ECCLESIOLOGY TODAY

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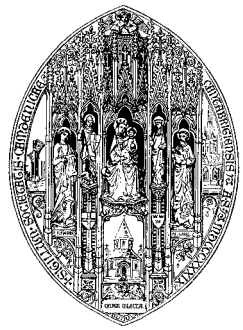

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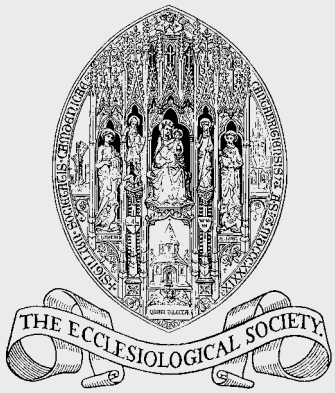

Journal of the Ecclesiological Society

Ecclesiology Today

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Chairman's letter

Dear Fellow Member

Our first article is on roof bosses, by Sue Andrew, whom I met in a church in Devon some years ago. I was photographing seventeenth-century pews, she was looking carefully at the medieval roof bosses as part of her PhD on the subject, and we got talking. Here is the result of our chance meeting, a fascinating account of the bosses in one particular church.

In the mid nineteenth century, church building and expansion was the all the fashion and was much discussed; now it is common to alter churches to make them more suitable for secular use by the local community, and this, too, deserves public debate. So I am very pleased that for the second article my colleague on the Society's Council, Becky Payne, has written about the challenges that congregations face when making this type of change to their church building.

The third article discusses the interiors, and particularly the seating, of Manx churches, and shows how this group of buildings has developed different norms from those found elsewhere in England. I found the article raised fascinating questions in my mind about the what-ifs of history.

Finally there is a group of pieces about the great church architect William Butterfield, triggered by his 200th birthday celebrations, including a description of the work carried out on his tomb by the Society, supported by generous donations from Society members and others.

❖ ❖ ❖

We have been saddened to learn of the deaths of John Henman and Professor Kenneth Murta. Both were members of Council, and both played an important role in developing the Society in the transition it has undergone since its revivication in the late 1970s. John Henman was the Society's loyal and hardworking Membership Secretary for several decades, and many current members will have had dealings with him over the years. Kenneth Murta, an eminent architectural historian, became Editor of what was then the Society's *Newsletter* and converted it to *Ecclesiology Today*, for the first time running articles as well as news; and from those early beginnings in the 1990s, the publication you hold in your hand has developed. We are grateful for the memory of both, and our thoughts are with their loved ones in their loss.

❖ ❖ ❖

I am pleased to say that Nick Chapple has agreed to take up the role of Editor of *Ecclesiology Today*, beginning with the next issue. The Council warmly welcome Nick, and look forward to working with him as he takes the publication forward. As part of this development, this front page will in future hold an Editorial, rather than a *Letter* from the Chairman; Society business will be carried in loose inserts.

Trevor Cooper, Chairman of Council

Facing sin: late medieval roof bosses in Ugborough church, Devon

Susan Andrew

Having completed a PhD on 'Late Medieval Roof Bosses in the Churches of Devon' in June 2011, and a post-graduate Diploma in Architectural Conservation in June 2013, Sue Andrew is keen to raise awareness of both the richness and vulnerability of medieval carving in our parish churches.

IN 1948 CHARLES JOHN PHILIP CAVE published *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches: an Aspect of Gothic Sculpture,* his *magnum opus.*[1] This work was based on twenty years of research, during which time Cave took over 8000 photographs, mostly in cathedrals and great churches. Cave recognised, however, that much remained to be recorded, particularly in parish churches. He expressed the hope that his book would 'awaken an interest in the subject and result in the recording of many more roof bosses'.[2] For many years though, Cave's hope remained unfulfilled as little new recording was carried out.

In 2005 I embarked on a project to record and analyse roof bosses in parish churches across Devon, one of three West Country counties which Cave had identified as being particularly rich in these carvings. Focusing on figural bosses rather than foliate, the study was written up as a PhD thesis in 2011.[3] The oak bosses of parish churches are far more vulnerable to damage and decay than the great stone bosses of the cathedral, and in this article, I shall focus on one church, Ugborough, where fifteenth-century oak bosses, among the most technically accomplished in Devon, are under threat.[4]

Ugborough is a large rural parish which stretches from the fertile lands of the South Hams northwards onto Dartmoor. The parish church (Fig. 1) may have been dedicated to St Michael before the Reformation, but, if so, it was forgotten, and the dedication is now to St Peter.[5] Set in an ancient earthwork, above what was once the village green, the church is an imposing building, consisting of chancel, nave, north and south aisles, north and south transepts, north and south chancel chapels and north vestry, north and south porches and a west tower.

The twelfth-century font and a reference in a Plympton Priory document of 1121 suggest that there was probably a church on the site by 1100. However, several phases of building and rebuilding established the predominantly late medieval church that we see today. The chancel, nave, and north and south transepts, date to the early fourteenth century, the high altar being dedicated or re-dedicated in 1311, the nave and aisles in 1323.[6] The aisles were subsequently rebuilt in the fifteenth century, with the chancel chapels, vestry, and north porch also dating to this period; the west tower was completed *c.*1520, though was rebuilt after a lightning strike in 1872.

Fig. 1: St Peter's, Ugborough, Devon, view from north west.

The roofs at Ugborough

Regarding the roofs, in 1847 James Davidson recorded that 'the ceilings of the nave and chancel are coved and plain, those of the aisles flat. That of the north aisle has been handsomely enriched with ribs of carved oak with numerous bosses of various designs in figures and foliage'.[7] In 1922, following late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century restoration, Beatrix Cresswell commented that:

> The wagon roofs are plastered in the nave, and in the chancel renewed with plaster and purlins. The roof of the south aisle is a restoration, flat ceiled, and similar in construction to the magnificent roof of the north aisle, which is one of the finest features of the church.[8]

The north aisle ceiling, largely fifteenth century with some later repair, is still remarkably fine. It is divided into square panels with moulded oak ribs and purlins, each panel being divided with diagonals, and with oak bosses covering the intersections of all timbers (Fig. 2).[9] Unlike the stone bosses of the cathedral which serve as keystones, the oak bosses of the parish church tend to be non-structural, but at Ugborough, as elsewhere, the carvings afford a sense of completion to the roof. In the north aisle, sixteen bosses along the centre purlin are the largest and most elaborately carved (12 foliate and 4 figural), with fifteen half-bosses where the

timbers meet the north transept and nave arcade (10 foliate and 5 figural). At the intersections of the diagonals are 34 smaller bosses (23 foliate and 11 figural). Interestingly no polychromy is now evident on any of the Ugborough bosses, though this does not mean that they were never coloured.

Along the north wall, most timbers are supported on rough stone corbels, presumably those inserted in 1752–3 when Thomas Stentaford was paid for:

> cleaving of stones out in the moore... working the form of the stons... for making the skofolds for puting the stons up under the beams over the North aley...[and for] taking out of the ends of the beams & inlarging the hoals & puting [the stons] in… '[10]

Fig. 2: North aisle ceiling, St Peter's, Ugborough. There are more than 60 bosses and half-bosses in the ceiling.

This was a major undertaking, but was clearly necessary at that time to stabilise the ceiling.[11]

In 1957, some two hundred years after the corbels were inserted, deathwatch beetle was identified. In April 1958 the Parochial Church Council minutes recorded: 'The ornamental bosses and other work is *(sic)* in a very bad state... If possible the ceiling should be saved. This would cost £750, a new ceiling similar to that in the S. Aisle would cost about £400.' In January 1959 the vicar reported that 'the condition of the N. Aisle ceiling is much worse than had been expected. This would increase the original estimate'.[12] Fortunately, the money was found for the necessary repairs and the ceiling was saved. In the late 1980s an electrical fire, which started in the nave, caused charring and smoke damage to some bosses at the east end of the north aisle.

Most roofs in Devon churches are slate-covered wagon or barrel roofs, but the north aisle roof at Ugborough is flat and lead-covered and herein lies the problem. Deficiencies in the covering, particularly where the aisle roof abuts the nave and tower, have resulted in repeated ingress of water, causing damp staining to the ceiling and creating an environment in which rot and wood-boring beetles thrive. A report by conservator Lynne Humphries, after an inspection from a tower scaffold in April 2014, revealed that many timbers are in vulnerable state with damage caused by deathwatch beetle, especially to the nosings of mouldings and to the rear of bosses (Fig. 3), charring, cracking caused by corrosion of ferrous fixings, and dry rot to inset panels, all compromising the stability of the ceiling.[13]

To date then, the timbers of the north aisle ceiling have been ravaged by fire, flood, and pest, with each exacting its toll. It is

Fig. 3: Deathwatch beetle damage to boss, St Peter's, Ugborough.

imperative that the lead is replaced as soon as possible and at the time of writing grant-funding is being sought so that work may proceed.

The background to the Ugborough roof bosses

The bosses at Ugborough are quite exceptional in terms of the quality of their carving, although, sadly, we know nothing of the men who carved them. While Cave noted 'a striking likeness to those at Sampford Courtenay and South Tawton', where several motifs are certainly similar, upon close inspection of detail it appears unlikely that the bosses in these three churches were carved by the same hand.[14]

Regarding the iconography of the figural bosses, this is of great interest as it casts light on the concerns of largely illiterate parishioners some six hundred years ago. Before looking at specific motifs, however, we should consider their religious, decorative, and social context. According to statutes promulgated by Bishop Peter Quinil of Exeter in 1287 and still in use in the fifteenth century, religious worship in the diocese was intended to be spiritually 'medicinal'.[15] Christ was the doctor through whom the disease of the soul, sin, could be cured. From his wounds flowed the sacraments which were the means to salvation, their dispensation being the principal ministry of priests. In the statutes and an appended *summula* (a handbook for confessors), particular emphasis was placed on the sacrament of penance, since this was the only sacrament that was both essential for salvation and repeatable.

Consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction following priestly absolution, penance had a marked influence, directly and indirectly, on the decoration of the church building. At Doddiscombsleigh church, mid Devon, fifteenth-century stained glass portrays a priest receiving the confession of a penitent while other parishioners stand in prayer awaiting their turn (Fig. 4). In Branscombe church, east Devon, a fifteenth-century wall painting warned against the seven deadly sins which were the cause of spiritual sickness. The fragment which survives shows a devil with a long lance piercing the bodies of a finely-dressed courting couple (Fig. 5) and is thought to refer to the sin of lust.

Parishioners were left in no doubt as to what would happen if they died unshriven, for large-scale depictions of the Day of Judgement, or Doom, painted on walls or in stained glass, revealed the horrors that awaited. While the saintly were rewarded with the keys to heaven, the unredeemed were pitchforked by devils into the gaping maw of hell. A fragment of fourteenth-century stained glass from a Doom which survives in Bere Ferrers church, some

22 miles distant from Ugborough, amply displays the terror of a soul as she awaits judgement (Fig. 6).

It was within this religious and decorative context, then, that the roof bosses of Ugborough were carved. Given the style of headdresses portrayed, particularly the horned headdress worn by several of the female heads, this was probably during the second quarter of the fifteenth century when William Browning, a canon at Exeter cathedral, was the rector of Ugborough church (1422–1454).[16] William was born and brought up in Ugborough, his personal patron saint being Michael, to whom the church may have been dedicated.[17] William's will is of particular interest, for among his bequests are a set of altar vessels to Ugborough church and money for the relief of the poor of his parish. For his funeral at Exeter cathedral, William requested that twenty-four literate boys, dressed in black and carrying candles, were to be paid to

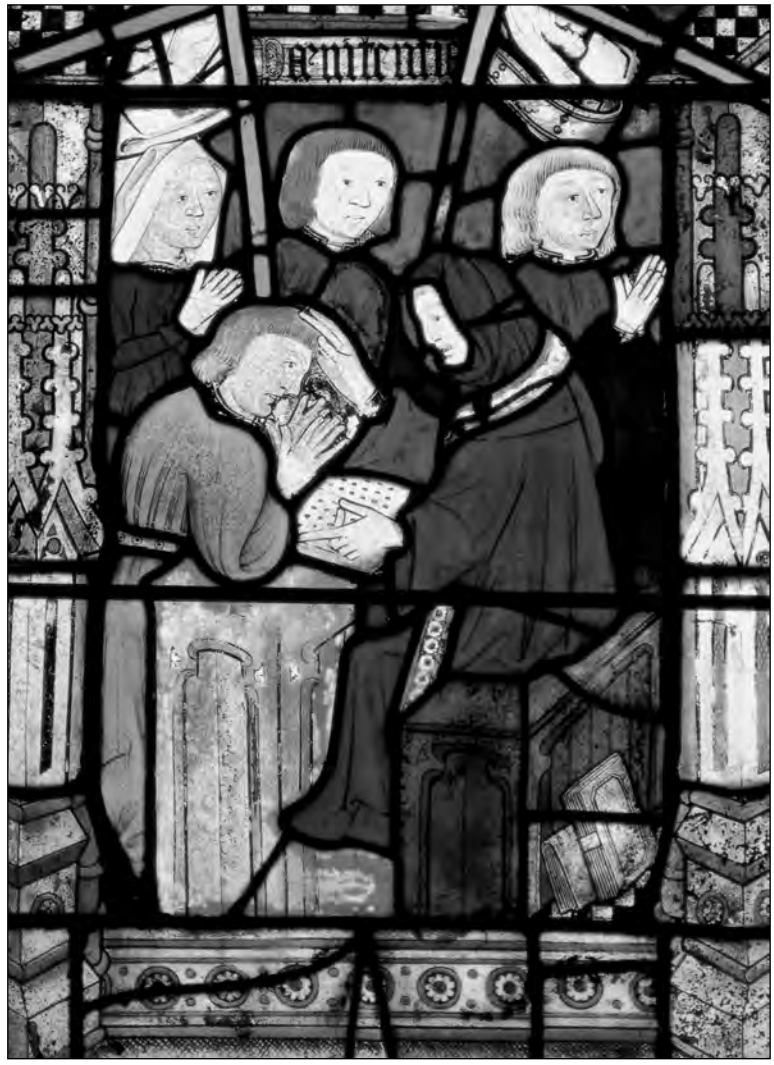

Fig. 4: Detail of penance, in the stained glass from a fifteenth-century seven-sacrament window, St Michael's, Doddiscombsleigh, Devon.

Fig. 5 (above): Fragment from a fifteenth-century wall painting of the seven deadly sins showing the sin of lust, St Winifred's, Branscombe, Devon. The couple are being pierced by a long lance, wielded by a devil (to the left of the picture).

Fig. 6 (left): Fragment from an early fourteenth-century stained glass Doom showing terrified soul rising from grave, now in east window, St Andrew's, Bere Ferrers, Devon.

attend. If possible, these boys were to be from Ugborough, and a parish in north Devon where William was also rector, Berrynarbor.[18]

William demonstrated his care and concern for Ugborough and its parishioners in his will and, as its long-serving rector in the early to mid-fifteenth century and a native of the parish, it is likely that he was involved in the project to rebuild its chapels and aisles.[19] Indeed he may well have influenced the design of the roof bosses in the north aisle, even if he did not fund the carving himself.[20]

In the latter stages of his career, William was engaged especially in pastoral work. On twelve occasions he was appointed a penitentiary by Bishop Lacy to hear the confessions of local clergy, including those at Ugborough.[21] This necessitated his absence from the cathedral during Lent, but was important for the spiritual health of the diocese since local clergy could not forgive the sins of others while oppressed by their own. The statutes required that confessors of clergy were chosen from those known to be particularly suited to the task through their 'knowledge and merits', and it is clear that Browning enjoyed his bishop's full confidence in this respect. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that a penitential theme may also be detected in the figural bosses in the north aisle.

Interpreting the roof bosses

However, interpreting medieval motifs is fraught with difficulty since each may have been imbued with a multiplicity of meanings at that time and post-medieval myth-making often confuses the issue further.

A case in point is that of the most frequently occurring figural image at Ugborough, and indeed on figural bosses throughout Devon – the foliate head. This is a carving of a human head from which emanates foliage of various kinds, most commonly through the mouth, but sometimes through ears, nose, and eyes. Figure 7 is one of possibly 11 foliate head bosses in the north aisle, all of them quite different. Often the brow is furrowed (Fig. 8) giving the head an anguished appearance.

It is noteworthy that there are many fine examples of the motif in Exeter cathedral, in the form of roof bosses (Fig. 9), but also carved on misericords, corbels and capitals. Indeed, the early use of the foliate head at the cathedral may have influenced later carvings in parish churches, which can be found in the chancel, as well as nave and aisles, indicating their relevance to clergy as well as the laity. For example, a beautifully carved foliate head, more benign than many, may be seen in the chancel at Sampford Courtenay church, west Devon (Fig. 10).

The motif has been the subject of much fanciful speculation, being given the appellation 'the Green Man' in an influential, if misleading, article by Lady Raglan in 1939, and with C. J. P. Cave himself suggesting, with little evidence to support his claim, that 'the sprouting figures... may have been intended for fertility figures or charms of some sort by their carvers'.[22] However, within the fifteenth-century church in Devon, interpretation of the foliate head was probably entirely consistent with the medicinal nature of religion, in particular two parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition and confession.

The head contained many portals through which the disease of sin could enter the body: eyes, ears, nose, and mouth.[23] In order to attain salvation, this sickness had to be expurgated by bringing it out through the mouth in confession. The furrowed brows of many of the foliate head bosses may have been intended to emphasise their contrition.

A penitential interpretation for the foliate head accords with Chaucer's declaration in *The Parson's Tale* that:

> penitence... may be likned unto a tree. The roote of this tree is Contricioun, that hideth hym in the herte of hym that is verray repentaunt,... Of the roote of Contricioun spryngeth a stalke that bereth braunches and leves of Confessioun, and fruyt of satisfacioun... Penaunce is the tree of lyf to hem that it receyven.[24]

At the east end of the north aisle at Ugborough, where it abuts the transept, is another head with open mouth: that of a horned devil with its tongue out (Fig. 11). The tongue could be 'a restless evil, full of deadly poison',[25] and where devils are carved on roof bosses in Devon, the tongue is always shown. The east end is an unusual position for this boss, though, since devil's heads are most frequently found towards the west end of the church. There is therefore a possibility that this boss has been moved at some stage. A devil (Fig. 12) carved on a boss at the west end of the north aisle at Atherington church in the north of the county, is full-figured, with bared teeth and outstretched arms and legs.

Another devil is found at Ugborough, where it perches in between the horns of a lady's horned headdress (Fig. 13). These headdresses were condemned in medieval sermons and confessors' manuals for being extravagant, outlandish, and a category of pride, a suitable place then for the devil to find a home. A similar boss (Fig. 14) can be seen in the nave at East Budleigh church, east Devon, where it was repainted in 1974 by Peter Stoff of Vienna.[26]

A boss (Fig. 15 and rear cover) with male and female heads with twisted mouths, set close together and sporting elaborate headdresses, probably refers to 'janglyng' or idle talk. Idle talk was damaging both spiritually and socially, especially in a rural

Fig. 7: Half boss of foliate head, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 8: Foliate head boss with furrowed brow, St Peter's, Ugborough. The hair style may be that of a tonsured cleric.

Fig. 9: Foliate head boss, Lady Chapel, Exeter cathedral, late thirteenth century.

Fig. 10: Foliate head boss, St Andrew's, Sampford Courtenay, Devon, fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

Fig. 11 (above): Roof boss of devil, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 12: Roof boss of devil, St Mary's, Atherington, Devon, fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

Fig. 13: Roof boss of lady with horned headdress and devil, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 14: Roof boss of lady with horned headdress and devil, All Saints, East Budleigh, Devon, fifteenth century.

Fig. 15: Roof boss of male and female heads engaged in idle talk, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 16: Roof boss of two male heads engaged in idle talk with above them the figure of Tutivillus, the recording demon, St James's, Christow, Devon, fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

community where literacy was limited. The idle words and whispers of inattentive parishioners were recorded on a scroll by the demon Tutivillus so that they could be produced on the Day of Judgement. Tutivillus appears on a roof boss (Fig. 16) in the nave at Christow church, south Devon, and elsewhere on misericords, in wall paintings, and stained glass. Unusually, the female figure at Ugborough has a much-damaged bird nestling in her headdress. The bird is probably a screech-owl, described in a medieval bestiary, a moralising book of beasts, as 'the symbol of all sinners'.[27]

Another owl, wearing a horned headdress (Fig. 17), is carved on a boss nearby, perhaps here recalling its description in a fourteenth-century homily as one of 'the devil's owls, that have big heads and little sense'.[28]

An unusual boss of a female head with headdress (Fig. 18), and dogs hanging to either side, is more of a puzzle. The dogs have their heads turned and appear to be licking themselves. This may refer to story found in a bestiary, which states that:

> As the dog's tongue licking a wound, heals it, the wounds of sinners, laid bare in confession, are cleansed by the correction of a priest. As the dog's tongue heals a man's internal wounds, the secrets of his heart are often purified by the deeds and discourse of the Church's teachers.[29]

Fig. 17: Roof boss of owl wearing horned headdress, St Peter's, Ugborough.

However, as with all the bosses, it is difficult to be sure of the interpretation and the carving may refer to a specific idiom or proverb as in the case of an equally curious boss at Meavy church, west Devon (Fig. 19). Here a bearded male head with bulging eyes, prominent nose and mouth twisted into a grimace, has the head of a mouse carved in one ear and its tail in the other. The implication is that the man is an empty-headed fool, that the Word of God goes 'in one ear and out the other', an idiom used by Chaucer and also in a medieval sermon.[30]

A boss near the north door at Ugborough is beautifully carved with a sow and her farrow lying beneath an oak tree (Fig. 20). A sow and farrow boss (Fig. 21) at Braunton church, north Devon, has been linked with a legend of the foundation of that church by St Brannoc since at least the eighteenth century.[31] This foundation legend has classical origins in Virgil's *Aeneid*, and it is certainly possible that the sow bosses may indicate a sacred site as has been suggested by some writers.[32] However, it is perhaps more likely that these bosses were interpreted in accordance with a bestiary description, which influenced medieval sermons, and where:

> sows are those who neglect their penance and return to that which they once bewailed... Those who weep for sins they have admitted put

Fig. 18: Roof boss of female head with headdress and dogs hanging to either side, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 19: Roof boss of bearded male head with mouse in ears, St Peter's, Meavy, Devon, fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

> forth the iniquity of their hearts, which were sated with evil that oppressed them inwardly. This they cast out in confession; but after confession, they begin again and take up their old ways. The sow that was washed and returns to her wallowing in the mire is filthier than before[33]

Two bosses of a sow and farrow are located in Exeter cathedral, one in the nave, and the other in the north choir aisle (Fig. 22) where William Browning lies buried. Another carving (Fig. 23), in the nave at Sampford Courtenay church, west Devon, has been sensitively repaired, probably during a restoration of the church *c.*1899.

There are three other figural bosses at Ugborough, two of male heads with headdresses, and one of a female head with headdress, whose iconography is less clear. All are positioned near the sow and farrow boss, possibly indicating a link, as yet unidentified.

A fine boss towards the west end of the north aisle at Ugborough, of a male figure forging a horse shoe (Fig. 24), is generally thought to represent St Eligius, also known as St Loye or St Eloy, patron saint of metalworkers, blacksmiths and farriers. Eligius served as an apprentice to a goldsmith in seventh-century Gaul before eventually becoming master of the mint to the

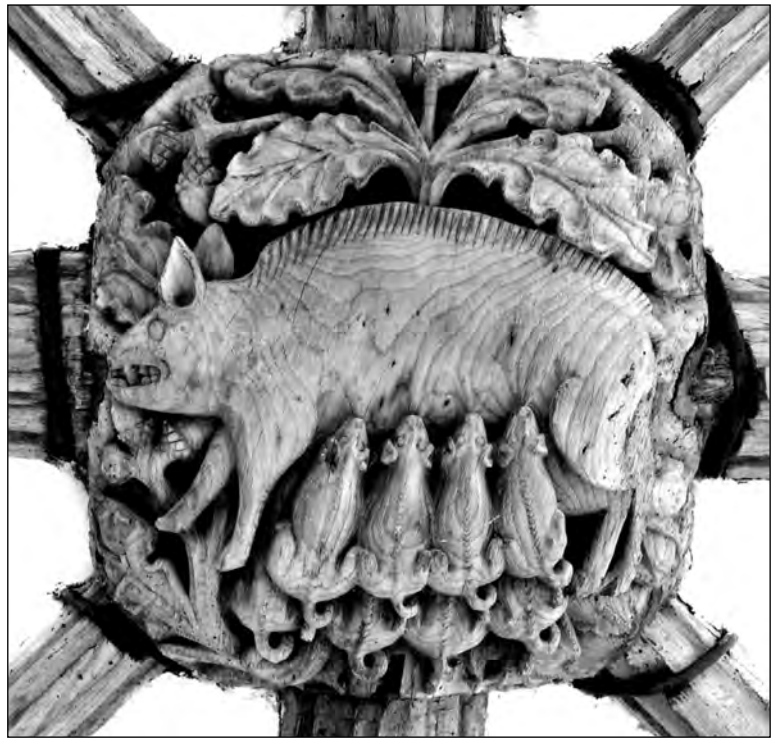

Fig. 20: Roof boss of sow and farrow, St Peter's, Ugborough.

Fig. 21: Roof boss of sow and farrow, St Brannock's, Braunton, Devon, late fourteenth/early fifteenth century.

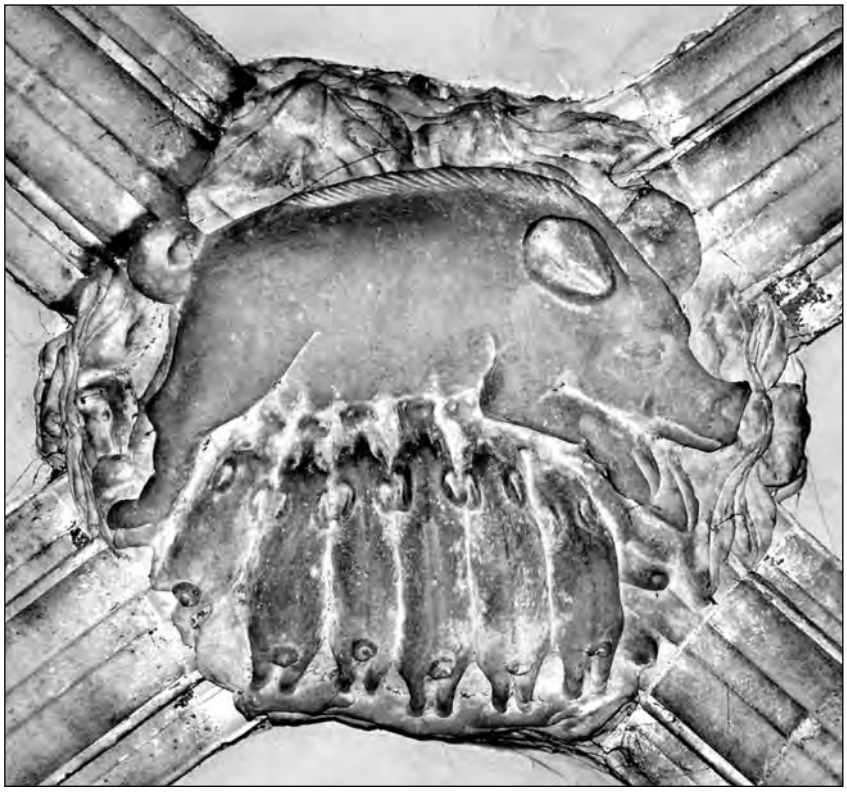

Fig. 22: Roof boss of sow and farrow, north choir aisle, Exeter cathedral, early fourteenth century.

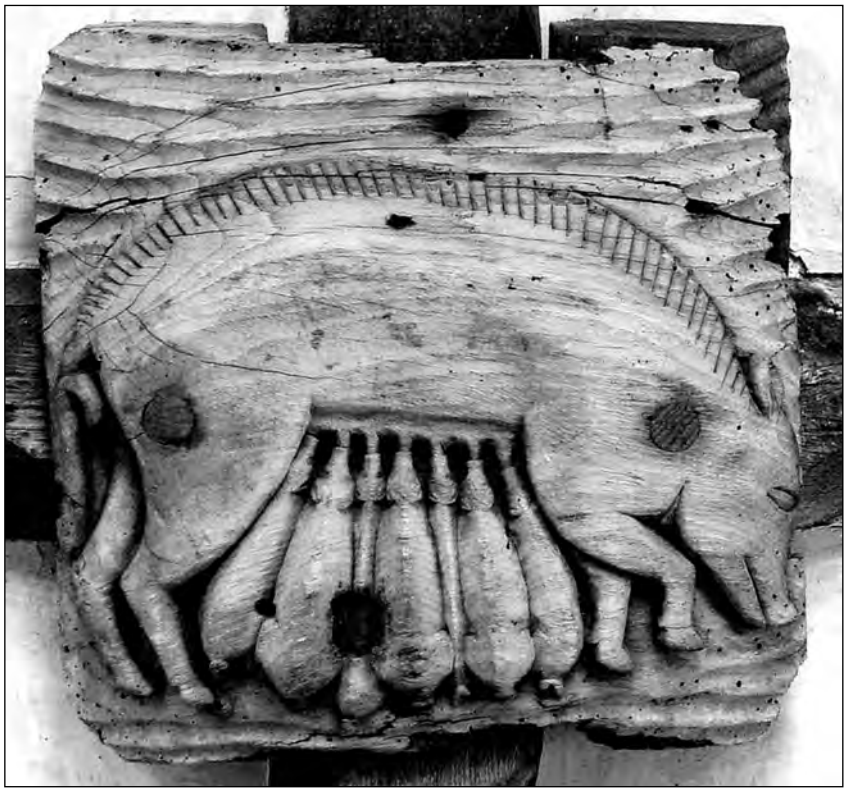

Fig. 23: Roof boss of sow and farrow, St Andrew's, Sampford Courtenay, Devon, fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

Frankish kings. Consecrated Bishop of Noyon, Eligius lived a devout life and is said to have performed many miracles. In one, to which the boss refers, Eligius shod a horse possessed by the devil. The animal was kicking wildly, so Eligius cut off its leg and quietly shod the hoof before making the sign of the cross and replacing the leg on the calmed creature. The boss thus emphasises that evil may be cast out, and the spirit healed, through Christ and the ministrations of his church.

Saint Eligius was venerated in Devon with blacksmiths and hay-carriers refusing to work on his feast day.[34] An image of

Fig. 24: Roof boss of farrier, probably St Eligius, at St Peter's, Ugborough.

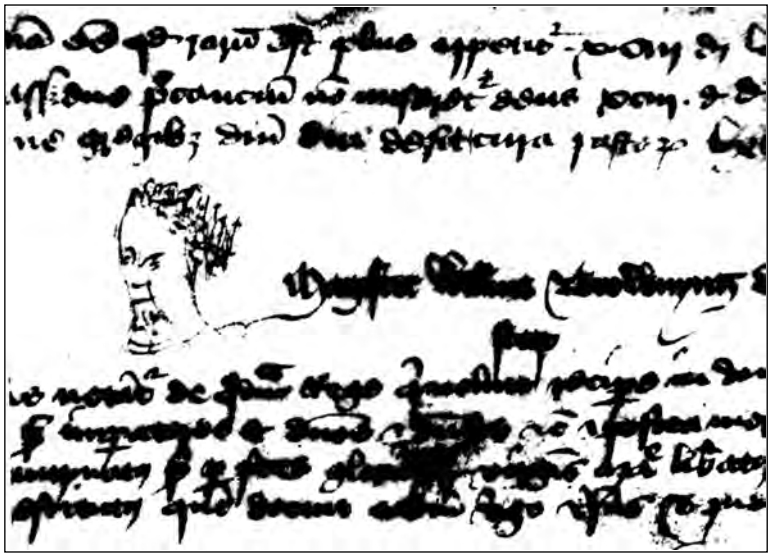

Fig. 25: Early fifteenth-century manuscript, with sketch of head. British Library Harleian Ms 3300 fol 296r, reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

Eligius is said to have stood in Chagford church, Dartmoor, in the 1530s, where it has been suggested that it related to tinworking.[35] This may also have been the case at Ugborough, since the first known record of the church's possible pre-Reformation dedication occurs in the coinage rolls of September 1531, when tin was presented by St Michael 'of Ugburgh' for assay and assessment of tax at the stannary town of Plympton. This was just a single ingot, however, weighing 1 cwt 40 lbs, and on which 21¼d in duty was paid, so tinworking does not appear to have been a source of major investment for Ugborough church at that time.[36]

The bosses at Ugborough were made to be seen; many of the figural bosses, including those of human heads, the owl, and sow and farrow, may have acted as mnemonic devices, to remind parishioners of sins committed and to warn against their repetition. Interestingly, a thumbnail sketch of the head of William Browning survives in an early fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Library, which juxtaposes his image with 'moral sayings... warning of the need to be honest and listing vices to be avoided' (Fig. 25).[37] The manuscript may have belonged to Browning, indeed the sketch may be in his own hand; at the least, it is likely that he knew of it and we may conjecture that he used it in much the same way as his parishioners used the bosses.

While interpretation of the motifs, and links with William Browning, are somewhat speculative since documentary evidence is fragmentary, there is no doubt that the bosses in the north aisle at Ugborough are of the highest order. In addition to their role as mnemonic devices, the carvings may also have served as aids to prayer in a wider and rich decorative scheme, of which little remains save a fine, though partially cut down, rood screen.[38]

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Returning to the work of C.J.P. Cave, his achievement was truly remarkable. Working with heavy photographic equipment in the first half of the twentieth century, his dedication to his task ensured that we now have a record of many roof bosses no longer extant. I would echo Cave's call for recording of more medieval bosses, especially oak bosses in parish churches and chapels. Having survived against the odds for some five to six hundred years, it would be a sin if we now fail to recognise and conserve these extraordinary carvings.

Postscript

Since writing this article, the Heritage Lottery Fund has approved a grant for remedial work to the roof of the north aisle at Ugborough.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Elizabeth Tingle and Dr David Lepine for their helpful comments on a draft of this article.

Notes

1 Charles John Philip Cave, *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches: An Aspect of Gothic Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1948).
2 Cave, *Roof Bosses*, preface.
3 Susan Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses in the churches of Devon', (doctoral thesis, University of Plymouth, 2011). http://pearl.plymouth.ac.uk/handle/10026.1/529
4 Curiously, although C. J. P. Cave included information on Ugborough in an appendix to *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches*, he did not include any images among the 367 published in this work.
5 Nicholas Orme, 'English church dedications: Supplement No. 1', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 38, part 10 (2001), 305–7 (p.307).
6 I would like to thank Dr Elizabeth Tingle for this information.
7 James Davidson, *Church Notes on Devon, Volume 2, South Devon, 1840–1850*, 653. Unpublished manuscript, Devon Heritage Centre.
8 Beatrix Cresswell, *Notes on Devon Churches. The Fabric and Features of Interest in the Deanery of Plympton*, 1922, 253. Unpublished typescript, Devon Heritage Centre. The chancel ceiling is now boarded.
9 Positions of all bosses are documented in my thesis with the exception of a carving of an owl with horned headdress, only recognised as being figural when an opportunity arose to examine the bosses from the tower scaffold in April 2014. This small boss is situated to the south east of the large boss of a female head with dogs.
10 Plymouth and West Devon Record Office (PWDRO) 884/73/10.
11 Near the west end, however, two oak bosses, which may have been moved from the south arcade, take the place of the corbels. Cherry and Pevsner suggest that the ceiling may have been reset, *c.*1800, from parts of a wagon roof (Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner (eds), *The Buildings of England: Devon*. 2nd edition (1991), 879), although medieval woodwork conservator Hugh Harrison regards this as being unlikely. He says: 'there are no curved ribs and the straight pieces which could all be purlins are two different sizes, and I have never seen a roof with two different sized purlins. Also the carving of the bosses around the housings for the ribs fits the diagonal ribs… with small housings for the small ribs and large for

the large ones, so… I don't believe this woodwork ever formed part of a barrel vault, it all looks purpose made' (Hugh Harrison, pers. comm., 2 December 2010).
12. PWDRO 884/308.
13. Lynne Humphries, *St Peter's Church, Ugborough. North Aisle Timber Ceiling and Bosses Condition Report* (2014). On the conservation of oak roof bosses, see Lynne Humphries, 'In the footsteps of A.R. Powys. An unusual timber conservation case study', *BCD Special Report on Historic Churches*, 16th annual edition, 18–21. Available online at: www.visitchurches.org.uk/Assets/Conservationdocuments/IntheFootstepsofArPowysanunusualtimber.pdf?1291890237
14. Cave, *Roof Bosses*, 213. The problems of attribution of medieval carvings to specific carvers are discussed in Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses', 81–83.
15. Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses', 119. Nicholas Orme, *Cornwall and the Cross. Christianity 500–1560* (Chichester, 2007), 101.
16. No dendrochronological analysis has been carried out at Ugborough. I am grateful to Dr Elizabeth Tingle and Dr David Lepine for information on William Browning.
17. Lepine, 'William Browning: a fifteenth-century Canon of Exeter', *Friends of Exeter Cathedral*, 61st Annual Report (1991), 17–20. Lepine notes that Browning's will begins with an invocation to the patron saints of Exeter cathedral, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Peter and St Paul, and 'to his personal patron saint St Michael' (p. 19).
18. Lepine, 'William Browning', 17–20. Browning was appointed rector of Berrynarbor church in 1430 and remained so until his death in 1454. He bequeathed a set of altar vessels and money to the poor of his parish of Berrynarbor as he did to Ugborough.
19. The patron of the church, holding the advowson (the right to choose the rector or vicar for presentation to the bishop for institution), was Plympton priory.
20. Quinil's statutes stipulated that the rector should maintain the fabric of the chancel, while lay parishioners should maintain the fabric of the nave.
21. David Lepine, 'William Browning', 19.
22. Lady Raglan, 'The Green Man in Church Architecture', *Folklore*, Vol. 50, No.1 (1939), 45–57; Cave, *Roof Bosses*, 67–8. Raglan's and Cave's notions, that the 'Green Man' was a relic of pre-Christian tree-worship, were much influenced by Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. In 1991, Roy Judge noted that Raglan's Green Man was, however, 'a case study in the "invention of tradition"'. (Roy Judge 'The Green Man Revisited' in J. Hutchings and J. Wood (eds), *Colour and Appearance in Folklore* (1991), 51.) The foliate head is discussed in some detail in Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses', 174–191.
23. The head was also believed to be the seat of soul, which would leave the body after death through the open mouth.
24. Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The Parson's Tale', in Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer, 3rd edition* (Oxford, 1988), 289.
25. Epistle of St James the Apostle, iii. 5–10, *Douay Rheims Bible* (2006), 1604.
26. [Unnamed author]. *All Saints East Budleigh. A Guide to the Church* (1991), 20.
27. Richard Barber, *Bestiary. Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library Oxford MS Bodley 764* (1992), 148–9.
28. G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1961), 399–400.
29. Aberdeen University Library MS 24. www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/translat/19v.hti.
30. Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, Book IV, line 434, in Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 544. Sermon information from Malcolm Jones, pers. comm. 24 May 2011. The sermon may be found in W. Ross, *Middle English Sermons, Edited from British Museum MS Royal 18 B. xxiii*, EETS 209 (1940), 166.
31. Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses', 222. The bosses at Braunton may be dated by association with the roof timbers, which were felled between 1388 and 1413 and probably used shortly afterwards (Ian Tyers, *Tree Ring Analysis of Oak Timbers from St Brannock Church, Braunton, Devon*. English Heritage Centre for Archaeology Report 81/2004 (2004), 3–4).
32. See Andrew, 'Late medieval roof bosses', 222–3.
33. Barber, *Bestiary*, 84–5.
34. Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1991), 72.

35. Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), 105.
36. I am grateful to Dr Tom Greeves for this information (Tom Greeves, pers. comm., 4 August 2014).
37. Lepine, 'William Browning', 18. David Lepine informed me that the manuscript 'is a late fourteenth-century/early fifteenth-century Exeter formulary – a collection of model documents for a diocesan administrator – that passed through several Exeter hands, probably coming to Browning through [Canon] Richard Tyttesbury and in turn being passed on to other Exeter canons including William Sylke. Both the paleography and the verses are obscure, even to the professor of paleography that I consulted in 1991' (David Lepine, pers. comm., 23 August 2014).
38. These arguments are made more fully in Chapter five of my thesis.

A regional expression of Anglicanism: seating arrangements inside Manx churches

Pat McClure

Pat McClure's archaeological research aims to place Manx Anglican liturgical arrangements within wider geographical, social, and cultural contexts.

Background

IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY the Diocese of Sodor and Man, which included the Isle of Man and the western Scottish Isles, was placed within the Archdiocese of Nideros, governed from Trondheim in Norway. In 1542 Henry VIII consigned the diocese, which by then only encompassed the Isle of Man, to the province of York, within which it has remained.[1]

Since then the official language of the Manx Church has been English, and all the Protestant bishops have been from off-Island. However, most natives spoke little or no English until well into the nineteenth-century, and the Manx vernacular was unwritten until the eighteenth century. So, in order to meet Protestant expectations that congregations should be able to understand what was said during services, parochial clergy born and trained in the Island were employed to translate the English Book of Common Prayer and Bible extemporaneously to their congregations.

A summary history of the diocese will be found in Table 1.[2] During the seventeenth-century Commonwealth period the Manx ecclesiastical courts were not so disrupted as in England, and after the Restoration they regained their authority in matters relating to marriage and probate. The 1662 Parliamentary Act of Uniformity did not apply in Man, where mildly-dissident clergy continued to practice within the Anglican Church.

It was only in 1765 when the Book of Common Prayer was published in Manx, and later when the English language became more widely spoken, that graduate clergy became the norm. In 1825 only one of the twenty-six clergymen in the diocese was a graduate and only two had not been born in the Isle of Man. Bishops Murray (1813–27) and Ward (1828–38) endeavoured to attract graduates from England, but with a modest degree of success: by 1850 seven of the thirty-six clergymen in the diocese were graduates and eleven had not been born in the Isle of Man.[3] Many continued to be educated in Man between 1879 and 1943 at the Bishop Wilson Theological College, an outpost of Durham University.[4]

Several Manx Anglican congregations and their clergy have long had moderate non-conformist leanings.[5] This is illustrated by the material arrangements found inside Manx Anglican churches, where ecclesiological renovations were often incomplete, and

pulpits and lecterns situated within chancels rather than, more conventionally, within naves.[6] Gelling, Lamothe, and Bray also noted the reluctance of Manx clergy and congregations to comply with the requirement that Anglican priests wear a surplice whilst delivering sermons.[7]

This and other regional variations were facilitated by the continued authority of the Manx ecclesiastical courts. In 1848 Neale noted that the Manx clergy still met 'in convocation; they can pass canons; they can meet emergencies; they have the liberty in short, which the English Church would purchase at any price'.[8] It was only in 1884 that the Manx ecclesiastical courts lost their authority over civil matters,[9] twenty-eight years after similar Parliamentary legislation in England. However, on 23 January 1891 this did not prevent the Rector of Kirk Andreas, who was also Archdeacon of Sodor and Man, and his wardens from signing a list of the names of women parishioners they thought might have committed fornication for presentation at the next Vicar General's Court session.[10] And, in 1979 the Insular bishop still

The Isle of Man, with the ancient parishes referred to in this article. From the nineteenth century the parishes of Braddan, German, Lezayre, and Malew were subdivided into a number of smaller parishes to meet the demands of rising populations.

Table 1 Historical timeline for the Isle of Man (for references, see note 2)

Date	Isle of Man	England and Wales
	Parliamentary law does not apply except by specific mention. English Canon Law has applied except when contradicted by Manx civil law.	
1660	Spiritual Court Restored.	
1662	The Parliamentary Act of Uniformity did not apply. Moderate dissidents continued to practice within the Anglican Church.	The Parliamentary Act of Uniformity excluded dissidents, including clergymen, from public office.
1689–1702		William and Mary's Act of Toleration removed many religious restrictions. Non-conformist chapels began to appear in the landscape.
1717	The Manx convocation was the only one that continued to function normally.	The Canterbury convocation was silenced.
1798	Feltham noted the presence of the first 15 Nonconformist chapels.	
1818		The Church Building Act reduced the ecclesiastical courts' powers; collection of pew rents became illegal but many churches continued to collect them.
1836		Parliamentary attempts to assimilate the IOM into the Diocese of Carlisle failed.
1839		Cambridge Camden Society formed.
1848	Ecclesiologist John Neale visited the Island and commented negatively on most of the churches he visited.	
1858		The Church's jurisdiction in civil matters ended.
1875		Parliamentary attempts to place Liverpool into the Diocese of Sodor and Man failed.
1884	Tynwald removed the Manx Church's jurisdiction over marriage and probate.	
1964	The Parliamentary Faculty Jurisdiction Measure does not apply to IOM. The Vicar General retains the required powers.	The Parliamentary Faculty Jurisdiction Measure allows Consistory Courts to grant Faculties to demolish churches.
2014	The Bishop has a continued vote in the Manx Legislature.	The Bishop of Sodor and Man has no vote in the House of Lords.

retained some of the powers which in England only belong to the Archbishop of Canterbury, for instance in granting special marriage licences.[11]

Ecclesiastical responsibility for those in need persisted until the first old age pensions were paid in the Isle of Man from 5 March 1920.[12] This significant change from ecclesiastical to civil jurisdiction over the care of the underprivileged finally released church officials from some of their responsibilities for the poor, which made a great deal of difference in the amounts of money that had to be accrued within each parish.

The Industrial Revolution never developed further than water power in Man. There was no local supply of coal and importation of this commodity involved considerable costs. One result was reduced social mobility. Local rural populations remained relatively stable. In addition, Manx land divisions, the comparatively-late influence of the ecclesiastical courts in civil matters, and the tenancy of all landholders to the Lord of Man until 1911 all contributed towards the development of traditions which remain visible in the seating and other arrangements inside Island churches.

This article places the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Manx trend of late installation of doored pews and numbered benches, sometimes without central aisles, into context with the English and Welsh practices readers may be more familiar with, as evidence of the broad nature of Anglicanism.

An enduring conservative Anglican culture

Many rural Manx church interiors were, and remain, plain, despite the nineteenth-century advances in technology which facilitated communal access to previously difficult to attain resources such as wood, and artisanship. Only limited and relatively-late ecclesiological changes were made. The suggestion of continued, shared, non-extreme puritanism is supported further by the fact that the use of altar candles in 1970 in Arbory Parish Church for the first time '[…] required the intervention of the Bishop and the Vicar General'.[13] Many other congregations were reluctant to accept the use of altar candles, for the relatively late date of introduction of which see Table 2,[14] and crosses (Table 3)[15] too. Altar candles have never been used in St Thomas' (built in 1849) or St Ninian's (built in 1913), parish Churches in Douglas. However, where a larger proportion of the congregation were English, apparently the earlier use of altar candles was not perceived as inappropriate, as in Castletown where altar candles were used in St Mary's Chapel-of-ease from 1844.[16]

The bishops were often English. The temporality of their episcopates reduced their authority, which was sometimes

Table 2: Date of introduction of altar candles
(for references, see note 14)

1844	1826 St Mary's Castletown
1913	St Paul's Parish Church, Ramsey
1922	Ballure Chapel-of-ease, Ramsey
1925	new Ballaugh Parish Church
1925	Maughold Parish Church
1926	Bride Parish Church
after 1930	Malew Parish Church
1934	St Sanctain's Parish Church, Santan
1938	St Olave's Parish Church, Ramsey
1959	new Braddan Parish Church
1960	old Ballaugh
1966	St Catherine's Chapel-of-ease to Rushen
1970	Arbory Parish Church
1982	Patrick Parish Church
1987	St Mark's Chapel-of-ease to Malew

Table 3: Date of introduction of altar crosses
(for references, see note 15)

Between 1862 and 1911	St Olave's Chapel-of-ease, Ramsey (they acquired a 'new' one in 1911)
Between 1896 and 1921	1826 St Mary's Chapel-of-ease to Malew in Castletown
1911	Marown Parish Church
*c.*1913	St Paul's Parish Church, Ramsey
1914	new Braddan Parish Church
1918	St German's Chapel-of-ease, Peel
1919	St Thomas' Parish Church, Douglas
1920	St Peter's Parish Church, Peel
1926	Bride Parish Church
1929	old Ballaugh Parish Church
1982	Patrick Parish Church
1987	St Mark's Chapel-of-ease to Malew

overruled by more popular activities. For instance, Bishop Murray found it impossible to impose a potato tithe in 1826.[17] One of his successors, Bishop Powys, wanted to replace Patrick Parish Church in the west of the Island on a new site. In 1875 he agreed to do whatever he could to raise the required money if the Glen

Maye site, some distance from the village of Patrick, was adopted. The Vestry, however, was determined to build a new church at Patrick or to restore part of the old building. They put the cesses to this purpose, although they agreed that any surplus could be put towards the new church at Glen Maye 'which the Lord Bishop is about to build'.[18] The resultant new church at Patrick testifies to the strength of local feeling. No Anglican church was ever built at Glen Maye.

This is also evident in other matters. For instance, at an 1883 visitation to Laxey the congregation was found to be using electro-plated, rather than silver, communion plate and the surplice was not in a satisfactory condition.[19] Neither did they kneel in prayer – there were no kneelers. All seem as evident of shared low-church tendencies as of lack of access to resources.

In 1920 St Peter's in Peel was offered a litany desk or faldstool in memory of family members killed in WWI, but this was rejected as being unsuitable.[20] Soon afterwards parish officials agreed they were opposed to 'tampering' with the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer, their perception being that proposed changes such as transubstantiation and reservation of the Host were contrary to the teachings of the Holy Bible. They sent a copy of their resolution to the Press.[21] On April 27 1927 they conceded that some minor adjustments might be acceptable but recorded their objections to the use of 'Mass vestments', reservation of the Sacrament, commemoration of Corpus Christi or All Souls, or substitution of Matins with Holy Communion on 'ordinary' Sundays 'as the greater part will not communicate at that service'. Although the Parochial Church Council forwarded their comments to the Archbishop of Canterbury, change was inevitable, albeit slow, and the first family Communion Service took place in St German's in 1963, where it replaced the usual Matins once a month.[22] These changes occurred more widely. In 1964 Thompson wrote 'One very encouraging innovation [in the parish of Malew] has been the establishment of a Parish Communion on the first Sunday in every month'. [23]

The 1879 Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act of Tynwald required Manx churches [naves] and chancels to be insured separately,[24] but lack of definition of chancel and nave sometimes had to be resolved in the ecclesiastical courts, as in Kirk Michael in 1960.[25] Continued lack of structural and/or decorative definition of chancel and nave inside rural Manx churches reflects local, long-held, mildly-dissident ideas.

Perceptions that the congregation were not responsible for maintaining the chancels persisted even later into the twentieth century. In 1845 it was noted that the Archdeacon [who was rector] was to pay to have the altar rail in Kirk Andreas lowered.[26]

That same year the Bishop agreed to pay half the bill for repairs to the chancel seating in St Peter's Parish Church in German.[27] In 1846 it was noted that the owners of the impropriate tithes would fund the building of the Marown chancel.[28] When plans were made to build a new parish church at Bride in 1866, parishioners were assessed towards the cost of the nave. But the 'burden' of the chancel was the rector's.[29] It was only in 1948 that the Church Act of Tynwald decreed that henceforth the '[…] the Chancels of Patrick, German, Jurby, Braddan, Andreas, Ballaugh, and Bride Parish Churches […] be maintained, repaired and insured by the persons responsible for the maintenance, repair and insurance of such Parish Church'.[30]

Allocation of church seating

The delayed changes in legislation and related practice compared with those made in England and Wales are also evident in the allocation of seating within Manx churches. In what follows the use of the term 'bench' refers to a door-less seat, with or without backrest, decorative bench ends, integral kneeler or desk, and 'pew' to an enclosed seating area of any shape entered by a small door.

After the Reformation, each Manx quarterland (for definitions, see Table 4)[31] was allocated a pew within the Parish Church.[32] As more farmland was enclosed from the eighteenth century, seating was also allocated to the intacks. The allocation of seating appears to have been relatively democratic because evidence of congregational involvement survives in clerical edicts that parishioners should attend vestry meetings about the distribution of seating, and in written replies and comments to clergy and churchwardens. However, any lay recommendations had to be ratified by the ecclesiastical courts.

Seating plans and related ecclesiastical court transcripts indicate that allocation of sittings in the rural Manx parishes continued to be strongly related to quarterland and other land occupation well into the nineteenth century. When the Marown seating was regulated on 14 October 1818, twenty four seats were allocated to the quarterlands for [un-named] farmers and their tenants; the remaining eight to intack holdings.[33] In 1832 all the seating in the rural parish church of Ballaugh was allocated to landholdings,[34] as they were in 1836 in Lonan,[35] and in the new parish church of Braddan in 1878, except for those designated as free sittings. In Kirk Andreas, as late as 30 August 1886 the issue of the rector's friends using his pew in the church remained controversial enough for discussion because few of them 'belonged to one of the quarterlands'.[36]

In contrast, by 1788 seating in the Island's capital Castletown had been allocated to named persons,[37] reflecting the many who

Table 4: Traditional land divisions and pew allocation; and some associated payments
(for referencs, see note 31)

Parishes	Traditionally the Isle of Man was divided into seventeen parishes, the names of which continue to structure Manx civil districts. In the nineteenth century some parishes were divided to form new urban parishes.
Quarterland farms	Each parish was divided, into treens. Each treen was divided into four farms or quarterlands, on which, from 1659, assessments were made for the upkeep of the Island's churches and churchyards. Residents occupied prestigious pews that reflected wider perceptions of their elevated social status.
Intacks	In northern England, land was enclosed from 1777. This effect was visible somewhat earlier in Manx seating plans when, as populations increased, intack holders (farmers of land 'in-taken' for example from previously unenclosed lowland hill areas adjacent to quarterland farms) were allocated sittings within their church. For instance, on 25 April 1737 the seating in Braddan was re-allocated to accommodate [the new] intacks. Such seating plans indicate that quarterland residents were perceived as outranking intack holders.
Urban Communities	Residents of commercial centres, who were more frequently English, were assessed by name rather than according to residence. Many occupied prestigious seating in the chancel or at the east end of the nave.
Payment: Cesses	The assessments of the quarterlands, town houses, intacks, mills, and cottages were referred to as 'cesses' well into the twentieth century.
Payment: The Lord's Rent	All landholders remained tenants of the Lord of Man until 1911 and paid an annual rent, although property, and church pews, changed hands as if they were private property.

were businessmen rather than farmers. Some aspects of this style of regulation migrated into the rural churches considerably later. For example, although in 1766 all the seating in Lezayre Parish Church was allocated to landholdings,[38] by 1838, sittings in the new church were allocated to specified quarterland farms, but to the named heads of the families who occupied the intack farms.[39]

Manx seating arrangements contrasted with their allocation in England and Wales as discussed by Fowler, Bennett, and Brown.[40] So did funding arrangements.

Cesses

A 1657 Act of Tynwald ensured 'the assessment for the reparacon of the Churches in this Isle […] on the ffarmers of the quarterlands according to their respective rents and upon […] Cottage [intack] houlders, Tradesmen and Townes inhabitants according to their abillityes'.[41] In Man, cesses (church rates or taxes) were collected by the church-wardens well into the twentieth century.

In 1866, when a new church was needed at Bride, it was agreed to assess the parishioners for the cost of the nave.[42] In the parish of Lezayre, collection of the cess was discussed in 1888 when payment of the expenses related to attendance at a meeting of the Governor's council 'out of the Church assessment' was approved.[43] It was only on 11 April 1893 that the German Parish Church Act 'abolished cess' […]' in that parish.[44] In the parish of Andreas the Rector and Wardens still recorded the collection of church cesses on 3 July 1893, although offertories were also being collected.[45]

However, the collection of cesses was controversial at times, perhaps because immigrants from England were aware that procedures had changed there. A large number of English entrepreneurs resided in Castletown, where difficulties arose in collecting the cess in 1860. This resulted in a lawsuit before the Court of Exchequer in 1869, which decreed that pew holders did still have that responsibility.[46] In 1880 the collector instructed those who had not paid the parish rate for the new church at Kirk Patrick that legal proceedings would be taken without further notice if the cesses were not paid immediately.[47] And when a Jurby parishioner objected to paying his cess in 1904, the vicar and wardens threatened to test the matter in the courts.[48]

Contemporary perceptions that collection of the cess remained legitimate were Island-wide. In the parish of Patrick cesses were still being collected in 1906, and collection of cesses was discussed at the 1911 Marown Easter Vestry, as they were by the Andreas Rector and Wardens on 9 June 1927.[49] Bray says cesses were abolished in Man around 1930, but their collection was recorded in Jurby in 1936/37, nearly 70 years after this practice had ceased in England, although it seems that in Man cesses and pew rents sometimes ran concurrently.[50]

Pew rents

In 1743, in Ballure Chapel-of-ease near the northern town of Ramsey, the seats were let 'for the benefit of the Chaplain'. At the same time the occupants of the seats were assessed 'towards procuring books and vestments or for repairs […]'.[51]

The new gallery pews installed in 1844 in St Paul's Chapel-of-ease in Ramsey were let, those nearest the front being the most expensive.[52] In St Olave's Parish Church in Ramsey pew rents were abolished on 25 March 1946.[53] In St Thomas' Parish Church in Douglas, the possible abolition of pew rents was discussed at a PCC meeting on 16 March 1965, when the churchwardens were still collecting £80 annually. The issue was resolved on 14 November 1967 when it was agreed not to collect them any longer. Pew rents were discontinued in St German's Parish

Church in Peel in 1967 too, although some parishioners of St George's Parish Church in Douglas continued to lease their pews until 1982.[54]

The renting of pews carried on in Man somewhat longer than in England, but was more similar to practice in Wales where pew rents 'lingered on', for example until 1933 in St Michael's in Aberystwyth, and 1947 in Christ Church in Cyfarthfa, suggesting wide perceptions of ownership.[55]

Perceptions of pews as personal property

In 1683 Manx pew holders were ordered 'to take a speedy course for the repairing and making up of their respective seats and pewes, in some handsome and orderly manner according to their severall abilityes' (*sic*).[56] The terminology used, activities undertaken and continued presence of doors support ideas of ownership. In 1773 when the seats within St Mark's Chapel-of-ease in the parish of Malew were regulated, the number 'of each seat and names of the purchasers or proprietors of each seat, [were] approved of and agreed to as well by the Rt. Rev. Ordinary and the trustees or undertakers, as by the purchasers or proprietors'.[57] The 1781 construction of a north transept in Malew Parish Church was financed by the sale of the new pews. These seats were to remain the property of the proprietors 'for ever without the interference of any General or parochial Regulation in the Church'.[58] Sure enough, in 1921 when a parishioner in Kirk Malew applied to transfer his 'right, title, and interest' to one of those pews purchased by his late grandfather in 1850, the vicar could find 'no claimants for the particular pew concerned' and agreed.[59]

In 1787 the Bishop ordered that the seating in the 1701 Castletown Chapel-of-ease be regulated. 'Henceforth in this and the succeeding building, sittings were owned, bought, sold, bequeathed, and inherited like other real property'.[60] In 1818 Marown Parish Church officials wrote 'The Vicar's seat at the entrance of the door opposite the vestry is appropriated to the use of the families of the Vicars of K Marown for ever'.[61] On 12 October 1820 the subscribers to the new St Paul's Chapel-of-ease in Ramsey discussed the seats as 'the property of subscribers' even though they were subject to an annual rent. The contemporary seating plan that was 'to be considered binding as to the allotment of Pews to Subscribers forever'[62] implied ownership. In 1822 in Castletown, Elizabeth Redfern bequeathed a friend '£20 and half of a seat or pew in St Mary's Chapel [-of-ease]' which had not yet been built.[63] In 1849 Mr Quayle purchased a pew in the same chapel-of-ease to Malew from Mr Gawne of Kentraugh for £30 sterling, 'being the price of a

double and single pew under the gallery, which this day I have sold to him'.[64] When writing about Ramsey and Maughold churches for the parochial records around 1853, the words 'purchased by', 'mortgage', and 'interest paid' were used.[65]

However, in 1811, when Edward Cotteen bought a pew in the 1701 Castletown Chapel[-of-ease] 'for ever' at an auction the building was already deteriorating.[66] The old chapel was demolished 13 years later in 1824, and by the time the seating was allocated in the new chapel, Mr Cotteen had disappeared.[67] It is unknown whether this reflected reduced personal fortunes or wider perceptions that 'for ever' expired on the demise of related buildings.

Even though Fowler argued that pews 'must be something inferior to the freehold', which was held by the incumbent, terminology used and Faculties granted for the purchase of seats in English and Welsh churches suggests Manx perceptions of ownership were not particularly unusual.[68]

These perceptions sometimes extended beyond a single church, and people who held land in Manx parishes where they were not parishioners sometimes retained pews in those parishes. In 1636 the Stevenson family, who had a pew in the chancel of Arbory Parish Church, also had one at the east end of the nave of the adjacent parish church of Malew which probably reflected their tenancy of land within that parish.[69] The positions of both pews, and their presence inside two parish churches, actively conveyed the social status and elevated economic capital of this family to other parishioners. Brown writes this was also sometimes the practice in Welsh parishes.[70]

Free Seating

Prior to the nineteenth century, impoverished Manx parishioners were not provided with the same seating facilities as those perceived to be of higher social status. In 1727, when the seating was regulated in the rural parish of Santon, the poor were allocated the steps of the font to sit on.[71]

However some Manx parishes did pre-empt Cambridge Camden Society prescriptions by providing limited free seating within their churches. In 1781, the newly-built chapel of St George's in Douglas reserved thirty of its 1,300 seats for the poor.[72] Although this probably reflected the large numbers of destitute in the town rather than empathy and perceptions of equality, by around 1823 the Church Building Society made a donation of £300 to the new chapel being built in Castletown 'on the understanding that a certain number of seats should be free'.[73] An 1826 ground plan of St Paul's Chapel-of-ease in Ramsey showed sixteen free pews at the rear of the nave.[74] When the

seating for the new St Peter's Onchan was regulated in 1829 three nave pews were allocated for use by the poor.[75] When the rural new Ballaugh Church opened in 1832 a free seat provided directly under the pulpit reiterated widely-shared Protestant ideals that everyone should be able to hear the sermon clearly.[76] At the same time St Barnabas' Church in Douglas designated 500 out of its 1500 available seats as free.[77] The 1839 Act of Tynwald that allowed for the building of St Jude's chapel-of-ease to Andreas stipulated that one third of the seats be free.[78] Rural St Mark's chapel-of-ease in the parish of Malew had designated three pews as free by 1840.[79]

In July 1844 Bishop Short dealt with the problem of free seats often being positioned in the worst places inside churches by signing a regulation that ensured pew openers in St Paul's Chapel-of-ease in Ramsey placed 'strangers in any seats not occupied at the end of the reading of the Psalms, before the Lessons'.[80] And when a new church was built at St John's in 1849, all the sittings, in un-numbered benches, were free.[81]

Benches were sometimes appropriated as if they were pews. Numbered benches were installed in old Ballaugh Parish Church when it was renovated in 1849 (Fig. 1) although the numbers were scratched off at an unknown later date (Fig. 2). The 1871 Act of Tynwald that allowed for the building of the new Braddan church stipulated that churchwardens allocate seats according to parishioners' claims in the old church, even though the new building was fitted out with bench seating.[82] To facilitate this, each bench was supplied with a slot for a name-card on its aisle side (Fig. 3). The numbered benches in St German's Church (Fig. 4) were probably installed *c.* 1903 because a storm in February of that year destroyed parts of the roof which fell down onto and smashed many of the pews.[83]

Nine (20%) of the forty-nine Manx churches listed on the diocesan website still have numbered pews or benches.[84] For example, at St Thomas' Parish Church in Douglas, numbered pews (Fig. 5) continue in use. At a PCC meeting held on 14 November 1967 it was agreed that rather than remove the name-card holders from those pews (Fig. 6), those concerned would be approached individually to elicit whether users would agree to others sitting in those pews. On the other hand, in Kirk Andreas, where pews were converted into benches by the simple removal of the pew doors (Fig. 7), the re-use of the pews, and the retained numbers may have represented local economic constraints rather than continued designated seating. This was probably the case in Lezayre too, because when the nave pews were replaced with, or modified into, un-numbered benches at an unknown date (Fig. 8), the numbered pews in the west gallery (Fig. 9) were not removed.

When St Olave's was built in Ramsey in 1862 it was perceived as being ecclesiologically correct, but even here the benches were numbered and supplied with slots for name cards (Fig. 10).

Another aspect of the allocation of seating was the occasional provision of complimentary and cut-rate seating. For instance, in return for the land on which the new Ballaugh Church was built in 1832 Thomas Corlett of Ballaterson and his heirs were granted a free pew in church besides that belonging to their farm, as marked, along with the family's second pew further down the nave, on an 1832 seating plan.[85] When Captain Bacon donated the land that St Stephen's Sulby was built on in 1838, he was allocated a pew as large as the prestigious Ballakillingham pew in the old Lezayre church. This caused logistical problems later in the latter, when the liturgical arrangements were re-oriented and the pews replaced with benches.

The Manx practices described also took place in England and Wales. This suggests conservatism is a human rather than particularly Manx characteristic, although there is more evidence that the trend was firmly entrenched in Man.[86]

Styles of pews in continued use

Two distinct contrasting styles of pews survive inside Manx churches. The first is what might be termed 'traditional'. The plain, high style of the converted pews still in use within All Saint's Parish Church in Lonan (Fig. 11) replicate the style of the numbered pews put into new Ballaugh church in 1832 (Fig. 12) and Kirk Michael church in 1835 (Fig. 13), although no physical sign of earlier doors or hinges could be found. Their style, and the pews installed in the west gallery in Lezayre church in 1835 (Fig. 9), and the nave in Dalby Chapel-of-ease in 1839 (Fig. 14) imitate the earlier style of those installed in old Braddan in 1774 (Fig. 15), St Sanctain's in 1796 (Fig. 16), and Andreas in 1802 (Fig. 7). The pews installed into Kirk Malew soon after 1830 (Fig. 17) are another variation of the more traditional style visible in the north transept, which were installed in 1781 (Fig. 18). The latest pews of this design installed and still in use were those placed in St Jude's Chapel-of-ease to Kirk Andreas in 1841 (Fig. 19).

Those fitted when ecclesiological changes were made within many Manx chancels in the second half of the nineteenth century like those in the parish churches at Rushen in 1885 (Fig. 20), Arbory in 1886 (Fig. 21), and new Ballaugh in 1893 (Fig. 22), contrast markedly with that of those installed earlier, being more robustly built, possibly as a consequence of easier access to the necessary wood. The doors are lower, maybe a concession towards

the new idea about free seating in order to get the required Faculty permission for their installation, even though once fitted, some continued to be numbered as previously.

The numbered pews installed into St Thomas' Parish Church in Douglas (Fig. 5) are less easy to date although their style in the context of those in other Manx churches implies equally-late installation, as does the very similar style of the, albeit un-numbered, Marown pews (Fig. 23). Major chancel renovations were carried out in Marown Church in 1889, so it seems likely new pews were installed then, although no documentation was discovered to endorse this. However, it is accepted that the very similar style of these two sets of pews, and the differences in style from those installed in Rushen, Arbory, and new Ballaugh, could just be evidence of their earlier installation, into St Thomas' when it was built in 1849, and Marown when it was built in 1853.

The generally more decorative design of the more commonly installed bench seating in English churches from the nineteenth century that signified their free access by the absence of doors, numbers, and name-card holders, has been discussed by Cox and Brandwood and Cooper.[87]

Kneeling Boards

Space to kneel had not always been provided within pews. In 1762 Englishman Bishop Hildesley expressed concerns about piety and decorum during services. 'In the congregation to which I belong [Bride], our *room* for proper deportment and uniformity of gesture … is so scanty and *confined*, that it is not without the greatest inconvenience and uneasiness they comply with the appointed custom of *kneeling*: insomuch, that we have frequent instances of persons carried out sick … owing to an exceeding *close crowd*'.[88] He wrote to the Archbishop of York: 'it is seldom known or seen, that any person, of whatever age or sex, fails of kneeling, where or whenever the rubric directs it, though it be of the bare, earthen, dirty floor'.[89] But this was an English Bishop's perception. Perhaps the parishioners were not as keen to kneel as he thought. A visitation to Lonan Parish Church in 1817 revealed that none of the pews in that building had kneeling boards[90] which suggests the parishioners had probably not been kneeling at all during services. A survey carried out in 1880 and 1883 revealed that kneeling room had long been constricted in old St Matthew's Parish Church in Douglas, and in St George's Parish Church in Douglas too.[91]

By 1880 the influence of English Tractarian practices brought the lack of facilities to kneel in Manx churches to the Insular Bishop's attention, evidenced in the questions asked at visitations in 1880 and 1883 about the provision of enough space for

kneeling. This was no longer recognized as sufficient in Lonan Parish Church or St Barnabas' Church in Douglas, although when they were built in the 1830s the provision had probably been perceived as adequate.[92] This, and the complete contemporary absence of kneelers in the Laxey Chapel-of-ease, fits in with other evidence of earlier low-church Anglican practice in Man and its acceptance by the clerical hierarchy.

Absence of central aisle

The absence of a central aisle in eight Manx churches (the arrangement remains in use within six) is further material evidence that the new ecclesiological ideas were not always embraced by Manx parishioners.

A floor plan of the 1704 Lezayre Parish Church shows a central aisle.[93] However, this was not replicated when the nave seating was installed in the 1835 replacement building. When the pews were replaced, or modified into benches at a later, unknown, date, they were not re-arranged to include a central aisle either. This was the case in new Ballaugh Parish Church too where the 1832, and later the 1893 arrangements, never included a central aisle, despite the fact that the old church had a central aisle, and the Bishop encouraged parishioners to have one.[94]

The lack of central aisle in a number of new nineteenth-century Manx churches may, however, have been a practical, rather than cultural, response to increased populations. Seating parishioners within three rows of seats instead of two recognized social mobility related to land enclosure and the Industrial Revolution publically. It allowed a higher proportion of the congregation to sit near to the pulpit, acknowledging that not everyone had been able to hear what was said during services in the older churches with central aisles in Ballaugh, Jurby, Malew, Ballure, and Lezayre. The retention of a central aisle in the new parish church at Jurby in 1829, in Malew Parish Church when new pews were installed *c.* 1830, and in old Ballaugh Parish Church when numbered benches were installed there in 1849, may have reflected nothing more than communal satisfaction with earlier arrangements.

Variations between the nave arrangements within Manx churches imply tolerance by the hierarchy, and the compromises made may have eased the tensions which must have arisen when the chancels were renovated. The relatively widespread use of a central aisle evidences eventual acceptance of change reflective of the widespread influence of the ecclesiological movement, the English designers employed to design many of the new Manx churches erected in the nineteenth century, and the expectations of English immigrants and clergy trained off-Island.

Fig. 1 (right): Old Ballaugh Parish Church, with numbered benches installed in 1849 either side of a central aisle.

Fig. 2 (above): Old Ballaugh Parish Church, showing a number scratched off the bench end at an unknown date.

Fig. 3 (below right): New Braddon Parish Church, benches installed in 1878 either side of the central aisle. These have name-card holders.

Fig. 4 (right): St German's Parish Church, showing one of the numbered benches probably installed c.1903. Pew rents continued here until 1967.

Fig. 5 (left top): St Thomas' Parish Church, Douglas, with numbered pews installed at an unknown date in the second half of the nineteenth century either side of a central aisle.

Fig. 6 (right bottom): St Thomas' Parish Church, Douglas, showing name-card holders which were still in use in 1967.

Fig. 7 (left): Andreas Parish Church, with numbered nave pews installed in 1802 without a central aisle. The pews are still in use though the doors have been removed.

Fig. 8 (top right): Lezayre Parish Church: nave benches of unknown date without a central aisle. The church is now closed.

Fig. 9 (bottom right): Lezayre Parish Church: numbered pews of 1835 in the west gallery (no longer in use).

Fig. 10 (right): St Olave's Parish Church, Ramsey. These numbered benches were installed in 1881 and are furnished with name-card holders Pew rents were abolished here in 1946.

Fig. 11 (below): All Saints Parish Church, Lonan. The pews were probably installed in 1834 when the church was built, and were in use, with doors removed, until recently, when the church was closed for health and safety reasons. There is no central aisle.

Fig. 12 (top): New Ballaugh Parish Church, showing lettered pews (no longer in use) installed in the west gallery in 1832. [Photograph: Jonathan Latimer]

Fig. 13 (botom): Kirk Michael Parish Church, with numbered nave pews installed in 1835 without a central aisle.

Fig. 14 (top): Dalby Chapel-of-ease – nave pews installed in 1839 either side of central aisle, still in use with doors removed.

Fig. 15 (bottom): Old Braddan Parish Church, showing pews installed either side of central aisle in 1774.

Fig. 16 (right): St Sanctain's (formerly St Anne's) Parish Church. The nave pews were installed either side of a central aisle in 1796.

Fig. 17 (above left): Malew Parish Church. The nave pews installed either side of a central aisle in about 1830.

Fig. 18 (above right): Malew Parish Church north transept pews, installed in 1781.

Fig. 19 (left and above): St Jude's, former chapel-of-ease, with numbered pews installed either side of a central aisle in 1841.

Fig. 20 (bottom): Rushen Parish Church. The pews were installed either side of a central aisle in 1885.

Fig. 21 (top left): New Ballaugh Parish Church. The pews were installed in 1893, with no central aisle.

Fig. 22 (top right): Arbory Parish Church, with pews installed either side of a central aisle in 1886.

Fig. 23 (right): Marown Parish Church. The pews were installed either side of a central aisle at an unknown date.

Conclusions

Although the diocese of Sodor and Man is now the smallest within the Church of England, its continued separate civil jurisdiction from the rest of the United Kingdom remains evident inside its churches. The resources accessible to Manx communities also differed from those obtainable on the mainland. Generally, the comparatively-late installation of traditional seating arrangements within the two Manx parish churches recognized by Brandwood reflected a much wider and stronger regional paradigm of moderate, conservative puritanism within the established Church, which was acceptable to those in authority.[95]

Late legislative modifications made by Tynwald, and their gradual implementation inside the Island's churches, support the conclusions of cultural conservatism which can be drawn from the material culture within those buildings. Changes in how funding was accrued sliped behind changes to the rules and customs applying in England and Wales. Despite the marked decline in the numbers of Manx-born incumbents three decades after Bishop Wilson Theological College was closed in 1943.[96] Despite this, surviving traditional seating arrangements indicate that congregations continued to influence how and where they sat during services. Late installation of doored pews, and of numbered and/or labelled benches, sometimes without a central aisle, are evidence of shared, deep-seated traditionalism, and active congregational involvement in their continued use.

With the exception of old Braddan Church, every Manx Anglican chancel in use in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was modernized to a greater or lesser degree. The resulting liturgical arrangements inside Manx chancels imply that parishioners were less active in preventing changes within those chancels than within Manx naves, and that earlier, close relationships between congregations and their locally-raised and educated clergy, had been lost. The authority of the bishops and other clergy trained off-Island is evident in the ecclesiological changes made within chancels, which contrast markedly with the older seating arrangements retained in some churches, which, together with the very late implementation of altar candles and altar crosses, suggest a continued trend of cultural conservatism.

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Challenges facing congregations undertaking major projects

Becky Payne

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IN A RECENT BOOK (details of which will be found at the end of this article), I described the changes that have taken place in Oxfordshire's churches over the last 30 years, focusing on projects to meet modern worship needs and open up the church space for wider community use, and discussing the successes and limitations of extended use.

Twenty-five churches were included in the book, chosen as examples of best practice and because they illustrated the full range of situations to be found in Oxfordshire, and because on the whole they are successful. Some churches, often those which had been sub-divided in the 1970s or 1980s, wished to return to a single architectural space, while others wanted to create enclosed zones. To give some context, the projects I looked at ranged in cost from £100,000 to over £1 million and from major re-orderings of the interior to housing new facilities in an extension, at the base of the tower or at the end of an aisle. Overall, just under 50% (12 cases versus 13) kept their pews or retained at least half of them.

Most of the churches in the case studies reported positive outcomes, including an increase in footfall and income, new people joining the congregation, a stronger relationship with non-churchgoers, increased community well-being, and an increase in the number of people who value the church and who will help to maintain it.

Yet there were six major areas of challenge that came up time and again. This article discusses these challenges, in the hope that this will be useful to those undertaking a similar journey.

Challenge 1: Managing Opposition

All the churches recognised that consulting with the wider community was essential to identify how to help to meet some of their community's needs, and to gain additional person-power to make these projects happen. Most churches had tried very hard to communicate in various ways, with questionnaires being pushed through doors asking people for suggestions on how they would like to see the church used, open meetings held to discuss proposals, and regular updates being provided through newsletters, websites and public displays of plans and drawings.

Yet most if not all of them faced opposition. They found it required a good deal of sensitive negotiation to bring people onside when major changes were being proposed to a sacred

place, loved by its community. Along with the many positive responses, there are often those who expressed genuine concerns and in a very few cases, downright hostility. Such objections came from within the Parochial Church Council (PCC), from members of the congregation and from the local community.

This is not new and the major changes made by the Victorians in the nineteenth century also met with opposition. Those undertaking research into the history of St Thomas of Canterbury, Goring where concern was being raised by members of the local community about a present day proposal, found that opposition to changes proposed in the 1880s led to several animated public meetings and the then incumbent being accused of 'suppressing criticism and advice from the Diocesan architect'.

Some of the opposition comes from fear of change, which can evoke complex emotions, and in this context, challenges many people's expectations of what a church should look like. For instance, many people, both from the wider community and the congregation, see pews as essential to the spiritual feel of the church. 'They don't think they've been to church unless they've sat on a pew' was one remark made by a churchwarden, whilst the other churchwarden explained how she has gone along with removing the pews because she realised that it was for the good of the church but that for her, 'it doesn't feel church any more and some of the mystery has been lost'.

As for facilities, even today, there are many who do not feel it is quite right to have a toilet in the church – fearing disruptive noises and saying 'that we haven't had a toilet for a 1,000 years and what's wrong with using the gravestones' – needless to say, this objection is made in the main by *male* churchwardens.

In a small community, any such discord can be painful. Churchwardens and incumbents told me that they listened to objections, and by acknowledging that there were genuine concerns were better able to openly engage in discussion. Some organised trips to other churches where projects had been completed or invited speakers from those churches to come and talk to a public meeting. Others amended their original proposals, some acknowledging that it had produced a better result.

One lesson is realising how hard some people find it to imagine the finished outcome (see box on the project at Chadlington (Figs 1–2)). Another is to ensure that everyone involved in the project is telling the same story. This means everyone - the incumbent, the churchwardens, flower arrangers, people who run the coffee mornings – being able to say what is happening clearly and simply e.g.: 'we are putting in toilets and a kitchen so that more groups can come and use the church'. Mixed messages can start the rumour-mill which can take a long time to unpick.

St Nicholas, Chadlington: dealing with a range of views

In Chadlington, a small village of about 800 people, the Parochial Church Council (PCC) at St Nicholas (Grade II*) was proposing a fairly radical reordering of their church. (Fig. 1) The PCC sent out a description of the proposals to the whole parish together with a detailed questionnaire. Respondents were asked if they were in favour of developing the use of the building for community activities and if they were in favour, against, unsure or undecided about each of the proposals. In all, 450 questionnaires were delivered and 246 replies were received – a 55% response. The replies were collated and a detailed report was produced which recorded the yes and no responses graphically, and also recorded verbatim all written comments. Responses from regular church members were differentiated throughout from those of the wider parish.

There was an initial degree of opposition to all the proposals; some from those who attended church but most from the wider community. This was particularly so when the questionnaire listed specific areas, such as the addition of a kitchen and facilities, the possible relocation of the organ, the replacement of the pipe organ with an electronic instrument, screening the north transept and using the church for drama.

The biggest recorded 'no' was over the proposal to remove the pews to provide a more flexible seating system; and this came from the wider parish. Many saw the pews as essential to the traditional spiritual feel of the church and there was general anxiety over losing the special atmosphere of the building expressed by someone who wrote 'its essential characteristic 'tranquility' should not be sacrificed'. Among the concerns expressed were the huge 'unnecessary' cost of introducing new features, and, as one person put it, trying to turn the church into an 'entertainment centre and café'. Others recognized that changes had to be made if the currently cold and dark church was going to survive, but there was genuine concern that the building should retain its special quality. One person wrote that 'it is a beautiful building and changes must be beautifully done, (however) change is very important to bring the church into the new century'.

Other comments illustrated recognition of the tension between holiness versus homeliness or even office-ness, one person writing 'much of the appeal of going to Church lies in the fact that one is spending time in a place that does not resemble everywhere else. The kind of modifications that would work in a modern office building would not work in a Church'.

The responses to the survey helped to narrow down what the project should be setting out to achieve, and enabled the

PCC to respond sensitively to the concerns, as well as to take on board the positive suggestions made.

A surprise

This project also illustrated that some of the concerns can arise from the difficulty of visualizing what the resulting building will look like, especially if you are not used to looking at plans. While the new underfloor heating and floor was being laid, all the pews were stored in a local barn so that they could be put back into the church, this being the overwhelming wish that came out of the survey. However, in the period between the new floor being laid and the pews being collected, people came into the church to look, and so loved the new space that the suggestion was made that maybe it could be retained. In the end – despite the initial opposition to pew removal – only twelve pews were put back and the west end is now clear for community space (Fig. 2).

In the end, some told me that, despite opposition, they had to take a decision even if at times it felt lonely. After all, they were the ones faced with large repair bills and declining congregations and the fear that the church might not survive if more people were not invited to make use of it. For them, it was clear that even if a congregation was prepared to endure a cold and damp building with no facilities, it was unlikely that community groups would. And in most cases, there was a positive resolution. As one vicar said, 'if you carry the majority with you then hopefully more will come on board and if they see it done others will come around'.

However the pressure of dealing with different views can continue long after the works have been completed. I have come across two cases where a church has taken the decision to remove the Visitors' Book temporarily. One vicar explained that they had met with very little opposition to the major re-ordering in the Grade I church and that it is now being used successfully for a wide range of community events as well as a place of worship. However, a short while after completion they took the decision to remove the Visitors' Book because of adverse comments written about the pews being replaced by chairs. It was felt that they were made by visitors from elsewhere and were not a true reflection of how people in the locality, whose church it is, felt about the changes.

Challenge 2: Obtaining permission

The churches all understood the need to gain formal permission for the project, but many felt that negotiations took too long. One church described it as a 'necessary evil' while others expressed

Fig. 1 (top): St Nicholas, Chadlington, looking across to the north transept before the recent alterations. (Revd Mark Abrey)

Fig. 2 (bottom): St Nicholas, Chadlington, looking from the south aisle towards the meeting room in the north transept and showing the retained 12 pews. See box in body of text for details. (Becky Payne)

frustration that they were prevented from making what they saw as essential changes. To them it was 'illogical' that in a church that had been re-ordered every century since the 1300s they were being prevented from implementing their vision and making changes for good liturgical reasons or to achieve a more flexible space.

It may be helpful to know that the most common area of conflict between a church and the denominational authorities or the statutory Amenity Societies was the removal of what a church would describe as a standard set of mid-Victorian pews and/or the wish to move other pieces of furniture. For an Amenity Society, moving the lectern two feet to the north might be removing it from its historical context; while for the project

committee, it might be key to being able to install a stage and encourage the wider use of the building.

A common theme was that churches should involve the denominational authorities and English Heritage as early as possible, if possible at an informal site meeting. When this was done, there was praise for the Diocesan Advisory Committees (DACs), English Heritage and other experts whose advice could unlock previously insoluble problems and who were often able to suggest solutions which helped to minimise impact.

The Amenity Societies came in for some criticism. As one churchwarden put it 'Those putting their oar in are not the ones dealing with the real issues'. But they have an important statutory role to play and in addition can be a source of advice and knowledge, and can help prioritise what is important and explore areas where a compromise could be reached. Ideally, churches should consult with the Amenity Societies at the same time as the DAC, when ideas are still being developed, but it is clear this does not always happen, and consulting them when plans have become to some extent fixed, perhaps with inadequate documentation as to how this point was reached, may create unnecessary difficulties.

Challenge 3: Fundraising

The PCCs involved in these twenty-five cases raised hundreds of thousands of pounds through a combination of congregational giving, local fund-raising and grant applications. For some of them it took years, especially when unforeseen problems resulted in additional works and therefore costs. Maintaining energy levels over many years is a big challenge, with many churches making more than 50 grant applications. But many churches said that local fund-raising activities, although hard work, were important as a way of continuing to engage with the wider community by keeping them up to date with the project and building strong relationships.

These lengthy timescales may mean that permissions can run out of time. Likewise, most major grant bodies attach tight deadlines to their grants which can also run out of time if seeking permission goes on longer than expected. In addition, grants are awarded with a variety of conditions and monitoring requirements e.g. the money has to be spent within a year, it can only be spent on a certain part of the project, or it has to be proportionate to the total cost so will only pay a certain percentage of any bill, but also has a one year deadline.

Several projects told me they very nearly lost big grants because of such interrelated problems. And there was fear of contacting the funder and explaining problems in case this meant that the grant was cancelled. In fact, those who did take courage

and contacted the grant bodies found them sympathetic to genuine reasons. Several churches told me that they found the Heritage Lottery Fund especially helpful in this area.

For those not used to completing application forms it can initially be a major task, and several churches said that a big frustration is that all the funders ask for similar information but in slightly different formats. Many of the larger projects reported that keeping track of the applications requires the dedication of someone with financial skills, experience and meticulous attention to detail.

Challenge 4: Individuals carrying the burden

I found many amazing people who were not only the catalyst, but also the driving force behind a project over all the years that it took to complete. Many of these people are rightly proud of their achievements, but are now exhausted and desperately looking for others to take on the future management of the project.

It is for this reason very important to set up committees or project groups to take on responsibility for the various aspects of a large project such as fund-raising or looking after the building though I recognise this can be difficult in small communities. The key step is to identify the skills needed; and if people with those skills cannot be found within the congregation, then looking for them in the wider community can be a great way of strengthening links between church and community. It is also important to continue to welcome volunteers, and encourage new blood to come on board.

Challenge 5: Sharing and managing the space

As one vicar said, 'Of course, some churches if they could raise the money totally themselves, would prefer to do it that way, so they could totally regulate the use of the building'.

However, if you have genuinely gone into a partnership with the wider community and asked them for their views and then for their money and they have given freely of both, then you have to be very sure your vision for the 'new' building encompasses 'the new ways in which the building will be used'. I found, however, that even those churches who believed in their vision of creating a building that is both an active place of worship and one that welcomes the wider community for a variety of activities (Figs 3–6) can find the reality bit of a shock.

Another vicar explained that 'I've had to sign documents that compel my successors in perpetuity to make available the new Room for everyone within reasonable hours. At times it has been quite tricky re-engaging with [what is] a new building for all intents and purposes and, moreover, a new or renewed

Fig. 3 (top): Witney Food Festival, in St Mary's, Witney, May 2013. (Rosemary Harris)

Fig. 4 (bottom): Sign for Farmers' Market held in St Peter and St Paul, Deddington. (Judy Ward)

relationship with the community. All of a sudden people wanted to come into it and use it for non-religious purposes and that is great, but it does lead to some complexity and negotiation'.

One vicar commented that the for the worshipping community, the concern is that in order to sustain our churches, 'We are in danger of turning our churches into tourist attractions and commercial venues rather than places of worship where God's people meet and where the gospel is preached, and they are possibly losing their specific role within the local community'.

Others expressed concern that people will come and use the building who may not understand its sacred aspect and may not show it sufficient respect.

The balance needs to be right and many people said that it is important to be clear and set out in a hire agreement what is allowed and to define what is appropriate. For instance, in one church, if an event is to include music then the vicar will always make sure that it is appropriate.

The benefit as one vicar explained is that wider usage has changed the way the village views the church for the better. 'I think that some of the younger people, those with young families, who have come to a dance with a bar in the church – and they are the age group when you didn't do that sort of thing and now you do – have been quite taken by the fact that the church is making the effort, and it is refreshing to them.'

At St Peter's, Hook Norton, there have been other unexpected benefits. For a dinner dance held in the church, a local man organised a light show which the Vicar said 'gave a tasteful nightclub feel to the church, but it was so stunning, he was invited to produce a light show for the Christmas Eve carol service, which was equally impressive and beautifully done, and very well received'.

Fig. 5 (top): A Pilates class taking place in St Mary the Virgin, Kirtlington. (Terri Hopkins)

Fig. 6 (bottom): Using St John the Evangelist, Stoke Row for Maths Week. (Stoke Row School)

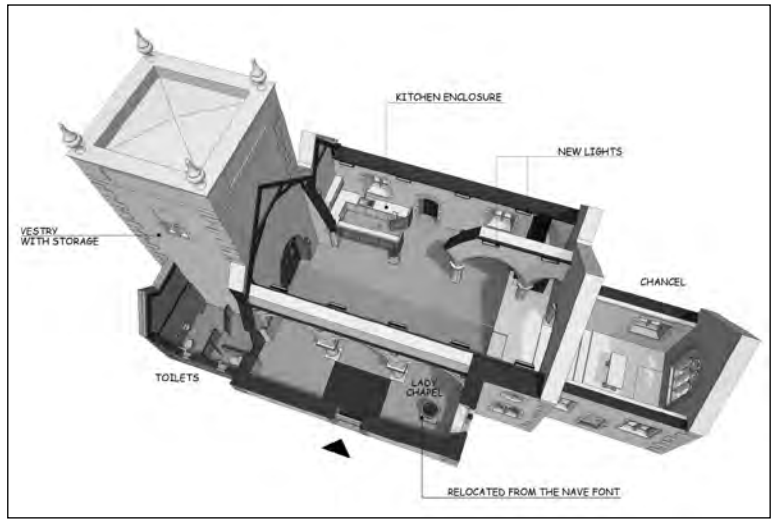


Fig. 7 (top): St John the Baptist, Stadhampton - 3D plan of the re-ordered church. The church is discussed in the box overleaf. (Wallingford Architecture Ltd)

Fig. 8 (bottom): St John the Baptist, Stadhampton, exterior. The new extension on the south side of the tower can just be glimpsed. See box in body of text for details. (Mike Peckett)

One issue that is often not completely resolved is how to retain a quiet space for reflection at times when other activities are taking place. All recognised that it is important for churches to continue to provide a such space, which people still want – whether they see it as somewhere to pray or as somewhere to sit and reflect in the midst of a busy day. Often the chancel is identified as that space, or in other cases separate soundproofed spaces have been created to hold noisy activities such as the toddlers' group; but in some churches, for a lot of the time, that quiet space is lost. This does need thinking about in advance.

Challenge 6: Sustainability over the long-term

As we all know, a major key to sustainability is the long-term willingness of people to volunteer, and to serve as active

committee members. As many congregations are getting smaller, it is crucial that churches find other ways of making people feel connected to the church so that they value it and are willing to give time to help support it. One very practical outcome of a major project is that it can encourage additional people to help manage or maintain the building.

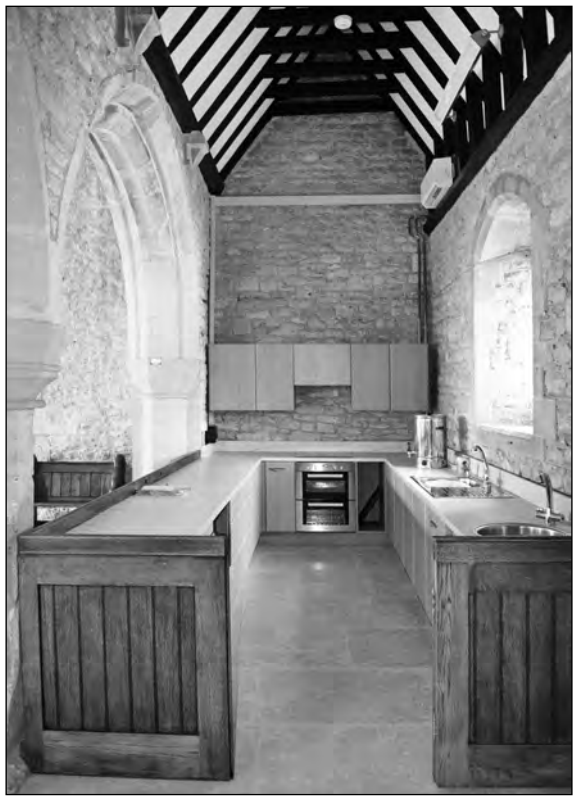


Fig. 9 (top): St John the Baptist, Stadhampton, the interior, now also acting as the village hall. This view towards the west end shows the new floor, chairs, and ceiling. Just glimpsed are the kitchen to the right (north side of church), and doorway into toilet extension on the left (south side). (Jola Reczynska JR Photo Studio)

Fig. 10 (bottom): The completed kitchen at the west end of north aisle at St John the Baptist, Stadhampton. (Mike Peckett)

St John the Baptist, Stadhampton: partnership agreement

In October 2013, St John the Baptist, Stadhampton reopened as the church and village hall following a major internal re-ordering; the building is now being used for a wide range of activities (Figs 7–10). This village of about 800 people had not had a community hall since the 1960s.

Protecting long-term interests

A village Building Project Team had initially been set up which invited the PCC (Parochial Church Council) of St John's to discuss the possibility of using the church. One of the major hurdles before the project started was desire for a formal agreement between all the key stakeholders to protect various interests. The Parish Council wanted a guarantee that if the church ever became redundant (that is, was no longer routinely used for worship under the control of a PCC), it would not be sold and that the new 'village hall' would therefore continue to be available for community use.

The situation was ultimately resolved quite simply by two letters to the Parish Council. The first, from the PCC, outlined their commitment to the project; their desire to see the church continuing for both worship and as a village hall for many years to come; and their eagerness to work in partnership with the Parish Council in the ongoing management of the new facility. It also explained the Church of England's policy on closing churches. The second letter, from the Team Rector of the benefice, reinforced support for the project. It explained the Church's redundancy policy in more detail and the statutory requirement to consult with the local community if redundancy were ever to be considered under the Pastoral Measure (1983).

Management of the building

For the first year of its new dual use, an interim management committee made up of both church and wider community managed day-to-day issues, while they worked out how a partnership model of management might operate. They have now set up the Village Hall Management Committee (VHC) which reflects a partnership

> *between the Parochial Church Council (PCC) (representing the views of the church community also the 'landlord' of the property) and the Parish Council (representing the views of the remainder of the village community). The aim of the partnership is to ensure that the remodelled Church, that resulted from the Community-Building Project 2008–2013, continues to work towards the Project's aim of creating a cohesive and caring community within Stadhampton and its environs. It is recognised that there will be some grey areas of responsibility as the building will have a dual use as both a 'Village Hall' and as a 'Place for Worship' but*

that by working in a spirit of partnership a way will be found to resolve them.

The partnership document sets out clearly all aspects of the partnership starting with the membership of the meeting which states that *the fabric of the building remains the responsibility of the PCC. However, it is in the interests of both parties that the building is sound, well insulated and well maintained at all times. Where significant funding is required it may be necessary for the PCC to apply to Grant Making Bodies for assistance. The VHC and the PCC should work in partnership in this Process.*

the VHC shall consist of not less than 7 and not more than 10 members. These must include: two members of the PCC (one of which will be the Churchwarden); one representative of the Stadhampton Parish Council; and the Vicar will have a standing invitation to all meetings.

It also identifies the responsibilities of each party in respect of running and capital costs including the cost of repair and replacement of village hall equipment which is the responsibility of the VHC, and the fixtures and fittings relating to the church which are the responsibility of the PCC. It goes on to state that.

The document sets out priorities for any income raised as well as a protocol for fund-raising. The chairman of the Management Committee, Ann Stead explains that for the most part fundraising is undertaken jointly by the Committee and the PCC. The main challenge is that because the VHC is a sub-committee of the PCC, and some funders exclude religious organisations, they are finding they are often shut off from these funding opportunities. She says that if this becomes a major problem, they may have to look at setting up a separate charity.

Part of this is down to perception: if the wider community becomes engaged with the building by coming in and using it, then they will start to see it more as *their* church rather than *the* church.

Shared responsibility

New models are emerging for managing church buildings in a way that involves the wider community. One example is Stadhampton (see box and Figures 7–10). Another is Elsfield (Figs 11–13), a small village of 100 people, where the new 'Village Room' was built in 2003 at the west end of the church. The main building remains the responsibility of the Parochial Church Council (PCC), but the village room is managed by a committee made up of church members and non-churchgoing residents. They raise the funds to cover its running and maintenance costs, currently £4,000 a year.

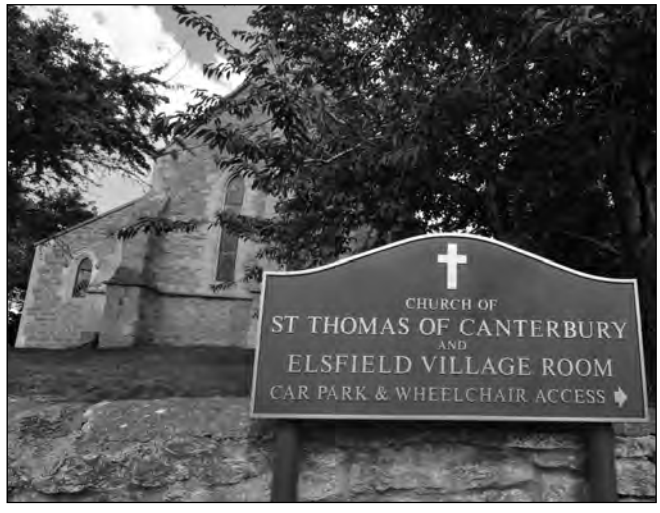


Fig. 11 (top): St Thomas of Canterbury, Elsfield from the north-west, showing the existing vestry annexe (the north transept) and the north aisle extension housing kitchen, toilet and storage area. (Becky Payne)

Fig. 12 (above): St Thomas of Canterbury, Elsfield, sign board for the church and village room. (Becky Payne)

Fig. 13 (left): St Thomas of Canterbury, Elsfield looking from chancel to the new village room, screened off at the west end. (Becky Payne)

A third example is St John the Evangelist, Fernham which is now both the parish church and the village hall (Figs 14–16). The whole church building is now managed under a 30-year repairing lease from the diocese by the Fernham Village Trust, which has responsibility for routine maintenance. The PCC pays to hire it for services and other church activities such as weddings and funerals. The lease states that the Trust will pay 60 per cent of the cost of any necessary major works while the PCC will contribute 40 per cent, reflecting the split between chancel and nave.

Fig. 14 (top): St John the Evangelist, Fernham showing facilities at the west end. (Becky Payne)

Fig. 15 (bottom): St John the Evangelist, Fernham looking towards the east end. (Becky Payne)

Managing the building for income

There was a range of different experiences in terms of wider use and the effect on financial sustainability.

An online hiring system has been introduced in some churches while others use the benefice office staff to provide this service; in a smaller village it can done perhaps more informally. However some projects are finding that their new building is not being used as much as they had hoped and are having to learn how to market it more effectively. And some of the larger churches are having to decide whether they move to the next stage of employing a manager or becoming even more proactive in promoting and using their church as a cultural venue by employing a Programmes Development Manager.

In some cases, where the building is being used a good deal, and creatively, the church is still uncertain about whether this wider community use is going to bring in a sufficient income to help sustain the building in the long term. They do not want the church to be seen as a money-making organisation so do not always charge commercial rates, despite the fact that the running and maintenance costs of the building have increased – e.g. heating, lighting, hot water, and cleaning. There is also the question of who will move the chairs for all those concerts, set up

Fig. 16: Watching the Royal Wedding 29th April 2011 in St John the Evangelist, Fernham. (Neil Sutherland)

the platform for the orchestra or the drama group, put out the tables for the Safari dinners, and then make sure it is all put back ready for Sunday morning service at 8.30am?

Again, it is sometimes easier in a smaller place where volunteers are 'doing for themselves', but the time and effort needed for this work must not be underestimated. Whether large or small, people developing church projects need to realise that their business plan should cover life *after* the building works have been completed as they will be managing a much more complex operation than before, with the increased costs that flow from increased use.

Increased use brings in more income, which may well cover routine maintenance and minor repairs; but it will not necessarily cover future major repairs or further improvements to the building. Capital intensive schemes such as these will need more donations and more grants which again means more volunteer time spent in fund-raising. One vicar, who had been the incumbent at the same church for twenty-one years, said he 'doesn't know a time when I haven't been raising funds for the upkeep of the church. It's a credit to a village of this size that they have been constantly stepping up to the plate for the last twenty-odd years'.

Mission

Having more people crossing the threshold can also provide opportunities for mission. One vicar said to me that she had had more conversations about God while selling stamps than during her other more 'vicarly' duties. On the other hand, there is disappointment expressed by some whose hopes of the project increasing their congregation has not necessarily come to pass. One vicar said, 'My experience is most people who come to musical events, come to musical events and this notion that maybe they will be struck with the truth of the Gospel doesn't usually happen'.

❖ ❖ ❖

More research is needed to understand what these types of projects are delivering for the congregation, the wider community and the church building over the much longer term. One important study was done by Susan Rowe some years ago, and is still worth reading: she looked at those places of worship that were awarded Millennium Fund grants to provide community facilities to see what shape they were in, first after three years and then

again after ten years.[1] She found the majority were still healthy, a few had had to find new users and only a couple had failed to live up to the original vision. But many had suffered from key people leaving the village, interregnums, changes in population, and other organisations setting up in competition.

Such research would help those developing future projects to take the necessary steps to maximise their success, and would also help identify those areas where churches need the most support.

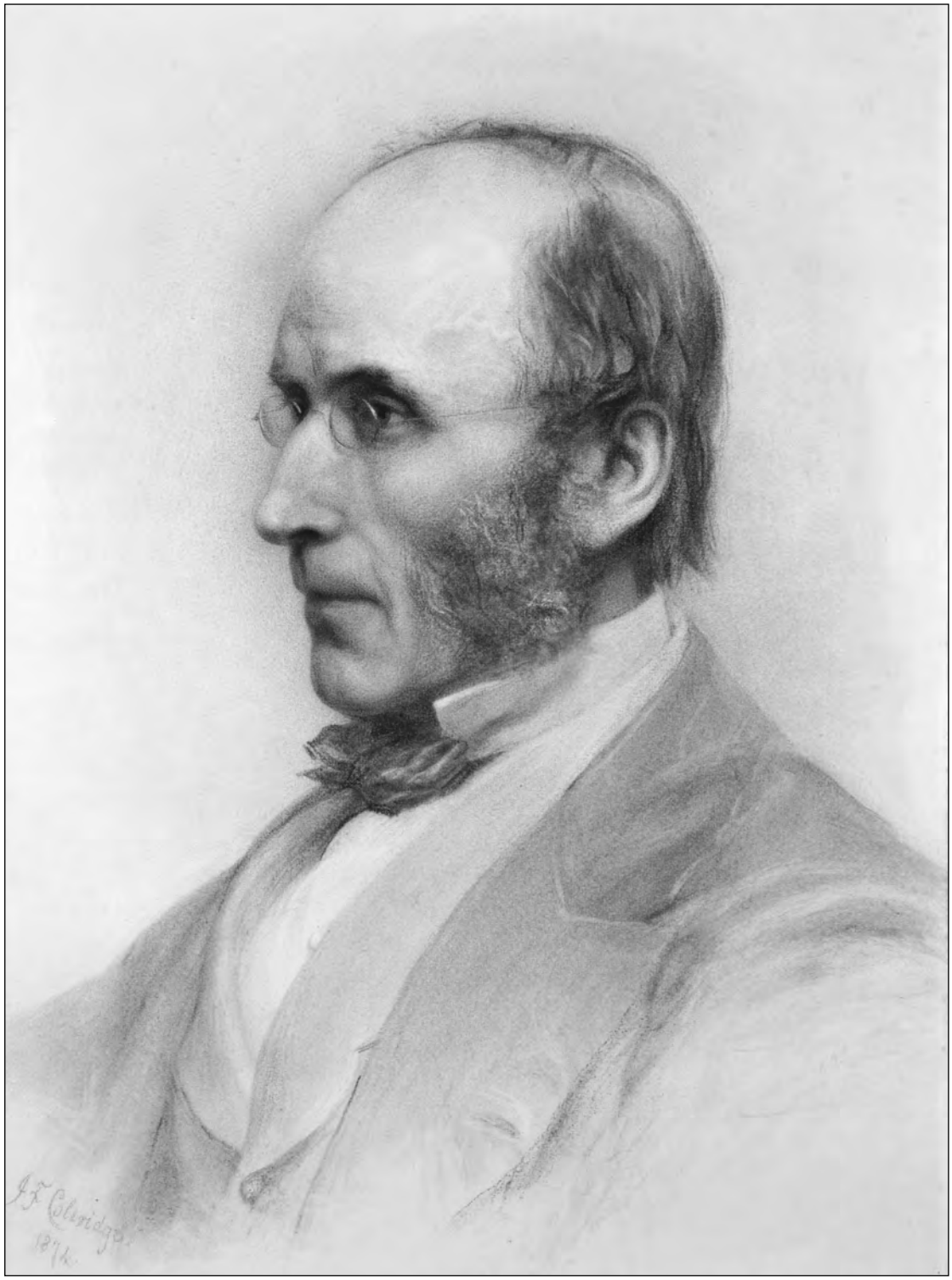
In the meantime, the six challenges I have outlined above were common to most of the projects I looked at, and I would strongly encourage churches to think about them well in advance of starting any major project.

The twenty-five case studies referred to in this article can be read in Becky Payne, Churches for Communities: Adapting Oxfordshire's Churches for Wider Use, *2014, 136pp, 150 colour illustrations, ISBN 978 0992 7693 07. The book was commissioned by the Rt Revd Colin Fletcher, Bishop of Dorchester and the Oxfordshire Historic Churches Trust, and published by the latter, and all proceeds go to the work of the Trust. Available from www.centralbooks.com or through all good booksellers.*

Notes

1 Susan Rowe, *Ten Years on: a Review of Rural Churches in Community Service Programme*, 2009, available at www.arthurrankcentre.org.uk/images/stories/resources/Ten_Years_On.pdf

WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD



William Butterfield (1814–1900) in 1874, by Jane (née Fortescue Seymour), Lady Coleridge. In black chalk, with black and white ink (57.7cm x 42.6cm). This is the only known portrait of Butterfield. An identical drawing is owned by Keble College. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Sermon preached at All Saints, Margaret Street on the 200th anniversary of the birth of William Butterfield, 7 September 2014

Fr Alan Moses

The Ecclesiological Society is grateful to Fr Alan Moses for permission to publish his sermon, preached on William Butterfield's bicentenary.

Prebendary Alan Moses has been Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, since 1995.

I AM NEITHER an architect nor an architectural historian, but this is a sermon not a lecture. There will be a chance to hear lectures on Butterfield at the Victorian Society's conference on Saturday, 18th October. My principal qualification to preach a sermon on the 200th anniversary of William Butterfield's birth is that I have been the Vicar of this church for the past nineteen years and have been involved throughout that time in its restoration; to have said my prayers and done my daily meditation surrounded by his creation. Tonight, I want you to try and imagine that you had never seen this building before, or Keble College, Oxford, and its chapel. You knew nothing of their history, of why they were built, or of the man who built them. Ask yourselves: What kind of man, what kind of imagination and mind, could create such places and why he would do it?

Confronted, and any weaker word will hardly do, with such arresting, and colourful, powerful and vibrant buildings; ones which can stop you in your tracks, leaving you with your mouth hanging open and struggling for words, we might well think that their designer was a bravura, larger-than-life character of the type we often associate with the artistic temperament. This might have been true of that other great Gothic Revivalist, Pugin, but it was not of Butterfield. He led a diligent, faithful, ordered and quiet life. He did not die tragically young but survived to a grand old age, working to the last. Although he never married, he was devoted to his family and a group of friends and they to him. Once he had established his office in the Adelphi, there he stayed. Each afternoon he would break and walk to the Athenaeum for tea. He worked his staff hard and nowadays he would be regarded as something of a control freak: paying attention not just to the big picture but to the detail. For all that, he seems to have been trusted by building workers to speak on their behalf in an industrial dispute.

Butterfield's origins were humble. His father was, as they said in those days, 'in trade', not even a member of the professional classes, let alone the landed gentry and aristocracy to which the upwardly mobile aspired to rise. His family were Non-Conformist in religion. There was no question for him of study at Oxford or Cambridge. He began his training apprentice to a

builder until an improvement in the family fortunes meant that he could move up to architecture.

The early years of his career coincided with significant and tumultuous developments in the life of the Church and the nation. It was also a time of fresh ideas on architecture associated with John Ruskin; the resurgence of Gothic. This was too the England of the industrial revolution and rapid urbanisation and social change. The Church was challenged by social and political forces.

The Oxford Movement sought to reinvigorate the Church of England and restore its sense of catholicity as a defence against the forces which threatened it. The Tractarians were more concerned with doctrine and spiritual discipline than with architecture and other visual and tangible elements of the faith. Keble College is the memorial to one of them: another man of firm purpose and quiet strength. At some stage Butterfield was won to this vision of the Church and remained faithful to it for the rest of his life. Most of his professional work would be devoted to it. For him, the profession of architecture would be all of a piece with the profession of faith. It would be the dedication of his talents and energies to the glory of God and the service of his Church.

It was in Cambridge that a group of energetic young enthusiasts gathered in the Cambridge Camden Society (later renamed as the Ecclesiological Society) and set about translating these ideals into architectural form – and not just bricks and stone, but all that was required in a church properly-furnished for the services of the Church of England to be celebrated properly: a church which should be in the English Gothic style. With an extraordinary confidence they set about imposing their ideas on the Church of England. Butterfield seems to have first come into contact with them as someone who could design such equipment: chalices and the like. As they graduated and moved out into the world they devised the plan of building a model church and the Margaret Chapel on this site, already a centre of Tractarian activity in London, was settled upon. It was to be an example both of how a church should be built and how one should be run.

By this time, the dominant figure in the Society was Alexander Beresford Hope who was ambitious, energetic and rich. He became the dominant force in the building of this church. Chris Brooks has written a fascinating analysis of the relationship between him and Butterfield in this scheme. He sees Beresford Hope as using this project to make his mark in both church and state. It is his *grand projet*, as French presidents say. All Saints would stand over against what he called the 'Protestant Shopocracy' of Oxford Street. (He was more than a bit of a snob!) If he could see Oxford Street now, with its shrines of a consumer

capitalism bent on persuading us to buy things we do not need with money we do not have, he might wish that old-fashioned protestant virtues were more in evidence. He certainly saw himself as the man in charge. This proprietorial attitude would bring him into conflict with both Butterfield and the vicar, William Upton Richards, who was clearly also regarded as a subordinate in the exercise: one who would be expected to bow to his superior's will on the conduct of services and the seating arrangements for the congregation. At a time when most city parishes were funded by pew-rents – to the disadvantage of the poor – this was a 'free and open church'. There were no pew rents or reserved seats – but Hope wanted to reserve seats for his friends.

Brooks suggests that Butterfield was chosen because in comparison with someone like Gilbert Scott, he was still relatively young and unestablished. This, together with his humble origins, would make him more biddable and pliable to the will of Beresford Hope who saw himself as the guiding and controlling inspiration behind the project. He would 'know his place.'

Patron and architect soon clashed. Beresford Hope wanted a rood screen to separate the chancel from the nave; Butterfield would have none of it. The patron had more success initially over the stained glass but his choice, against Butterfield's advice, would prove a disastrous failure and have to be redone. He wanted benches while Butterfield wanted chairs, although they were united in refusing to have pews with their social divisiveness. Beresford Hope wanted something which was 'English', but All Saints, with its echoes of Lübeck and Assisi, its famous structural polychromy, is clearly anything but that. *The Ecclesiologist*, controlled by Beresford Hope, had first advanced Butterfield's cause, then, in the manner of some sectarian political party towards a heretic – as soon as he has fallen out with the leadership, his work is first damned with faint praise, then disparaged and finally disappears from its columns. Butterfield is, as we would say, 'air-brushed out of the photograph'. Nowadays, the tables have been turned – Beresford Hope is remembered because of his association with Butterfield and the building of this church.

I think we can see something of the strength of Butterfield's character in the way in which he stuck to his principles through all this and went on working. His strength may not have been the showy type but it was real and represents something of that virtue which the New Testament calls *hupomene* – perseverance or endurance. And in building this church Butterfield demonstrated his genius and originality. Presented with a cramped site, he made something of which someone said to me the other day: 'it's like the Tardis' – meaning it's bigger on the inside than on the outside. He built something which is both powerful in impression and robust in structure – he did not forget the lessons he had learned

in the building trade. He built something which was no mere re-creation of a medieval fantasy, an attempt to escape the harsh realities of a new age. He built a church for that new age, using its materials and techniques. Just as he would build a college in Oxford that looked like no other because it did not simply look to the past.

There is decoration, but not for its own sake. It is integral to the scheme and serves its purpose. It works to highlight those places which are important. First of all, the whole scheme is meant to show that this is no ordinary place: it is 'none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven'. It is a house of prayer and worship, an outpost of heaven, not just a meeting hall. It is meant to bring people to their knees and to raise their eyes and hearts to heaven.

But it is not just an aesthetic experience; it is meant to instruct. The decoration reveals clearly that the important points in the church are the font, the pulpit, the chancel and the altar. The font by the door is the place of entrance to the church through the sacrament of baptism. The pulpit is the place of the proclamation of the gospel and the teaching of the faith. The chancel is the place in which the daily services of the church are offered. The altar, for the celebration of the mysteries of the Holy Eucharist, is the focal point.

The walls and windows reinforce the message. Butterfield clearly expected that in the iconography of both this place and Keble Chapel people should be biblically literate or that they should become so. He incorporated Old Testament typology: the sacrifice of Isaac, the bronze serpent in the wilderness, Melchizedek offering bread and wine to Abraham, which we are still having to explain today.

He created something which some critics have called 'ugly' – not a word which you hear from most visitors. But a more perceptive view came from the priest-poet Gerald Manley Hopkins, whose own work would not be appreciated until after his death. He wrote to Butterfield in 1877: 'I hope you will long continue to work out your beautiful and original style. I do not think this generation will ever much admire it. They do not understand how to look at a pointed building as a whole having a single form governing it throughout, which they would perhaps see in a Greek temple; they like it to be a sort of farmyard medley of ricks and roofs and dovecotes'.

Butterfield does not conform to a certain English taste that looks for prettiness and picturesqueness in the buildings it admires. What Butterfield does is not conventionally pretty let alone effete, but it is powerful and robust and all the better for that. Butterfield built for the world and the Church of his own day. We who would honour his memory will best do so by working for the kingdom his buildings represent in our world.

William Butterfield: From the Strand to Margaret Street – a short distance but a long journey

Geoff Brandwood

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THE BICENTENARY of William Butterfield's birth in 2014 provided the opportunity to honour one of the greatest and most individual of all Victorian architects. The Victorian Society organised a one-day conference about him on 18 October while the Ecclesiological Society undertook the restoration of his grave in Tottenham Cemetery in time for it to be blessed by the Revd Prebendary Roy Pearson, vicar of the adjacent All Hallows' church, on the actual day of the bicentenary, Sunday 7 September. That day was also marked by a special service of Choral Evensong with Benediction, sung in the early evening at All Saints Church, Margaret Street, by the combined choirs of All Saints and Keble College, Oxford.

These occasions provided the opportunity to reflect on Butterfield's achievements and their importance. As with other major Gothic revivalists – Scott, Street, Pearson, Carpenter, and Woodyer – it was the 1840s which provided the springboard for his career. That momentous decade saw the ideas of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society being fully realised and, at its close, the opportunity to take the revival forward in innovative directions, not least from the drawing board of William Butterfield himself. This brief article examines, as far as the evidence allows, the early years of his career – how he became an architect, moved from nonconformity to high Anglicanism, and rose in status to be a central figure of the Gothic Revival. It offers a resumé of some of his key connections, his churchmanship and his work in creating some of the most important buildings of the nineteenth century.

Nonconformity to Anglicanism

By the mid 1840s William Butterfield was at the very heart of the ecclesiological movement but his journey there is by no means an obvious one, coming as he did from a nonconformist, lower middle-class London family. His father, also William, was a chemist and druggist at 173 Strand, opposite St Clement Danes' church, and he was, with his wife Anne, an active member of a dissenting church at nearby New Court, Carey Street, although in the 1830s it seems they transferred their allegiance to the Catholic Apostolic Church.[1]

Aged sixteen in 1831, Butterfield was apprenticed to a Pimlico builder, Thomas Arber, but two years later, after the latter's bankruptcy, he became articled to the architect, E. L. Blackburne,

a move made possible perhaps by his father's improving financial circumstances.[2] He also spent time in the office of the Greek Revival architects William and Henry Inwood and then went to work in an architectural office in Worcester, no doubt that of Harvey Eginton. Paul Thompson's magisterial book on Butterfield says this would have been during 1838–9 (possibly longer) but we now know that he was already working in London in 1838 out of 38 Lincoln's Inn Fields. This is established by the recent discovery by Michael Port of drawings and the specification for a parsonage at Addlestone, Surrey, which was built in 1839–40, thus making it Butterfield's earliest known work.[3]

What was long thought to be Butterfield's first commission is the Highbury Congregational Chapel, Bristol, of 1842–3 (Fig. 1) for his uncle, the tobacco magnate, W. D. Wills. We do not know what other commissions (if any) the young Butterfield undertook before 1842 but, in terms of his churchmanship, by this time he had become an Anglican and fallen under the spell of Tractarianism, a *sine qua non* if he was to be accepted at the heart of the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS). Yet he remained a staunch traditional high churchman, emphatically not a Ritualist. Paul Thompson offers a telling quotation from one recollection which says that although he took 'the minutest interest in the details of traditional worship, he held in horror anything like fancy ritual'.[4] The introduction, as Ritualism developed, of incense,

Fig. 1: Butterfield's first church, Highbury Congregational Chapel, 1842–3, built for the architect's uncle, the tobacco importer and cigarette manufacturer, William Day Wills. The Perpendicular style would soon drop out of favour and did not find a place in Butterfield's later repertoire. (Geoff Brandwood)

vestments, reservation of the sacrament and its elevation, for example, were to offend him.

Butterfield's contact with the CCS has been charted by Chris Brooks and it is a somewhat odd story.[5] The earliest known involvement was in February 1842 when the first volume of *The Ecclesiologist* published a letter from one 'W. B.', expressing the view that where there was a chancel screen there was no need for altar rails (a seemingly abstruse matter but one that would resurface in the difficulties over the building of All Saints, Margaret Street, ten years later). A year later, in February 1843, we find *The Ecclesiologist* explaining the CCS's intention to sponsor church plate designed under the supervision of their 'agent', 'W. Butterfield, Esq., Architect, of 4 Adam Street, Adelphi, London' whose 'zeal and skill' are duly noted. This would develop into *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, model designs for church use which were important in promoting the ecclesiological project. Yet strangely Butterfield did not become a member of the Society until 11 May 1844, over two years after his first apparent contact. The same month *The Ecclesiologist* carried a notice about Butterfield's design for his first Anglican church, St Saviour, Coalpit Heath, just north of Bristol and found it 'worthy of much commendation'. It was here, in the lych-gate and parsonage (Figs 2a & 2b), that we first see his taste for deploying angular, geometrical forms from his extraordinary imagination. But before carrying forward the story of Butterfield's architectural career, something needs to be said about the seemingly paradoxical character of the man and his position in the mid-Victorian professional and social worlds.

Butterfield the man and his connections

By now Butterfield was a central player in the CCS. He frequently met with Benjamin Webb, one of its founders and secretaries, who became a long-term close friend. He would also become closely involved with the Society's dominant (and domineering) figure, Alexander Beresford Hope. Yet, he never appears to have attended a Society meeting. This was a man who had little interest in the architectural profession as such and never became a member of the RIBA (although the same can be said of other distinguished figures such as Bodley and Shaw) and, when he was finally offered its Royal Gold Medal in 1884, he refused to accept it in public. He would not enter competitions and, although he had produced designs for *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, he was averse to having his architectural commissions published. Like his near-contemporary, Pugin, he did not take on pupils, although it is possible but by no means certain that Henry Woodyer did work in Butterfield's office.[6]

Butterfield was a very private man who followed strict routines and ruled his office firmly. He never married and lived for his work but was very close to members of his family, especially his older sister Anne and her husband Benjamin Starey. Yet he also established some deep and important friendships, such as with Benjamin Webb mentioned above, and the distinguished judge John Duke Coleridge. In fact, although Butterfield maintained an aloofness in the architectural world, quite extraordinarily this son of a London shop-keeper, was by the mid 1840s associating closely with key members of the Establishment. In 1845, with John Keble as spiritual adviser, fourteen High Churchmen, mainly Oxonians, formed the Engagement, a small private fraternity which met annually on St Barnabas' Day 11 June) at the Margaret Chapel (the precursor of

Fig. 2a: The lych-gate at St Saviour, Coalpit Heath, Gloucestershire, 1844–5, an early example of the stark, powerful detailing that Butterfield often favoured. It evidently impressed G. F. Bodley who reused the design at his church of All Saints', Selsley, Gloucestershire, in the early 1860s. (Geoff Brandwood)

All Saints). They committed themselves to charitable works and Tractarian principles. Not only did their number include W. E. Gladstone, Judge John Taylor Coleridge (a father of John Duke), four MPs, three barristers, a doctor, and an army captain, but also the 31-year-old Butterfield.[7]

Furthermore, in 1858 supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, John Taylor Coleridge and Benjamin Webb, he joined the exclusive Athenaeum Club which he would visit when in London to take his regular afternoon 'dish of tea'. The elder Coleridge was certainly instrumental in Butterfield's joining the very elite dining club of Nobody's Friends, founded in 1800, which consisted chiefly of ecclesiastics, lawyers and landed gentry. Several Coleridges were members. Butterfield's proposer was Sir William Heathcote, squire of John Keble's parish of Hursley, Hampshire.

How all this squares with the impression of a man who is said to have been shy and eschewed public recognition is, at a century and a half's remove, hard to fathom. John Duke Coleridge's

Fig. 2b: Like the lych-gate, the vicarage at Coalpit Heath uses strikingly muscular architectural language which must have seemed quite extraordinary in the mid 1840s. (Geoff Brandwood)

Fig. 3: St Augustine imported Christianity to this spot in the year 597. Some 1,250 years later it was re-exported to the British Empire from St Augustine's College, established at the suggestion of the Revd Edward Coleridge and funded by Alexander Beresford Hope who chose William Butterfield to design it. As at Coalpit Heath there is strong detailing, reinterpreting medieval forms. (Geoff Brandwood)

second son, Stephen, recalled that Butterfield was 'A perplexing and challenging' character, a shy man 'who carried firmness to the point of obstinacy'.[8] If he did not attend the RIBA and Ecclesiological Society gatherings, did he go to those of the Engagement and Nobody's Friends? If not, surely he would have eventually been ostracised. It is now hard to make sense of all this in terms of Butterfield's social life (or lack of it) but a truth of the matter is that he had become a central player in his own ecclesiological game.

St Augustine's College, Canterbury, and Alexander James Beresford Hope

The mid 1840s saw the rise, like that of Butterfield, of A. J. Beresford Hope to the heart of the ecclesiological project. Heir to a fortune built on diamond-trading, married into the powerful Cecil family, and Conservative MP for Maidstone from 1841, Hope became the leading spokesman for High Anglicanism in Parliament. After the Cambridge Camden Society was reincarnated as the Ecclesiological Society in 1845 and moved to London, Hope was its leading figure. In 1844 he purchased the ruinous St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury in response to a plea that 'some pious and wealthy Catholic' should do so.[9] Its future as an Anglian missionary college was proposed by the Revd Edward Coleridge, Master and Fellow of Eton College, through whom Butterfield became introduced to the extended Coleridge family.

Hope chose Butterfield as his architect for this great endeavour – a bold selection since he had not yet completed his first Anglican church and the only work Butterfield had done directly for Hope had simply involved fittings for his church at Kilndown, Kent.

The college was completed in 1848 and was widely acclaimed. Here Butterfield recreated a medieval-style complex with a full complement of living quarters, chapel, library and study and service facilities (Fig. 3). The architecture is medieval in spirit but much of the detail is filtered and transformed through Butterfield's bold imagination. It shows, as Rosemary Hill says, his growing interest in solid mass, apparent in the continuous roofline and abrupt punctuation of the wall surfaces by window tracery in the same plane.[10] Hope, rightly, saw Butterfield as a man who could carry the torch of medieval Gothic into the modern, industrial world of the mid nineteenth century and make it relevant to their own day.

The early/mid 1840s saw the readoption of 'Middle Pointed' Gothic – that is work of late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-centuries – as the only appropriate style for British buildings with a religious connection, churches chiefly but also parsonages, schools and philanthropic institutions. Careful study of medieval exemplars meant that faithful reproductions could easily be achieved. Such a situation could not carry on *ad infinitum* and the idea of 'development' took root. Nobody was keener on this than Beresford Hope, and Butterfield was already showing the way forward with challenging designs as at Coalpit Heath and St Augustine's College. The same can be said of his designs for Adelaide Cathedral, a major overseas project which surely underlines Butterfield's position at the spearhead of contemporary Anglican church-building, although it was not executed until 1869–78 to revised designs. A telling review in *The Ecclesiologist* says: 'Nothing could be more severe than this design, and yet it has a character of its own which is perhaps impossible to describe: it has just that individuality which we admire in our ancient churches'.[11] It was also to be 'of a material so mean as brick'. By now the stage was set for one of the most important buildings of the nineteenth century – All Saints, Margaret Street.

All Saints, Margaret Street

All Saints – planned initially in 1849 but not finally opened until 1859 – was conceived as a model town church of the Ecclesiological Society and, in particular, of its now-dominant figure, Beresford Hope. His financial support for the project was exceeded by that of the banker Henry Tritton (who paid some £30,000), but Tritton remained in the background whereas Hope saw himself as the overseer and controlling influence of the

enterprise. Conflict with his very determined architect was inevitable.

The church launched an approach now labelled 'High Victorian' Gothic which was to take on many different forms. It was ground-breaking in a number of respects. These have often been rehearsed,[12] but the three key features were these: first, a very marked break away from the recently-established orthodoxy of English 'Middle Pointed' precedent, even involving a very Germanic-looking steeple; second, the use of brick, hitherto condemned as 'mean' and unworthy for building the house of God; thirdly the use of structural polychromy (see front cover). Although *The Ecclesiologist* had been recommending colour in churches, this had generally meant painted colour, and apart from stained glass and isolated examples, notably Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury's coruscating St Giles', Cheadle, 1840s churches were mostly colourless affairs. John Ruskin changed all that with the publication of his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* in May 1849 and this seems to have had a direct influence on the All Saints project, although the first realised fruits are to be seen in the font of 1850 at Ottery St Mary, Devon (for the Coleridge family) (Fig. 4).[13] However, Butterfield's polychromy was very idiomatic and would take directions independent of Ruskin with strong patterns and hard finishes (Figs 5a & 5b).

Chris Brooks charts the disintegration of the relationship between Hope and Butterfield (although Webb was to remain a good friend). Hope's vehement correspondence to Webb begins even at the start of the project in 1849. Butterfield was advocating no need for an altar rail, given the intention to have a choir screen (the very subject raised in his first letter to *The Ecclesiologist*). Hope fulminated that 'Butterfield has the stuff of a heresiarch in him …[he is] stiff, dogmatical, and puritanical'. In 1852 the two men disagreed over seating, with Butterfield insisting on chairs (an argument he won). They also fell out over the tonality of the west window made by Alfred Gerente, with Butterfield wanting it changed but Hope refusing. Perhaps as a dig at Butterfield, *The Ecclesiologist's* review when the church opened in 1859 says: 'To our mind, M. Gerente's colouring is harmonious and beautiful'.[14] Hope had originally intended and expected frescoes for the interior and found Butterfield's structural polychromy particularly objectionable and wrote to Webb: 'Butterfield has so parricidlly [*sic*] spoilt his own creation with the clown's dress, so spotty and spidery and flimsy as it looks in a mass now that it is all done, and worst of all the Church looks so much smaller than it used to do with nothing but the solemn columns to give scale'.[15]

The Ecclesiologist's long review in 1859 is anonymous but we can be fairly sure it was written by Hope: it certainly reflects his views. The review is a strange mixture of great enthusiasm and deep condemnation. Butterfield 'has approached to the sublime of architecture … [and] He was the first to show us that red brick is the best building material for London, and to prove that its use was compatible with the highest flights of architecture'.[16] However, inside, 'The patterns in the nave and over the chancel arch, seem to us abrupt, and disproportionate, and ungainly. They are without flow or continuity: and the colouring throughout is fragmentary and crude'.[17] It is such language that must have helped mould an abiding view of Butterfield's architecture at large. A famous passage (p. 185) declares that at All Saints there is 'to be observed the germ of the same dread of beauty, not to say

Fig. 4: Ottery, St Mary, font, 1850. In the wake of Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture*, this was a pioneering work in the amazing explosion of interest in colour in the 1850s for architecture and fittings, seen in the work of G. G. Scott, G. E. Street and, of course, William Butterfield at All Saints, Margaret Street. (Geoff Brandwood)*

5a: The pulpit at All Saints. Like the font at Ottery St Mary, this uses rich Italianate treatment. Again, this did not go down well with The Ecclesiologist: *'the colouring … is fragmentary and crude. This … is a crying fault in the inlaying of the pulpit'. However, such a view was out of step with much of contemporary taste, hence the magnificently ornate fittings in, for example, major churches by G.G. Scott. (Geoff Brandwood)*

the same deliberate preference for ugliness, which so characterises in fuller development the late paintings of Mr. Millais and his followers'.

The idea of ingrained ugliness in Butterfield's work, then, has a long pedigree. Most famously it resurfaced in John Summerson's paper 'William Butterfield; or the Glory of Ugliness' in the *Architectural Review* for 1945. This was, of course, a time when almost any Victorian architecture was regarded as ugly. Paul Thompson's study of Butterfield in 1971 brilliantly dismisses all this and sees his work in a very different light and encapsulates All Saints in less than a dozen careful words: 'a moment of vivid enthusiasm, astonishing in its warmth and openness'.[18] That Butterfield was *trying* to be ugly and Summerson's suggestion of

Fig. 5b: All Saints, Margaret Street. 'The patterns … over the chancel arch, seem to us abrupt, and disproportionate, and ungainly'. Such was the verdict of The Ecclesiologist *in 1859 when the church opened. How do we see them today, here after Colin Kerr's recent restoration? But, overall, the journal said, 'Mr. Butterfield's praise is that in this impressive church … he has approached the sublime of architecture'. (Geoff Brandwood)*

'purposeful sadism' now seems absurd. Like great artists in other fields, he was certainly pushing the boundaries of architectural form and decoration in new directions, some of which met with the wholehearted approval of his patrons and contemporaries whereas others did not. As a telling aside, in the second edition of the *Buildings of England* volume for Wiltshire (1975) dealing with Teulon's Romanesque church at Oare (1857–8), Pevsner comments: 'In the first edition I had added: "It may well be considered the ugliest church in Wiltshire." I would not say that now; for in Teulon's work this kind of ugliness is an asset'. He then adds 'Take many pictures by Picasso – surely they are intended to be ugly'. Ugly is clearly not an absolute value. One wonders if American hedge fund manager Steven A. Cohen who purchased Picasso's *La Rêve* (1932) for a handsome $158m in March 2013 would have considered his acquisition in quite such terms.

Beyond All Saints

The 1850s marked a parting of the ways between Butterfield and the Ecclesiological Society, together with its leader, Beresford

Hope. Butterfield's final work for *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* was submitted in February 1854. In May that year, as Brooks notes, he 'wrote defending his woodwork at Dorchester Abbey. As far as the record of *The Ecclesiologist* is concerned, it was his last direct contact with the Society: the connection ended as it had begun, with the formal distance of a letter'.[19]

The 1850s saw the creation some of Butterfield's most significant buildings: the completion of Cumbrae College, Ayrshire (1849–51); St Matthias, Stoke Newington, London (1849–53); his only country house Milton Ernest Hall, Bedfordshire (1853–4), for his brother-in-law Benjamin Starey; the church and many buildings at Baldersby, North Yorkshire (1855–7) for a major patron, Viscount Downe; Balliol College chapel, Oxford (1856–7); and the start of work at Rugby School (1858 and lasting into the 1870s). These were followed by another great London church, St Alban's, Holborn (1859–62). In the 1860s came All Saints, Babbacombe, Devon (1867–74), and the commission for the mighty Keble College, Oxford (commission 1868, completed 1886) which Rosemary Hill describes quite rightly as 'the architectural apotheosis of the Oxford Movement' (Fig. 6).

Butterfield's buildings live on, increasingly admired as creations of one of the most innovative and visionary British architects.

Fig. 6a: Keble College, Oxford, 1868–86: 'the architectural apotheosis of the Oxford Movement'. (Geoff Brandwood)

Fig. 6b: Keble College, interior of the chapel. (Geoff Brandwood)

Notes

1 Information from Douglas Butterfield, great-great-nephew of William Butterfield (the architect) (pers. comm., 11 September 2014).
2 A suggestion made by Rosemary Hill in her *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforth *ODNB*) entry.
3 To be published in a forthcoming edition of the *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*.
4 Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield*, (London, 1971), 33.
5 Chris Brooks, '"The Stuff of a Heresiarch": William Butterfield, Beresford Hope, and the ecclesiological vanguard', in '*A Church as It Should be*': *the Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence* (Stamford, 2000), 121–48.
6 This is a vexed matter. Harry Redfern, remembering in 1944 what he had heard in Henry Woodyer's office back in the 1870s, said that Woodyer had been a pupil of Butterfield (but seventy years is a long time in which the memory can play tricks). But Woodyer is listed in *Post Office Directories* from 1846 to 1857 at Butterfield's address, 4 Adam Street. Both men contributed to *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* and Woodyer is known to have sought the very slightly older man's advice regarding the House of Mercy at Clewer. But was Woodyer actually a pupil? After all, from 1845 he had an office at 108 High Street, Guildford, the same address as his father's medical practice. (The foregoing is taken from John Elliott & John Pritchard (eds), *Henry Woodyer, Gentleman Architect* (Reading, 2002), 14–15.) Was the Adam Street address an arrangement to provide an out-of-town architect with a convenient London business address? If so, what did Butterfield get out of it?
7 I owe this material on the Engagement to Jennifer Harrison and her 'William Butterfield in Oxford, the impact of patrons and clients' (Postgraduate Dissertation, University of Oxford, 2014), 11.
8 Hill, *ODNB*.
9 Quoted in Brooks, 'Heresiarch',131.
10 Hill, *ODNB*.
11 *The Ecclesiologist*, 8 (1848), 141. The review says (p. 142) that Butterfield was selected by the bishop. This was Augustus Short, an Oxonian Tractarian. He was not a member of the Ecclesiological Society or its Oxford counterpart, but surely was well aware of what was happening in the mid 1840s ecclesiological world. Prior to moving to Adelaide he was vicar of Ravensthorpe, Northamptonshire.
12 Especially in Paul Thompson, 'All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, reconsidered', *Architectural History*, 8 (1965), 73–94.
13 Brooks, 'Heresiarch', (p. 141) also draws attention to M. D. Wyatt's *Specimens of the Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages*, published in 1848.
14 *The Ecclesiologist*, 20 (1859), 184–9 at 187.
15 Brooks, 'Heresiarch', 143.
16 *The Ecclesiologist*, 20 (1859), 185–6.
17 *The Ecclesiologist*, 20 (1859), 186.
18 Thompson, *Butterfield*, p. 236.
19 Brooks, 'Heresiarch', 147.

William Butterfield mosaics at All Saints, Harrow Weald, London

Isobel Thompson

Introduction

Isobel Thompson is an archaeologist, and a member of the Friends of All Saints, Harrow Weald.

The parish church of All Saints, Harrow Weald, was consecrated in 1849. It is a Grade II* listed Building, and although the chancel was designed by James Park Harrison the completed church is almost entirely the work of William Butterfield.

Now outermost London suburbia, Harrow Weald occupies part of the north London ridge, and as the name implies was historically a rural wooded area, with extensive common land on the high ground. Beyond its northern boundary lies Hertfordshire. This was the northern half of the ancient (and large) parish of Harrow-on-the-Hill, and in 1800 was a place of farms and country houses around the common. With a rise in population which took place even before the opening of the London to Birmingham Railway in 1837, a chapel-of-ease was required. This was built beside the main east-west highway across the common (now Uxbridge Road), and was a standard early nineteenth-century preaching-box with galleries. The opening of the new Harrow station (now Harrow & Wealdstone) where the road from the Weald to Harrow-on-the-Hill crossed the railway line pushed the population up still further, and the new parish was instituted in 1845. The curate in charge and first vicar, Edward Munro, had been caught up in the Oxford Movement as an undergraduate and wanted the new church to reflect its principles. The original choice of architect was James Park Harrison, and he built much of the chancel but then fell foul of an inspection by the Ecclesiological Society, and was replaced by Butterfield. He completed All Saints in the same year as his flagship statement for the Society, All Saints Margaret Street.

At Harrow Weald Butterfield used what can be called his country style for a rural parish church, despite the fact that it was needed to cater for the increasing population of a no longer quite rural area. Every detail of the 1849 building was designed by the architect, with close supervision of the quality of manufacture, from the roof pitch to the font and the door key (both of which are still in use). It had similarities in plan with Coalpit Heath and other country churches designed by Butterfield in the 1840s, and its setting is typical, the church standing well back from the road within its churchyard, behind where the roadside chapel had stood, and approached by a long tree-lined path at a slight angle

to the building. It incorporated considerable stained glass – a triple lancet east window of the Twelve Apostles, and at least six other windows, all made by Michael O'Connor to Butterfield's designs, 1849–60. The church was accompanied by parsonage and school (neither of which survive), also to Butterfield's designs.

The 1880s enlargement and 1890 decorative scheme

In the late 1880s, towards the end of his career, Butterfield enlarged the church in a more urban style, adding a tower over the porch, a clerestory to the nave, and a large extension to the north aisle. Before the enlargement a narrow north aisle mirrored the plan of the south aisle, and a small bellcote stood above the porch. The enlargement, completed in 1890, was accompanied by his complete refitting and redecoration of the church, the entire project funded by the Blackwell family. The Blackwells acquired their original fortune making bricks for local buildings, but the real money came from Thomas Blackwell and his friend Edmund Crosse, who went into the grocery business and are both buried in the churchyard at All Saints.

The refitting in 1890 was all to Butterfield's design, and the plans survive in the Prints & Drawings Study Room at the Victoria & Albert Museum. New furnishing were provided in oak and walnut, including pews, pulpit, communion rails, choir stalls and altar. Butterfield introduced Derby Fossil English 'marble' steps into the sanctuary, and decorative floor tiles both in the sanctuary and beneath the font.

The original north aisle windows with their stained glass (one designed by Butterfield) were reset in the end walls of the extension, and three large new windows were placed in the north aisle, filled with stained glass to Butterfield's designs by Heaton, Butler & Bayne. Ceiling panels were painted, and tiled mosaic work was introduced covering the east walls of both nave and chancel, together with a reredos in Derby Fossil and other stone, with mosaic work.

Mosaic work

The Listed Building description, originally drawn up in 1982, noted the presence of mosaic decoration on the east wall of the nave, above and surrounding the chancel arch (Fig. 1). But it does not mention the reredos behind the altar, nor the mosaic treatment of the east wall of the chancel itself, above and around the east window. Nor does Paul Thompson in his 1971 biography of Butterfield. This is because in 1957 the east wall of the chancel

Fig. 1: All Saints, Harrow Weald, the interior looking east. The church was built in 1849 by William Butterfield, and enlarged by him some forty years later, with a scheme of decoration to his design completed in 1890. The mosaic decoration above the chancel arch has never been covered; that on the east wall was painted over in the 1950s and uncovered recently.

was painted white, and the reredos hidden behind a curtain. This was part of a reordering which included the construction of a west gallery to house the organ, the removal of the choir stalls from the chancel to this new organ loft, and new vestries to the north-east. (This reordering was to be the first step in a much more ambitious plan by the then vicar, which was to involve demolition of the early Victorian chancel and construction of a huge new east extension, for which the plans survive.) Neither the Listing team, nor the biographer, realised that the visible decorative scheme was incomplete; part of Butterfield's conception survived, but was hidden.

In 1994 the curtain behind the high altar was removed, as an experiment to see how this would be received by the congregation, and the reredos cleaned. Its presence had not been forgotten, but it was generally understood to be in poor condition. It turned out to be largely a matter of removing spiders and cleaning. The reredos itself has mosaic panels within pointed stone arches, in the colour scheme used by Butterfield throughout: cream, pale blue, terracotta pink, and gold. The curtain was not reinstated.

By 2010 the paint on the east wall above the reredos was flaking and dirty. The outlines of the tiny mosaic tiles beneath showed through the painted surface, increasing the effect of shabbiness. A single photograph survives of this wall before it was painted over. Judging by the visible floral decorations, the date was probably Easter 1957. Although the photo is in black and white it clearly shows the design of the east wall mosaics. Horizontal bands of scrolling foliage alternate with geometric panels, until the top of the 1849 east window is reached and the scrolls burst out into a firework display filling the apex above the window.

This design, although unlike that of the carpet pattern on the east wall of the nave, with the mandorla above, uses the scrolling foliage motif found on either side of the mandorla (see below). This motif is used in mosaic work on the reredos on panels within pointed arches of stone, and, with variations, is also used in the painted ceiling panels.

Butterfield's mosaics at Harrow Weald and elsewhere

Butterfield's mosaics are uncommon. He was noted for his decorative painted schemes in his churches, during a period when many architects found it hard to accept that the medieval churches they sought to emulate had riotously colourful interiors. In some of his churches he used normal-sized tiles painted and fired with

Fig. 2: The east end at All Saints. In 1957 the reredos was hidden behind a curtain and the east wall painted white. The curtain was removed and the reredos cleaned in 1994, and in mid 2013 the paint was removed from the mosaics, which were found to be in remarkably good condition. The ceiling was also decorated by Butterfield; a small section of this has been exposed and can be glimpsed above the north lancet (see Figure 6).

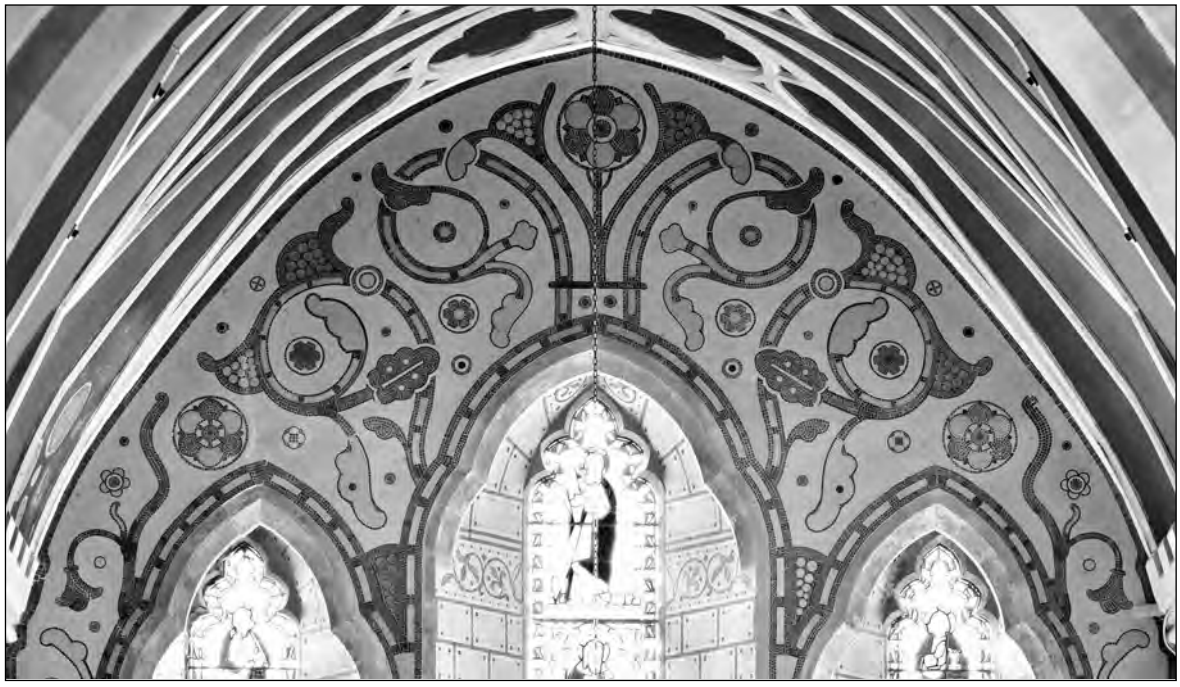

Fig. 3 (above): The mosaic decoration above the east window.

Fig. 4 (right): The centre rosette in the decoration above the east window.

large figurative schemes, and he was the first Victorian architect to experiment with small coloured tiles to produce genuine mosaics in the manner used by the ancients. His original experiments, using Italian techniques and craftsmen, were figural. The very first was a representation of The Adoration, installed by Salviati in the chapel at Fulham Palace in 1867. Of this only one small panel

survives, and there are no other London examples, but Salviati also did figural mosaics for Butterfield at All Saints, Babbacombe, Devon, *c.*1873.

Gradually Butterfield began to use decorative patterns in mosaic. These essentially copied his painted schemes; whether he felt that mosaic work was more permanent, being less susceptible to destruction by being painted out, is unknown. His 1878 mosaics at Ottery St Mary include what appears to be a carpet pattern of crosses within squares and circles very like that used on the chancel arch at Harrow Weald. But by the mid 1880s, when Butterfield was starting on the plans to enlarge and refit Harrow Weald, he was also restoring the medieval chapel of St Mary in Castro inside Dover Castle. This scheme survives, and here are the same decorative motifs of scrolling foliage and geometric panels. These apparently derived from 'neo-Norman' motifs (since removed) used by Butterfield in his restoration of the Norman church at the Hospital of St Cross, Winchester, and based on a surviving fragment at St Cross of genuine Norman painted decoration. He also used the scrolling foliage motif for the wrought iron altar rails at St Cross, and rather splendidly in brass for the altar rails at Dover. Sadly, his altar rails at Harrow Weald are a plainer design in timber.

At Harrow Weald Butterfield faced the chancel east wall and reredos with mosaic work in decorative patterns using the scrolling foliage alternating with geometric panels. The motifs are the same as at Dover Castle but the upstanding scrolls above the east window are a flourish new to Harrow Weald; there is no room for anything similar at Dover. The reredos, with its matching mosaics, is also very similar to the reredos designed for Dover Castle. On the nave east wall, carpet patterns of crosses within squares and circles, on alternately light and dark backgrounds, are used on either side of the chancel arch, beneath a motif running across the arch which appears to represent the battlements of the City of God. This is also reminiscent of the top of a medieval rood screen, as rising from it is a huge cross against a mandorla. Surrounded by a large-scale version of the scrolling foliage motif, it fills the space above the chancel arch. The cross and mandorla design had been used by Butterfield in 1859, in paint above the 1849 chancel arch at the church usually considered his masterpiece, All Saints Margaret Street, London. This has the Greek letters alpha and omega on either side of the mandorla, against an abstract pattern; at Harrow Weald the letters are the Greek characters IHC and XPC, against the carpet pattern to left and right of the arch.

Fig. 5: The central lancet, showing the mosaic decoration in the window reveals. The glass is by Michael O'Connor, 1849.

In 1890 Butterfield also designed for St Mark, Dundela, a reredos similar in design to that of Harrow Weald and Dover Castle, and mosaic work on the east wall above; these use the same geometric panel motif but not the scrolling foliage. This was his last wall mosaic.

The recent restoration work at All Saints

In 2010 small sections of the chancel east wall immediately above the reredos were experimentally cleaned by William Northover, of Northstar Restoration. The mosaics were indeed, as had been assumed, in the same colour scheme as the rest of the church. Crucially, it was established that the paint could be successfully removed, and that the tiled surface appeared to be undamaged. Following this, the vicar asked the Friends of All Saints to take charge of fund-raising for the complete removal of the paint. This was done by inviting the congregation and public to sponsor individual portions at £20 each, and by receipt of grants from the Heritage of London Trust, Harrow Heritage Trust, and the Alan Evans Memorial Trust. The work cost £14,500 and was carried out by Northstar Restoration in June–July 2013.

The result exceeded expectations. Not only was the mosaic work in its delicate colours revealed; it was found to be in good condition and impressively skilled in execution. A repair or two was needed where the mosaics had been disturbed by maintenance work. These patches were plastered and outlined to look like the missing tiles, each of which was then painted in, using matching colours. From below, it is impossible to distinguish these repairs from the real thing. The final treatment was a good scrub with hot soapy water, before the scaffolding came down (Figs 2–5).

More to do . . .

Butterfield had the nave ceiling painted throughout with variations on the scrolling foliage motif. The chancel ceiling panels, however, have been in plain colours for many decades. So while the scaffolding was up, the restorers investigated the ceiling panel nearest the NE corner, and beneath the plain blue surface was indeed a painted pattern, with a motif of large and small stars; unexpectedly, these are green (Fig. 6). Only a small portion of the scheme has been revealed, but it is now evident that the chancel ceiling, like the nave, has painted decoration which survives. It is very likely that the three transverse ceiling bays of the 1890 north aisle also bear painted decoration. So it appears that much of

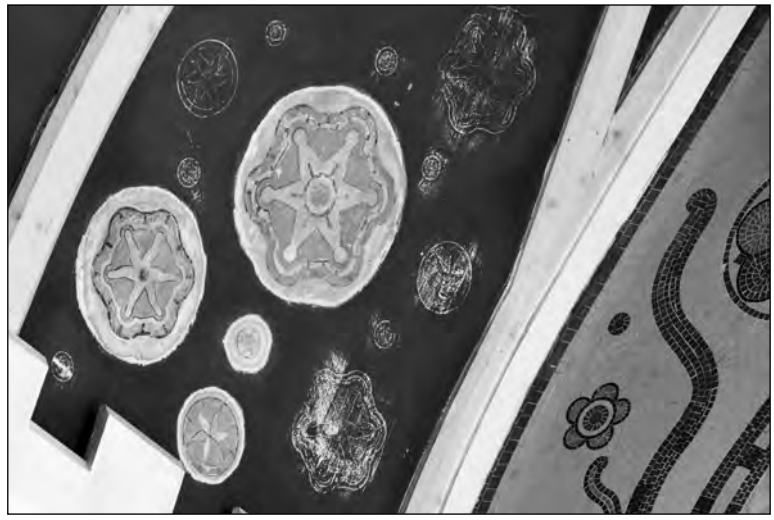

Fig. 6: Butterfield painted the chancel ceiling with stars. These have been painted over, but a small section above the north lancet window was recently exposed for test purposes, and is shown here.

Butterfield's 1890 scheme still survives, throughout the church. The cost of removing the covering paint from the chancel ceiling alone would be prohibitive, and it will not happen in the foreseeable future. But now that it has been established that so much has survived, it is time All Saints became better known.

The restoration of the tomb of William Butterfield *with list of donors*

Paul Velluet

The Project

THE TWO-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY of the birth of the great Victorian architect, William Butterfield (1814–1900), on 7 September 2014, was marked by various events, including, as members will be aware, the project for the restoration of Butterfield's listed tomb in Tottenham Cemetery, carried out under the auspices of the Ecclesiological Society, and funded by generous donations from members and others.

On the warm and sunny afternoon of Sunday 7 September, members of the Society together with descendants of Butterfield's immediate family and members of the worshipping community from the nearby All Hallows' Church – the remarkable but much altered medieval church which Butterfield extended controversially between 1875 and 1877 – gathered by his tomb for a wreath-laying by Douglas Butterfield (Fig. 1), and the blessing of the restored tomb by Fr Roy Pearson, the Vicar. The ceremony followed presentations in the church by Geoff Brandwood and

Paul Velluet is a chartered architect. Since qualification in 1975, he has worked extensively in the conservation field in both private practice and the public sector, including English Heritage. He is a member of the Society's Council.

Fig. 1: The blessing and laying of the wreath on the tomb of William Butterfield, on 7 September 2014, the 200th anniversary of his birth,. The wreath was laid by Douglas Butterfield, the great-great-nephew of the architect.

the author from the Society's Council - both of whom had been closely involved in progressing the project – and by a short service led by Fr Pearson with the Archdeacon of Hampstead, Fr Luke Miller. The afternoon concluded most enjoyably with an excellent tea in the church, generously provided by the community at All Hallows'.

The project for the conservative cleaning of the listed tomb and reinstating the legibility of the inscription along its south side was carried out by Hirst Conservation of Sleaford in collaboration with Gary Churchman, Stone Carver and Lettercutter, under the author's direction, with funds raised on behalf of the Society by Geoff Brandwood, drawing upon generous donations from members of the Society and other individuals and bodies, as detailed in a separate note at the end of this article.

The background to the project and its technical aspects

The poor condition of Butterfield's tomb, located in the consecrated part of the cemetery at Tottenham, was first raised by Colin Kerr, the Inspecting Architect for both All Saints, Margaret Street, and All Hallows', Tottenham, in his contribution to the Society's 14th Dykes Bower Lecture held in All Saints in December, 2011.

The prospect of the 200th anniversary of Butterfield's birth in September, 2014, focused the attention of members of the Society's Council on the need for action to secure the restoration of the tomb during 2013, leading to a first visit to the site and an inspection of the tomb by Trevor Cooper, Geoff Brandwood and the author early in June. This revealed the barely legible state of the inscription along its south side, and led to the initiation of discussions by the Council about how best to proceed, particularly in terms of funding the work for recovering the legibility of the inscription; work which the Society's Council considered to be essential if the tomb was to fulfil its primary purpose.

Geoff Brandwood undertook to explore potential sources of funding, to investigate potential support from the Butterfield family, from institutions with which Butterfield was associated and from other bodies and individuals, and to check the extent to which approvals might be required from Butterfield's family and the cemetery authority. A member of the Society, Peter Taylor, kindly volunteered to do the genealogical work necessary to locate surviving members of the family. The author undertook to explore how best to secure work for the reinstatement of the legibility of the inscription and to supervise the necessary work. In this connection, the Society's Council noted that English Heritage described the inscription as 'barely legible' in the very

brief and succinct description accompanying the listing-entry for the tomb of February, 1995:

> *Tomb. C.1900 to William Butterfield, designed by the architect himself. Stone coffin-shaped tomb with sculpted cross on top; the inscription barely legible in 1994. Butterfield was one of the most important Victorian church architects, and he substantially rebuilt All Hallow's* [sic] *parish church adjoining the cemetery.*

In undertaking a measured survey of the tomb (Figs 2 & 3) and trying to discern the inscription, it was observed that whilst the overall condition of the Portland Stone upper and lower parts of the tomb appeared to be sound, save for normal weathering and the growth of moss on its damp, north side, there appeared - at least at first sight - to be evidence of settlement of the head of the tomb by approximately 100mm, concealing a significant part of its plinth. Thankfully, however, at a later stage, this was found to be primarily attributable to a substantial build-up of the ground at the western end of the tomb.

In progressing the project, the author, as the architect for the scheme, was mindful of current conservation practice, which argues that works of repair should avoid undue, unjustified and irreversible change to the surviving original fabric or features of a listed building or any other structure of particular architectural or historic interest or significance. Accordingly, with the support of other members of the Council, he looked for an approach to the reinstatement of the inscription that limited work of re-cutting to that which was necessary to recover its legibility but avoided its reading as if it were completely new lettering. In this, the approach was consistent with the published advice of English Heritage and The War Memorials Trust on works to headstones, tombs, mausolea and other monuments in churchyards and to war memorials.

The Society's emerging proposals were discussed on site in early February with Nairita Chakraborty, the Council's Conservation Officer, Fr Roy Pearson, the Vicar of the Parish of All Hallows', Tottenham, in which Butterfield's tomb and the cemetery fall, and Matthew Cooper of the London Diocesan Advisory Committee, and in-principle support was elicited. Further, informal consultation took place subsequently with staff of English Heritage and the Church Building Council, and representatives of The Victorian Society and The Mausolea & Monuments Trust, resulting in similarly positive, in-principle support. In addition, informal technical advice was sought from Steve Nellany of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, whose works team was undertaking conservation work during the year on the very fine war memorial elsewhere in the cemetery.

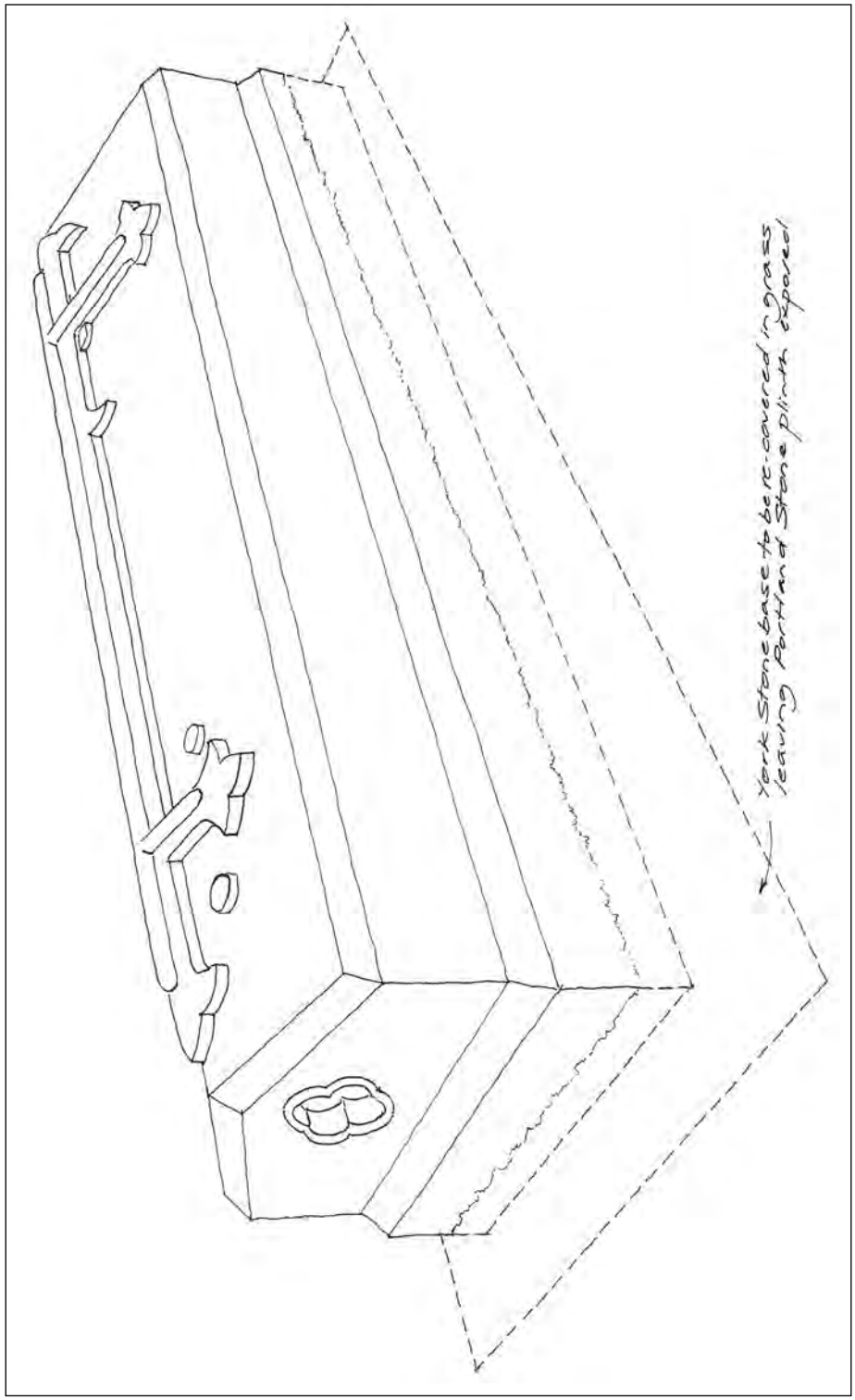

Fig. 2: Perspective view of the tomb in September 2014 before work was carried out, seen from the north-east, with the foot of the grave nearest the viewer. (Drawing: Paul Velluet)

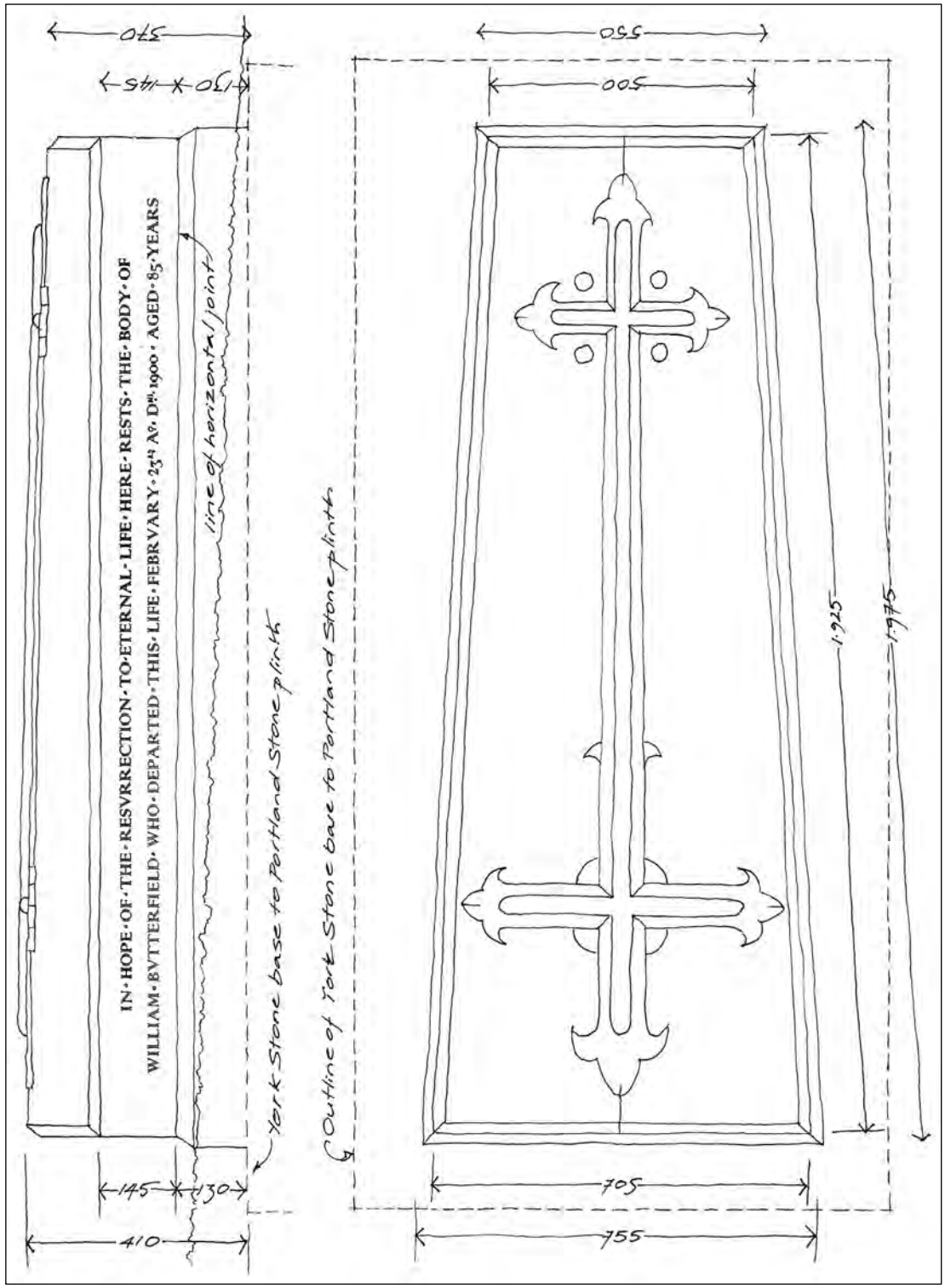

Fig. 3: Plan of the grave from above, and its south elevation, in September 2014 before work was carried out, but with the inscription shown reinstated. (Drawing: Paul Velluet)

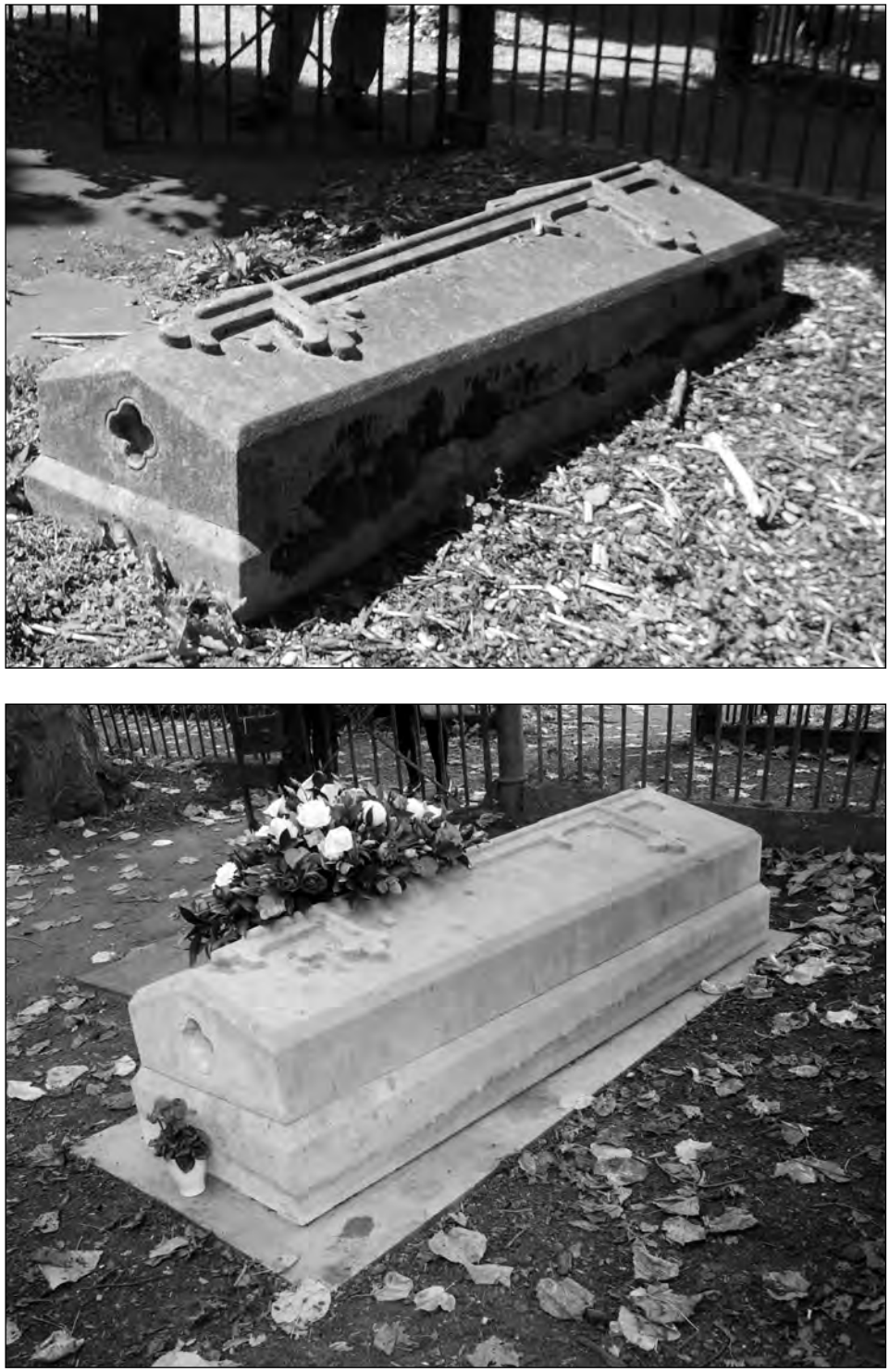

Fig. 4: The tomb from the north-east, with the foot of the grave nearest the viewer. Top image, in June 2013, before work was carried out; bottom image, in September 2014 after completion of the planned work. An inscription to William Butterfield's brother was found on the north side, hidden by the moss, though it is much eroded and can hardly be seen in either photograph; it is planned to reinstate this.

Fig. 5: The foot of the tomb, on its south side, showing part of the inscription to William Butterfield. Top image, in June 2013, before work was carried out, with the inscription hardly legible; bottom image, in September 2014 after the inscription was reinstated.

After careful selection of potential firms of skilled craftsmen with relevant experience in projects of this kind, the project architect sought expressions of interest from four firms of conservators and letter-cutters with a sound record of undertaking similar work. This was followed up by invitations to the firms to provide formal quotations and outlines of their proposed methodology.

Further to receipt of the four submissions and careful scrutiny of the quotations and the proposed approaches to undertaking the work, the Society's Council agreed to accept the submission by Hirst Conservation working with Gary Churchman. (Hirst Conservation are currently engaged in conservation work at The Palace of Westminster and Gary Churchman was responsible for the reinstatement of the beautiful lettering at low level on the early nineteenth-century memorial to Margaretta Beaufoy in the Grade II* listed St John's Church, Mare Street, Hackney.) Importantly, the Society's Council accepted Hirst Conservation's proposals to undertake the conservative cleaning of the stonework of the tomb using the Doff variable steam-pressure system before any work to the inscription was undertaken, and to carry out the work to the inscription *in situ*, rather than after the temporary lifting and propping of the upper section of the tomb – a process which would very probably have required the Society's Council to go through the lengthy and unpredictable process of securing Listed Building Consent.

After securing confirmation from the Council's Conservation Officer that the extent and nature of the proposed *in situ* works were not considered to require Listed Building Consent, and securing a formal works-permit from Dignity Caring Funeral Services as managers of the cemetery on behalf of the Council, instructions were given to Hirst Conservation to proceed (Figs 4 & 5).

Not only did the first stage of the cleaning of the stonework carried out in mid-August reveal with increased clarity the remains of the full inscription on the south side of the tomb, but to everyone's surprise it also exposed the barely legible inscription commemorating William Butterfield's younger brother, John (1821–92), now known from his death certificate to be a retired banker, on the north side; and, in addition, part of the wider and longer York Stone slab on which the Portland Stone tomb rests. After discussion between the architect and Hirst Conservation, instructions were given to complete the removal of the build-up of ground which had concealed a significant part of the plinth at the head of the tomb and the cleaning of the entire plinth and the top surface of the York Stone slab. This work was completed in late August. In due course, consideration will need to be given to how

IN · HOPE · OF · THE · RESVRRECTION · TO · ETERNAL · LIFE · HERE · RESTS · THE · BODY · OF
WILLIAM · BVTTERFIELD · WHO · DEPARTED · THIS · LIFE · FEBRVARY · 23RD · AO · DNI · 1900 · AGED · 85 · YEARS

IN · HOPE · OF · THE · RESVRRECTION · TO · ETERNAL · LIFE · HERE · RESTS · THE · BODY · OF
JOHN · BVTTERFIELD · WHO · DEPARTED · THIS · LIFE · JANVARY · 14TH · AO · DNI · 1892 · AGED · 69 · YEARS

The wording of the inscription to William Butterfield on the south of the tomb, now reinstated, and the recently discovered inscription to his brother John on the north side, previously covered by moss, and much eroded. The Society plans to reinstate John's inscription.

best to reinstate and maintain an attractive grass setting around the perimeter of the plinth. At present the land around the monuments in this part of the cemetery is in a pretty rough condition and the ground around Butterfield's tomb is bare save for a littering of fallen leaves.

Gary Churchman completed his work for the reinstatement of the legibility of the inscription commemorating William Butterfield along the south side of the tomb in two stages by Wednesday 3 September – in good time for the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of Butterfield's birth the following Sunday.

Resulting from the discovery of the hardly discernible inscription commemorating John Butterfield on the north side of the tomb, the Society's Council has agreed to extend the scope of the project to include the reinstatement of its legibility. This work will be undertaken in the early spring of 2015. Due to the generosity of members of the Society and other donors, the necessary funds are available for this unexpected additional work.

DONORS

The Ecclesiological Society is very grateful to the many generous people who have subscribed funds or helped in other ways to make the restoration of Butterfield's grave possible. A number of donors prefer to remain anonymous but we are delighted to record the names of the following who helped us realise the project successfully.

All Saints, Margaret Street, London
I. F. F. Anderson
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Peter Maplestone
The Ven. David Meara
Hugh Meller
Colin Menzies
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Peter C.W. Taylor
David Tierney
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Angela Vukoje
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Fr Philip Warner
Canon David Wyatt

We would also like to express our appreciation to the Mausolea & Monuments Trust, the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, and the Victorian Society, all of whom kindly publicised our appeal.

Book reviews

Peter Beacham and Nikolaus Pevsner, ***The Buildings of England: Cornwall.*** Yale U.P., 2014, 771 pp., 127 col. pls, £35.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 300 12668 6

Sitting here with my well thumbed 1970 copy of *Cornwall*, by Pevsner and Radcliffe, and the new revised edition by Peter Beacham, the obvious change in size is astounding – 772 pages as against 284, and bigger pages too. Can the revision to any other volume have seen quite such a dramatic increase in terms of entries? Let me state from the outset that this new volume is a must for anyone visiting Cornwall and Peter Beacham is to be congratulated for overseeing such a mammoth operation and producing a volume worthy of Cornwall's fascinating geology and outstanding architectural legacy.

For a county with such a complex and wide-ranging geology the new introduction to the Geology and Building Materials is most welcome. For those visiting Cornwall's churches for the first time the mention and introduction of such alien names as Polyphant, White Elvan, Blue Elvan, Killas, Luxulyanite Granite, Tarten Down Stone and Serpentinite, is nothing short of confusing. They really do sound as strange as many of the church dedications and indeed the place names. This section, which Sarah Buckingham has written, has indeed vastly improved and surpassed that originally written by Alec Clifton Taylor. The eight specific introductory sections such as Prehistory, Mining, the Industrial Revolution – there were originally only three – all offer a far more rigorous and structured assessment of their subject areas.

The church entries are also more comprehensive. From a personal perspective it is good to see that Cornish churches are finally beginning to have their many hundreds of stained glass windows identified and listed. For too long it was simply the case of noting mediaeval glass and then mentioning the usual suspects from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, e.g. Morris and Co, Kempe, Comper etc.

St Tudy is a good example where, in the previous edition, only a short mention of tiny mediaeval fragments was made; now besides the original entry we learn of dated work by Frederick Drake, Lavers & Baraud and Ward & Hughes.

The appearance of colour photography has allowed the richness of Cornwall's ecclesiastical heritage to come to life, indeed 59 of the 127 photographs involve churches. For a start the differences in building material can be readily identified. And it is also good to see that besides the expected images of the nationally important mediaeval glass at St Neot, there is a sequence of photographs of the ravishing mediaeval glass at St Kew. The William Morris and Burne Jones window at Ladock and the Veronica Whall window at Tintagel are also welcome additions.

Yes Cornwall really has changed dramatically in the intervening half century with, as Beacham puts it so eloquently, Cornwall reinventing

itself using its national and internationally important artistic contribution of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It is remarkable just how much cutting-edge architecture has been erected, especially in the last twenty years: The Tate at St Ives, The Maritime Museum in Falmouth and the Combined Universities Cornwall Campus at Tremough on the outskirts of Penrhyn, all of which have joined the county's other outstanding modern developments like the Law Courts at Truro and Nick Grimshaw's iconic Eden Project. Yet Beacham rightly fires a timely warning shot in the last paragraph of his superlative Introduction, expressing concern at 'the proliferation of wind farms across so much of the Cornish landscape. So little of the huge surge of new development sweeping across the county is of a design worthy of its setting: Cornwall, so rich, complex and beautiful deserves better'.

Mike Hope

Roger Sainsbury, ***St Michael's Highgate: a History.*** St Michael's Church, Highgate, 2014, 250 pp., 38 col. pls, £25.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 9569421 4 2. (For copies telephone 020 8883 4927)

Among the many books devoted to an individual parish and its ecclesiastical buildings, this one is unusually substantial and attractive, and the product of exceptionally diligent research. All this is even more remarkable when one learns that the church was from the 1830s, 'wretched Georgian' as the Ecclesiologists would have had us believe. But this is no ordinary account of an unloved Commissioners' church: the story of Highgate's churches goes back to the Middle Ages; the present one is an exceptionally fine example, designed by Lewis Vulliamy in 1830–32, with several sympathetic additions; and it remains at the heart of a vibrant Church of England community. However, Roger Sainsbury has a bigger story to tell as his narrative is a microcosm of wider developments in Anglican church building and church going.

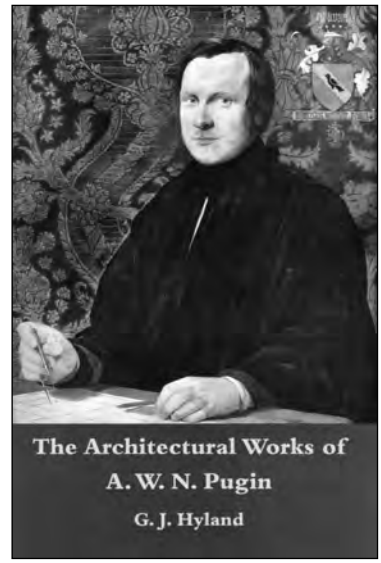
Research for the book draws heavily of the church's own archives and its comprehensive collection of *Parish Magazines*, in print since 1863. These, predictably, give an intimate and engaging picture of parish life, but several of them provide accounts of earlier periods. The story begins tentatively with an ancient hermitage, but moves to firmer ground with the building of a chapel in the sixteenth century for Highgate's school. This soon became a convenient place of worship for the villagers, but its irregular status led, subsequently, to a number of legal problems concerning ownership and jurisdiction, especially when an application was made to the Commissioners in 1822 for assistance to build a new church. Resolution involved an Act of Parliament, nearly a decade's delay, and much acrimony. Sainsbury succeeds well in unpicking the threads of this saga. However, the result was an especially fine church; Vulliamy produced his fair share of cheap, grim examples, but here showed what a slightly enhanced budget could achieve. The Ecclesiologists would certainly have criticised its low pitched roofs, its galleries and modest chancel, but it handsomely satisfied the liturgical

demands of the era and elegantly demonstrates that not all the period's architects had a 'want of knowledge of true Gothic' details. Not only is the design an unusually competent handling of the medieval decorative repertoire, but it was exceptional in having a second, upper, west gallery, placed above the usual one, for the use of the schoolchildren. Such extra galleries, often for the use of 'charity children' were not unknown in enlargement projects financed by the ICBS in the post-Waterloo period, but they are unusual in new churches funded by the Commissioners, being deemed usually to produce 'too much the appearance of a theatre'. Predictably, the church received a new chancel, and lost its north and south galleries in 1880–81, but G. E. Street's design respected Vulliamy's; Temple Moore – who was earlier married in the church – added a similarly tactful south chapel in 1906. The result is a felicitous sequence of development.

Sainsbury devotes much space to the various incumbents and outlines the key events of their tenure. He includes interesting details of parish finance, church attendance and the concerns of the day, issues surely rehearsed up and down the country at the same time, giving his book a resonance for all those interested in the often complex subject of parish life since the 1830s. He also corrects a number of errors in earlier publications about the parish.

Christopher Webster

Gerard Hyland, ***The Architectural Works of A. W. N. Pugin.*** Spire Books, 2014, 320 pp, 45 col. pls, £35.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 904965 47 3



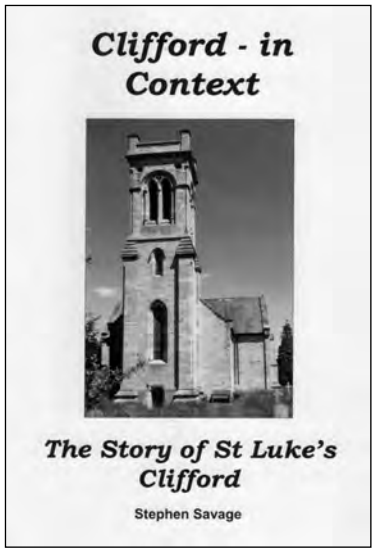
It is only in the past twenty years or so that A.W.N. Pugin (1812–52) has been accorded the full recognition that he has long deserved as the most significant architect and designer of the Gothic Revival, and a man whose influence extended well beyond his tragically short life and across several continents. So much has been written and published on his life and achievements, but one major gap has remained, namely a comprehensive easy-reference digest of the total corpus of Pugin's work, actual and projected. Gerard Hyland's gazetteer more than adequately fills this gap. As a theoretical physicist by profession, Dr Hyland has approached this challenging task with an analytical mind and an eye to logical organisation of the material. An established scholar and author who has already published important studies of Pugin's eldest son, Edward (1834–75), he has a deep appreciation and understanding of the theological and liturgical bases of Pugin's life and work: factors which some writers have sadly underestimated. 'I have prayed from a child for the restoration of the long lost glory of catholic England', wrote Pugin in 1840, and this was the spring-board for all that he did.

In a working life which spanned no more than sixteen years (1836–52), Pugin undertook almost three hundred works ranging from complete buildings to furnishings, decorative schemes and restorations; from cathedrals to country mansions, almshouses, schools, and the vast interiors of the New Palace of Westminster. He was also the author of

eight major publications on Gothic art and architecture for which he not only supplied the text, but also drew the illustrations and designed the binding. Dr Hyland is of course concerned only with Pugin's work as a practical architect and designer, and this is arranged chronologically in a series of eleven building types, e.g. cathedrals, conventual churches, parish churches, collegiate churches and institutional chapels. Each entry is complemented by a list of sources, while the biographical notes explore the driving principles of Pugin's work, revealing that he was not always the 'middle-pointed' fanatic that some have made him out to be, but that his concept of Gothic changed and changed again as he fell under the influence of the scholar and liturgist Dr Daniel Rock (1799–1871) and then parted company with him. Brief biographies are given of the 'collaborators' as Dr Hyland calls them: those people who were especially close to Pugin and who shared his vision of a revived Catholic England expressed through Gothic architecture and art.

Though of larger format than the average Pevsner guide, this book is still of a convenient size to carry around in the car for reference when travelling. 'Can there be any Pugin here?' one might ask when passing through the Black-Country town of Dudley. The Gazetteer informs us that indeed there is, and that it is important Pugin too. Another surprise is the price. At only £35 RRP this beautifully-illustrated work of scholarship is another triumph for Spire Books in their production of high-quality architectural publications, and a 'must-have' for those who want to know just how important Pugin was, and just how deeply and widely he influenced English architecture and design.

Michael Fisher

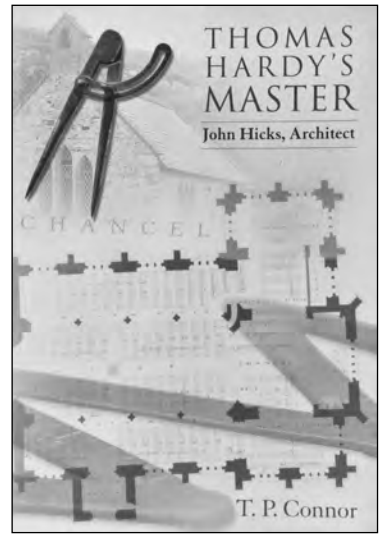


Stephen Savage, ***Clifford – in Context: the Story of St Luke's, Clifford.*** Privately printed, 2014, 92 pp., 35 col. pls, £5.00 pbk. No ISBN. (For copies, telephone 0113 2608972)

Stephen Savage, a retired teacher from Leeds, tells the story of St Luke's, Clifford, setting it in the context of the unfolding Oxford Movement. In his capable hands this account of the local story usefully illustrates the workings of the Oxford Movement as it moved from its academic base out into the parishes to become fully developed Anglo-Catholicism. Clifford was one such parish which was run on High Church principles from its foundation in 1842. The church of St Luke was built in the ancient parish of Bramham under the patronage of Mr George Lane Fox of nearby Bramham Park. The village of Clifford was populated largely by Roman Catholics who had come to work at the local flax mill. The new church was meant to strengthen the Protestant presence in the area, but in fact it developed in a Catholic direction through the influence of a succession of priests from the High Church tradition. Savage gives a brief account of each incumbent down to the present day. Two of these are worthy of special mention. The first priest of St Luke's was the Revd W. H. Lewthwaite, who was one of the founding members of the Cambridge Camden Society. He observed the full ritual requirements of

the *Book of Common Prayer*, causing the church bell to be rung each day as he recited the daily offices of Morning and Evening Prayer. He established a weekly communion, and built at his own expense a small convent which he called The Hostel of St Stephen and St John. He was a dedicated parish priest loyal to the Church of England, but Savage suggests that the Gorham Judgement (in the text Gorham is spelled wrongly as Goreham pp. 10, 31, 36) made him question the validity of Anglican orders. The Catholic emphasis of Mr. Lewthwaite's ministry brought him into contact with the clergy of St Saviour's, Leeds, another church with controversial High interests. In 1851 he was received, along with several of them, into the Roman Catholic Church, to be ordained as a Roman Catholic priest in 1854. Following Lewthwaite's departure there was a succession of incumbents during what Savage describes as 'a quiet time'. The village of Clifford went into a gradual decline with the closure of the flax mill, and church attendance was small, but the Catholic tradition of the parish was maintained. The ministry of the Revd Robert Miles Stapylton from 1916 to 1933 brought a renewed devotion and zeal to the parish and church attendance began to pick up. A new stone altar was installed adorned with six candles and a crucifix. A set of Stations of the Cross was introduced, the Blessed Sacrament was reserved, and High Mass was introduced to celebrate Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, All Saints Day, and the Feast of the Assumption. Some of these innovations met with the disapproval of Archbishop C. G. Lang, but Father Stapylton refused to compromise. Later on in the life of the parish and of the Anglo-Catholic tradition as a whole, practices which had to be fought for and which were regarded with suspicion gradually became accepted as a legitimate expression of Anglican theology. In Savage's telling of the story of St Luke's, Clifford, we are made aware of the fact that so much depended on the succession of dedicated parish priests intent on ministering to their people within the Catholic framework of the Church of England.

Roy Yates



T.P. Connor, ***Thomas Hardy's Master: John Hicks, Architect***. Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, 2014, 57 pp., 14 colour, 3 b/w plates, £8.50, ISBN 978 0 900341 57 1. (By post £10 from the Dorset County Museum, 01305 756827, quoting ref. DCM#14.)

This short book is a welcome addition to the ever-growing studies of Victorian provincial practices, so many of which were involved in church building and restoration. Whether the Dorchester architect John Hicks (1815–69) would have made it into print is perhaps debatable were it not for the famous fact that the sixteen-year-old novelist-to-be Thomas Hardy served an apprenticeship under him from 1856. He remained as an assistant until his move to London in 1862 to join A. W. Blomfield (he returned to Hicks in 1867).

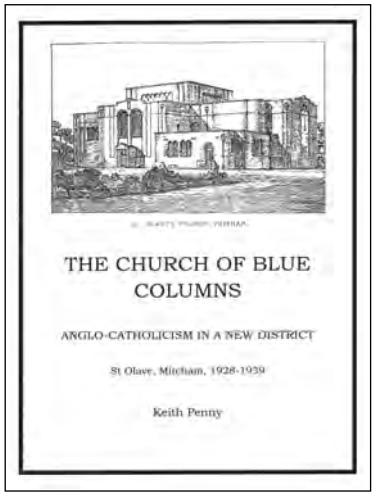
Hicks started practice in Bristol in the late 1830s and, after bankruptcy proceedings, moved to Dorset by 1851. By 1854 he was

living in South Street, Dorchester, where he remained until his death. From here he conducted a successful practice which was primarily ecclesiastical in nature. His success can be measured by the fact that the Diocesan Architect, the very prolific T. H. Wyatt, worked on 28 churches in Dorset; Hicks worked on at least 33. In addition he designed seven schools and nine parsonages and undertook various secular commissions. Success was such that he even established a sub-office in Bridport in the late 1850s.

The great interest of this book is its fascinating insights into the patronage of mid-Victorian church-building. In Hicks's case this meant support from High Church Anglicans, then very much in the ascendant. So it was that Hicks took over work, after their early deaths, from Pugin and R. C. Carpenter for High Church incumbents. This included Hicks's elder brother James who had been curate at Piddletrenthide since 1837 and became vicar from 1845. The restoration of his church by the younger Hicks was enthusiastically reported in the *Dorset County Chronicle* and this organ was to be a constant supporter. A further enthusiast was the Tractarian Bishop of Salisbury (from 1854), Walter Kerr Hamilton: at the consecration of Wool church in 1866 he declared: 'there were no people he desired to see more employed [on church restoration] than Messrs. Hicks and [his regular builder] Wellspring'.

Hicks was also favoured by Thomas Sanctuary, from 1848, the Tractarian vicar of Powerstock where Hicks took over from Carpenter. His influence as Archdeacon of Dorset from 1862 must have been considerable. He actively promoted Hicks in preference to Wyatt and there was, not surprisingly, much rivalry between the two men. An interesting point (not emphasised by the author unfortunately) is Wyatt's sympathetic attitude towards Perpendicular work, a rare thing in the 1850s and 1860s when the style was deeply unfashionable. Hence we find Wyatt in 1859 criticising Hicks at Powerstock for throwing 'overboard completely all the Perpendicular features of the Church & Chancel'. He made similar comments regarding the restoration of Long Bredy in 1860.

Geoff Brandwood



Keith Penny, ***The Church of Blue Columns: Anglo-Catholicism in a new district, St Olave, Mitcham, 1928–1939.*** St Olave, Mitcham PCC, 2013, 115 pp., 17 b&w pls, £7.50 pbk, ISBN 978 0 9926523 0 2

Keith Penny sets out to tell the story of the foundation and early years of St Olave's Church, Mitcham. It was one of the twenty-five churches built in the inter-war years in the Diocese of Southwark at the initiation of Bishop Cyril Garbett. The churchmanship of the new parish owed much to the influence of its first vicar, Fr Reginald Kingdon Haslam. This is the story of a new parish in an expanding urban area coupled with a study of the work of a dedicated Anglo-Catholic priest struggling to establish a pattern of worship and church life in an area that had no previous tradition to follow.

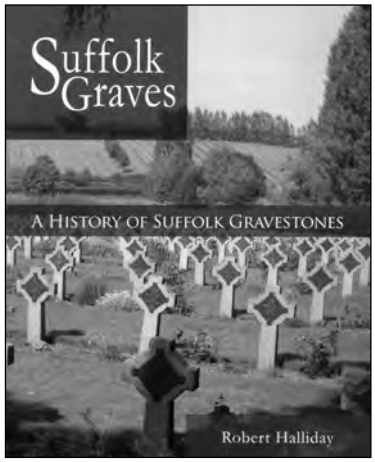
Penny sets the scene by giving an account of the urban expansion in Streatham Vale and Long Thornton Park by which a semi-rural industrial village was developed into a suburb of new housing estates, and the response of the diocese to designate a new District and build a dual purpose church-hall. He tells us that when Father Haslam was appointed as Missionary Priest of what was to become the Parish of St Olave, he began his ministry with a systematic visitation of families as they moved into their new houses. This pioneer work built up the congregation and led to the building of the new church of St Olave.

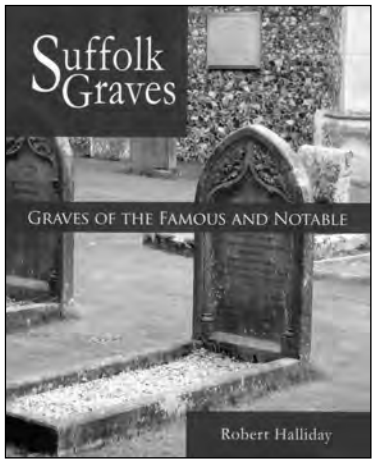
The architect A. C. Martin was appointed to design the new church, which he proposed should be in the Byzantine style. Its most prominent feature was a large dome at the crossing, supported internally by eight blue columns. The consecration took place in 1931, but from the start what were then new building materials and building techniques led to problems. The flat roof began to leak and dampness affected the internal walls. None of this took away from the sense of occasion at the consecration or from Haslam's pioneer ministry. The design was, 'like no other in Christendom'.

Penny's assessment of the ten-year ministry of Fr Haslam at St Olave's begins with the failure of the *Revised Book of Common Prayer* to secure a passage through Parliament. Despite this disappointment, Haslam from his first days in the parish established Holy Communion or Mass as the principal Sunday service rather than Morning Prayer. By degrees more aspects of Anglo-Catholic devotion were introduced to the parish in order to surround the Mass with a rich ceremonial and fine music. Some of these caused controversy, such as the use of incense, the reservation of the blessed sacrament, and the introduction of a statue of the Virgin Mary. But by the end of Haslam's ministry they were accepted as part of the norm in the High Church tradition. Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of these years was the insistence that High Mass was not meant to be a service where the congregation received communion, but an occasion to observe and adore.

To complete the picture of the first ten years of St Olave's we are given an account of worship on a typical Sunday, details of income and fund-raising, the contribution of the choir, the importance of social life and other church organisations. The parish continues to serve the community today in very different circumstances from those early years. But the influence of its first parish priest and the traditions he tried to establish are still felt. The building too, in spite of its problems, remains on historical and architectural grounds as 'undoubtedly one of the most rewarding of the Southwark Twenty-five'.

Roy Yates





Robert Halliday, ***Suffolk Graves: A History of Suffolk Gravestones.*** Arima Publishing, 2013, 114 pp., many b&w pls, £9.95 pbk, ISBN 978 1 84549 595 4; same author, ***Suffolk Graves: Graves of the Famous and Notable.*** Arima Publishing, 2013, 100 pp., many b&w pls, £9.95, pbk, ISBN 978 1 84549 602

These two books from Robert Halliday can be seen as accomplished modest primers; in essence they are valuable handbooks, serving a very useful purpose. Each volume provides a fascinating survey of graves in Suffolk and the author has carefully put together a broad overview of gravestones across the county and followed this up with a spotlight on the more distinctive tributes to the famous and notable.

Surprises abound, for example, Antony Wingfield's Baroque statue by Frances Bird at Stonham Aspal provoked even Pevsner to expect it to be located in a more prestigious setting, such as Westminster Abbey! In complete contrast Sir Basil Spence's modest flat drawing board slab is the absolute epitome of architectural simplicity. For the designer of Coventry Cathedral, the British Embassy in Rome and the University of Sussex it is, perhaps, a surprise that he retired to Yaxley Hall and is buried so modestly at Thornham Parva. Set against this William Bardwell's design for his own monumental edifice at Southwold could not be a bolder statement for a Victorian architectural historian. It is no surprise that Benjamin Britten and Peter Pears' graves in Aldeburgh churchyard are amongst the most visited in Suffolk. Equally, given their lifelong companionship, as expected they are buried side by side and marked by rather rudimentary tablets.

No one who takes delight in surveying churchyards and cemeteries can fail to find something of interest here. The symbolism of gravestone art and design is well covered. Both volumes are clearly structured and comprehensively, if basically, illustrated. The message that graveyards enshrine and celebrate our history could not be better summarized. If there is a drawback to these two books it is that they give too little impression of the setting or context. Too often neglect and a soul-destroying lack of caring typify the average churchyard or cemetery. Valuing a sense of place and the rare talents of a landscape gardener receive limited attention. Happily the recent award of the Royal Horticultural Harlow Carr Medal to Roger Brook, principally for his innovative 'no dig' treatment of Bolton Percy Cemetery Garden in Yorkshire might reverse this trend (www.nodiggardener.co.uk). More than ever we are being encouraged to think of 'Place' – with a capital 'P'. Here we are not just thinking of conserving the past, but also building on 'future heritage' and, above all, valuing distinctive places of quiet contemplation.

With luck Halliday's unique books might be a way of continuing to re-focus attention on landmarks deserving wider recognition and of re-discovering many half-forgotten gems deserving of even more care and attention. In short, these books celebrate how relics of the past can teach us much about our ancestry, often in settings of quiet tranquillity and stunning beauty.

John L Taylor, Higher Education International

Short Notes

Nick Plumley, ***Arundel Church with the Fitzalan Chapel: a Brief History.*** Pitkin Publishing, 2014, 40 pp., 75 col. pls, £6.50 (inc. p&p) pbk, ISBN 978 1 84165567 3. (For copies, telephone 01903 882262)

This is a very attractively produced guide book to two important ecclesiastical structures. The short, but thorough account successfully places the various phases of construction, restoration and development in the context of wider political and religious events, from the Norman Conquest to the present day.

Michael Yelton, ***More Empty Tabernacles: Another Twelve Lost Churches of London.*** Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2014, 158 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £18.00 (inc. postage), pbk, ISBN 978 0 9560565 5 9. (For copies, see the society's website)

This is yet another of the depressing series of books from Michael Yelton's pen on lost Anglo-Catholic churches, a subject he has made very much his own. Here we learn of another twelve that fell victim to the decline in these patterns of worship. The losses seem especially sad when we see the photographs not only of the often lavishly decorated interiors, but also of parish priests and lay fund-raisers who laboured so hard to establish the parishes; could they ever have imagined the buildings would have such short lives? We should be grateful that these tragic losses are at least recorded in Yelton's valuable publications.

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.

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Concessionary rate (UK)	£14.00
Extra family member at same address	£3.50

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The front cover shows the interior of All Saints, Margaret Street, London (completed 1859). This church was an early masterpiece of the architect William Butterfield, the bicentenary of whose birth was celebrated in 2014. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood). On this cover is a photograph of a medieval roof boss at Ugborough church, Devon, showing male and female heads with twisted mouths, set close together and sporting elaborate headdresses: it probably refers to 'janglyng' or idle talk. (Photo: Susan Andrew).

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