churches kept fully abreast of all developments of contemporary civilisation and ... they fulfilled this cultural function not just adequately but in a manner which must command our admiration'. He had indeed been able to do that.

Richard Fawcett, University of St Andrews

Audrey Baker, ***English Panel Paintings 1400–1558: a Survey of Figure Painting on East Anglian Rood Screens.*** Archetype, 2011, 262 pp., many col. pls, pbk, ISBN 978 1 904982 69 2

This is above all a useful book. From East Anglia, a region with such a rich late medieval legacy of art and architecture, the author has assembled a complete record of all the figurative painted schemes which survive on rood screens. These are listed and meticulously described in a gazetteer which takes up nearly half the book, and which is supplemented by two further appendices – a record of all depicted and

inscribed references to donors, and an iconographic list of subjects, with the churches in which they appear. Finally a glossary which unusually includes, amidst the technical vocabulary helpful for the study of the subject, names of scholars who have contributed to the field, though E. W. Tristram, who merits an entry here, strangely does not feature later in the bibliography. The book begins with an alphabetical list of all the churches with surviving or at least recorded rood screens and a map with their locations. Throughout there are excellent colour photographs, with the majority of sites illustrated with both general views and some fascinating details focusing on the decorative borders which are so often overlooked in relation to the figurative programmes which they frame. The text is based on Audrey Baker's unpublished PhD thesis which she wrote at the Courtauld Institute in the 1930s and 'edited, extended, and updated' by two colleagues, Ann Ballantyne and Pauline Plummer, who are conservationists. The text however does not appear to have been very thoroughly updated in terms of referring to modern scholarship and, perhaps more importantly, modern approaches to the subject. The chapters which form the body of the text deal with the subject in terms of stylistic analysis and influences, iconography, and materials and techniques. These are certainly essential for an understanding of the subject but it would have been helpful also to add sections on the impact of these furnishings as backdrops to the devotional and liturgical life of the church. There are some fascinating reflections on the influence of other media such as prints and textile designs on the paintings but curiously nothing on how parochial wall-paintings may have influenced or even visually inter-acted with the paintings on panel. The editing also is not as thorough as it might be with a number of references missing, some simplistic claims which do not do justice to the complexities of understanding medieval culture, and the odd error. Although the text shows connections with the visual culture of mainland Europe, it does not wrestle with how and through what channels influences from the continent were transmitted. It is possible to quibble further with the standard of scholarly presentation but that would be perhaps overly assiduous since the unique value of this book is its bringing together in one publication this rich heritage of English medieval paintings, many of which are largely unknown, and presenting them in such detail and with so much useful supporting material.

Catherine Oakes, Kellogg College, University of Oxford

G. A. Bremner, ***Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond.*** The Victorian Society, 2012, 160 pp., many pls (mainly col.), £25.00 pbk, ISBN 978 0 901657 53 4

Alex Bremner is proving to be a dynamo in the field of Anglican and other gothic revivals abroad. In 2010 he organised a day-long symposium for the Victorian Society in London under the title of 'Ecclesiology and Empire: Victorian Church Design Outside the British Isles, 1830–1910', which brought together eight leading scholars. This new publication, which is the latest number of the Society's 'Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design' series, and will have been received by all its members, reunites most of the speakers with the addition of Desmond

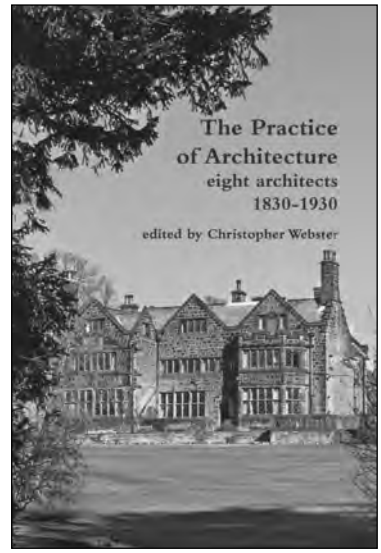
Martin, on Anglican churches in South Africa, and Miriam Dossal on Henry Conybeare in Bombay.

The book carries the subtitle 'The British Empire and Beyond', marking a slight change in emphasis from the original symposium; the reason for this is that some of the architects mentioned received their training or experience beyond the Empire. In fact, as Bremner points out in his introduction, there has been a marked shift in historians' attitude to Empire themes: he cites the New Zealand historian J. G. A. Pocock's view that 'Empire history' to date had actually been English history rather than a true survey of the lands of the Empire itself. In that spirit, this compilation brings together a number of case studies which emphasise the ways in which ecclesiology was forced to adapt itself to local climates, and of course local practices and preferences, as its proponents spread across the globe.

One of the most interesting cases is that of Christchurch cathedral, introduced here by Ian Lochhead. The building was originally designed by George Gilbert Scott with a massive timber frame within stone walls, not least because of Scott's fears about the damage an earthquake would cause to load-bearing stone piers. The local bishop preferred stone, feeling that timber was inappropriate for a cathedral. In spite of support for Scott's hybrid design from Benjamin Mountfort, the supervising architect, the use of stone prevailed with, as we all now know, disastrous consequences. Miles Lewis introduces some extremely interesting examples of the architecture that ecclesiology introduced to Australia with the help of unconventional materials, such as waterproof papier mâché, manufactured for church buildings by C. F. Bielefeld in the early 1850s; and Peter Coffman relates the story of the difficult reception that Tractarianism, and its ecclesiological architecture, 'the other side of the coin', encountered in Nova Scotia, before its eventual triumph. The whole of this little book is excellently illustrated by good quality recent colour photography, as well as by contemporary views.

Much of the writing, too, is pleasant to read, telling stories which even without pictures would be fascinating. I particularly enjoyed Michael J. Lewis' account of the wild polychromy of Jacob Wrey Mould's All Souls Unitarian Church in New York, according to the author the building that marks the arrival of High Victorian architecture in the United States. The fascinating point here is why a Congregationalist church, with its emphasis on reason, should have adopted so wild a style: was it just 'fashionable haberdashery', he asks?

Timothy Brittain-Catlin, University of Kent



Christopher Webster (ed.), ***The Practice of Architecture Eight Architects 1830–1930.*** Spire Books, 2012, 238 pp, 141 b&w pls, £34.95 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 904965 35 0

This is a fascinating overview of the work of eight architects in the century following the foundation of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1834: Henry Roberts, Culshaw and Sumners, William Hill, Bassett Keeling, Edward Prior, Harold Peto and Thakeray Turner. The volume covers the evolution of their architecture practices and often highlights their significant ecclesiastical workloads.

Overall it presents a revealing picture of wide-ranging building projects emanating from very different, but highly successful, architectural offices. The principals clearly did not lack ambition or flair, and as the editor rightly points out, their achievements and impact are far greater than the sum of the parts. This is a century where the book's text and illustrations show that the building industry was in good heart, and the focus on exemplars of considerable entrepreneurial talent is both refreshing and revealing. Photographs, plans and sections cover interesting ground and do not neglect cherished close-up details

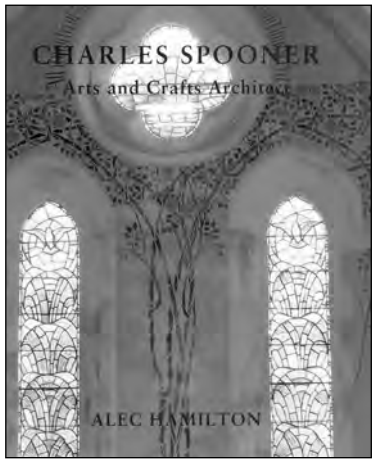
Much of the value of the book relates to the way the editor and authors have touched upon a rich vein of architectural material rarely seen and, as a consequence, little discussed or analysed. In the case of the Methodist New Connexion, churches, such as Hill's Halifax Salem, deserve a special mention and his early success was directly related to his commitment to the denomination. Here was an architect more than willing to provide whatever his clients wanted. This theme runs throughout the text: budgets were critical to what might be achieved. Projects on the whole were not cheap but, throughout the century, buildings and land appear as worthy and significant investments.

Hill's work took him the length and breadth of the country. He was never afraid to enter competitions and even established a reputation as an 'inveterate competitor'. His near contemporary Bassett Keeling was also ambitious and succeeded in producing some memorable and inventive churches. Equally important is the work of Thackeray Turner, who was committed to protecting the building heritage and enjoyed a long career, best remembered for his role as a conservationist. However, his other work reveals buildings rich in originality and integrity, well displayed in his churches, such as St. Anselm's, Davis Street, London.

In summary, we have an overview of the work of multi-talented practitioners. They are all of interest and several reached the very top of their profession. Nobody could deny the impressive diversity of their output and together they reveal something of the enormous variety of activity that comprised architectural practice in this period. The breadth of a century of imaginative activity deserves wider recognition. The eight men featured could all claim they had a thorough architectural education, but what is very clear is that their training in no way straight-jacketed how their careers developed. Each individual essay reminds us that we have much to learn from highly diverse and often very dynamic architectural practices.

Ultimately the strength of the volume is that is leaves the reader wanting to know more. It is very much 'the tip of the iceberg'. The editor has established a formula others should be encouraged to follow. Equally judicious editorial handling across the architectural spectrum will doubtless help to delight and inform us all.

John Taylor, Higher Education International



Alec Hamilton, ***Charles Spooner Arts and Crafts Architect.*** Shaun Tyas, 2012, 306 pp., 276 col. pls, £45.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 907730 21 4

'Who – and what – was Spooner?' asks Alec Hamilton in a concluding chapter to this exhaustive study of the elusive Charles Spooner, 'a

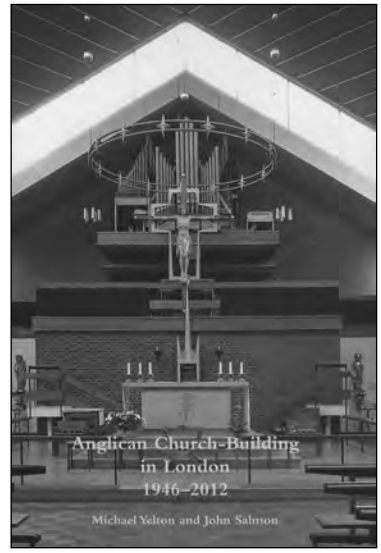
capable, though not a great architect'. Many readers, indeed, will be familiar with his name only from that useful, if eccentric, compendium, *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, which appeared under the editorship of Spooner and Charles Nicholson in 1911. The book contains accounts of five churches by Nicholson, but just one by Spooner – St Christopher, Haslemere, indisputably the latter's finest work. Spooner's brief, and rather dry, introductory essay focuses on practical issues of church planning – we get no sense of the man from it. Much of Spooner's life remains shrouded in mystery: Hamilton was unable to unearth a single portrait or photograph of his subject. Spooner wrote little and eschewed controversy – his character was 'non-militant, accepting and calm', with none of the fire of the Arts and Crafts.

Was Spooner really an 'Arts and Crafts architect' at all? His credentials were sound: membership of the Art Workers' Guild, SPAB, and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society and a teaching post at the Central School, reflecting Lethaby's regard for his ability as a furniture designer. Christopher and Veronica Whall were close friends. (Spooner's artist wife Dinah collaborated with her husband on a number of projects – it would be good to have a fuller account of her career.)

With the exception, however, of Haslemere, there is little in Spooner's church work to suggest an affinity with that of Lethaby, E. S. Prior and Randall Wells. His regard for the crafts is in no doubt but is nowhere made explicit in his buildings in the manner of, say, Roker or Brockhampton. For Hamilton, this is to his credit: 'the work is detailed, and careful, but it is rarely "arty" ... It is characterised by modesty and dignity – his desire was ... to do good'. Sadly, Spooner's churches reflect this cautious outlook. St Bartholomew, Ipswich, is a relatively conventional, competent exercise in the Bodley manner, never fully realised to the original designs after funds ran out. Spooner's last church, St Paul, East Ham, completed in 1933, is a more original work, though now spoiled by drastic reordering. His entry to the 1932 Guildford Cathedral competition is remarkably *retardaire,* with none of the flair he displayed 30 years earlier in the extraordinary rood screen for St Anselm, Hatch End (a church of the 1890s by F. E. Jones).

None of this is to detract from Hamilton's achievement in chronicling the work of a minor, but not insignificant, church architect or from that of the remarkable publisher, Shaun Tyas, in producing a handsome volume. Only occasionally does a lack of familiarity with the wider field slip through. How odd to describe F. C. Eden (two years younger than Spooner) and G. Fellowes Prynne (born 1852) as 'young Turks' in 1905.

Ken Powell



Michael Yelton and John Salmon, ***Anglican Church Building in London 1946–2012.*** Spire Books, 2013, 330 pp., many b&w pls, £29.95 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 904965 44 2

Sequels are not always a good thing but this one is an eagerly awaited follow up to Michael Yelton and John Salmon's *Anglican Church-Building in London 1915–1945* also published by Spire Books, in 2007. The gazetteer format of the first volume has been followed although in a smaller format, with a short textual description and a small black and

white photograph of the exterior and interior from west to east end of each church. Its great virtue is its comprehensiveness and it covers all new and substantially rebuilt churches in Greater London since 1946, thus in five Church of England dioceses: London, Southwark, Rochester, Chelmsford and St Albans; but arranged by London Borough. However, the task was much greater this time round than the inter-War volume with an astonishing 250 churches. This also precluded extending it to Roman Catholic churches, which also need to be covered in such a volume as so many interesting ones were built in London in the 1950's and 1960's.

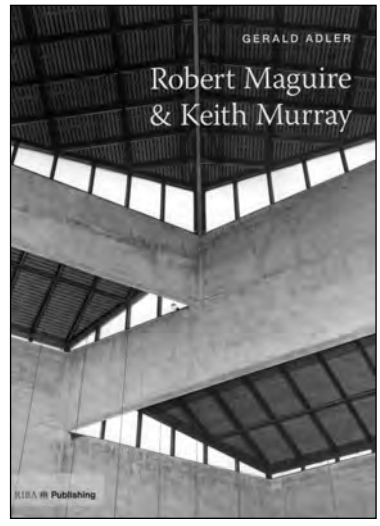
The reasons for so many Anglican churches being built were varied: completing churches started before the war, once permits allowed church construction again in the mid 1950's; replacing churches damaged by bombing, with a large number in South London in particular destroyed by flying bombs; a few in areas of new post-War settlement in outer London like Northolt (Ealing), New Addington (Croydon) and Harold Hill (Havering); and, by the 1960's and 1970's, replacing Victorian churches too large for their declining congregations with supposedly more manageable modern versions. Even some of these replacement churches have since closed or been demolished because of demographic change. Yelton cites Southwark Diocese as being overly ambitious in its post-War replacement programme in Inner South London with a number of 1950's churches closed up or deconsecrated particularly a couple by Thomas F. Ford in a neo-Regency style and embellished with murals by Hans Feibusch. However, seven of their collaborations remain open for worship in Southwark Diocese (and one in Rochester Diocese).

Yelton's take on the churches is not that of an architectural historian but of a Catholic Churchman. He stresses in his Introduction that innovative churches reflecting the thinking of the Liturgical Movement are very much the exception, such as the Grade I listed St Paul's, Bow Common by Maguire and Murray. Their austerity and asceticism did not appeal universally. Far more typical of Anglo-Catholicism are refined expressions of churchmanship in a pared down Gothic or Romanesque by established inter-War practitioners such as Cachemaille-Day and Edward Maufe (working until the 1960's) and J Harold Gibbons (working until the 1950's).

However, the beauty of this book is that it covers all new London C of E churches including those by architects whom I've barely heard of such as the prolific R. G. C. Covell in the 1950's and 1960's, and others by Biscoe and Stanton in the 1970's, all of which no doubt will repay further study. The only criticism I would make is that the promise of the cover with its excellent colour picture of the corona and rood of the threatened St Mary and St Nicholas, Perivale (by Laurence King) is not carried over into the text. There the illustrations are all black and white and in quite small format probably on cost grounds and which do not always do full justice to the interiors. Nonetheless, Yelton and Salmon's book is an invaluable information source for the twentieth century enthusiast.

Robert Drake, Trustee, Twentieth Century Society

Gerald Adler, ***Robert Maguire & Keith Murray, Twentieth Century Architects***. RIBA Publishing, 2012, 206 pp., many col. and b&w pls and line-drawn plans, £20.00 pbk, ISBN 978 1 85946 165 5



Whilst much has been written over the last forty or more years about the work of Robert Maguire and Keith Murray and the architectural practice of Maguire and Murray, and about their pioneering work in the design of new churches in particular, the publication of a coherent study of their practice and work has been long overdue. The publication of this well written and beautifully illustrated monograph in the excellent series of reasonably priced, soft-back volumes on twentieth century architects published by the RIBA in conjunction with The Twentieth Century Society and English Heritage is thus most welcome.

Whilst at first sight the churches of Maguire and Murray may seem to mark a major departure from traditional church architecture in England, particularly for those who delight in ancient parish churches and the work of the great architects of the Gothic Revival and the early years of the twentieth century, closer examination of their liturgical planning, their simplicity of expression and their significant spiritual quality will reveal for those of open mind and sensitivity to the numinous, a clear understanding of the past and a discernible continuity from the early churches of Britain.

Although the projects undertaken by Robert Maguire (b.1931) and Keith Murray (1929–2005) from the late 1950s to the recent past, extend across diverse building types, and include new buildings and extensions for schools and colleges and diverse housing and other schemes, all of undoubted interest and merit, it is for church architecture that they are best known. Quite rightly, Gerald Adler gives particular attention to this key aspect of their work. As he notes in the introduction to the relevant section of the book:

> The church, as building type and institution, was the rock on which Robert Maguire and Keith Murray founded their partnership. The Church of England, and subsequently other Christian denominations, were faithful clients of the practice. Six new church buildings span the 1960s; taken together, they demonstrate the maturing art of Maguire and Murray and the development of their architectural craft and testify to the changing architectural sensibilities undergone by the practice during the decade. They are evidence that the motto from W. R. Lethaby, 'nearness to need', adopted by the practice was an apt phrasing for their architecture of economy and appropriate symbolic content.

Quite rightly too, Adler places the church work of the firm in the context of the liturgical reforms being advanced in the Church of England from the mid 1950s and being driven forward by figures such as Peter Hammond and bodies such as The New Churches Research Group, through which the European Liturgical Movement of the inter-War and immediate post-War years reached England. In this connection, Adler rightly observes that the impact of the movement was 'equivalent to that of the Ecclesiological Society a hundred years before in terms of changing the manner of worship in conjunction with the conventions

of architecture'. Importantly, too, Adler draws attention to the deep Christian commitment of both Maguire (a former Roman Catholic) and Murray (a liberal Anglican Catholic) and to their interest in liturgy from their earliest days.

Importantly to an understanding of the work of Maguire and Murray, Adler explains the fascinating story of how the young Maguire and Murray, from different backgrounds but with shared ideals, first met in 1952 and began to work collaboratively: the architect Robert Maguire, who, before his five-year course of study at the Architectural Association School had worked as an unpaid draughtsman for church architect Laurence King, and the designer Keith Murray, who, whilst studying silversmithing and jewellery in the evenings at the Central School of Arts and Crafts – then under the continuing influence of key figures of the Arts and Crafts movement – worked as the in-house designer for the church furnishers Watts & Co. at their Dacre Street showroom.

Adler devotes a significant part of the book to the churches designed by Maguire and Murray. However, anomalously, he covers the particular story of the commissioning, planning, design and construction of the most famous of the churches, St Paul's, Bow Common, London, E3 of 1955–1960 – designed by Maguire (working in association with the established church practice of Carden and Godfrey) and containing a series of mosaics designed by Murray but executed by Charles Lutyens (added between 1963 and 1968 and filling the triangular spandrel panels above the fourteen slender, circular columns that define the four sides of the top-lit central space of the church that carry the upper, brick-faced walls) – in the first section of the book devoted to biographical profiles of Maguire and Murray, and two of Maguire's early works under the highly misleading and contradictory heading of 'Humanist Brutalists'.

Whilst both Maguire and Murray had a deep interest in the work of the twentieth-century, European Modern Movement, in functionalism, and in the use of concrete for construction, it is surely for their humane interpretation of Modernism that they are celebrated. Indeed, if any art-historical label should be attached to their work, and, in particular, to their later work, such as the new buildings for the Anglican Benedictine community at St Mary's Abbey at West Malling, Kent, for Pembroke College, Oxford, for Magdalen College, Oxford, and for The King's School, Canterbury, is that of *Romantic Pragmatism* – the term first used in the September, 1983 issue of the *Architectural Review*, coined by Peter Davey, the then editor. Helpfully, Adler discusses Maguire and Murray's work in the context of Romantic Pragmatism in the fifth section of the book under the heading of 'Style'.

For the ecclesiologist, it is the third section of the book under the heading 'Church' which is most rewarding. Here may be found many fine black-and-white and colour photographs and beautifully clear line-drawings of the plans and sections of eight entirely new churches (St Matthew's Church, Perry Beeches, Birmingham; the Convent Church at West Malling, Kent; All Saints Church, Crewe; The (Canadian) Evangelical Lutheran Church of The Redeemer, Tye Green, Harlow; the Church of St Joseph the Worker, Northolt, Middlesex; the Church of The Ascension, Hulme, Manchester; and the Catholic Churches of

St. Augustine, Tunbridge Wells, and St. Bede, Basingstoke); three of the firm's many re-orderings (The Chapel of the Hostel of the Resurrection, Leeds; St Mary's Church, Thame, Oxfordshire; and St Thomas's, Heptonstall, West Yorkshire); and the creation of a church within a larger building (the Chapel in the basement of the International Lutheran Centre in Sandwich Street, London, WC1), with detailed supporting descriptions of each of the projects. Adler provides a sound and incisive analysis of each of the projects, both liturgically and architecturally, and places each in the development of the firm's work over the years from 1959 to 1988 and beyond.

Adler's book is not only to be keenly commended to all with an interest in churches and their design but may be considered to be essential reading for any ecclesiologist wishing to properly understand and fully appreciate the development of church architecture and liturgical planning in England through the last half of the twentieth century.

Paul Velluet, Chartered Architect

Peter Marlow, ***The English Cathedral.*** Merrell, 2012, 128 pp., 50 col. pls, £45.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 8589 4590 3

At one level this volume can be viewed as a feast of photography, although it does have considerable strengths above and beyond this genre. Such a comparative reference guide to the interiors of English Anglican cathedrals is clearly valuable and the high quality photography captures the details and character of empty naves. Sadly, for the reviewer, some interior activity might have added a better appreciation of human scale, ambience and user potential. Photographs taken at dawn, on occasions, loose some of the sparkle added by artificial light. Irrespective of these caveats this is undoubtedly an uplifting volume for lovers of cathedral interiors.

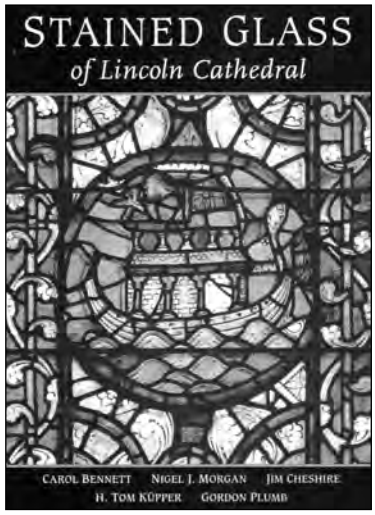
Photographs of English cathedrals before Marlow have tended to tread a path between basic architectural illustration and highly emotive expressionism. Working within strict parameters we are provided with a very different set of contemplative images. In short, this collection of photographs speaks for itself and is wonderfully informative.

There is no doubt that the disciplined use of a highly standardised format is very useful in building up a unique comparative overview. Differing architectural styles stand out and salient historical reference points are readily apparent. The concise summaries of each cathedral interior by John Goodall are all that you might expect from a distinguished architectural historian. His observations sit well alongside Peter Marlow's project commentary and technical photographic notes. These brief pointers are given added relevance by Martin Barnes' introduction on church photography in England.

Overall, the book provides us with an impressive testament to the labours of generations of Anglican cathedral buildings. Much of the background story has been told many times before but these comparative, high quality photographic perspectives lift our enjoyment to a higher plane. It deserves to become a standard historical reference

and will also attract the wider public of coffee table buyers! With luck a second edition deserves the chance to add plans and sections, all to a common scale.

John L Taylor, Higher Education International



Carol Bennett et al, ***Stained Glass of Lincoln Cathedral***. Scala, 2012, 96 pp., 102 col. pls, £15.00 pbk, ISBN 978 1 85759 774 5

This book, the results of a fruitful collaboration between scholars, educators, conservators and an expert photographer, is a sumptuous and fitting tribute to one of Britain's finest and most significant cathedral glazing ensembles. It is a model of the sort of guide book that so many of our cathedrals deserve, and so infrequently get, in that not only is it beautifully illustrated and keenly priced to sell to many visitors to the cathedral, it is also authoritatively written by authors with a passion for the building and deep knowledge of the subject. Combined with outstanding illustration, this makes it a book to be savoured by a wide readership, at home and abroad.

The scene is set with concision and elegance by Carol Bennett, in a chapter in which images taken from the windows are used to illustrate the historical and architectural development of the cathedral and its chequered post-medieval history. That anything survived the ravages of 1644 is to be marvelled at; what was left was jumbled, incoherent and scattered around the cathedral, with only the glazing of the Dean's Eye, the north-west transept rose, remaining substantially complete and in situ.

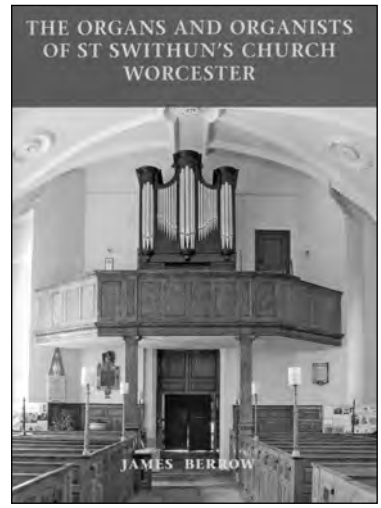
Professor Nigel Morgan's chapter on the medieval glass provides an authoritative overview of these scattered remains, 'tidied up' by the glaziers of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. His careful exposition of the development of the glazing programmes, their stylistic context and iconographic scope, establishes the exceptional importance of this depleted collection, after Canterbury, the most important collection of thirteenth-century glass in Britain, datable to the period *c.*1200–1250 and some of it therefore reflected in the sensibilities of the author of the *Metrical Life of St Hugh*. While stylistic affinities to Canterbury are noted, the importance of a more regional context is highlighted (reminding the reader of the important survivals at Beverley) and given the architectural ambition of Lincoln Cathedral it seems likely that this is an autonomous cathedral workshop specific to the city. Although only the Last Judgement in the Dean's Eye survives in anything like its full extent, Morgan offers an insight into the complex iconographic programmes that once filled the cathedral's windows, a scheme which he demonstrates to have been comparable in scope and ambition to the scheme at Chartres. The international significance of this glass was first established by Professor Morgan in his *Corpus Vitrearum* volume, published in 1983. Here he is able to develop the story outside the constraints of a CVMA catalogue format and the discussion is fittingly illustrated with numerous colour images of the glass, now seen following two more campaigns of conservation.

The chapter on the post-medieval glass is dominated by the story of the nineteenth-century century glazing campaigns, far less well-known and generally less well-regarded outside specialist circles, despite the efforts of Canon Peter Binnall, whose listing of the nineteenth-century windows was published in 1966. Dr Jim Cheshire begins his chapter with the short-lived and ill-fated east window of 1762 by York glass-painter William Peckitt (removed in 1855) and finishes with the technical wizardry of Harry Stammers' post-War windows in the north transept, but his real story concerns the way in which national debates concerning stained glass and Victorian modernity were played out in the windows of Lincoln cathedral, in particular the discussion of the relative merits of stained glass as high art versus decorative art, exemplified in the writings of Charles Winston and G. E. Street. While Winston's importance as a stained glass historian and catalyst in the manufacture of antique glass has long been recognised, he has often been presented as something of a failure in terms of his promotion of stained glass as an art form, seen as 'backing the wrong horse' in terms of the future development of the medium. In this chapter Cheshire demonstrates the importance of Winston's contribution to an analysis of the medium as a modern art form, identifying the Archaeological Institute's Lincoln meeting of 1848 as a key moment in time. Cheshire skilfully analyses the responses of Wailes, Ward & Hughes and Frederick Preedy to the thirteenth-century architectural context of the cathedral, a discussion well-served by the excellent illustrations. Winston's advocacy of Classicism as a vocabulary for stained glass, expressed in Hedgeland's eight Bishop Kaye memorial windows of 1857 is particularly fascinating. The nearly-thirty windows made by the Sutton brothers may seem provincial and even naïve compared to the *sturm und drang* of the national debate, but drawing upon research undertaken by Tom Küpper, Cheshire places these less-than technically perfect windows in a wider context of amateur artistic endeavour in the ecclesiastical arts of the Victorian era. This chapter alone will make the book an essential addition to the bibliography.

No book on a cathedral's stained glass would be complete without a section on its conservation. Although a shorter contribution, Tom Küpper's chapter demonstrates through the presentation of a medieval and a nineteenth-century case study, the importance of the conservators' role in the preservation and appreciation of the cathedral's windows. The chapter is commendable in that not only does it describe technical processes, but also stresses that modern conservation is as much an intellectual and ethical challenge as it is a craft activity.

Particular mention must be made of Gordon Plumb's exceptional photography. For many years a contributor to the photographic archive of the Corpus Vitrearum (www.cvma.ac.uk), Gordon's outstanding contribution to this project is apparent on every page.

Sarah Brown, University of York



James Berrow, ***The Organs and Organists of St Swithun's Church Worcester.*** Positif Press, Oxford, 2013, 42 pp., 4 col. pls, 11 b&w pls, £6.00, pbk, ISBN 978 0 906894 53 8. Available from tel: 01905 354629

St Swithun's began life as one of ten ancient parishes within the walls, and at the heart, of the City of Worcester. Since 1977, the welfare of this fine building has been the responsibility of the Churches Conservation Trust. That St Swithun's survives at all is, perhaps, remarkable; that its late eighteenth-century organ has come down to us with so little alteration today is extraordinary. The instrument's rude good health today results from a root and branch restoration by the specialist firm of Goetze & Gwynn in 2009 and 2010, and the organ is used for regular recitals organised by distinguished Curator-Organist and Worcester resident, Andrew McCrae, Librarian of the Royal College of Organists.

Author James Berrow memorably refers to poverty as 'the great preserver', purporting that a parish with modest resources would be far less likely to tinker with a fine instrument than one populated by well-heeled parishioners. The superb production invariably associated with John Brennan and his Oxford-based *Positif Press* along with the highly-detailed research undertaken by Worcester-born Dr Berrow, have combined to produce a fascinating history of this great instrument, its custodians, players and others associated with its welfare for over two centuries. A fascinating page or two gives an account of those who blew the instrument prior to the installation of an electric blower; the material on organists at St Swithun's is similarly absorbing.

Dr Berrow handles the sociological implications of the parochial records of this down-town parish, its organ and its musicians, with a deft humour, providing in the process far more than is normally found in similar studies. This is a veritable model of such a publication and, importantly, one written in a manner as attractive to the novice as to the specialist. The author's persuasively enthusiastic, yet highly scholarly, style delights throughout and provides a fascinating insight into the earliest years of the Victorian era.

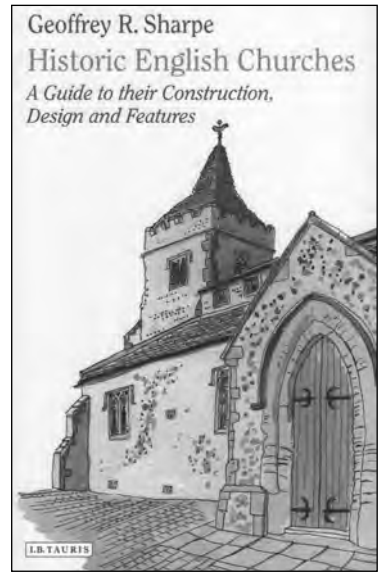
John Nicholson, who settled in Worcester in 1840, founded a business that still flourishes today as one of Britain's leading firms of craftsmen organ builders and his notable work on, and additions to, the 1795 Gray organ at St Swithun's in 1845 gave us the instrument that survives to thrill us today. Dr Berrow's book recounts the fact, substance and detail of its fortunes since 1795 with expertise, affection and discernment.

Members of the Ecclesiological Society and readers of its journal, whether lovers of musical heritage or not, will find this a fascinating study, unfolding as it does in terms of material of real interest and absorbing sociological import regarding the Worcester of yesteryear as well as the potentially highly damaging antics of local authorities and the processes of the Church of England. Praise be to Dr Berrow and his like, and to the hard-working staff of that great institution, the Churches Conservation Trust.

Let us, too, not forget those generations of citizens of the 'faithful city' who laboured, and labour still in support of the fortunes of this fine church and its splendid organ. The upkeep and welfare of churches like St Swithun's is far harder to sustain without such vital and essential local commitment.

Simon Lindley, Organist of Leeds Minster and Leeds Town Hall

Geoffrey R. Sharpe, ***Historic English Churches – A Guide to their Construction, Design and Features.*** I. B. Tauris, 2011, 260 pp., many drawings and b&w photos, £12.99 pbk, ISBN 978 1 84885 189 4



For those wishing to extend their understanding and appreciation of the nature of historic English churches beyond the confines of art and architectural history, Geoffrey Sharpe has provided a lucid and most attractive book.

From the perspective of a chartered surveyor with a declared enthusiasm for historic English churches which draws upon direct and relevant experience accruing from over forty years working in the care and management of historic buildings and serving as a member of a Diocesan Advisory Committee, Geoffrey Sharpe has given us a most useful and informative work, complementing his parallel *Traditional buildings of the English Countryside: An Illustrated Guide.*

Tie author states that the primary aim of his book is to provide a clear insight into how the medieval craftsmen achieved such remarkably high standards without the benefit of modern technology and equipment, and to supply information that can assist in the care and protection of historic churches.

The essence of the book, and its most useful part, is the 117-page section on the construction of churches; not only examining the diverse materials used from Saxon times up to the Victorian age and the regional variations to be found, but explaining the fundamental structural elements of church buildings and the diverse techniques used in their construction. Such examination and explanation is usefully supported by a vast number of clearly presented and annotated line-drawings providing an essential aid with which the lay-reader can more fully understand and appreciate the complexity of the design and construction of churches.

The 73-page section on church architecture is a helpful complement to the section on construction providing a useful examination of architectural features and their stylistic diversity with which to identify the respective times in which they were built. The author provides a broad overview of the stylistic development in the design of English churches. However, it is reasonable to question his suggestions that 'the impact on church architecture (of the Classical style) was minimal outside London' and that only 'a few churches were built in the provincial towns and country parishes under the Classical influence'. Similarly, his reference to church architecture 'at a parish level' in Victorian times seems to be unduly brief and dismissive. As with the section on the construction of churches, the section on church architecture is supported by clearly presented and annotated line-drawings. However, some of the black-and-white photographs also included leave much to be desired in terms of composition, clarity, converging-verticals and cropping. In addition, it is unfortunate that the author has drawn upon some very old library images; those of York Minster and St Paul's in particular appearing to have been taken in distant, pre-War years.

The book is completed with useful sections on church interiors, including monuments and memorials; on miscellaneous features, such as hatchments, consecration crosses and sundials; and on techniques for investigating the development of a church.

For the ecclesiologist, the book will be a useful resource to add to volumes such as Stephen Friar's *Companion to the English Parish Church, Cecil Hewett's English Cathedral and Monastic Carpentry and Ron Brunskill's Vernacular Architecture: An illustrated handbook*.

Paul Velluet, Chartered Architect.

SHORT NOTES

Bernard A. Harrison, ***The Windows of Pinner Parish Church.*** Pinner PCC, 2012, 61 pp., 41 col. pls, £8.00, pbk, ISBN 978 0 9551423 1 4. Available from tel: 0208 866 3869

This attractively produced booklet discusses the windows of an ancient church, handsomely restored by Pearson 1878–80. After a short history and account of the various extensions to the building, the author proceeds to discuss each of the major windows, including details of subject, artist and patron. They date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and include work by some of the leading designers such as Comper, Hardman and Heaton, Butler & Bayne, as well as work by some lesser known names like Alfred Fisher.

Sarah Bailey, ***Clerical Vestments.*** Shire Publications, 2013, 64 pp, many col. pls, £6.99 pbk, ISBN 978 074781 221 0

Another fine production from Shire. This one celebrates the remarkable heritage of exquisitely embroidered vestments still contained in our cathedrals and churches. The book outlines the traditions and mysticism associated with them and the role they still play in the 'theatre' of church, and shows how colour and ornament are used in the symbolism of the Christian faith. It explores the history of vestment production to the present day, covering the practicalities of design, the sourcing of fabrics and the embroiderers themselves.

The Ecclesiological Society

The Ecclesiological Society is for all those who love churches, and are interested in their fabric, furnishings and use. The Society was founded in 1879, as a successor to the Cambridge Camden Society of 1839. It has a lively programme, including various lectures, an annual conference, and visits to churches at a range of locations in the UK. Members receive the Society's periodical, *Ecclesiology Today*, twice a year.

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

Contributions to *Ecclesiology Today*

The Editor is always pleased to receive articles for consideration for publication in *Ecclesiology Today*, or suggestions for proposed contributions, whether fully worked out or at an early stage in development. The Society wishes to encourage less-experienced authors, and the Editor is happy to provide informal support and guidance to those in this position.

In furtherance of the Society's aims, articles should promote 'the study of the arts, architecture and liturgy of the Christian Church'. They may be historical in nature, or reflect contemporary matters. They need not be restricted in time, place or denomination, and although in practice a significant number deal with Church of England churches, in recent years a wider range of material has been covered, a trend which it is wished to encourage. Articles dealing with individual buildings are welcome, although the Editor will expect the discussion to highlight matters of wider significance. The Society's interests cover a very wide field, and it is therefore important that articles should be written in a way which can be understood by anyone with a general interest in churches.

Most articles are objective and factual, but there is the opportunity for well-argued personal views on matters of general interest to be put forward in the occasional 'Viewpoint' series.

Prospective authors are invited to communicate with the Editor at the earliest possible stage. There is no formal process of refereeing, but articles will usually be sent to one or more readers for an independent opinion before acceptance for publication, and eventual publication may be dependent upon the author making such modifications as the Editor, in consultation with the readers, may recommend.

Proposed contributions should preferably be submitted by email. They should be prepared in accordance with the style guide, available on the Society's website or by application to the Editor. Authors are reminded that they are responsible for any fees and permissions required for the reproduction of illustrations.

Books for review should be sent to the Reviews Editor. Material for *Church Crawler* should be sent to the News Editor.

The Ecclesiological Society

Correspondence

Where an address is not given, members of Council can be reached at the Society's administrative address, 68 Scholars Road, Balham, SW12 0PG, or email admin@ecclsoc.org

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Membership	Valerie Hitchman
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All other matters	Trevor Cooper

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Society website: www.ecclsoc.org

The front cover shows a detail of the Hereford screen, an extravaganza of polished metal, mosaics, enamels and semi-precious stones, whose history is described in the first article in this volume. Above is the alabaster tomb monument at Horton, Northamptonshire, to Lord William Parr (d. 1546) and his wife Mary. Parr was the uncle of Catherine Parr, the last wife of King Henry VIII. Horton church is closed and awaiting sale, and this monument is one of those discussed in an article on problems affecting church monuments. (Photo: C B Newham)

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