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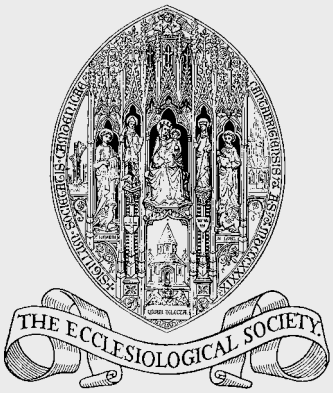
Front cover: The archangel Michael on the recently restored reredos at St Michael, Cambridge, designed by George Gilbert Scott Jnr. See the article by Andreas Loewe.
Back cover: An early photo of the east end of the church of the Holy Spirit, Harlescott, Shrewsbury, built by Herbert Luck North in 1934–6. North's churches are discussed in the article by Adam Voelcker.



Journal of the Ecclesiological Society

Ecclesiology Today

Contents

Issue 44 for July 2011
published December 2011

Chairman's letter

Dear Fellow Member

Pews, benches and chairs

As you will know, our book on church seating was published during the summer, and a copy was sent to all members. As you will have seen, it is a book for dipping into rather than reading right through, but I hope that everyone has found something of interest.

Initial reviews have been kind, including generous comments in both *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

Ecclesiology Today

This issue of *Ecclesiology Today* starts with two articles on the eighteenth century, one on the provision of space for the dead, and the other on how to organise church space for the living. It then fast forwards to the nineteenth century with a study of a recently restored reredos (and the ecclesiological gulf between this and the previous articles is enormous), skips lightly to the early twentieth century to discuss an Arts & Crafts architect practising in Wales, before finishing in the twenty-first century with a useful report on the setting up of a Friends group in rural Norfolk. We are grateful to our editor, Dr Lynne Broughton, for pulling together such a varied edition.

The production of this edition has been delayed, as it was originally intended to appear in the early summer (about the same time as the book on church seating was emerging from the press). The next issue (no. 45) is planned to appear in the Spring of 2012.

Church Crawler

As previously announced, we are now issuing *Church Crawler* as a separate publication. It has been expanded to include an informal and personal account of a day churchcrawling, and Phil Draper, the editor, is keen to hear from anyone who would like to contribute such a piece. His contact details are at the back of this volume.

Trevor Cooper
Chairman of Council

Sacred space in the long eighteenth century: seating in churches

W. M. Jacob

IN ENGLAND AND WALES, since at least the Reformation, the internal arrangements and furnishings of churches has been debated and argued about. Current debates about pews versus chairs and carpets, and the location of the altar are nothing new. Late twentieth and early twenty-first century debates about seating and liturgical arrangements and comfort in churches repeat many of the arguments about the internal arrangement of churches in the nineteenth century, which were equally ill-informed about previous rationales for the liturgical and practical layout of churches.

From the early nineteenth century there was an agitation against 'box' pews which provided most of the seating in churches. Many archdeacons' charges from 1810 onwards advocated open eastward facing benches, and clerical handbooks during the 1820s provided hints for improving the arrangement of seating and pulpits. This was one aspect of a new assertion by clergy of their control over church buildings.[1] In the 1830s and '40s the Cambridge Camden Society energetically criticised post-1660 church design, on the grounds that the designs were pagan, and advocated the removal of pews and galleries, claiming they had privatised sacred space, were socially divisive, and encouraged smugness and self-satisfaction (Figs. 1 & 2).[2] However, eighteenth-century writers, such as James Gibbs in his *Book of Architecture* of 1728, had complained that pews and galleries 'clog up and spoil' the proportions of church interiors. Gibbs's early masterpiece at St Mary-le-Strand had no galleries, and pews were often omitted from engravings of newly completed churches, like Henry Flitcroft's St Giles-in-the-Fields in 1734.

W. M. Jacob has written extensively on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and Welsh religious history, including Lay people and religion in the early-eighteenth century *(CUP, 1996),* The making of the Anglican Church worldwide *(SPCK, 1997), and* The clerical profession in the long-eighteenth century *(OUP, 2007). He is an honorary research fellow of King's College London, and Archdeacon of Charing Cross in the Diocese of London.*

Theological and historical influences

From the 1670s a clear rationale had influenced the design of many churches and the arrangement of their interiors. Sir Christopher Wren was greatly influenced by Palladio's model of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, which he noted had been a 'hall of Justice, and for that reason it was made very lightsome: whereas the consecrated Temples were very obscure'. He developed these ideas in designing his second phase of new churches for London and Westminster from 1676, most especially in his new St James's Piccadilly, where, for the first time, galleries on three sides were an integral part of the design. He recommended this design in 1711 to the Commissioners for

Fig. 1: St Mary, Old Dilton, Wiltshire. The interior of this medieval building has plain, bleached eighteenth-century box pews, some built on the original medieval benches, a three-decker pulpit against the middle of the south wall, family pews and two small galleries.

Building Fifty New Churches in London, as being structurally sound and 'as beautiful and convenient, and as such the cheapest of any Form I could invent'. In his later City churches in the 1680s Wren fully integrated galleries into the church interior, creating the impression externally of the gallery as the principal storey or *piano nobile* of the building.

Wren's practical aim was to provide churches suitable for ministry of Word and Sacrament, based on the Anglican post-Reformation model of a two-cell building, one for hearing the service including Bible readings and the sermon, focused on the reading desk and the pulpit, and the other for 'drawing near' to the altar for the celebration of the Holy Communion. He commended his design for St James's to the Commissioners as a design where all can 'hear distinctly, and see the Preacher',.and estimated that a church like St James's could seat about 2,000 people.[3]

Alongside Wren's interest in a Roman basilica as a model for a church (not, as was claimed in the nineteenth century, a temple), in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there was much interest among high churchmen in both the theology of the early Church and the design and arrangement of churches. George Wheler in *An Account of the Churches as Places of Assembly of the Primitive Christians, from the Churches of Tyre, Jerusalem and Constantinople Described by Eusebius and Ocular Observations of Several Very Ancient Edifices of Churches Yet Extant in Those Parts with a Reasonable Application* of 1698, based on visiting the Near East, was interested in seating in churches and noted that men in the *naos* were separated from women, who were accommodated in side aisles or galleries. Joseph Bingham in *Origines Ecclesiasticae*, or *the Antiquities of the Christian Church*, published in ten volumes

Fig. 2: St Stephen, Fylingdales, Yorkshire (1821). Interior looking east. There are north and west galleries, a three-decker pulpit, and box pews, with higher-status pews around the chancel arch.© The Churches Conservation Trust

between 1708 and 1722 devoted four heavily footnoted pages in volume 3, in 1711, to the separation of the sexes in church seating. Nicholas Hawksmoor, one of Wren's draughtsmen, in drawing a plan of 'The Basilica after the Primitive Christians' developed Wren's view that Christians during Constantine's time took over basilicas to use as churches, making them appropriate historical models for churches. Hawksmoor in his standard plan for churches provided projecting towers each side of the west facade containing 'Stairs to ye Women's Gallerys'. George Hickes, a high church liturgist, claimed that square pews

> wherein men and women sit together, contrary to ancient order and decency looking upon one another, is not only a great but a scandalous hindrance to devotion, not to mention the almost constant clacking of locked pews, which disturbs the whole congregation and occasions the less devout to look who it is that comes in.

He recommended narrow pews 'that but one row of people can sit in them, and so low yet when they kneel they may but be high enough to lean upon'. He recommended that only magistrates' pews should be raised above others, that men and women should sit on opposite sides of the church, and that

> movable forms ought also to be made for the empty spaces in the three ailes, for the poorer common sort, whose modesty will not let them sit among their betters, as also those who happen to come late to church, and these forms may be kept under the belfry, on each side thereof, or contrived as those in ye midst of Choir at St Paul's to run under ye stalls on each side.[4]

St James's Piccadilly may have had such an arrangement, for in a watercolour of 1806 the wide central aisle is occupied by low benches.[5] The Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches, in their Rules for the Fifty New Churches proposed for London, dated 11 July 1713, seem to have been influenced by Hickes. They stated

> That the pews be all of Equal hight, so low that every person in them may be seen, either Kneeling or Sitting, and so contrived that all persons may Stand and Kneel towards the Communion Table. That Moveable Forms be so contrived as to run under the seats of the Pewes and draw out into the Isles upon Occasion.'[6]

Gordon Higgott has pointed out that the development of galleries in Wren's churches is paralleled by the inclusion of galleries in two new theatres in London in the 1670s, one of which, the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane was designed by Wren. Wren's drawing for the Theatre Royal emphasises the galleries with giant Corinthian columns framing the gallery bays and

linking them with the proscenium arch of the stage, which can be compared with his articulation of the gallery with columns at St James's Piccadilly. That the central box in the gallery at the Theatre Royal was the king's customary seat, emphasises the status of the gallery seats.[7] Already at St Giles-in-the Fields in 1664 a Faculty had been sought for 'erecting of galleries for the better accommodation of the nobility and gentry coming to church', and in 1673 a doorway was made from the porch, 'for the more convenient passage of the gentry going to and from the galleries'.[8] Similarly in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century private chapels, for example at Belton House, Petworth House and Wimpole Hall, the owner occupied a seat in a gallery at the *piano nobile* level, while the household sat at ground floor level.

The design of Wren's St James's Piccadilly strongly influenced the Commissioners for Building Fifty New Churches' designs for new churches, for example James Gibbs's St Martin-in-the Fields, John James's St George Hanover Square and Henry Flitcroft's St Giles-in-the-Fields. Their plans and designs continued to influence church design throughout the country, especially town churches.

Social distinctions

The layout of churches reflected the social ordering of early modern society, as well Bingham's and Hickes's theological and historical studies. The aristocracy and gentry, at the apex of society, occupied the galleries, and paid for the privilege. Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester's London house was Thanet House in St Giles-in-the-Fields parish where he paid £8 a year rent for his pew, and also tipped the doorkeeper and the stair keeper. In 1720 he paid off the pewkeeper's debt of £2 19s 6d 'for his Discharge out of Prison'.[9]

This illustrates Victor Turner's hypothesis that people always and everywhere act according to two simultaneous existing conceptions of society; in one presenting a society as a differentiated, culturally structurally segmented, and often hierarchical, system of institutional positions and, in the other, imagines an 'undifferentiated homogenous whole, in which individuals confront one another integrally and not as segmentalised into statuses and roles', the ultimate goal being a situation in which the two ways of thinking reinforce one another. Under such conditions Turner thought that people might 'act on terms of communities' values, even while playing structural roles'.[10] Christopher Marsh has suggested that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries churches provided parishioners with a setting in which to reconcile the tensions of community and hierarchy, as the one forum where people met communally, and,

Fig. 3: St James, Midhopestones, Yorkshire. Box pew door with the name of the pew-renter. (Mark Chatfield, Churches the Victorians Forgot *(Moorland Publishing, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, 1979), p. 162)*

both negotiated their distinctions, incorporating a sense of hierarchy, and established a communal identity. The parish church was the one place where the community gathered and were included in, and achieved a degree of cohesion. Only 'dissenters' excluded themselves, in an alternative community in their meeting-house. The church and its internal arrangement reflected the orderliness of communal and Christian society.

After the Reformation the chancel remained a distinctive and sacred area, where parishioners met their maker in a special sense, but the body of the church, the nave, was common ground, and contained seats, which were necessary for the comfort of parishioners attending the long and wordy liturgies of the reformed Church of England. The ordering of seats was not imposed by the clergy, but negotiated by the leading laity, as ratepayers and occupiers of land in the parish, who elected the churchwardens to undertake the task. Pews, reserved spaces, had been slowly spreading since before the Reformation and individuals had established prescriptive titles to a particular seat or space, on a variety of grounds, including that their ancestors had built it, or had continuously occupied and repaired it, or that it had been occupied by the owners or occupiers of a particular house (Fig. 3). Sometimes a faculty granted by the diocesan Consistory Court had confirmed these arrangements. Sometimes rights had been granted to occupy seats in return for donations towards building or extending churches.[11]

In the absence of such proprietary rights churchwardens, as officers of the bishop, had to manage the aspirations of parishioners and cope with conflicts of status and honour.[12] In managing the space in a church, especially a town church, they had to keep a number of criteria in mind. First, proximity to the pulpit was the defining characteristic of a prestigious pew, and pulpits in galleried churches were designed to be at the same level as the galleries (Fig. 4). Second, all inhabitants of a parish needed to be included, and third, as James Shaw put it in his *Parish Law*, in 1753, 'The parishioners have indeed a claim to be seated according to their rank and station', although churchwardens should not accommodate the 'higher classes' beyond their 'real wants' or 'overlook the claim of all parishioners to be seated'.[13] Geographical and especially social mobility among parishioners also needed to be managed.

In villages the churchwardens' task of allocating seats by rank was simpler. Seats were allocated according to rank, by families. A plan of the seating in Buckerell church in Devon in 1773 (Fig. 5) shows the squire's seat having a commanding view of the whole church, with, next in importance, the vicarage family and then 'Admiral Graves' who also enjoyed a complete view of the whole

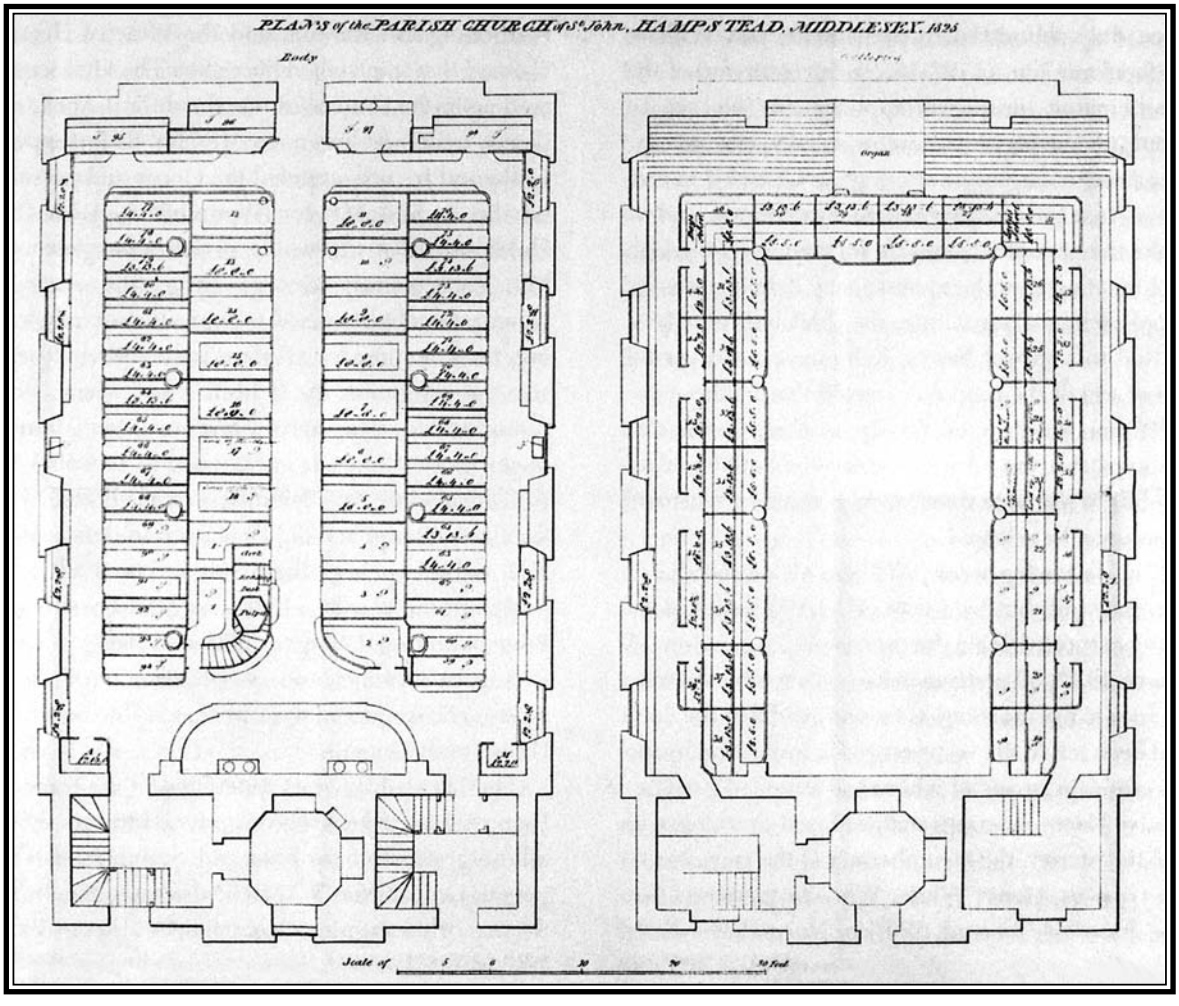


Fig. 4: St John-at-Hampstead, London, plans of the ground floor and galleries drawn in 1825, and showing the rents approved in 1834. (M. H. Port, Hampstead Parish Church: The Story of a Building through 250 Years *(St John-at-Hampstead PCC, 1995), p. 13)*

congregation The rest were graded according to the importance of their land holdings, down to the smallholders at the rear, and behind them the poor, who were separated according to sex. At South Carlton in Lincolnshire a plan shows the major landowner's pew in the chancel, the incumbent's pew at the front of the nave, and, behind, the farmer with the largest acreage. On either side were the other farmers, the larger towards the front, the smaller behind, sharing seats towards the back were a shopkeeper, shoemaker, schoolmaster and cottagers, with a sitting reserved for 'servant maids'. There were sittings in the north aisle from front to rear for 'servant men', cottagers, a foreman, three labourers, two labourers, another shoemaker, two more labourers with a pauper widow and a free sitting. Along the west wall were further free seats, and in the chancel the school children sat opposite the squire's pew.[14] Disputes about seating were comparatively rare in rural churches, although at Woodmancote in Hampshire in 1717

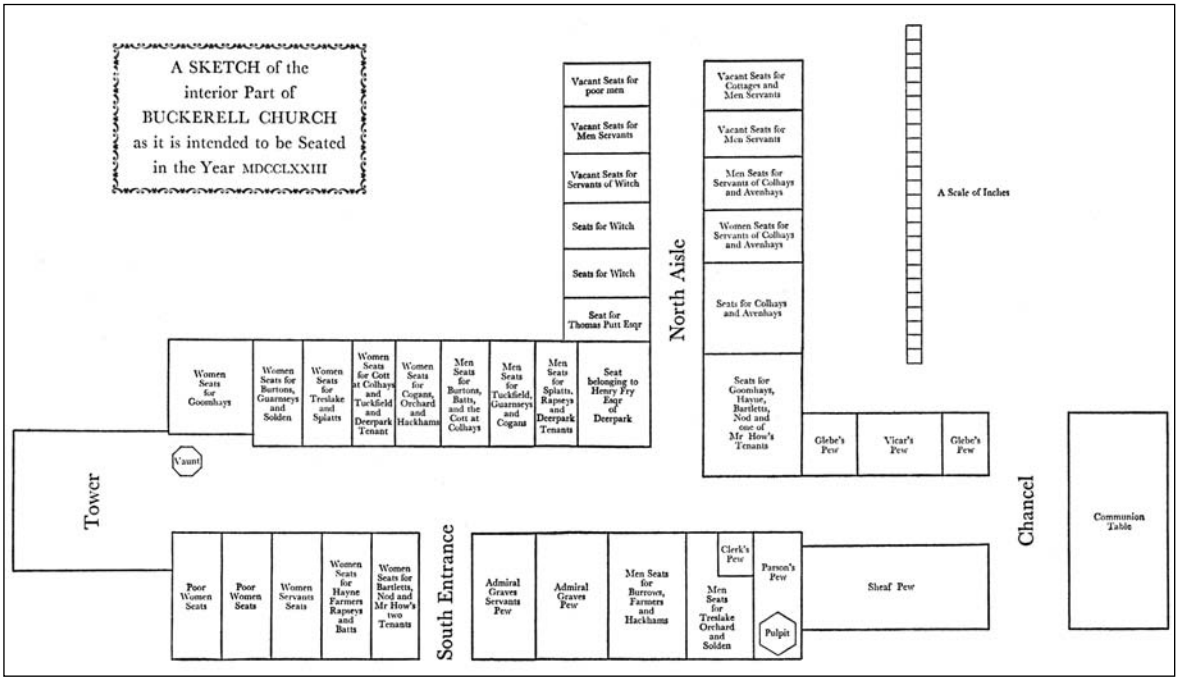


Fig. 5 Plan of St Mary and St Giles, Buckerell, Devon in 1773 showing names of occupants of pews. (Arthur Warne, Church and Society in Eighteenth Century Devon *(David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1969), pp. 60–61)*

Augustus Kinchin appealed for a reordering of the seats because 'several persons who do sit in some of the same seats either have no lands with the said tithing ... or they have no house there or do not pay towards the repair of the church'.[15] The simplest way to avoid a dispute about a link between a particular property and a pew was to identify the property on the seating plan or to inscribe the name of the property on the pew, as at Shermanbury and West Grinstead, both in West Sussex.[16]

Allocating pews was more difficult in town parishes, and disputes were not uncommon, especially in market towns where there might be greater social mobility; social distances between gentry, yeomen, tradesmen and merchants were slight, but significant to individuals. Leading citizens of corporate boroughs, the mayor, common councilmen and aldermen, and their wives were seated at a higher level, as at King's Lynn after the church was rebuilt in 1754.[17] The simplest way to allocate seats seems to have been to allow market forces to decide who sat where. In most town churches annual rents were charged for seats, which funded maintaining the church, or repaid mortgages or loans taken out by the vestry to repair or extend the church, or erect a gallery. Pew rent books show that there were differentials in the range of rents between different parts of the building. As might be expected from the evidence of Wren's designs for London churches in the late seventeenth century, the best seats were in galleries, the front row gallery seats being the most expensive, and occupied by aristocracy or gentry.[18] Seats further back in the gallery were

Fig 6. St John the Baptist, King's Norton, Leicestershire (John Wing the Younger, commenced 1757, nave completed by c.1761). The furnishings are largely original, including a gallery, box pews and a central pulpit. Note the gates either side of the pulpit, providing a degree of separation between chancel and nave.

cheaper. People ranked themselves by what they could afford to pay and presumably if they could no longer afford a seat, they gave it up, and someone who could afford it took it on. This required an efficient administration, to ensure that seats were clearly identified, and that rents were collected, and entered in the rent book, and changes of occupant were noted (Figs. 6 &7).

Building a gallery in an existing church could present problems by disturbing the hierarchy of seating in the church and the social ordering of inhabitants at worship. The elite did not want anyone sitting at a higher level than themselves. Apart from matters of hierarchy and social order, they might be victims of bad behaviour, as at Welshpool in 1728 when it was alleged 'a very common sort of people' sit in the gallery 'under the pretence of psalm singing,' 'some of them spitting upon the heads of people below'.[19] Galleries intended to accommodate an organ and singers, so their voices would carry better, were often resisted by the better sort, for they were elevated above their betters.[20] At Boston the churchwardens solved the problem, when a new gallery was provided for the organ in 1724, by selling seats to the highest bidders.[21] If a church were reordered or rebuilt, or a new

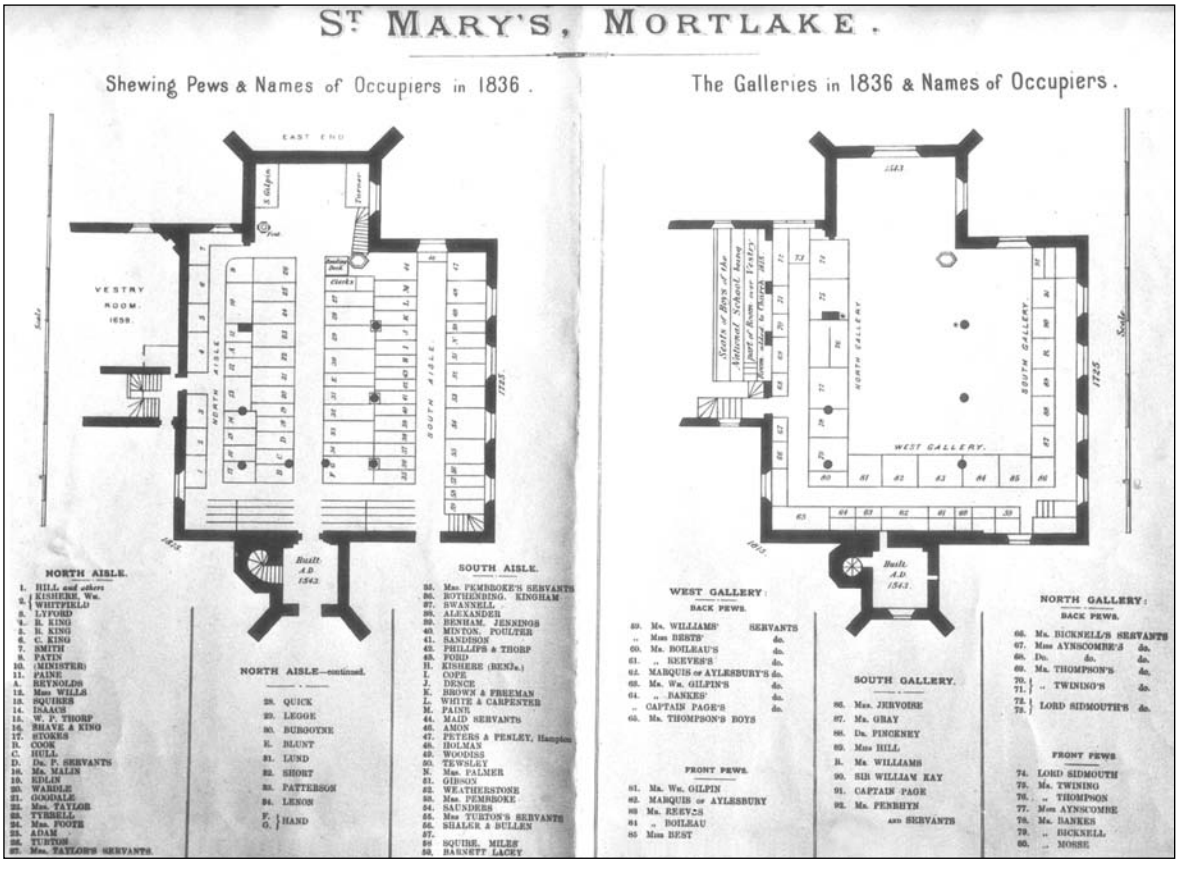


Fig. 7: St Mary, Mortlake, Richmond upon Thames, London. Plan of pews and galleries 1836. (Leslie Freeman, Going to the Parish: Mortlake and the Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin *(Barnes and Mortlake History Society, 1993), p.11)*

gallery were constructed, churchwardens, with the consent of the vestry, often allocated seats according to the amount subscribed to the project. At King's Lynn, when the church was rebuilt, subscribers within particular ranges of £20, £15, £10 and £5 were invited to ballot for the choice of seats, the £20 subscribers balloting first.[22]

The very poor, who could not afford to pay rents, were often accommodated on benches in the wide central 'alley' of in the middle aisle (Figs. 8 & 9), as provided by Gibbs at St Mary-le-Strand, and nineteenth century engravings or photographs show at St James's Piccadilly and St Giles-in-the-Fields. The poor were thus honoured as fellow Christians, by having, effectively, the second best location in the church, even if their seats were uncomfortable.

Transferring pews could be a complex matter. At St James's Trowbridge in Wiltshire the vestry in *c.*1765 established 'Conditions of Sale and Purchase of Seats in the Parish Church of Trowbridge' A churchwarden was required to record any sale or exchange of pews, together with the number of the pew, Purchasers must be inhabitants of the parish, and members of the

Fig. 8: St John-at-Hampstead, London. The parish church of Hampstead, looking east c.1845, with the free seats in the middle of the aisle. (M. H. Port, Hampstead Parish Church: The Story of a Building through 250 Years *(St John-at-Hampstead PCC, 1995), p. 21)*

Fig. 9: St Philip, Birmingham (now the Cathedral). The interior, from an early nineteenth-century engraving.

church. If they nominated only their own life, their family had to renew the purchase on his death, and people who removed from the parish, or dissented from the Church, forfeited their rights.[23] At Fordingbridge in Hampshire it was claimed in 1728 that there was a custom for parishioners to buy, sell and exchange seats independent of the churchwardens, and for seats to descend to a man's heirs or creditors.[24] At Wilton in 1759 'an assembly of the Parishioners held in the Vestry' set prices for each seat and the number of seats in each pew, ranging from 3s to 12s.[25] The poor were provided for by seven places 'on the left hand side of the alley' set aside for 'the people of the workhouse'.[26] Elsewhere seats were set aside for almspeople, and frequently the children of a charity school, subscribed to by leading members of a congregation, were accommodated in a gallery, from which they often sang a psalm or anthem.

Diocesan Consistory Courts adjudicated in cases of disputes about seating. Disputes about pews comprised a significant proportion of some courts' time. In the dioceses of Gloucester and Winchester, and the archdeaconry of Buckinghamshire between 1700 and 1740, 24 per cent of the cases were about pews.[27] However in Bangor diocese there was only one case between 1734 and 1760.[28] In Oxford diocese in the eighteenth century in

49 of 110 faculty applications for a pew, the churchwardens opposed the application, perhaps because granting a seat by faculty led to loss of income. Faculties usually stipulated that the petitioner must continue to live either in the same house, or in the same parish.[29]

The sexes seem to have been often separated in churches. At Hambledon in Buckinghamshire, the pews were so contrived that 'men that sit in them cannot see the women in their seats', and at Elingham in Hampshire in 1712 men's seats were placed before women's seats on both sides of the church.[30] Women's galleries were to be noted in pew rent books, not just in small towns, like Melksham in Wiltshire where in the 1730s the pew rent book records men paying rent for seats for women,[31] but also in London at St Margaret's Westminster where the 'Women's Gallery' was noted in the rent book for 1759.[32] At Mere in 1815 pews were still listed as divided between men and women.[33] On what grounds women sat separately is unclear.

In populous towns, such as London, or fashionable resorts like Bath, parish churches were supplemented by private-enterprise proprietary chapels, built as commercial ventures. In these the better sort achieved exclusivity and comfort not available in a parish church, by excluding those unable to afford pew rents. However, in Bath, in Walcot, Christ Church chapel, which opened in 1798 provided seating for 500, let to respectable families in the galleries, and free seating for the poor on benches on the floor of the church, funded by rents paid by the better sort.[34]

The seating plan of a church in the eighteenth century provides a good but imperfect reflection of contemporary society. A pew was of symbolic value – locating a person in society, and indicating how he or she was honoured in the local community.[35] The seating arrangements were also, however, significantly governed by late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century liturgical and archaeological research. The design and arrangement of churches in the long eighteenth century was not merely pagan, as later claimed by Camdenian detractors.

Notes

1 See Simon Bradley, 'The roots of Ecclesiology: late Hanoverian attitudes to medieval churches, in Christopher Webster and John Elliott (eds.), *A Church as it should be': The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence* (Stamford, 2000), 35 and 38.

2 See Christopher Webster, '"Absolutely wretched": Camdenian attitudes to the late Georgian church', in *A Church as it should be*.

3 See Gordon Higgott, 'Wren's galleried churches and his First Model design for St Paul's Cathedral, 1669–1670', in Andre Chastel and Jean Guillaume (eds.), *L'Architecture Religieuse Europenne au temps des Reformes* (Paris, 2009). I am grateful to Dr Higgott for drawing his article to my attention.

4 Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2000), 139–42.

5 See Higgott, 'Wren's galleried churches', p.198, figure 11.
6 de la Ruffiniere du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches, 143.*
7 Higgott, 'Wren's galleried churches', 194–95
8 John Parton, *Some Account of the Hospital and Parish of St Giles in the Fields* London, 1822), 203 and 204.
9 D. P. Mortlock, *Aristocratic Splendour: Money and the World of Thomas Coke Earl of Leicester* (Stroud, 2007), 70.
10 Victor M.Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1959), 166.
11 Christopher Marsh, 'Common Prayer in England 1560–1640: the view from the pew', *Past & Present*, 170 (2000), 66–94, and Christopher Marsh, 'Sacred space in England 1560–1640: the view from the pew', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 286–311.
12 For the office and duties of churchwardens during this period see Eric Carlson, 'The origins, function and status of the office of churchwarden, with particular reference to the diocese of Ely', in Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters*, 1520–1725 (Cambridge, 1995).
13 Quoted in K. D. M. Snell, 'Free or appropriated sittings: the Anglican Church in perspective', in K. D. M.Snell and Paul S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000), 332.
14 James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey* 1825–1875 (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975), 109–10, [LAO South Carlton parish records].
15 Kevin Dillow, 'The social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements and pew disputes 1500–1740', (unpublished Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1990), 96 [HRO C/7/A3,12].
16 Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991), 38.
17 King's Lynn Borough Archives, St Margaret's Church Book, 1741.
18 See Westminster City Archives SMW/E/136, etc for St Margaret's Westminster Pew Rent books, STM/F/1/98, etc for St Martin-in-the-Fields Pew Rent Books, STJ.494/275, etc for St James's Piccadilly Pew Rent Books
19 Quoted in G. W. O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*,(London, 1948), 100.
20 W.M.Jacob, *Laypeople and Religion in the early eighteenth century* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 218–20.
21 Lincolnshire Archives Office, Boston 10/1 Vestry Minute Book, 1705–76.
22 King's Lynn Borough Archives, St Margaret's Church Book, 1741.
23 *Wiltshire Pew Rents 2, Trowbridge St James*, ed. Beryl Hurley, Wiltshire Family History Society, Devizes, 1995, p. 2.
24 Dillow, 'Social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements', 122.
25 *Wiltshire Pew Rents 3, Westbury and Wilton*, ed. Beryl Hurley, Wiltshire Family History Society, Devizes, 1996, p. 18.
26 *Wiltshire Pew Rents 3, Westbury and Wilton*, p. 14.
27 Dillow, 'Social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements', 195.
28 National Library of Wales SD/B/CC/G.
29 Dillow, 'Social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements', 77 and 117.
30 Dillow, 'Social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements', 132–33.
31 *Wiltshire Pew Rents 1, Calne, Devizes and Melksham*, ed. Beryl Hurley, Wiltshire Family History Society, Devizes, 1995, 43–45.
32 Westminster City Archives SMW/E324/4 St Margaret's Westminster Pew Rent Book, 1759.
33 *Wiltshire Pew Rent Books 4, Warminster, Mere and Chippenham*, ed. Beryl Hurley, Wiltshire Family History Society, 1998, 64.
34 Daniel Cummin, 'Exclusive oratories and magnificent pagodas': the Anglican proprietary chapels of eighteenth-century Bath', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, forthcoming.
35 Dillow, 'Social and ecclesiastical significance of church seating arrangements', 229.

The parochial economics of Anglican burial in the two cities of London and Westminster in the eighteenth century

Malcolm Johnson

Malcolm Johnson has recently been awarded a PhD by King's College, London for his thesis on the topic of this paper. He is a retired Anglican priest whose ministry was in the City of London and East London. The images have been provided by the publisher.

NEARLY ALL the 110 churches which have existed in the City of London since 1666 and the 40 or so historic churches in the City of Westminster have published short accounts of their history, architecture, furnishings etc., but rarely are vaults or churchyards mentioned. Yet in some cases undercrofts have been the only area to survive fire and enemy action, and churchyards have been sacred spaces for centuries – 'precious articles' as the City Comptroller called them in 1973.[1] More than that, the income from crypt and churchyard interments in the eighteenth century contributed a large amount to the parish purse.

Costs

Burying a body in London could be an expensive business at that time, with a complex range of fees and other charges to negotiate depending on the place and lavishness of the burial. Each parish vestry set its own burial dues. Only a few tables setting these out have survived in vestry minutes or church notices, but always the dues were divided between the incumbent, churchwardens (for the parish), sexton and clerk. Extra costs were incurred for bearers, tolling the bell, using the pall, or hanging the pulpit, chancel and deceased's pew with black cloth if required. The wardens received the fee for 'the ground' and for tolling the bells, and the sexton received a fee related directly to the depth to which he had to dig. Non-parishioners, because they had no right of burial, were usually charged double, and those interring children, because they took up less space, half.

Families or friends of paupers paid nothing because the parish settled the bill. Occasionally burial was restricted to parishioners because of lack of space. A desk service, the liturgy in church, would incur additional charges. A stonecutter and joiner might also have to be paid for lifting the stone floor and repairing pews. At St Sepulchre in 1761 the charge for taking up the pavement was five shillings for an adult, and three shillings for those under 16.[2]

If the family of a deceased parishioner wanted the body interred in another parish church a 'carrying away' fee was levied. Charges for this varied in the early eighteenth century according to the vestry's wishes – St Giles-in-the-Fields charged £1 17s. 4d.[3]

St Dionis Backchurch 12s. 4d.,[4] but it only cost 2s. 6d. at All Hallows Lombard Street.[5]

No income came from the burial of paupers, the cost of which had to be met by the churchwardens on behalf of the parish who would occasionally pay a small fee to the incumbent, clerk and sexton; the ground itself would be given free. This meant that poorer parishes lost income because they usually had many pauper funerals. Even St Martin-in-the-Fields, though a well populated and wealthy parish, had a large number of poor people, and around a third of the funerals in the 1730s were of paupers. The 'Multitudes of paupers' at St Paul Covent Garden gave rise to anxiety in 1735, and this continued until the end of the century; paupers represented 15.4 per cent of interments 1798–1800. Pauper burials accounted for 25 per cent of burials at St Clement Danes in 1789.

Burial provision

Until the 1830s most people in England were buried in their local church or churchyard – 'God's acre', although Dissenters had to submit to an Anglican service read by an Anglican priest. Each knew their place in death as in life with the wealthy coffined in the vaults below the building, and everyone else buried in the churchyard – the poor, the unbaptised and social outcasts usually in the northern part, and the better-off in the sunny southern portion. Small city graveyards might not be able to make such distinctions, but their crypts would be reserved for those who could pay the substantial fees. Outside 'the mingled relics of the parish poor'[6] were jumbled namelessly together possibly in pits, and pauper burial was feared by all.

Although the Church of England was responsible for the majority of metropolitan interments, it was not the only Christian body providing burial space in inner London in the long eighteenth century. After the 1689 Toleration Act gave freedom of worship to dissenters, chapels with vaults were opened by them in the two cities. Some chapels were very unconventional and presented competition to the parishes and their vestries in burial provision. One such was the Mayfair Chapel in Curzon Street where the minister, Alexander Keith, specialised in irregular and unlicensed 'Fleet' weddings (often 6,000 each year). He was excommunicated in October 1742, so he excommunicated the bishop of London and the rector of St George Hanover Square saying 'I'll buy 2 or 3 acres of ground and by God I'll *underbury* them all'.[7] The loss of income to the Established Church which resulted from dissenters and others having their own cemeteries is not known.

Fig. 1: Two City of London churchyards: their small size is apparent.
1a (top): The closed churchyard of St Martin Orgar in Martin Street, squeezed between two buildings and the street frontage. The church was lost in the fire of 1666, but the churchyard space preserved.
1b (bottom): St Michael Cornhill, an active church in the City, seen from the south. The churchyard, entirely surrounded by buildings, is now converted to a small garden, glimpsed through the railings.

Burial provision in London remained a key issue in the eighteenth century because London death rates were extremely high. Wrigley and Schofield suggest that London had an annual mortality rate of between 40 and 45 per 1,000 between 1700 and 1725, and between 45 and 50 per 1,000 between 1725 and 1750.[8] The national rate was 28 per 1,000. The London rate then fell to under 40 between 1750 and 1775 and to a little over 30 in 1775–1800. The capital had a large excess of burials over baptisms.[9] As there were about 6,000 more burials than baptisms each year in London it must have received large numbers of migrants – from the country and rural towns, from Scotland and Ireland.[10] They came to work and stayed, and Jews and Huguenots arrived from abroad. The Bills of Mortality tell us that a quarter of the deaths in London 1700–1750 were children under two. It was a third thereafter. After 1665 there were no more plagues, but they were replaced by smallpox, typhus and tuberculosis which probably accounted for 60 per cent of adult deaths.[11]

Parish registers confirm the high number of child interments. Not every parish clerk noted child burials but those available include St Clement Danes with 39.2 per cent for 1738–44,[12] and 20 per cent in 1789. In Westminster the registers of St James Piccadilly record 1,033 burials for the 12 months 1 May 1754 to 31 April 1755, and of these 536 were children (51.8 per cent).[13]

After the Great Fire 33 churches in the City of London were not rebuilt but their sites and churchyards were often still used for burial. In 1700 there were 74 churches in the City with approximately 112 parochial graveyards (of which 59 survive).[14] The vanished churches' vestries consequently had to come to an arrangement with their new parish about, among other things, burial dues.

During the eighteenth century the City's population remained stable.[15] The number of annual interments in the City *c.*1750 varied from 940 (St Andrew Holborn), 560 (St Sepulchre Newgate) and 436 (St Botolph Bishopsgate) to around 23 each at St Stephen Walbrook, St Helen Bishopsgate and St James Garlickhythe. The smaller parishes of St Margaret Pattens, St Matthew Friday Street only had around six.[16]

The two major periods of church building which followed first the Great Fire and then the 1710 Act for Fifty New Churches only saw three parishes acquire new burial places in the City of London and one outside the City boundary,[17]– at St Olave Hart Street, St Andrew Holborn, St Bartholomew the Less and St Sepulchre Holborn. St Bartholomew and St Olave had few parishioners, but the other two parishes had large populations and small churchyards. There was little available land in the Square

Mile as Wren discovered when he proposed wider roads and more squares, making space a desirable and expensive commodity. The existing burial grounds and vaults filled up alarmingly in the eighteenth century.

City parishes addressed the shortage of burial provision by using the same land time and time again (Fig. 1). This made at least strong economic sense, as representing a cheaper option than acquiring inexpensive land available to the east in Stepney and Spitalfields.

In contrast, Westminster had only five parishes in 1700, of which four were in the countryside ('in the fields'). The exception was St Margaret Westminster which was close to the sovereign's palace in Whitehall, the Abbey and the seat of government. Three of these parishes had purchased extra burial ground in the half century before 1666 – St Margaret, St Martin-in-the-Fields and St Clement Danes. Between 1666 and 1808, however, thirteen new Anglican parish cemeteries were opened in Westminster.

In the eighteenth century Westminster's population continued to rise as the new streets and squares pushed westwards from Whitehall and north from St George-in-the-Fields and Bloomsbury. All its eight newly consecrated churches except for St George Hanover Square and St John Smith Square had churchyards, but these soon proved inadequate because of this rise in population. The annual number of interments was far higher than in the City – around 1,200 at St Margaret Westminster and St Martin-in-the-Fields, 400 at St Clement Danes, and 220 at St Paul Covent Garden.[18]

The vestry of St Mary le Strand created a detached cemetery 120 x 34 feet in 1724 by purchasing several houses in Russell Court and demolishing them. Bones were dug up after a while and thrown into the charnel houses so that the land could be re-used. The charges for an adult burial was £1 4s. 6d. and for a child 11s. 6d. Completely enclosed by buildings, it was reached by a narrow passage and was probably the scene of Charles Dickens' Tom-all-Alones in *Bleak House*. When the cemetery had opened burials in or near the church declined – in the five years 1723–7 only 22 interments took place in the church or churchyard for which the parish received £73 18s. Added to this was the rector's fee, usually £1 10s., the clerk's fee of 5 shillings and the sexton's 3 shillings.[19] The burial registers record that interments for 1777 to 1781 were 373, an annual average of 74.[20]

After 1666 all Westminster vestries except St Anne Soho and the Savoy Chapel purchased more land for burial, generally within walking distance of their building, although St George Hanover Square,[21] St James Piccadilly and St Paul Covent Garden bought detached grounds approximately two miles away.

Intramural burial

As each vestry decided their own dues, one might expect considerable variation in the fee structures, and this indeed proves to be so. However, it was almost universally the case that intramural burial was more costly, under the chancel being the most expensive place for burial (Fig. 2).

In the mid seventeenth century interment within the church was a new concept for the middling sort. Over the next hundred years, however, doctors, solicitors, high-ranking soldiers and 'gentlefolk' frequently left instructions in their wills for intramural burial although some cautioned prudence and economy in arranging it because fees could be high.

A vault burial usually cost between £4 and £8 depending on its position, but might cost as much as £20, and the incumbent

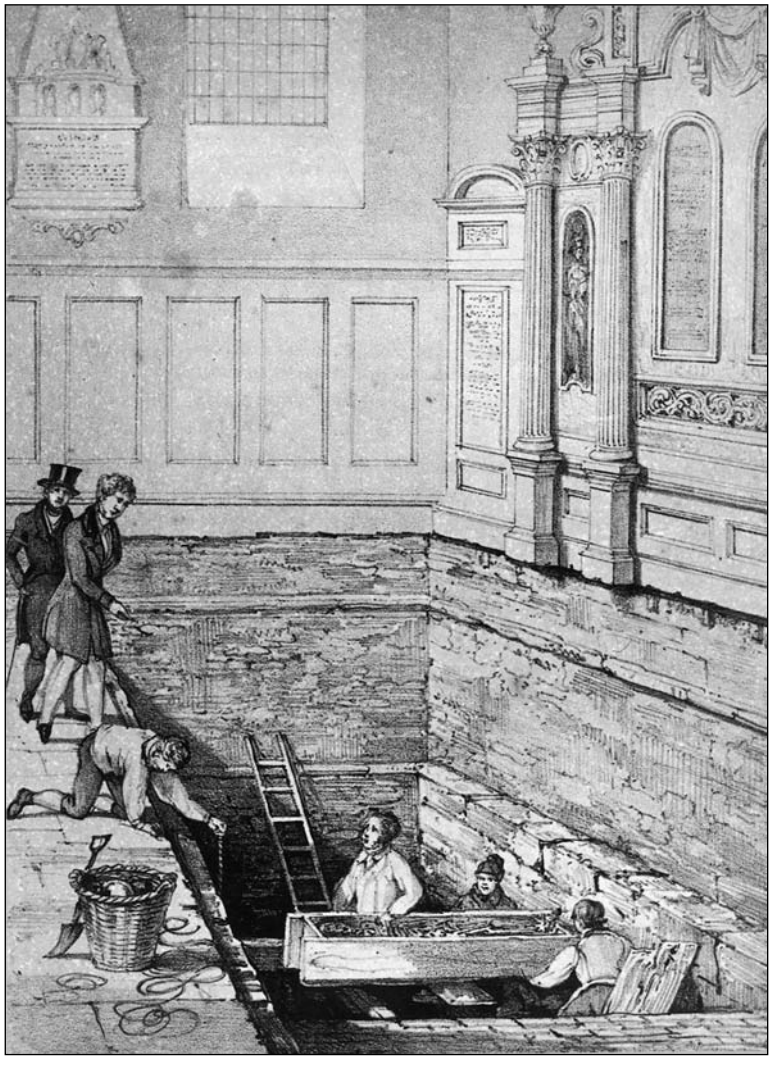


Fig. 2: St Bartholomew by the Exchange (Christopher Wren, 1675–83; demolished 1840–41), showing a chancel vault. This lithograph shows the exhumation of the remains of Miles Coverdale, buried in 1569, and removed in September 1840 before the church was taken down. Coverdale was reburied in the church of St Magnus the Martyr, where he had been rector.

received most of the fee.[22] By law, according to Watson, the incumbent alone decided who should be interred in the crypt:

> Because the Soil and Freehold of the Church is in the Parson alone, and that the Church is not, as the Church-yard is, a common Burial-place for all the Parishioners, the Church-wardens, or Ordinary himself, cannot grant Licence of Burying to any Person within the Church but only the Rector, or Incumbent thereof … yet the Church-wardens by Custom may have a Fee for every Burial within the Church, by reason the parish is at the Charge of repairing the Floor.[23]

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Church of England in the City of London erected 51 new churches in addition to the 24 which survived the Great Fire. During the next 200 years fourteen of these were rebuilt to enlarge them or because of dilapidation; all except St James, Duke's Place, had a crypt as spacious as the church above.[24] In Westminster the five churches in existence in 1600 all had crypts and three of these retained them when rebuilt. Crypts were also given to the 20 additional churches built before 1852. The clergy, churchwardens and vestries decided to use these crypts to earn money by interring wealthy parishioners in them instead of using the space for other purposes (Figs. 3, 4, 5 and rear cover).

In doing so, however, they went against the advice and opinions of both architects and others. Some had always doubted the wisdom of burying the dead among the living. Bishop Hugh Latimer in 1552 thought it 'an unwholesome thing to bury within the city' considering that 'it is the occasion of great sickness and disease'.[25] Mainly for architectural reasons Wren was also opposed to burial in or close to the church, and his first designs for the rebuilding of the City contained no churchyards.[26] Some years later he wrote to the commissioners responsible for building 50 new churches:

> I would wish that all burials in churches might be disallowed, which is not only unwholesome, but the pavements can never be kept even, nor pews upright: If the Church-yard be close upon the Church, this also is inconvenient, because the Ground being continually raised by the Graves, occasions in Time, a Descent by Steps into the Church, which renders it damp … It will be enquired, where then shall be Burials? I answer, in Cemeteries seated in the Outskirts of the Town … they will bound the excessive growth of the City with a graceful Border, which is now encircled with Scavengers Dung-stalls. The Service may be first performed in the Church.[27]

Sir John Vanbrugh agreed with Wren. When submitting his designs for the 50 new churches in 1710 he described burial in churches as

> A Custome in which there is something so very barbarous in itself besides the many ill consequences that attend it; that one cannot enough wonder how it ever has prevail'd amongst the civiliz'd part of mankind...

He considered that suburban walled cemeteries should be opened.[28]

In the early eighteenth century the City of London possessed 70 churches with crypts. Thirty-one of these no longer survive. Westminster has had 25 churches with crypts since 1666, and only six have been demolished or leased after the human remains have been removed

The New Churches in London and Westminster Act 1710[29] provided not only money to erect churches, but also to purchase 'Church-yards and Burying-places'. In the following year a second Act reaffirmed the burial arrangements, but ruled that more than one cemetery could be purchased for a parish, and then stated that 'No Burial shall, at any Time hereafter, be in or under any of the Churches by this Act intended to be erected'.[30] This applied only to the eleven churches built as a result of the Act;[31] moreover only three vestries obeyed the commissioners (those of St George Hanover Square, St George Bloomsbury and St John Smith Square).[32]

At the new church of St Martin-in-the-Fields consecrated in 1726 the most sought after place for intramural burial was under the church and portico. In 1748 the fabric of the building was threatened by all the burials beneath the floor of the crypt. The sexton was instructed to stop digging, but he obviously took no notice because another order was made by wardens Thomas Adams and William Smith and the vestry on 30 August 1773 that 'No Graves be dug in any of the vaults under the Church as a Practice thereof will be Prejudicial to and in time Endanger the Foundation of the said Church'.[33]

It soon became obvious that the ban on intramural burial was unenforceable because the dues derived from interments were an important source of income for incumbents and their vestries. In the early eighteenth century financial considerations won the day.

Fees

Burial dues for the incumbent and parish officers were paid separately. Churchwardens' accounts reveal how much was received for the parish, and if we deduct the poor rate, the parish interment dues in the two cities varied in the long eighteenth century from ten to forty per cent of parochial income. In larger parishes with many interments the figure was often high. St Martin-in-the-Fields in the year 1703–4 received 34 per cent of their income from interment fees, and this rose to 43.3 per cent

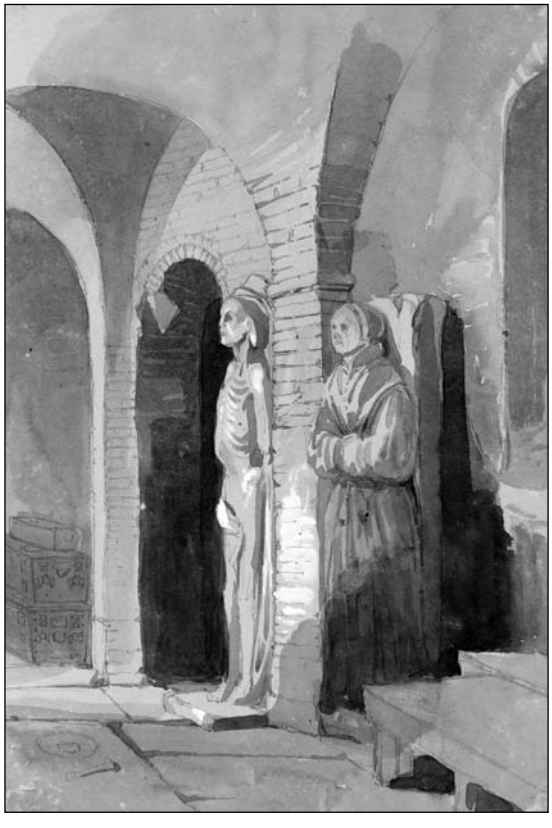


Fig. 3: Crypts of two London churches, from drawings of the 1840s. (John Wykeham Archer, watercolour over graphite on paper, 33cm x 24cm, and 25cm x 24cm respectively.)

3a (top): The crypt of St Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside in 1843. Built in about 1080, this crypt is one of London's oldest standing stone structures and was retained by Wren to support his new church. A candle to the right lights up a pile of coffins, and there is the suggestion of more to the left and rear. The crypt now houses a chapel and a café (the 'Cafe Below').

3b (bottom): The crypt of St James Clerkenwell in 1842 (church built 1788–92 by James Carr). Two monuments are prominent. The skeletal figure in a shroud on the left represents Sir William Weston, Prior of St John's, d.1540; this is now back in the church. Beneath an arch to the left are several coffins, stacked on top of each other. The crypt is now available for hire as a meeting venue ('The Crypt on the green').

in the three years 1729–32. There were usually over 1,200 funerals each year at St Martin's, and in 1792 the vicar, Dr Anthony Hamilton, told vestry members that he himself had buried 4,544 bodies in 16 years.[34]

Some parish accounts are missing and some omit burial dues, but St Bride Fleet Street does possess records of 'Pitts and Knells' which show that their interment income, 1702–1710, was £909 11s. 11d. which is 14 per cent of parochial income for these eight years, and three times the amount received from collections. In the large parish of St James Piccadilly the proportion during 1747–70 varied from 9.4 to 36.7 per cent, and usually hovered around 18 per cent. This is also the approximate figure for the well populated parishes of St Clement Danes and St Paul Covent Garden in the middle years of the century.

Smaller City parishes which had a high number of intramural interments often received a useful sum – which amounted to 26 per cent of income at St James Garlickhythe, 1709–22, and 13 per cent at St Margaret Pattens. At St Mary-le-Bow the 20 per cent of income received was sufficient to pay their beadle (£20) and rat catcher (ten shillings).

In the long eighteenth century the Anglican Church in the two cities faced the challenges of burial provision in different ways. Incumbents and vestries attempted to keep pace with the changes in the population especially in Westminster. Suggestions to open diocesan graveyards outside city boundaries were ignored, and Parliament had no wish to spend money on new cemeteries. It had no interest in burial provision because this was the concern of local vestries which were independent and jealous of each other, making their own arrangements and setting their own fees, although occasionally the chancellor of the diocese was asked to ratify them.

Although continental countries began to ban inner-city burials towards the end of the eighteenth century, there was no movement to do this in England. After 1835 there were important changes in the burial economy of London through the impact of three not unrelated factors. They were the opening of new non-ecclesiastical cemeteries such as Kensal Green, the pressure for sanitary reform in London and the State's new willingness to regulate and promote these trends. The Burial Act of 1852 banned inner-city interments. Parishes suffered a huge loss of income, and although incumbents received compensation the parish officers such as clerk and sexton did not.

Scandals concerning London burials abound in the eighteenth century; two examples will suffice. In 1747 at St Andrew Holborn, John Lamb the sexton, and William Bilby the grave-

digger, appeared at the Old Bailey accused of stealing lead from the coffins committed to their charge. When Bilby was apprehended by the 'vigilant and worthy constable, Mr Chance' the old 'grey headed and infirm' Lamb went into hiding but a reward was offered and he soon joined his partner in Newgate Prison.[35] At their trial on 14 October evidence was given by several men who had assisted in the operation under the impression that the Revd Geoffrey Barton, the rector, had ordered the removal. Bilby persuaded the rector that because the crypt was water-logged a hole should be made in the outer wall for drainage. It was through this hole that bodies were dragged at

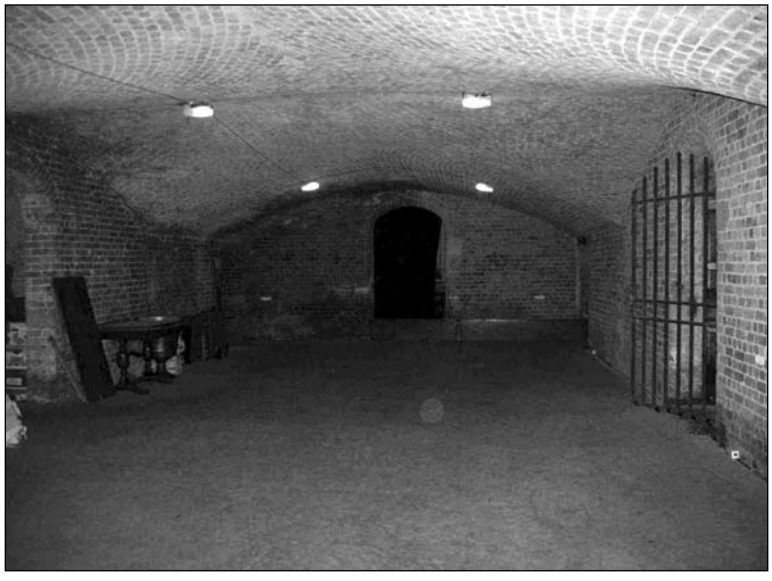


Fig. 4: Recent photographs of the crypt of St Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street, built 1830–33 by John Shaw. The coffins, which have long been cleared, were placed in side rooms off the main crypt space.

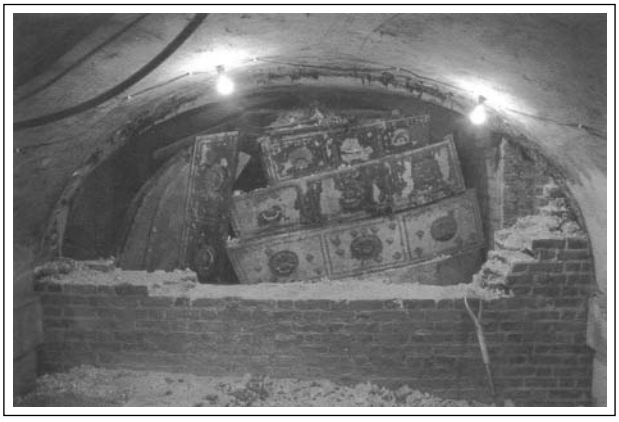


Fig. 5: Christchurch, Spitalfields (Nicholas Hawksmoor, 1723–9). The photograph shows the northern parochial vault exposed during the late twentieth century, the first time in 140 years. (Jes Reeve and Max Adams, Across the Styx*, being Volume 1 of The Spitalfields Project, CBA Research Report 85, Council for British Archaeology, 1993). Reproduced by permission of the Council for British Archaeology.*

night to be thrown into a pit in the churchyard whilst the lead from the coffins was cut up and taken to the men's houses; when the constable visited them he found a hundred weight of lead worth 13 shillings. The two men were sentenced to seven years transportation but their helpers were acquitted.[36]

John Milton was interred under the chancel of St Giles Cripplegate on 12 November 1674. The grave was opened on 3 August 1790 and although a lead coffin was unearthed it had no breastplate. Everyone was convinced it contained Milton's corpse, and Philip Neve has left a contemporary account:

> Between 8 and 9 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 4th, the two overseers (Laming and Fountain) … went with Holmes, a journeyman, into the church and pulled the coffin … into daylight … Holmes immediately fetched a mallet and chisel and cut open the top of the coffin … Upon first view of the body, it appeared perfect, and completely enveloped in the shroud, which was of many folds; the ribs standing up regularly. When they disturbed the shroud the ribs fell. Mr Fountain told me, that he pulled hard at the teeth, which resisted, until someone hit them a knock with a stone, when they easily came out. There were but five in the upper-jaw, which were all perfectly sound and white. … Mr Laming lifted up the head and saw a great quantity of hair. Mr Taylor, a surgeon, took up the hair, as it laid over the forehead, and carried it home.[37]

After this the caretaker Elizabeth Grant took the coffin under her care charging sixpence to anyone who wished to view it, later reducing her fee to three pence and finally to two pence ('the price of a pot of beer'). Milton still rests in the vaults under St Giles as, apart from a boiler house being constructed at the west end, they have not been disturbed since.

Notes

1 London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA) Misc. Mss. 363/11.
2 LMA Ms 3149: St Sepulchre Holborn vestry minutes vol. 5.
3 Lambeth Palace Library (hereafter LPL) Fulham Papers, Edmund Gibson vol. 1 p. 84 (22 April 1701).
4 LMA Ms. 18483A: St Dionis, Account of fees received for burials 1706.
5 LMA Ms.18996: All Hallows Lombard Street, table of fees for burials 1693.
6 George Crabbe 1754–1832, 'The Pauper's Funeral' in *The Village Book 1.*
7 Erected in 1730, the Chapel closed in 1754, and Keith died a prisoner in the Fleet Prison four years later. See H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present* (1891) 2 vols., II p. 516.
8 E. A. Wrigley and J.S. Schofield, *The Population History of London 1541–1871* (1981).
9 Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (1998), 271–72.
10 John Landers, *Death and the Metropolis Studies in the demographic history of London*, 1670–1830 (1993), 41–43.
11 *Ibid*., 279.
12 There were a total of 1,044 out of 2,661 burials.
13 Westminster City Archives (hereafter WCA) *Parish registers, St James Piccadilly* transcribed by Dr Alexander.
14 Extra to this would be St Mary Magdalene, Guildhall, St Thomas Acons by now the Mercers' Chapel, Bridewell and St Thomas-in-the-Rolls, the lawyers' chapel.
15 Estimates of the City's population in 1700 vary although the returns for the Hearth Tax and the 1694–1706 tax suggest that there were 74,000 people within and 50,000 without the walls. The 1801 Census recorded a City population of 134,000.
16 See parish burial registers at LMA.
17 The net achievements of the Act amounted to only eleven completely new churches, a few extra steeples and paying the arrears of Wren's salary as Surveyor of St Paul's. St Mary Woolnoth was rebuilt; five churches funded in part; two were purchased.
18 See parish burial registers at WCA..
19 The Bank of England's Inflation Calculator states that £1 in 1750 is worth £166 today.
20 St Mary le Strand burial register WCA m/f 7.
21 In 1968 this cemetery in Bayswater was sold for £950,000.
22 I am grateful to Dr Julian Litten, the doyen of this subject, whose *The English Way of Death* (1991) is invaluable.
23 The Revd W. Watson, *The Clergy-Man's Law* (1747), 387.
24 In addition two completely new churches were built which did not have a crypt – All Saints Skinner Street (1830) and Holy Trinity Gough Square (1838).
25 Quoted in G. A. Walker, *Gatherings from Graveyards* (1839), 209.
26 *Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren, From the Parentalia or Memoirs of his son Christopher* (1750) ed. E. J. Enthoven (1903), 193–4.
27 *Parentalia*, 278–9.
28 Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (1987), 257–8.
29 9 Anne. c. XXII. 1710.
30 10 Anne. c. XI. Section 31. 1711.
31 In Westminster the new churches were St George Hanover Square, St Mary le Strand and St John Smith Square. St Giles-in-the-Fields was funded in part. In the City of London St Mary Woolnoth was rebuilt and St Michael Cornhill was funded in part.
32 In the Minutes of the Commissioners, 23 March 1714/15 the Clerk is instructed to write to the incumbent and wardens of St Alfege Greenwich telling them that a report of 'several burials' in the crypt 'contrary to the Acts' had been received and that this must end. However, interments there continued (LPL Ms. 2690).
33 The plaque commemorating this is on the wall of the stairs to the crypt at the south-west corner of the building.

34 Malcolm Johnson, *St Martin-in-the-Fields* (2005), 12.
35 The gruesome circumstances of this felony are explicitly described in an anonymous, undated pamphlet published by W. Price near the Sessions House of the Old Bailey, price 3*d*, in the possession of the church.
36 Proceedings of the Old Bailey Ref 17471014-11.
37 LMA, Pam. 879. Philip Neve, *A Narrative of the Disinterment of Milton's Coffin* (1790).

'Constituting angels and mortals in a wonderful order': George Gilbert Scott Junior's sanctuary in St Michael's church, Cambridge

Andreas Loewe

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A new sanctuary for St Michael's church, Cambridge

'I AM CONFIDENT that the proposed alterations will effect a very great improvement in the interior effect of the Church, the Chancel of which is hardly worthy, in its present form, of the Church as a whole', George Gilbert Scott Jr. assured the vicar and wardens of St Michael's church, Cambridge in a letter dated 18 May 1871.[1] Scott had been commissioned to oversee the incorporation of new stained glass in the traceried east window, and used the opportunity to suggest a number of far-reaching architectural changes that would bring the early fourteenth-century church in line with Ecclesiological Society aesthetics.[2] Scott's scheme, approved by the Vestry in 1872, was comprehensive and included the lowering and repaving of 'the whole chancel and sanctuary floor' in order to create steps leading up to a new altar platform, on which a tall reredos would 'stand out in front of the central three lights of the window, to a height of some feet above the cill'.[3]

Following the death of their vicar William Beamont at the age of forty in August 1868, the parishioners of St Michael's decided to fill 'the east window … with stained glass as a memorial'.[4] In only four years, they raised £500 12s. 11d. to commemorate their remarkable incumbent.[5] The founder in 1858 of the Cambridge School of Art (the precursor of Anglia Ruskin University) and a member of the Cambridge Architectural Society, Beamont had had a clear aesthetic vision for St Michael's.[6] Having established a 'Church Improvement and Organ Fund' in the early 1860s, he embarked on a comprehensive program of reordering of the church: in 1864, he brought Holman Hunt to Cambridge to decorate the chancel arches.[7] In 1866, he appointed Cambridge organ-builders A. T. Miller & Son to install a new organ on the south side of the chancel, and contracted Frederick Leach (who had just completed the frescoes of All Saints, Cambridge and Jesus College Chapel) to paint the pipes and organ front.[8] In 1867, Beamont commissioned stonemasons and carpenters Rattee & Kett to restore the fourteenth-century sedilia in the sanctuary; to lay down a new chancel floor; and to restore the masonry in the church's south aisle (including a piscina and two niches with highly ornate carved stone surrounds, once part of a medieval

stone reredos).[9] From 1865, Beamont systematically began to remove all remaining Georgian furnishings, a process that commenced with the commissioning of new prayer desks and nave pews from Rattee & Kett in 1865, and culminated with the replacement of two 1832 panels of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed above the communion table with a small gothic altarpiece in May 1868.[10]

When Beamont suddenly died in summer 1868, the Vestry thought it highly appropriate to continue his work by commissioning a complete redesign of St Michael's chancel on current Cambridge ecclesiological lines in thanksgiving for his 'full career of a most honourable and laborious life'.[11] George Gilbert Scott Jr. was the obvious candidate for an architect: an alumnus and, briefly, fellow of Jesus College Cambridge, in 1868 he was engaged in the restoration of the Hall at Peterhouse. The following year he began work on the new court of Pembroke College. When the Vestry of St Michael's approached the architect to oversee the creation of a memorial to Beamont, Scott shared their view that 'the erection of the Beamont Memorial Window suggests naturally the improvement of the whole Eastern part of the Church'.[12] Even though the architect proposed making use of as many of the existing furnishings commissioned by Beamont as possible, his designs were not cheap: the overall cost for the chancel works exceeded £326 (though the lion's share, £211 10s. 0d., were the expenses for lowering and relaying the floor to 'gain an extra step of ascent' and to install a new 'heating apparatus').[13] The glass for the memorial window itself cost an additional £500.[14]

In order to keep costs down, Scott recommended reusing the carved images from Beamont's recently completed altarpiece for the creation of his new reredos. He wrote to the vicar and wardens: 'I have suggested, with a view to avoid the expense of a new Reredos, that the present Reredos might be worked up into a better shape than its present form'.[15] Both memorial window and new reredos were designed to complement one another and so to enhance the overall aspect of the sanctuary, Scott made clear (Fig. 1). The architect evidently shared the view of the Ecclesiological Society that 'there is nothing in which we can better afford to improve on the Middle Ages, than in the height of the reredos':[16] Scott's reredos would rise significantly above the level of the window ledge of the great east window, and the design of the new glass would accommodate his overall concept: 'the stained glass is being designed in accordance with this arrangement'.[17] The tall reredos not only provided a natural link between the sanctuary floor and the memorial window, but also

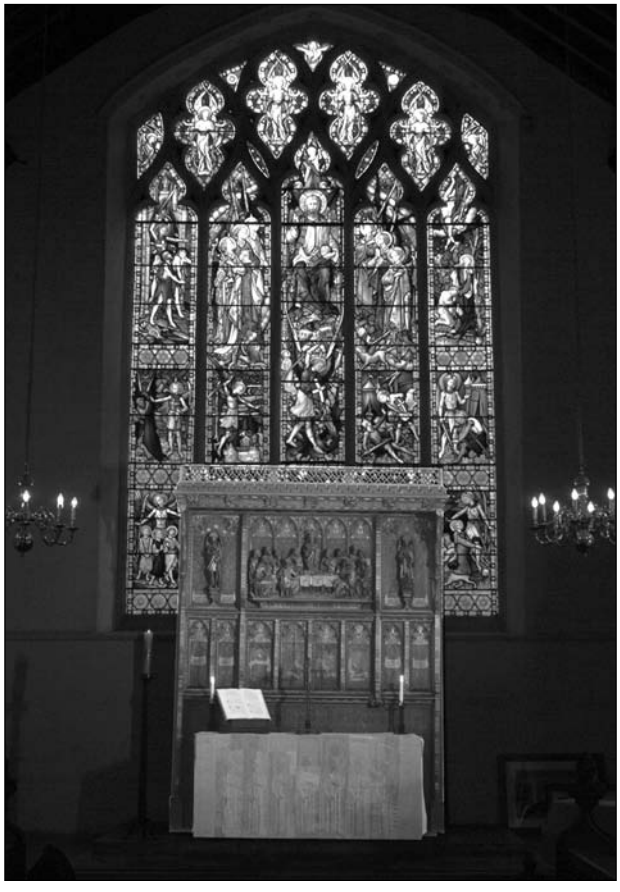


Fig. 1: St Michael, Cambridge. Scott's designs envisaged an organic unity between reredos and memorial window.

formed an important backdrop for Eucharistic worship in the catholic tradition of the Church of England. Indeed, Scott went to great lengths to create a textbook gothic worship space at St Michael's: the chancel floor was lowered by a step from the nave in order to create an ascent to the sanctuary. The sanctuary floor was retiled with encaustic tiles 'of an ornamental character', specially designed by Scott.[18] Three steps, which 'of course, will agree with the sedelia (sic) levels' led up from the sanctuary floor to the altar platform, on which a new high altar stood directly underneath the new reredos and memorial window.[19]

The Beamont memorial window and reredos

The overall effect of Scott's design is impressive: standing at the chancel arch, the viewers' gaze is naturally drawn from the spacious sanctuary to the towering reredos which, in turn, directs the view to the Beamont memorial window. Window, reredos and high altar form a close union, linking the worship of mortals below with that of angels above in the window (and, by implication, that of saints and angels in heaven).

The Beamont window

Scarlet, lapis blue, green and gold dominate the five tall and narrow lights of the Beamont memorial window, telling the story of God's 'ordaining and constituting angels and mortals in a wonderful order'.[20] In the centre light, immediately above the gilt canopy of the reredos, stands Michael, sword lifted high, ready 'finally to beat Satan under our feet'.[21] Above him Christ is seated in majesty, his right hand raised in blessing. He is enthroned as universal Lord, holding an orb surmounted by a golden cross. Three cherubs hold the scarlet canopy of his throne; at his feet are the winged creatures of the four evangelists. In the two adjacent lights, six archangels led by Gabriel, stand to worship. Christ and the archangels are surmounted by a group of seven angels in the uppermost lights of the fourteenth-century tracery.

In the lights on either side of the group of worshipping archangels, eight smaller panels trace the story of the Angel of the Lord throughout the Old Testament. Beginning with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Genesis 3.24) and the angel staying Abraham's hand at the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22.9–16) in the top panels, they conclude with the protection by angels of the three men in the fiery flaming furnace (Daniel 3.28) and the prophet Daniel in the Lion's Den (Daniel 6.22). Four further panels depict the driving out by the Angel of the Lord of a fallen angel from the mountain of God (Ezekiel 28.16); the Angel of the Lord 'standing between earth and heaven, in his hand a drawn sword stretched out over Jerusalem', threatening to destroy the city (1 Chronicles 21.15–16, 2 Samuel 24.16); striking down an Assyrian soldier in the camp of Sennacherib (2 Kings 19.35, 2 Chronicles 32.21); and commissioning Gideon the 'mighty warrior' (Judges 6.12). The new glass was manufactured by A.W. Pugin's associates, Hardman & Co. of Birmingham, in 1871–2. The three panels obscured by the top register and canopy of the new reredos contain fragments of older glass which was recycled from the previous east window.

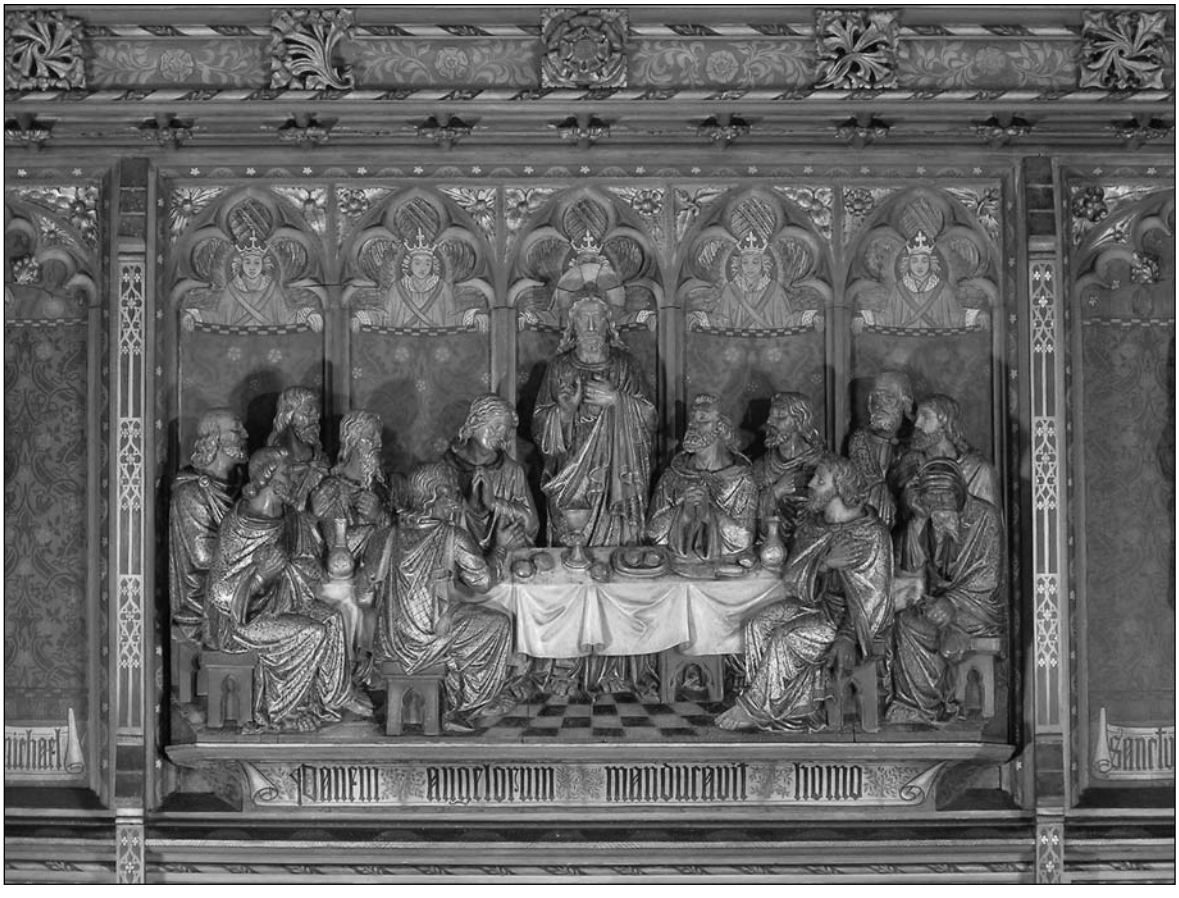
The reredos

Scott's design for the reredos further develops the theme of the 'wonderful order of mortals and angels' in worship. Scott re-used the carved figures from Beamont's 1867–8 altarpiece for his own. In 1867, three Flemish carvings had been commissioned at a cost of £65 from the Louvain carver Michiel Abeloos (1828–81).[22] From 1852–65, Abeloos had created fifty panels depicting Biblical scenes for the stall canopies at Ely Cathedral during Sir George Gilbert Scott's re-ordering of the choir and sanctuary.[23] Like the canopy carvings at Ely, the figures for St Michael's were carved in

Louvain and then shipped to England.[24] Beamont had placed Abeloos' three-dimensional carvings of the Last Supper and the archangels Michael and Gabriel on a small wooden altarpiece with three plain four-centred gothic arches. Scott now arranged them on a much grander scale: rising to a height of more than 12 feet, on three registers with a gilt canopy, he complemented the Flemish images with additional carvings, and elaborately painted panels. Built by Rattee & Kett and again painted by Frederick Leach, work on the reredos began in 1872, was completed in 1874, and cost £203 16s. 2d.[25]

Scott's arrangement of the sanctuary served to emphasise the centrality of the Eucharist and the Eucharistic ministers: the sightlines from the top ends of the window, via the corners of the canopy of the reredos, naturally converge at the position taken by the celebrant at the centre of the top altar step. Scott had hoped to commission a new high altar but, because of financial constraints, ended up merely 'enlarging and altering the [existing] communion table' in proportion to the new reredos.[26] This enlarged high altar he placed against a lower register with a

Fig. 2: Michiel Abeloos' image of the Last Supper dominates the reredos.



painted stencilled design of richly fringed green damask cloths. Two carved angels bearing shields with the Name of Jesus overlook the high altar, and serve as corbels for the three panels in the upper register, containing Abeloos' figures of the two archangels and the three-dimensional image of the Last Supper. At the centre of the carving of the Last Supper stands Christ, his hand raised in blessing, mirroring the image of Christ the King directly above in the memorial window. Standing at the high altar, the celebrant is placed in direct alignment with both representations of Christ and, at the celebration of every Eucharist, is therefore made a representative of the Giver of the 'bread of angels' (John 6.29–40).

Abeloos' images of the two archangels and his detailed Last Supper dominate the top register (Fig. 2). It is unlikely that the Flemish images were originally polychrome: those at Ely are certainly not coloured.[27] They were most probably painted by Leach, a view supported by conservator Sally Woodcock.[28] Their overall colour scheme would have been devised by Scott, linking the colours of the three registers of the reredos – gold, dark red and green – with those of the three carved images, adding a burnished bronze to offset the folds of garments, the wings and haloes of the two archangels, and Christ's nimbus. Placed well above the ledge of the east window, and crowned with an elaborately-carved gilt canopy, Scott's design displays Abeloos' images to perfection: robed in scarlet and gold, the two archangels, and the disciples gathered around their Lord at the Last Supper, instantly hold the viewers' gaze.

Scott placed the two archangels in front of a painted two-tone green background surmounted with fruits of paradise: Michael, armour-clad with a flaming sword, stands under a constellation of shining oranges, an image of purity (Fig. 3 and front cover), while Gabriel is crowned with a branch of ripe pomegranates, an image of the incarnation and resurrection that is frequently associated with the Blessed Virgin.[29] Holding a lily and his hand raised in blessing, he is shown at the moment of annunciation (Luke 1.26–38), proclaiming Mary to be the mother of God. The two archangels frame the central image of the Last Supper. Jesus stands among his disciples, who sit at table under five traceried arches. Five crowned angels vested in albs and red stoles hold a painted backdrop of rich, dark red damask. Almost all of the disciples have raised their heads and look on as Jesus blesses the cup of wine. Two look elsewhere: Judas, seated at the edge of the table and holding a bag of money, has deliberately turned his back on the events and faces the viewer, while John, seated at Jesus' right hand, intently contemplates 'the cup of blessing' (1 Corinthians 10.16) at the centre of the table.

Fig. 3: The archangel Michael on the reredos.

Below the carved figures and directly above the high altar, in the middle register of the reredos, eight tracery-topped panels again depict crowned angels wearing albs and red stoles (Fig. 4). Each holds an inscribed damask cloth, alternating in dark green and red, a colour scheme 'commonly found on East Anglian rood screens and imitated in many nineteenth-century designs'.[30] As in the memorial window above, the angels serve to remind the viewer that human frailty and sinfulness can be tempered by the proclamation of the good news through the agency of human and angelic messengers. Four angels display divine qualities referred to in St Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians: *sapientia* (wisdom) and *iustitia* (justice), *sanctificatio* (sanctification) and *redemptio* (redemption), inviting worshippers to make their own Paul's insight that 'God is the source of your life in Christ Jesus, who became for us wisdom from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption' (1 Corinthians 1.30). The four attributes flank four images of the winged symbols of the gospel writers: encouragement to viewers to join the evangelists in proclaiming God as the source of their life and salvation.[31]

Fig. 4: A crowned angel vested as a priest holds a green cloth with the emblem of St Luke.

Both Scott's reredos and memorial window express aspects of the same theological insight: messengers from God, human and angelic, share in the worship of God and together make known the good news of salvation. Where the window principally showed how through his angels God defends and protects those who trust and obey him, the reredos depicts how through Christ mortals may taste the bread of angels (Psalm 78.25) and so can come to have eternal life (John 6.35–40). While the overall emphasis is on good news, both window and reredos also acknowledge human frailty and rebellion against God: in the window this is reflected by the depictions of the expulsion from Paradise and the driving out of a fallen angel; in the reredos it is reflected by the choice of the inscription stencilled below Abeloos' depiction of the Last Supper, *panem angelorum manducauit homo*: 'mortals ate of the bread of angels, God sent them food in abundance. … In spite of this they still sinned, they did not believe in his wonders' (Psalm 78.25, 32). At the same time, both window and reredos celebrate the messengers who convey good news: angels and evangelists who bid the viewer join them in the worship of God and the proclamation of his mighty acts through the celebration of the Eucharist.

A re-ordered sanctuary in a converted church

The overall re-ordering of St Michael's chancel was not completed until 1897, when a new set of choir stalls was 'used for the first time on … the day of thanksgiving for the sixtieth anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen [20 June 1897]' and six new brass candlesticks for use on the high altar were presented to the church by the churchwarden, John Philipps Gray, Jr.[32] In the meantime, Scott had provided designs for fabric hangings on either side of the reredos and the sedilia, and designed a new pulpit.[33] Frederick Leach had painted the chancel ceiling and east walls *pro Deo*, leading the vicar to enthuse in the parish *Appeal Brochure*: 'The principal gift is that of Mr Leach, who has done the whole work of the decoration of the roof and of the walls of the chancel without charge'.[34] By the turn of the twentieth century the church had been transformed according to Scott's design. On 2 October 1899 the vicar, the Revd Arthur Hennell Simms, told the *Cambridge Daily News* that he thought 'that he might be congratulated in its having been completely restored'.[35]

From St Michael's to Michaelhouse

Unfortunately, only three years later, on 25 July 1902 the *Cambridge Independent Press* hinted that the parish might no longer be viable, and Simms not be replaced following his move to Holy

Trinity, Ely earlier that month: 'it is possible, even probable that [Mr Simms] may not have a successor. … From the point of view of strict ecclesiastical economy, St Michael's is not so indispensable as many of the Cambridge churches'.[36] In fact, since December 1898 Simms had been licensed to officiate as a curate in the neighbouring parish, St Mary the Great, and as early as 1900 the parish's patron, Trinity College Cambridge, had applied to the bishop for the two adjacent parishes to be amalgamated.[37] It should not surprise that six years after Arthur Simms' departure to Ely, St Michael's Church was united with its larger neighbour, St Mary the Great. Sunday services continued until 1921 when the church was finally closed. While in 1963 the nave and side aisles of St Michael's was remodelled to accommodate a church hall for use by St Mary the Great, the chancel remained untouched and began to suffer from rising damp, which adversely affected many of its furnishings, including the Scott reredos.[38] Consequently, from 1999 to 2001 a charitable trust formed on behalf of the Parochial Church Council of St Mary the Great with St Michael raised £1.3 million for the complete refurbishment of the building. St Michael's Church now accommodates the Michaelhouse Centre, Cambridge, an 'exemplary' church conversion undertaken by Shona McKay of Archimage Architects.[39]

The conservation of the reredos

In September 2006, the church commissioned Tobit Curteis Associates and Sally Woodcock Conservation to prepare a conservation report on the Scott reredos which was submitted in April 2007.[40] Curteis and Woodcock not only found the reredos to be 'very dirty', but noted significant disturbance to paint and ground layers which had caused loss of paint in the central register of the reredos. Damage by mould spores as a result of damp had damaged Abeloos' carvings; 'well-meaning, but possibly injudicious cleaning' of some of the horizontal surfaces with cloth exposed to polish led to an 'accumulation of polish on the paint layer immediately above'; candle smoke had stained the gilt paint of the canopy. On the top of the canopy itself, Curteis and Woodcock found an 'accumulation of bird excrement' and much dust.[41] They recommended the urgent consolidation of the painted panels to prevent further flaking of paint and paint loss, as well as the removal of surface dirt, including spores, polish accumulations and wax splashes: a time-consuming and painstaking task, since these processes would need to be undertaken by hand.[42] It was proposed to carry out the conservation work over a four-week period, using a team of

conservators working *in situ* to prevent the potential further damage to the paintwork which would be caused by dismantling and moving the reredos into a conservation studio.[43]

Following extensive consultations with the Diocesan Advisory Committee, the Council for the Care of Churches, English Heritage, Cambridge City Council Heritage Officers and the Victorian Society, on 31 July 2007 the Parochial Church Council of St Mary the Great with St Michael petitioned for and successfully obtained a faculty to conserve the Scott reredos. During August 2007 a team of student conservators led by Sally Woodcock, including Sophie Connor (Camberwell School of Art), Laura Mills (Courtauld Institute of Art), Scott Fletcher (University of Northumbria) and Dagmara Mausolf and Agnieszka Kuligowska (Nikolas Copernicus University, Toru?, Poland), proceeded with the conservation work. Scaffolding enabled the team safely to work at height. The conservators first carefully removed loose surface dirt with vacuum cleaners (specially fitted with high efficiency particle filters) and soft bristle brushes, and then proceeded to clean areas by hand, using cotton buds and long-fibre tissue. Lifted or flaking paint was painstakingly consolidated, flake-by-flake, pigment-by-pigment. Carved and gilded surfaces were cleaned and toned to match the original, wax splashes carefully removed with hot spatulas, mould spores lightly sprayed with methylated spirit to render them inactive, and the metal stars of the canopy stabilised.[44]

During the conservation of the figure of the archangel Gabriel, the archangel's missing lily was re-carved by Scott Fletcher in hardwood from the wingtips of a Second World War Supermarine Spitfire fighter aircraft (Fig. 5). Using Gilbert Scott's design for the archangel's lily in the Beamont window as a model for its three-dimensional counterpart, the carving was 'gilded with palladium leaf to avoid the tarnishing associated with silver leaf, and painted' and then 're-adhered to the attachment points used by the missing lily'.[45] The conservation was completed by the beginning of September, leaving a cleaner, more stable and readable and, thanks to a set of new lights, altogether better displayed altarpiece. The result of the conservation was stunning. The chairman of the Victorian Society wrote in *The Victorian*:

> It is good to hear of conservation undertaken without pressure from the Society. St Michael's church, Cambridge boasts a fine reredos to the design of George Gilbert Scott Jr. … It is one of only two or three still in their original position and is a beautiful and sophisticated example of late-Victorian church furnishing. … Its recent dark appearance made it something of a black square at the foot of the east window. Now cleaned and conserved, its colours and gilding glow … and make this a dramatic focus to the chancel of this church.[46]

Fig. 5: The archangel Gabriel, in front of a painted background suggesting damask cloth.

On 29 September 2007, the feast of St Michael and All Angels, the George Gilbert Scott Jr. reredos was re-dedicated by the author (then Associate Vicar of St Mary the Great with St Michael Cambridge) in the presence of conservators, donors, and friends of St Michael's. Originally designed to be a memorial to a much-loved vicar, the conservation of the reredos enabled present-day donors to create their own memorial by returning the reredos 'to a condition as close as possible to [that of the] original', and presenting it to future generations 'ready for its third century at St Michael's'.[47]

Acknowledgements
The photography is by Sally Woodcock Conservation, except Fig. 1 which is by David Sparrow.

Notes

1 Cambridgeshire County Archives, MS P32/8/4, *Vestry Minutes of St Michael's Church Cambridge*, 298.

2 For instance those laid out by the Revd Thomas Chamberlain, fellow ('student')

of Christ Church and vicar of St Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, 'Some Principles to be observed in ornamenting churches', *The Ecclesiologist* XIII (NS X) (1852), 101–08, especially 106.

3 *Vestry Minutes*, 297.

4 For W. J. Beamont (1828–68), senior fellow of Trinity College, see C. W. Sutton, 'Beamont, William John (1828–1868)', revised H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), and *Vestry Minutes*, 287.

5 *Vestry Minutes*, 287.

6 Peter Searby, *A History of the University of Cambridge: 1750–1870* (Cambridge, 1997), 39.

7 Cambridgeshire County Archives, MS P32/8/2, *Church Improvement Fund Accounts*, 1864.

8 *Church Improvement Fund Accounts*, 1866. Replacing the instrument at the west end of the nave built by Buckwell of London in 1832, see *Vestry Minutes*, 34. Cambridgeshire County Archives, MS P32/5/2, V*estry Accounts of St Michael's Church Cambridge*, 1866.

9 Cambridgeshire County Archives, MS P32/6/7; MS R100/9, *Volume List of Works by Rattee & Kett with added notes*, 13. The south aisle altar bore the same dedication as one of the medieval Cambridge hostels, St Gregory. In 1531 the east wall held 'St Gregory's altar of Pity' (a depiction of Christ with the instruments of the Passion); see Charles Cooper, *Memorials of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1866), III, 340. For other regional examples of such images, at Slapton, Northamptonshire, Wellingham, Norfolk, and Wyverstone, Suffolk, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (London, 1999), especially plates 49, 50, 139.

10 *Volume List of Works by Rattee & Kett*, 13, Vestry Minutes, 42, 274.

11 *Vestry Minutes*, 292.

12 Copy of a letter by George Gilbert Scott, 18 May 1871, in *Vestry Minutes*, 298.

13 *Vestry Minutes*, 299.

14 *Vestry Minutes*, 292, 294.

15 Scott, 18 May 1871, in *Vestry Minutes*, 298.

16 *The Ecclesiologist* IX (NS VI) (1849), 119.

17 Scott, 18 May 1871, in *Vestry Minutes*, 298.

18 ibid.

19 ibid.

20 *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662), Collect for the feast of St Michael and All Angels.

21 *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662), Great Litany.

22 In December 1867, the statue of archangel Michael was donated by the Master, the statue of archangel Gabriel by the Fellows of Trinity College, at a cost of £12 10s. 0d. each. The panel of the Last Supper was purchased by the Vestry in May 1868 at a cost of £40, see: *Vestry Accounts*, 1868.

23. For Scott's re-ordering of the choir at Ely, see Phillip Lindley, '"Carpenter's Gothic" and Gothic Carpentry: contrasting attitudes to the restoration of the Octagon and removals of the Choir at Ely Cathedral', *Architectural History* 30 (1987), 83–112, and Lynne Broughton, *Interpreting Ely Cathedral* (Ely, 2008), 99–102.

24 *Vestry Accounts*, 1868. An additional cost of 9s. 1d. for carriage was disbursed together with the overall cost for the figures through the agency of 'Messrs. Mortlock's', the first Cambridge bank.

25 *Vestry Minutes*, 299, *Vestry Accounts*, 1874, 1875.

26 Vestry Accounts 1875. At a reduced cost of £7 15s. 0d., the table was somewhat enlarged in height.

27 Broughton, *Interpreting Ely Cathedral*, 100.

28 Sally Woodcock Conservators, Cambridge, *St Michael's Church, Cambridge: Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/02 (19 September 2007), 3.

29 Sandro Botticelli, *Madonna of the Pomegranate* (Uffizi Gallery, Florence) and Virgin and Child (Harvard Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.), Raphael, *Madonna of the Pomegranate* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna), or Leonardo da Vinci, *Dreyfus Madonna* (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC). The fruit was also used for decoration of the canopy of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 7.18–20).

30 *Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/02, 4.
31 In order of publication in the Biblical canon, each with a scroll of the first verse of their Gospel in the Vulgate translation.
32 *Vestry Accounts*, 1897.
33 *Vestry Minutes*, 299, *Volume List of Works by Rattee & Kett*, 70.
34 *Vestry Minutes*, 306.
35 Cambridgeshire County Archives MS P32/6/7.
36 Cambridgeshire County Archives MS P32/5/5.
37 *Vestry Minutes*, no page number.
38 See for instance the organ's assessment by E. J. Johnson, in Cambridgeshire County Archives MS P32/6/14, though Johnson also attributes the decline of the instrument to 'careless inquisitiveness'.
39 English Heritage, *England's Heritage – Your heritage* (EH 1939, October 2003); for the conversion itself, see Sue Binns, 'Michaelhouse', in Eva Marín, *Converted Churches* (Antwerp, 2008), 149–155.
40 Tobit Curteis Associates and Sally Woodcock Conservation, Cambridge, *Report* CHM01.1 (4 April 2007).
41 *Report* CHM01.1.
42 *Report* CHM01.1.
43 Sally Woodcock Conservation, Cambridge, *St Michael's Church Cambridge: Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/01 (4 April 2007), 2.
44 *Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/02, 4–5.
45 *Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/02, 5.
46 Colin Cunningham, 'St Michael's Church Cambridge', *The Victorian* (26, November 2007).
47 *Conservation of the Reredos*, MIC/02, 6. The conservation of the Scott reredos cost a total of £25,225.14. Cambridge City Council, the Barbara Whatmore Trust, the Society of Antiquaries, the Friends of Michaelhouse generously contributed a total of £5,000. The remainder of the cost was raised by private donors as a modern memorial for Margaret Divers, Hugh and Julia Fleming, John Girling priest, Bernd Loewe, Rupert Lonsdale priest, Mary Peck, Liselotte Schmidt, Stephen Thomas and Charles de Rochford Wall priest.

The churches of Herbert Luck North

Adam Voelcker

IF THE ARTS & CRAFTS ARCHITECT HERBERT NORTH (Fig. 1) has a reputation, it is one that is confined to North Wales and is largely due to the small, distinctive roughcast houses he designed in the area between about 1900 and 1940. What is less known by his devotees is that his chief passion was for church work rather than for houses. Sadly only a small handful of his designs for new church buildings was ever built, so his local reputation as a domestic architect is hardly surprising.

Adam Voelcker practises as an architect in North Wales, working mostly on the repair and re-ordering of churches. He was a co-author of the Gwynedd volume in the Buildings of Wales (Pevsner) *series and has written* Herbert Luck North: Arts & Crafts Architecture for Wales*, published recently by The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales.*

Early life

Although Herbert Luck North was born in England (in Leicester in 1871), he spent most of his life in North Wales. His father was a bank manager and, more pertinently, a keen antiquarian. He was Hon. Secretary of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and

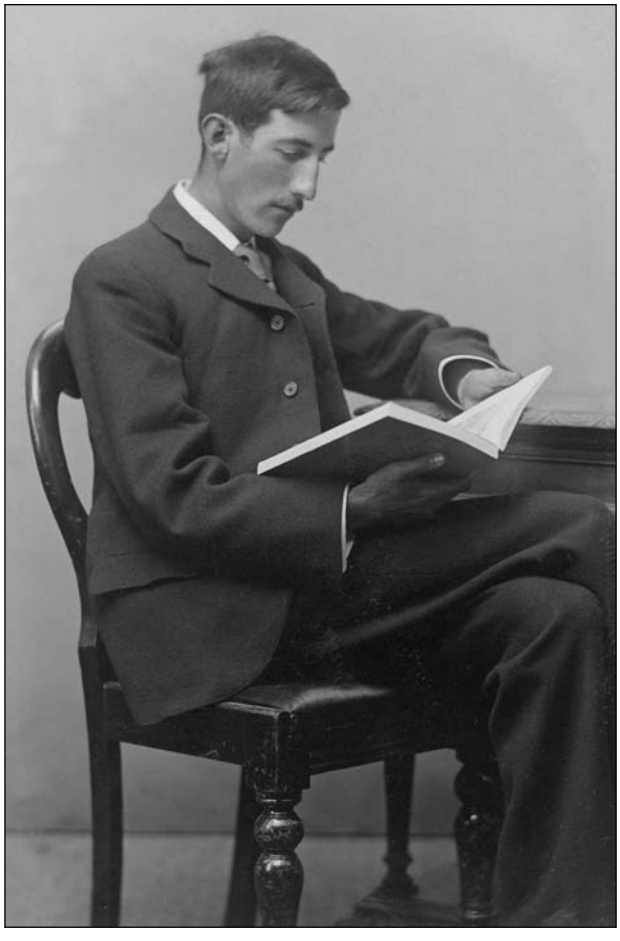


Fig. 1: Portrait of Herbert Luck North as a young man, c.1893. © Pamela Phillips

an established campanologist, but his health was poor. This was no doubt the reason why he retired and moved with his family to the Isle of Wight in 1872. North's maternal grandfather, Richard Luck, a solicitor from Leicester, had moved to Llanfairfechan (on the north coast of North Wales, between Conwy and Bangor) soon after buying land there in 1856. North and his parents used to visit him and his wife annually, and the young Herbert always enjoyed helping his grandfather in the orchards he had established. Anne Luck, Herbert's grandmother, was of weak disposition and took a turn for the worse when the Norths made their annual visit in 1881. It appears that this was serious enough for them to stay in Llanfairfechan, sending for their belongings soon after and starting Herbert at school locally that autumn. In 1883 he went to Uppingham School, which he seems to have tolerated, and in 1890 to Jesus College, Cambridge. He did his articles in London under Henry Wilson, who was running Sedding's office after the latter's death in 1891. He spent a few years with Lutyens around 1897, and then returned to North Wales in 1901, enjoying four decades of productive life there until his death in 1941.

As a boy, North was intensely pious (according to his grand-daughter, Mrs Pam Phillips, who lives in North's own house in Llanfairfechan) and was well aware of his High-Church upbringing. Like Clough Williams-Ellis (1883–1978), he was moved enough by the atmosphere of churches to want to become a vicar. Letters from school (first to his parents and then, after his father's death in 1884, to J. B. Davies, his 'adoptive' father and a retired church architect from Dudley) mention how he spent his spare time (of which he confessed he had plenty) visiting and sketching Rutland churches.[1] He even asked Davies to write him a design brief for a new church, all at the tender age of twelve. Architecture was not taught at Cambridge until 1912 so North read for an ordinary degree, again visiting churches in his spare time. A scrapbook he made at this time includes magazine illustrations of churches he clearly admired, with little comments added in his spidery handwriting. Of Street's St John, Kennington, he wrote 'How it speaks; almost Ideal'; Brooks' St Andrew, Plaistow was 'fine', St Mary, Beverley 'The Perfection', and the west end of Peterborough Cathedral 'unequalled in the World'.

In 1893 he entered the office of John Dando Sedding, whose recent projects included Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, and the chapel at Welbeck Abbey, both admired by North as much for their Arts & Crafts fittings as for their architecture. The decision to choose Sedding's office appears to have been his own. He wrote to Davies from Cambridge:

> I think that there cannot be the slightest doubt that if Mr Sedding was alive, he would have been the man to have tried for. I am sure the more I think about that chapel at Welbeck the more I feel his greatness. I never entered a building that had a quarter the human interest (at least certainly a new one); there was so much thought and sweet discursiveness in the little subject sculptures on the stalls bound together from subjects from the Benedicite, and so much outdoor feeling in the decorative work, that it felt like Chaucer […]. Well even if Mr Wilson is not a genius, still it would be something to live with a man who cannot have failed to catch some of the spirit, and who has I expect the same connexion as Mr Sedding.

North must have under-estimated Wilson's abilities at this point, and perhaps did not appreciate that it was Wilson's work he was admiring at Sloane Street and Welbeck rather than Sedding's. During his time in Sedding's office, Wilson sent him back to North Wales to supervise the masonry work at St Mark's, Brithdir (near Dolgellau), another repository of finely-wrought fittings and built out of the very rocks on which it sat – two fundamental principles of Arts & Crafts philosophy. The job was a fraught one,

Fig. 2: Screen by North (1925) at St Mary's, Llanfairfechan, between Conwy and Bangor.

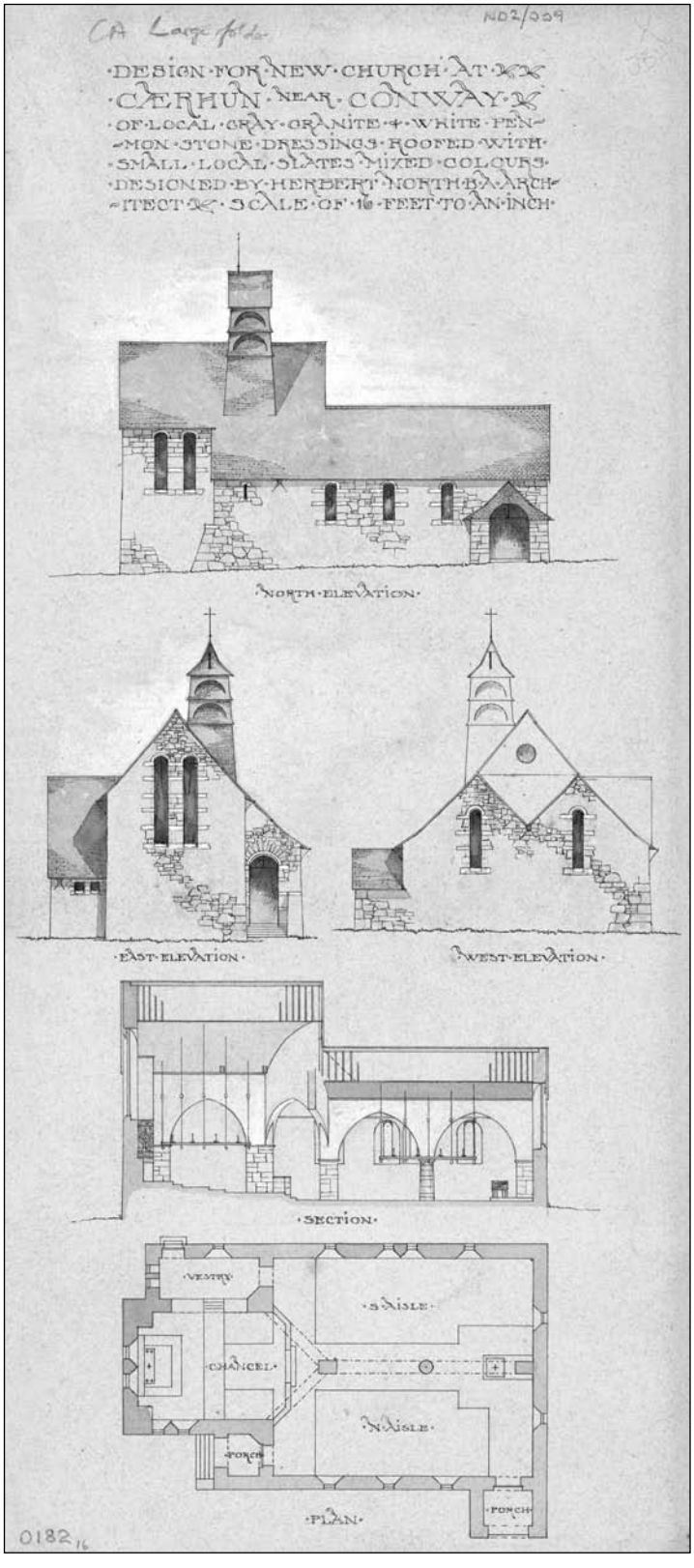


Fig. 3: Design by North for a church at Caerhun, near Conwy (1898, unbuilt). © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

not least because the local masons wanted to dress the stone and neaten it in the way that Wilson was trying to avoid. North was caught awkwardly in the middle between his employer and the men on site, and left before the church was completed in 1898.[2]

Church fittings and decorative work

During North's early years of practice in North Wales, he designed a number of new churches though it is not clear if these were real commissions or just imaginary designs of his own making. In addition to schemes for churches at Caerhun and West Shore (described in more detail below), there were designs for a 'mission church' near Conwy (undated) and a proposal for a church in Grantham (1904), both fairly conventional, and an undated design for a 'town church in red brick and granite'. This is an extraordinary scheme, with an apsed east end, a chancel that is higher than the nave, a round-headed west door covered in copper plate and many other features atypical of the later North. The majority of his designs, built and unbuilt, are instantly recognisable as his, but this one is a notable exception, suggesting a very early date, perhaps 1898 or even before. None of the three designs just mentioned was built, so North had to content himself with designing church fittings and decorative schemes in existing churches.

An important influence on this work was *The Parson's Handbook*, written in 1899 by the Revd Percy Dearmer. The book was an attempt to return the Church to the native English form of liturgy with its emphasis on beautiful and dignified ceremonial. Dearmer encouraged art and music in churches, stressing that 'Nothing should be put into the church that is not the best of its kind'. While a curate in Lambeth in 1891, Dearmer had introduced Morris coverings for the altar – it was always Morris textiles that North used later in his own church work. Dearmer gave sound practical advice on the design of church interiors and fittings right from the start of his book (which continued to be published and revised until 1932) – about the relationship of nave to chancel ('A church is not a theatre'), about lighting (both natural and artificial), about the detailed design of fixtures and furniture. He even gave a recipe for distemper, encouraging the use of plain walls as a contrast to the richly decorated altar and reredos. He recommended incumbents to seek proper advice on all these aspects, mentioning the Church Crafts League which he had helped to establish in 1890 for that very purpose. The organisation had representatives throughout Britain, and North was their man in Wales. Through the League, North obtained a number of church jobs of his own, and probably advised on many others.

One of North's very first ecclesiastical jobs was at the church of St Andrew and St Bartholomew, Ashleworth (Gloucestershire), where he designed the new reredos and altar fittings in 1899. Jobs that came to him through the League were furnishings at Cwm Penmachno, Conwy (1907), and furnishings and decorative work at Cellan, Ceredigion (1908–9). The work at Cellan also involved some re-building of this small country church. The north wall of the chancel and the east wall of the porch were rebuilt, and the windows were remodelled in a modern Gothic idiom using brick jambs and centre piers and (typical of North) arch-heads that hardly curved. He designed a very simple open rood screen to fit in front of the chancel arch, and built new ceilings, ready for his painted decoration. Much as North admired Morris, and also the timeless quality of old unspoilt churches, he seems not to have been a gentle church restorer of the sort encouraged by Morris and the SPAB. He was keen on putting his own mark on old buildings, unlike his less imaginative colleague Harold Hughes, with whom he was to write a book on churches in North Wales.

In 1909 North reinstated the loft to the fine medieval screen at St Mary and All Saints, Conwy, not by providing an imitation of the former parapet in oak but by simply putting a Morris hanging in its place. In 1910 he designed the fittings, decoration and re-ordering at Christ Church, Stafford (now demolished) and in 1913, decoration and furnishings at Butterfield's St Mary, Aberystwyth. After the First World War he designed fittings for the two churches at Llanfairfechan: at Christ Church in 1921 and at St Mary's in 1925 (Fig. 2). There was little of the sumptuous or gorgeous in North's fittings and he did not use extravagantly rich materials nor did he fabricate the work himself, unlike Wilson and others. He used wood and iron mostly, carving them simply and painting them in pretty blues and greens often set off by the sparing use of stronger colours or gilding. His altars were dignified with dossals and wings in the 'English altar' tradition continued by Ninian Comper, often using Morris & Co fabrics for the curtains and coverings. His decorative schemes, mostly applied to ceilings and roof timbers, were characterised by sparse stencil-like patterns of meandering vegetation, always delicate and controlled, never garish, and, as Ian Allan points out, 'graphic work rather than painting' in technique.[3] His wife Ida may have carried out some of this decorative work. A letter to the incumbent of Capel Curig church is typical of his modest approach: '…you really only require a small sum to produce a very great transformation to your church … in fact, if you spent more the result would not be at all better there is such a thing as overdoing things, is there not?'[4]

Early unbuilt church projects

North's first scheme for a church of his own was designed in 1898, some three years before he returned to North Wales. It was a design for a small, country church in the Conwy valley, at Caerhun, and it owes much to the Brithdir church (Fig. 3). He did a second, larger version of the same church in 1902, but neither was ever built. A few years later, he wrote a small, charming book about the old churches of the region,[5] in which he put the Welsh church in its pre-Reformation context and drew attention both to liturgical practice as he believed it had once been and how this had translated into church form and layout. Two years later he wrote a second book,[6] a sort of domestic parallel to the church book. If there was a purpose to the books, it was to bring the old buildings of North Wales to public attention, as respectable works of architecture despite their simple, humble character, at a time when many were in danger of neglect and dereliction.

North's passion for the vernacular guided his own work but did not manifest itself directly in his designs for churches and cottages. He certainly borrowed and adapted traditional features, but he was essentially a creative soul who loved designing new

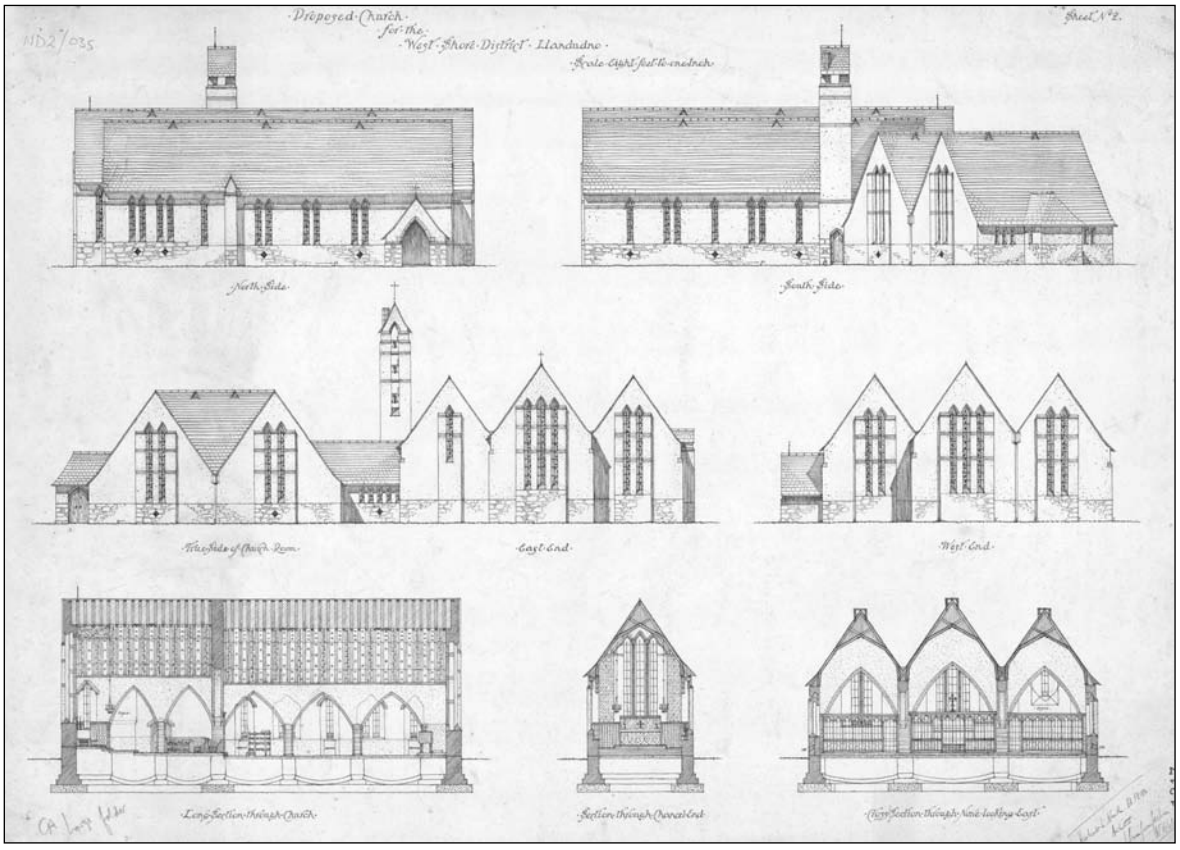


Fig. 4: Design by North for a church at West Shore, near Llandudno (1910, unbuilt). © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

buildings rather than copying (or repairing and adapting) old ones. Yet, at the same time, he believed that Gothic was the one and only style for a church just as pre-Reformation ritual was the only true form of liturgical practice suitable for Anglican use. Thus North was faced with a dilemma between the urge to create and the restraint to preserve, a conflict that became more marked as ideas of liturgical change spread, particularly in the 1930s, just at the time when North was finally building his new churches.

North's creative streak is apparent in his very first church designs, for Caerhun church, where there is clear delight in the roof, in particular in the way the chancel and nave roofs slide and cascade past each other rather than step at the chancel/nave division in the more conventional arrangement. In his unsuccessful competition design (1910) for a bigger church, at West Shore near Llandudno, the three parallel roofs over the nave and aisles are less dynamic, and the focus of design is shifted to the series of three gables with their groups of tall, thin lancets (Fig. 4). The external walls above the stone plinth are roughcast, unusual for a church yet a direct parallel with his treatment of house walls, which, with very few exceptions (and like most of Voysey's houses), were always of roughcast. The overall effect of this white church, underplayed in its form and minimally Gothic in its detail, would have been unconventional – and probably lost North the first prize.[7]

Fig. 5: Church Institute by North at Llanfairfechan (1912). © Crown copyright: RCAHMW

Later schemes

Two years later, North designed the Church Institute in Llanfairfechan (Fig. 5). Though this is not a church, its ecclesiastical connection is clear, and so is its stylistic character, which is a happy combination of ecclesiastical and domestic. It comprises a hall in one half and a stage with meeting room in the other. Each end is approached through a porch that splays out at sixty degrees on plan, almost the butterfly layout that was a favourite Arts & Crafts house plan and one that North indeed used himself at a number of houses. The main part of the building has a wonderfully large roof of small, thick, random slates, sweeping down low at the eaves and terminating in a conical fleche at the top. North gave his services free, and tended the little garden.[8] He also produced pageants to be staged there. His wife made the costumes and chose the music; he designed the programmes (in Gothic script) and often took an acting part too, despite his natural shyness (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6: North in pageant costume, c.1910. © Pamela Phillips

It would be nearly twenty years until North could see a church of his own actually built. Around 1929 he was commissioned to design a chapel for St Winifred's School, a Woodard school in his own village.[9] In fact, it replaced an earlier, temporary chapel designed by North in 1923, a timber-framed building with a steep roof supported on exposed scissor trusses and lit from the west gable through a big lattice window, all rather similar to Randall Wells' church at Kempley (1903), though much smaller. The 'little green chapel' (as it was called by the girls) was a prototype for the Merton Abbey designs that North produced for Morris & Co around 1925. The purpose of the project, which was not a commercial success, was to produce inexpensive churches and halls 'suited to small or poor parishes, but far superior to that employed in temporary building'. The construction, of 7in x 2in timber sections bolted together, was supposedly based on the medieval cruck frame. A choice of wall construction was available, to suit budget and location: stone, brick or timber-frame. St Winifred's chapel was of timber-frame,

Fig. 7: St Winifred's school chapel Llanfairfechan (North, c.1929, demolished 1970). Interior looking east. © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

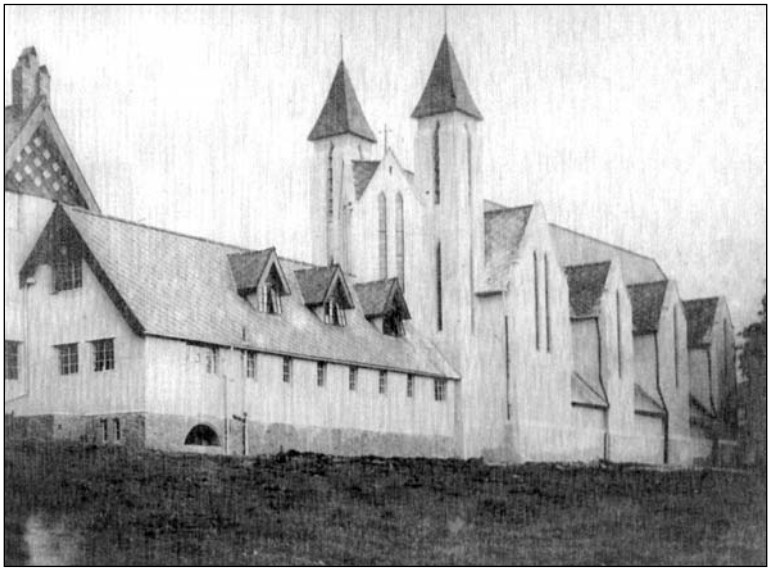


Fig. 8: St Winifred's school chapel, exterior. © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

finished in roughcast. Inside were plain benches arranged collegiate-fashion and stained green, simple fixtures and fittings, and Morris embroideries around and above the altar.

The permanent chapel at St Winifred's was a much more remarkable building (Figs. 7 & 8). Its external appearance, with plain roughcast walls, steep roofs and tall, thin lancets, was more continental than English (or Welsh). Its interior was one tall, long volume with a steep delicately decorated ceiling supported on a series of pointed brick transverse arches that marched down the nave towards the gem of the interior, the baldacchino-adorned sanctuary. The lighting of the interior was handled masterfully, daylight entering discreetly from the sides of the nave through a number of mini-transepts that extended up from the passage-aisles, thus avoiding glare as one looked along the nave. A number of favourite church layouts were adopted by architects in the first half of the twentieth century, but this one, a nave with low passage-aisles alternating with the high shafts of the mini-transepts, was amongst the less common.[10]

North must have been pleased with his chapel plan as he used it again in his competition design for Guildford Cathedral (1930) (Fig. 9). The effect would have been dramatic, not least because of the increase in size from school chapel to cathedral, but I suspect North, who was at his best at the small-scale, might have foundered had his entry been chosen. The sheer size meant that plain unadorned walls and simple lancet windows would always look bland unless handled with extreme care, and the loftiness expected of a cathedral meant that its roof would probably remain unseen from outside – and of all the elements that made up

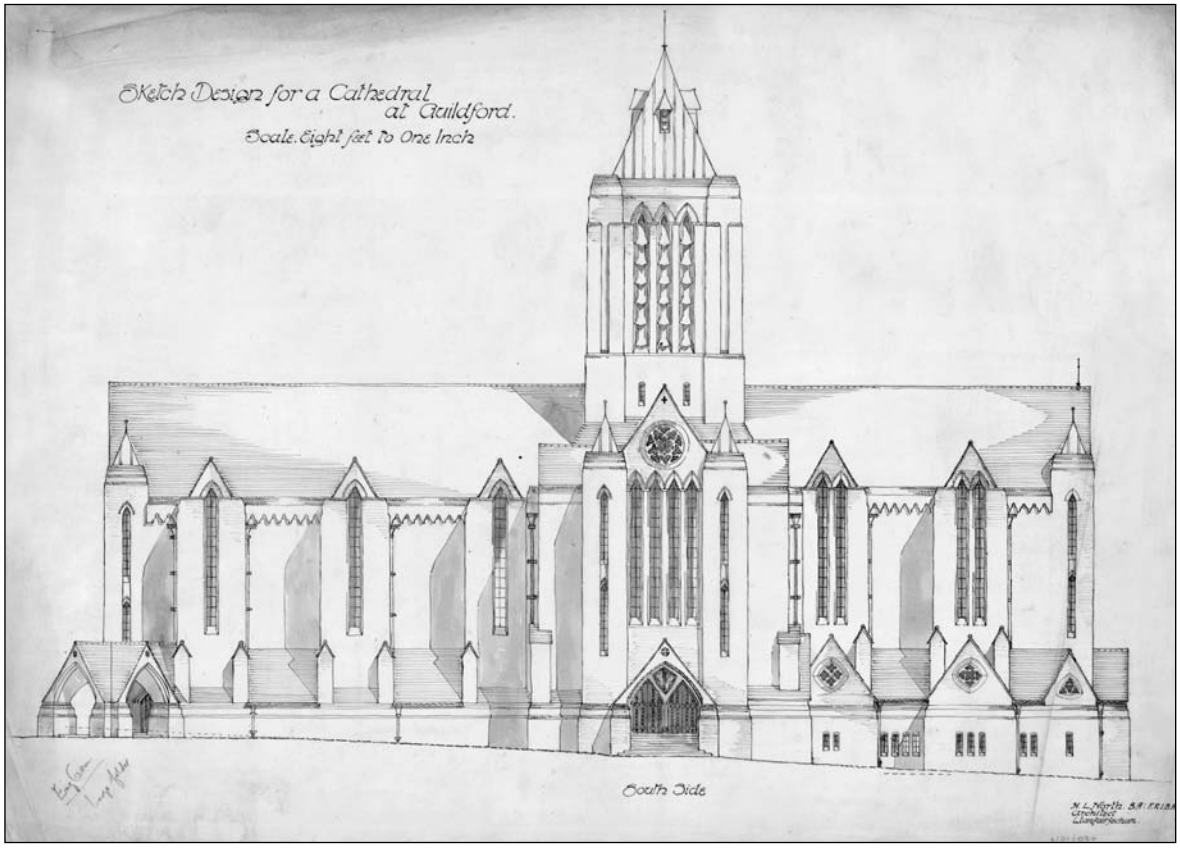


Fig. 9: Design by North for Guildford Cathedral (1930, unbuilt). © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

North's buildings, it was always the roof which was dominant, on church or house (North was known to his colleagues as 'long-roof North'). In the event, there was no competition winner but a short-list of suitable architects was drawn up in 1932, and Edward Maufe was selected for his very competent version of modern Gothic.

Tragically (and illegally) the chapel at St Winifred's – and the rest of North's school buildings – were demolished one dark night in 1970, so this masterpiece can no longer be admired. The only church building by North that we can still see in North Wales is his small chapel for the Church Hostel in Bangor, built in 1933 (Fig. 10). It is an intimate building, divided into four structural bays by steep brick arches that spring from low down. The chancel's roof lifts to become a cross-gabled vault over the space, rather similar to the baldacchino in St Winifred's chapel, its underside painted with a pattern of green vines on a blue trellis. A simple open screen (since removed) symbolically divided this from the small nave.

The two parish churches that North saw built came towards the end of his life: the Church of the Holy Spirit, Harlescott

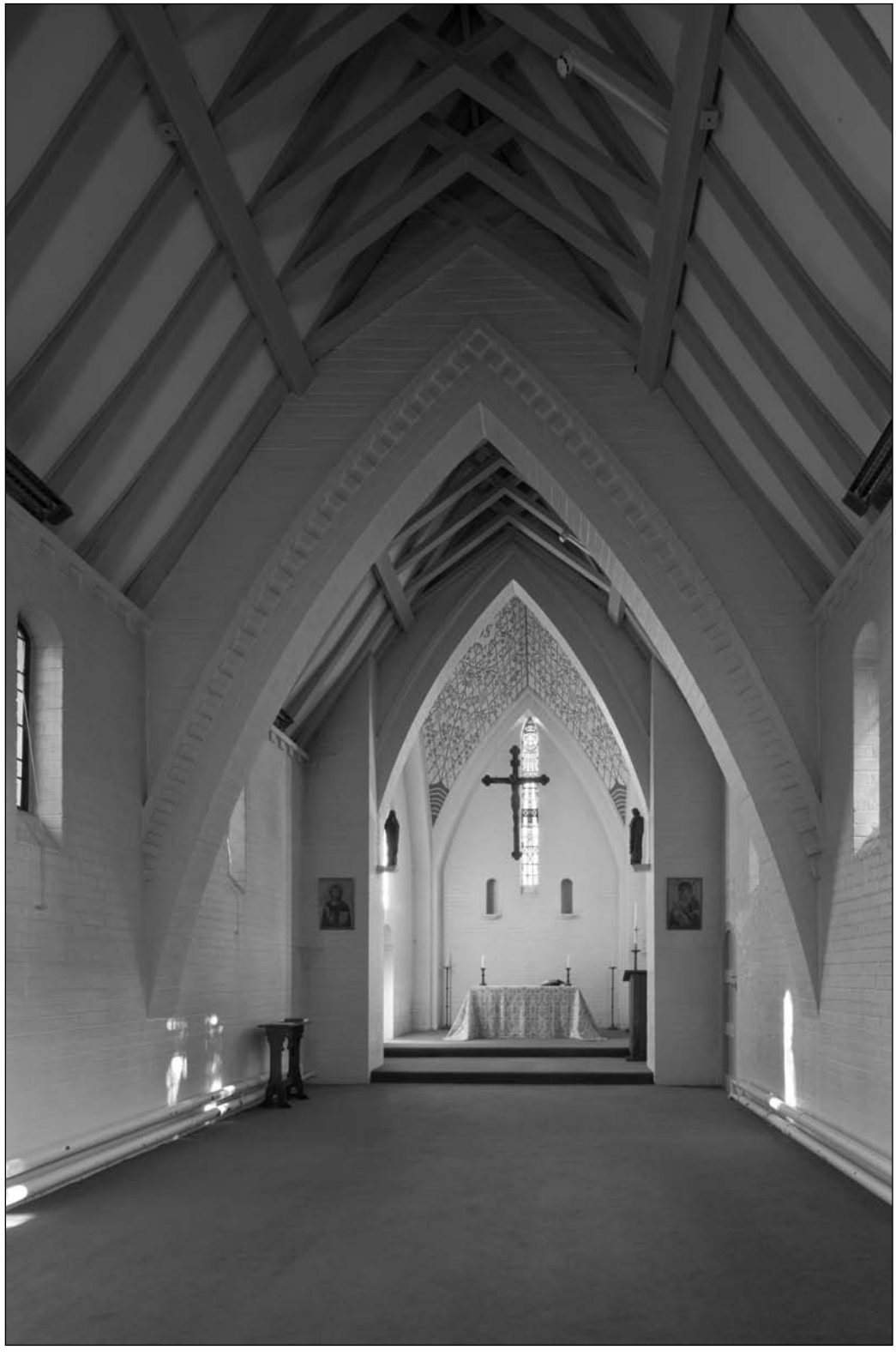


Fig. 10: Chapel by North for the Church Hostel, Bangor (1933). © Crown copyright: RCAHMW

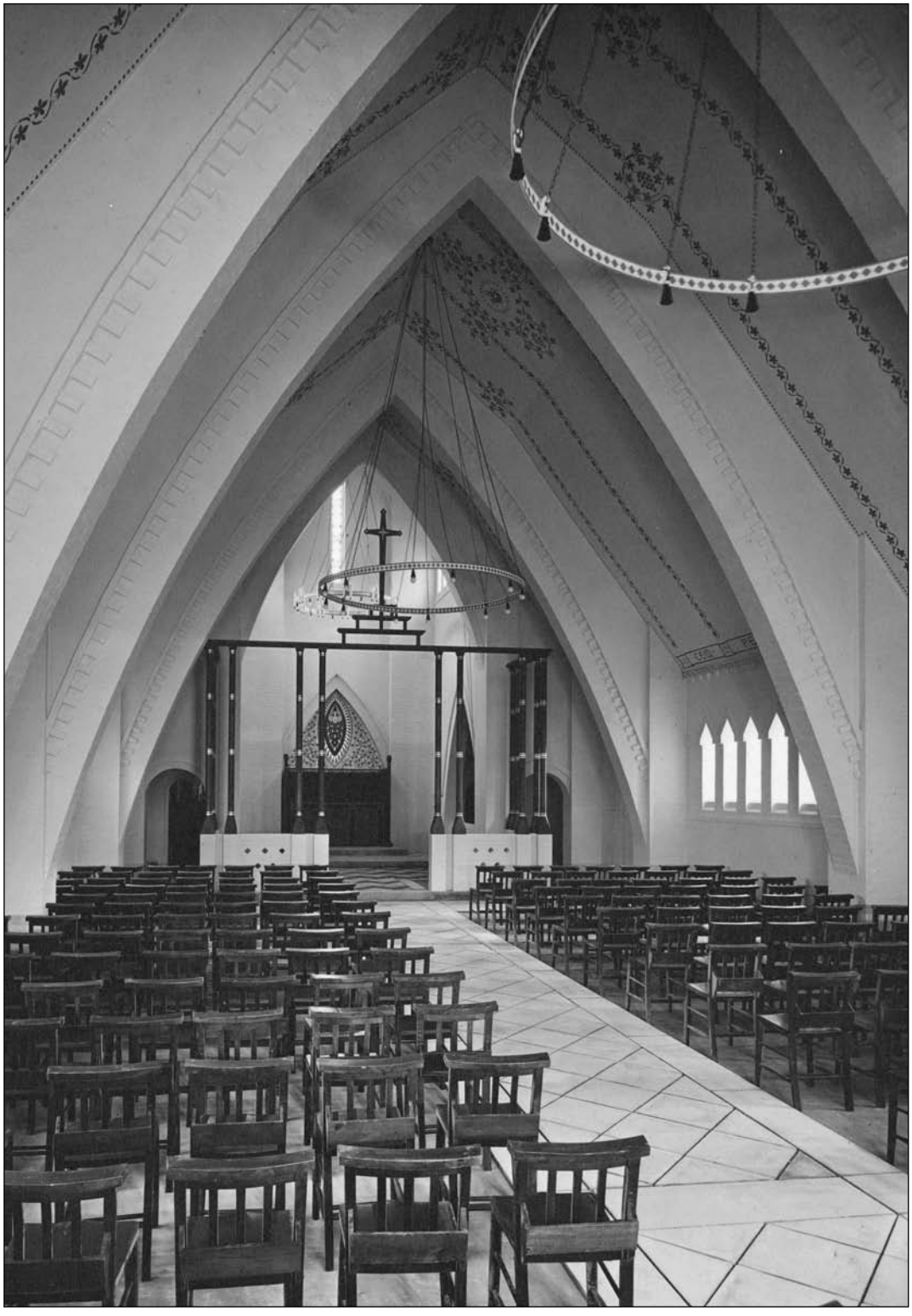


Fig. 11: Church of the Holy Spirit, Harlescott, Shrewsbury (North, 1934–6), interior. © Crown copyright: RCAHMW: Herbert Luck North Collection

(a suburb of Shrewsbury) in 1934–6 (rear cover and Fig. 11) and St Catherine's, Blackwell (near Bromsgrove) in 1939–41 (Figs. 12 & 13). It must surely have saddened North that no Welsh diocese commissioned a new church from him.[11] Not surprisingly, they are similar to each other in many respects. Both have the familiar roughcast walls, steep roofs descending low at the eaves, saddleback towers and windows composed as accretions of narrow lancets with triangular heads. The severe character of the exterior is softened in both churches by interiors where gentle curves play a part in defining the space, in the case of Harlescott by means of transverse arches marching along the nave, in the case of Blackwell, arcade arches defining the side aisles. And in both, there is a crescendo eastwards to the sanctuary where daylight pours down from high-level windows in the tower, a trick surely learnt from Lethaby's Brockhampton church of 1902 (the transverse arches at Harlescott remind one of Brockhampton, too). Interestingly, the plan of St Catherine's is extraordinarily similar to one in the 1921 edition of Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook*, included to show the model chancel layout.[12]

Blackwell church survives and is well cared for, and it contains many of North's original fixtures and fittings. But in many ways Harlescott church is the more interesting of the two, even though

Fig. 12: St Catherine, Blackwell, near Bromsgrove (North 1939–41). From the south-east. © Crown copyright: RCAHMW

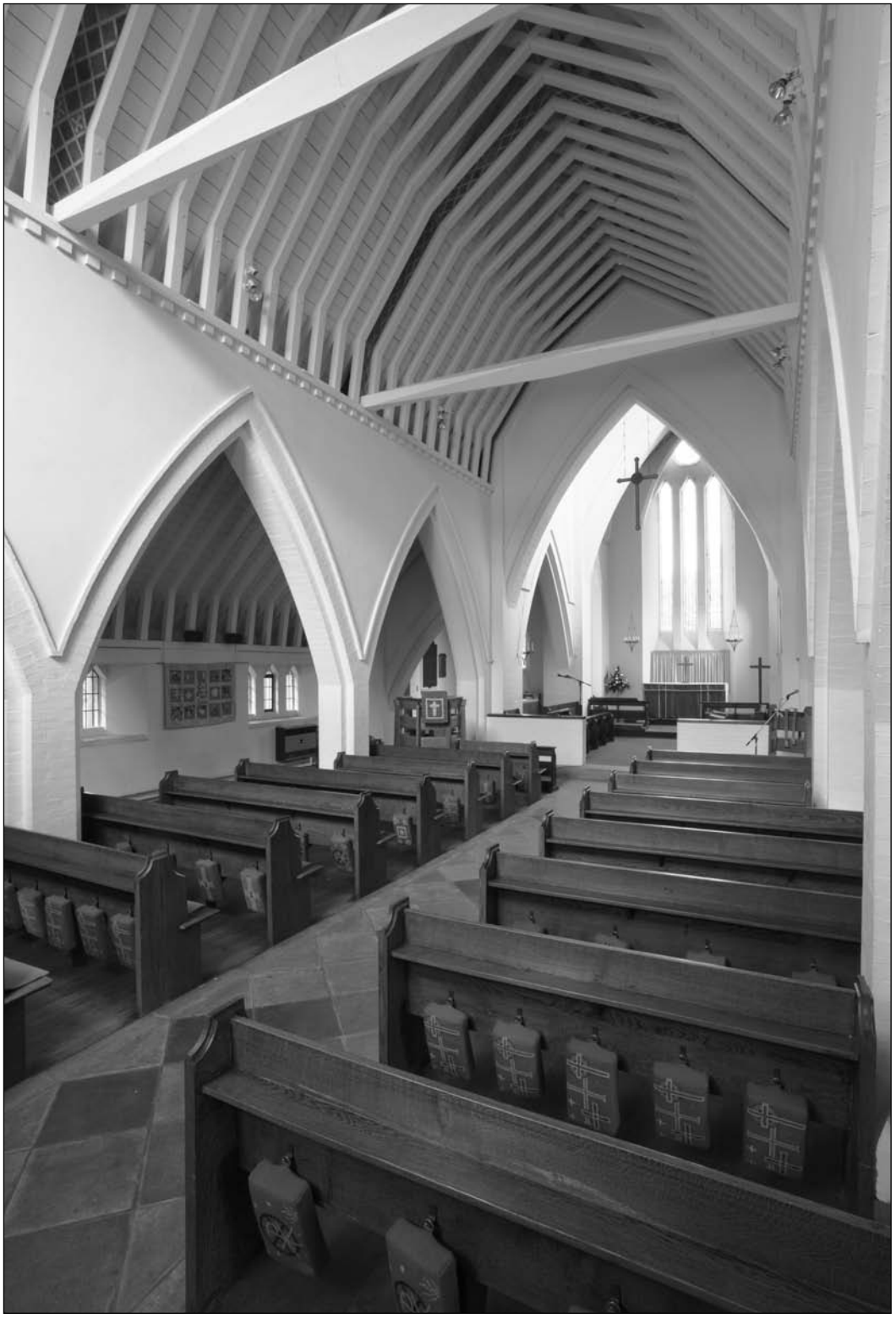


Fig. 13: Blackwell church, interior. © Crown copyright: RCAHMW

it is much altered (and is now used as a community centre), for it demonstrates how North managed to cling on to the Gothic and yet develop a church style that began to progress beyond. A glance at a survey of modern churches by the Incorporated Church Building Society shows that the majority of British churches in the 1920s–30s were little more than modern equivalents of Victorian Gothic.[13] The detailing might be pared down, with a few modern materials introduced, and there might be an occasional excursion into the classical or Romanesque styles, but most were backward-looking in appearance and layout. Only a few – by architects such as Cachemaille-Day and Velarde, and North too (his church at Harlescott is illustrated) – seem to suggest that a more modern church style was conceivable. But the irony is that, in Britain, this modernism was half-baked. Compared with developments in the Roman Catholic church in Germany some years earlier, where the emergence of the new International style of architecture had gone hand in hand with liturgical reform, producing as a result some really important works of church architecture, very few church architects in Britain were able (or were encouraged by their church clients) to break new ground by freeing themselves of the traditional layout and appearance of their churches. What is so intriguing about North, particularly the North we see at Harlescott, is his innate conservatism juxtaposed with the apparent pursuit of a modern church style.

Acknowledgement

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Notes

1 He went further afield too. A letter to Davies, dated 15 February 1887, reports 'I am afraid that I cannot write to you now about the London churches. Red Lion Square was lovely. But I shall be able to tell you better about it by word of mouth'. Red Lion Square must refer to Pearson's St John the Evangelist, Holborn (demolished).

2 He was sent to the Old Post Office, Tintagel, to oversee repair work on behalf of the SPAB and Detmar Blow, who was busy with other jobs and was at William Morris's bedside when he died in 1896.

3 See Ian B. Allan, 'The Life and Work of H. L. North' (unpublished PhD thesis, Liverpool, 1988), 176.

4 Letter from North to the Revd Jones, dated 16 March 1934, now in the possession of Mr Harvey Lloyd.

5 *The Old Churches of Arllechwedd* (Bangor, 1906).

6 *The Old Cottages of Snowdonia*, written with Harold Hughes (Bangor, 1908).

7 R. T. Beckett won the competition, W. D. Caröe was the assessor.
8 He also donated his professional services at the next door Churchmen's Club, built in 1926.
9 The Woodard Corporation was founded in the mid-nineteenth century by Nathaniel Woodard, an Anglo-Catholic clergyman, who set up schools throughout Britain to cater for the education of the lower middle class. These now form the largest group of independent Church of England schools in the country. North designed buildings for a number of them in addition to St Winifred's: St Chad's, Denstone (Staffs); All Saints, Bloxham (Oxfordshire); St Oswald's, Ellesmere (Shropshire); and St Cuthbert's, Worksop (Notts). A classroom block survives at Denstone, but work at the other schools remains unrecorded or was not executed.
10 For more on the genesis of the passage-aisle church plan, see John Thomas *Albi Cathedral and British Church Architecture* (The Ecclesiological Society, 2002). Thomas mentions North's church at Harlescott.
11 Ironically, his partner and successor, P. M. Padmore, became Diocesan Surveyor and designed two new churches in North Wales.
12 The church is not identified, only its architect and date, Vivian H. King, 1913.
13 *New Churches Illustrated* (ICBS, 1936).

Setting up the Friends of Seething Church

Caroline Egerton

Caroline Egerton has lived in Norfolk all her life and is a member of the Board of the Norfolk Churches Trust.

EDITOR'S NOTE: 'Friends' of Churches are becoming more common (there are certainly many hundreds of them), and are a useful way of obtaining support for the building from a wider community. Yet there are remarkably few descriptions available of how such groups operate. So we are very pleased to carry Caroline Egerton's blow-by-blow account of how a Friends group was recently set up in small Norfolk village. She has promised to update us with progress in two or three years time.

Those who would like to find out more about Friends groups should look at the material on the website of the National Churches Trust, www.nationalchurchestrust.org, under the 'supporting you' tab.

SEETHING IS A SMALL VILLAGE situated in the south of the county of Norfolk. It forms part of a benefice of five parishes and is fortunate to have a beautiful medieval church with a thatched nave and a mainly Norman round tower. These round towers are typical of Norfolk, particularly of South Norfolk and occur only very rarely elsewhere in the country.

The decision to form a Friends Group came about as a result of a casual conversation in the village shop. It was in the early spring of 2008. One of my neighbours and I were discussing the Parish Share (going up) and the size of the congregation (going down) and the resulting toll on the maintenance of the church building. We were also anxious about the state of some historically important wall paintings dating from *c.*1350, which needed a

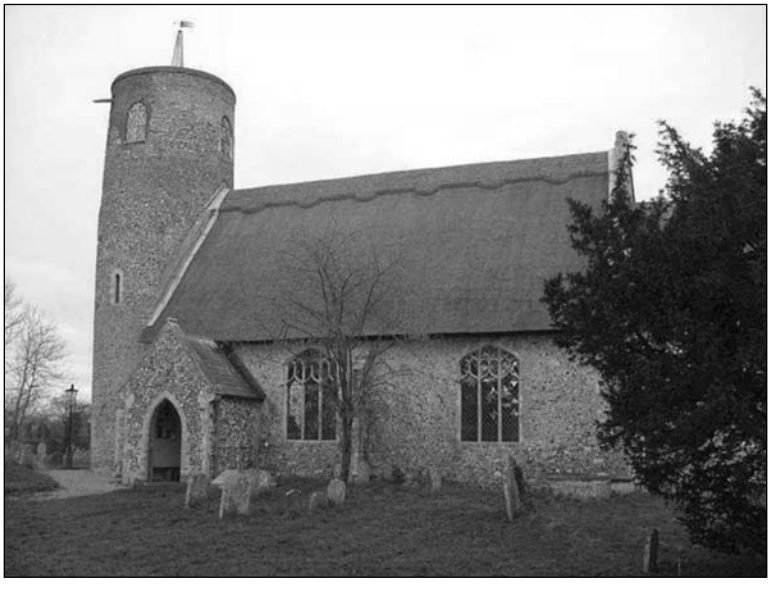


Fig. 1: St Margaret and St Remigius, Seething, Norfolk, view from the south. © Simon Knott, www.norfolkchurches.co.uk

conservator's opinion. (I should say that the church has a fine collection of wall paintings – including the Three Living & Three Dead, an unusual St Christopher, parts of a Five Joys of the Virgin sequence and a Warning Against Gossip. You can see them on Simon Knott's website, at www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/seething/seething.htm.)

After talking to the vicar and the churchwarden, we (still just the two of us) decided to see whether there might be support for a Friends Group to raise money towards repairs to the fabric as well as possible conservation of the paintings and to pay for important improvements such as heating. We felt that the whole village, whether churchgoers or not, or like me, a member of another faith, would have to get involved so we determined to make it very clear that this scheme was nothing to do with religion and everything to do with the building. If the scheme was going to succeed, it had to attract the support of those who never set foot in the church but who valued it for its history and situation at the heart of the village.

Our strategy was first, to canvas opinion. The two of us divided the village between us and set out to call on all 140 households individually. We asked three questions:

1. Given the parlous financial situation of the church would you be prepared to support a Friends Group to raise money for the upkeep of the fabric?

2. How much would you be prepared to pay?

3. What sort of events would you like to see happen in the church?

Only one householder turned us down flat saying that he 'didn't hold with Church in any form whatsoever' but from everyone else we got an enthusiastic endorsement. It was also agreed that £10 a year would be a reasonable sum to ask. A good list of possible events from strawberry teas to film shows also emerged.

Armed with this positive response, we then had to consider what would be the best way to take the scheme forward. After once again consulting the vicar and the churchwarden, the next step was to formalise the 'Friends'.

A committee had to be formed which we felt should include people from all parts of the village. We identified those whom we thought had the enthusiasm to take the scheme further and to our delight, everyone we approached said 'yes'! A meeting swiftly followed where a Chairman, Treasurer and Secretary were elected

Figs. 2 and 3: The interior and screen of Seething church. The base of the screen is medieval. © Simon Knott, www.norfolkchurches.co.uk

and the aims and objectives of the 'Friends' were discussed. The Committee comprises a mix of people, only about a third of whom are actual churchgoers.

Rather than go to the Charity Commission and set ourselves up as a separate body, we asked the Parochial Church Council (PCC) to arrange a ring-fenced account for the Friends. This meant we would benefit from the parish's charitable status. The Committee also decided that it was important that the incumbent and the churchwarden were part of the organisation. We had heard unfortunate stories of Friends Groups who had operated outside the PCC where conflicts had arisen over how the money should be spent.

Having sorted out the formalities, we set about collecting subscriptions. This went well in the first year and the money rolled in. We also organised our first event 'Seething's got Talent' which took place in the Church and was extremely well attended. The village produced an array of skills and amazed us all. Other events followed including an Open Gardens day, concerts, Christmas Fairs and so on. We have plenty of volunteers to do leafleting and printing and use the same bright blue colour for all our communications. We are also in the process of setting up a website (you can see progress at www.friends-of-seething-church.co.uk).

We now have over £5000 in the bank, have paid to have some damp sorted out and are about to provide the heaters.

The difficulties we found were few, but the major one was actually collecting subscriptions after the initial year. We had no mechanism for standing orders or other means of annual giving so in the end, we rather gave up and relied on people supporting our events which they do and probably spend more than the £10 which would have been asked of them.

We are also very aware that we could cut across the Church's normal fund-raising activities for the running of the Church by

Fig. 4: Some of the wall painting and their details (allowance must be made for reproduction in black and white). Margin: St Christopher; top row: left, the Three Living & Three Dead, and right, a detail; bottom row: left, the Christ child from the St Christopher, unusually being held in Christopher's arms; right, the Ascension, a scene from the Five Joys of the Virgin. © Simon Knott, www.norfolkchurches.co.uk

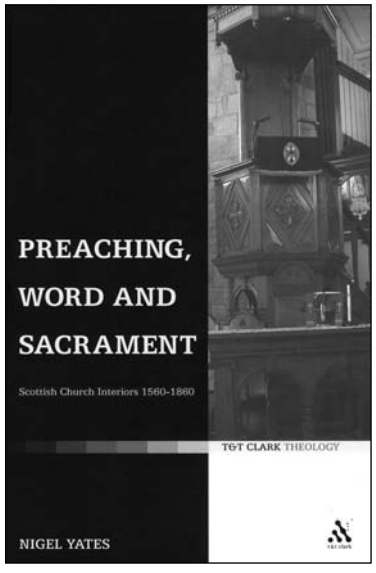
putting on too many events. We have both the Vicar and the Churchwarden on our Committee to ensure that this does not happen.

It is a modest scheme which is working well. We have an enthusiastic committee all of whom work hard, and an ambitious list of items that need our support. The best spin off is that it has helped to pull the village together.

All being well, I hope to provide a further progress report in two or three years' time.

Book reviews

Nigel Yates, ***Preaching, Word and Sacrament: Scottish Church Interiors 1560–1860.*** T&T Clark, 2009, xiii + 199 pp., 22 b&w pls, 6 figs, £65 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 567 03141 9



Nigel Yates will be well known to readers of *Ecclesiology Today*, particularly for his major work on *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910* (1999) and B*uildings Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches 1600–1900* (1991). *Preaching, Word and Sacrament*, his last book, published shortly after his death, pursues a theme similar to the latter, though the nature of the subject means that it is treated very differently. It represents the first major book on the post-Reformation churches of Scotland for half a century, and provides a useful introduction to the complexities of the evolution of different forms of worship in a country in which the dominant forms of Reformed religion were Calvinist to a greater extent than almost anywhere else in Europe.

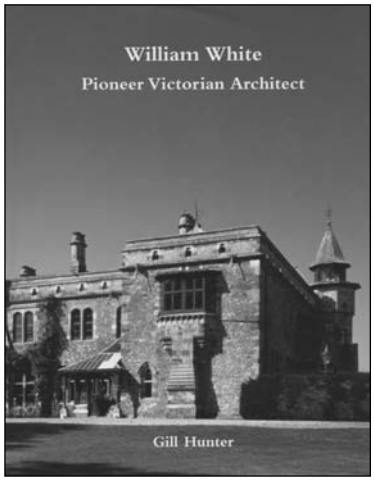
The first chapter provides a clear overview of the course of the Scottish Reformation. Here, as elsewhere, an enormous amount of complexity is cut through incisively to create a clear narrative for the non-specialist reader. The substance of the short text (140 pages) is divided into chronological and denominational blocks: church interiors from 1560 (the date of the Reformation in Scotland) to 1690 (the post-Stuart settlement); two chapters on different aspects of Presbyterian interiors 1690–1860; one on Roman Catholic and Episcopalian interiors in the same period; and a final chapter giving a valuable but less detailed overview of developments in the last century and a half.

An abiding problem with the subject is the destruction of so many of the interiors from 1560 to the middle of the nineteenth century, either before or by the ecclesiological movement which swept through the Presbyterian church almost a generation after its impact was felt in the Church of England, but with much greater thoroughness. Survival of interiors of the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth is particularly exiguous, and much of the discussion proceeds by wide-ranging but careful analogy with other parts northern Europe where reform followed Calvin and Zwingli. When the evidence becomes fuller—not plentiful—after 1690, forms of worship are explored to provide the explanation for different kinds of building and for precise types of furnishing. The last section outlines the impact of ecclesiology and more recent developments, and the book finishes with a useful gazetteer of surviving examples of different kinds and dates of interiors before 1860.

Two criticisms can be made of the book. First, while the illustrations are well chosen, more are needed; and the photographs are murky and poor in contrast. Second, the price: £65 for 200 pages is steep, particularly given the poor illustrations. This is a great pity, for it will severely limit the readership and potential impact of an accessible and important work. Familiar problems of falling congregations are compounded in Scotland by the aftermath of the 1929 amalgamation of

the Church of Scotland with the United Free Church, which has rendered a large number of buildings redundant: many churches have already been converted or demolished; many more are under threat. The book has the potential to raise awareness, both amongst the people of Scotland and those who visit the country, of the importance of the churches and their furnishings for understanding both the highly distinctive natures of Christian worship in Scotland over the four post-Reformation centuries, and the wider national culture they have helped to shape.

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, University of Oxford



Gill Hunter, ***William White: Pioneer Victorian Architect***. Spire Books, 2010, 338 pp., 103 col. & 73 b&w pls, £37.95 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 904965 26 8

William White has enjoyed a high reputation over the last half century or so as one of the most innovative and imaginative Gothic Revival architects. His ecclesiastical masterpieces – St Michael and All Saints, Lyndhurst and St Saviour, Aberdeen Park, Islington – would probably figure in most devotees' list of great Victorian churches. Gill Hunter's well written, painstakingly researched and handsomely produced and illustrated monograph is warmly to be welcomed. It will become the definitive account of the facts of White's life and buildings. The impressive catalogue of works alone brings together details of nearly 400 designs. Well known, too, especially since Paul Thompson's essay on the subject in John Summerson (ed.), *Concerning Architecture* (1968), are White's prolific and influential writings on all manner of architectural matters. Hunter usefully lists them (the titles alone fill almost eight pages of her book).

Although extremely valuable, the book is quite difficult to use for reference and its structure underlines the limitations of the conventional biographical narrative in bringing out the full significance of the subject. In many ways Hunter's essay in volume 42 of this journal (Geoff Brandwood (ed.), *Seven Church Architects*, 2010) is the best place to start to get an overview of White's achievement and character: his emphasis on breadth, depth and shadow; his original use of double-glazing and wood-block floors; his sensitive approach to colours (which he believed had specific psychological effects), lighting, stencilling and structural polychromy; and his pragmatic approach to concrete and iron. His concern with real people, reflected in his determination to make seating comfortable and buildings warm and well ventilated – he also patented the precursor of the rucksack that used a tensioned frame to distribute weight – is further underlined in his writings, where he weighs in against exploitative landlords and restrictive garments for women. White's central role in the theoretical debates of the mid nineteenth century is succinctly summarised by Thompson and substantially fleshed out (but dispersed) by Hunter. His contention that (Gothic) architecture was a science (based on 'some rational and feasible system' with 'definite principles and fixed rules') led to an amiable exchange of published letters with Ruskin. His deep respect for medieval craftsmanship

(nothing 'harder than a common clothes brush' should be used on ancient surfaces) did not set him against mechanisation, nor did it mean that ancient churches should become monuments or ruins – affection for old buildings turned into museums 'would very quickly die away': they needed to adapt.

William White is packed full of information. This sometimes leads to duplication of data in the body of the text and the catalogue of works. It is also punctuated by brilliant insights and analysis. Sometimes these are difficult to find: White's interesting restoration of the eighteenth-century Arnos Grove is not where you expect it to be in the chapter on restoration. The impression gained that almost all of White's jobs came through family and friends could have been graphically conveyed in a family tree. Given that individual buildings are discussed in several places, a more place-specific index would have helped. Readers should be expected to work hard, but some additional aids to navigation would not have come amiss to enable them to get the most out of a remarkable and important book.

Martin Cherry

Richard Haslam, Julian Orbach and Adam Voelcker, ***The Buildings of Wales: Gwynedd***. Yale, 2009, 789 pp., 120 col. pls, £29.95 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 300 14169 6

The arrival of this, the seventh volume of the Buildings of Wales series, which began with *Powys* in 1979, completes the coverage of the Principality's buildings. I am old enough to remember when the Staffordshire volume was published to complete the coverage of England, and like then rather than big fanfares there is again a satisfied glow that another milestone had been reached.

The series are affectionately called 'Pevsners' although Sir Nikolaus had no hand in writing the volumes for Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The books are no longer published by Penguin but by Yale University Press and YUP continue to revise existing volumes as well as strive to complete the coverage of Scotland.

'Pevsners' are invaluable to the Ecclesiologist, and are the first point of reference for building dates and architects. *Gwynedd* is no exception, and the information here is the first handily published for many of the churches in north-west Wales. *Gwynedd* is in the established larger format of all new volumes since the early 1980s and the volume subdivides the content into the former counties of Anglesey, Caernarvonshire and Merioneth. Like *Powys*, the index at the rear is therefore crucial.

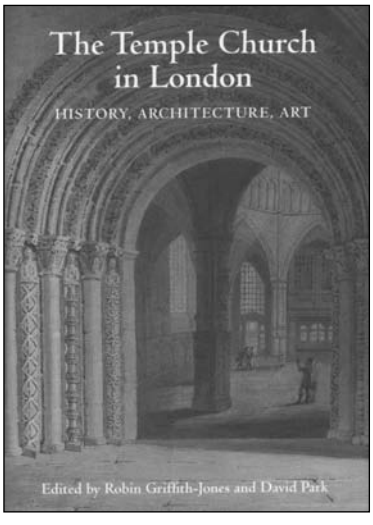
Paramount in the pride of Gwynedd's heritage is not its churches; top billing must go to the castles of Edward I, chief of these Caernarvon, Harlech and Conway. Churches include the grand medieval edifices of Bangor Cathedral and Beaumaris, the remarkable early churches at Tywyn and Penmn, the humbler but important churches at Llanegryn & Gyffin and the small but remarkable churches at Rhug and Gwydir Uchaf with their seventeenth-century interiors. Being Wales there is also due emphasis placed on chapels. The swathe of new building in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw remarkable numbers of churches

and chapels rise in resorts such as Aberdovey and Llandudno to meet the need of tourism. There are also the typical Victorian replacements of earlier buildings but also some quirky rural churches such as Brynsiencyn & Llanllechid. A sign of our times are also the inevitable closures and conversions discovered in the text, and presumed demolitions (e.g. the large nineteenth-century St Seiriol, Holyhead is not mentioned).

Good colour photography reflects this diverse heritage. It certainly brings alive the interior of the Catholic church in Amlwch, and the text records how it is hoped the closure of this church for structural problems is only temporary. It also highlights some of the unexpected treasures in other Gwynedd churches – the medieval painted ceiling at Gyffin, the exuberant south porch at St Cybi in Holyhead, and the remarkable monument of 1820 by Westmacott at Llandegai. There are also a number of useful ground plans, maps and old prints reproduced in the text. Although each of the authors concentrated on one county, it is an achievement that this is not evident, as on using the book, the style is uniform.

These series are a truly remarkable achievement, and hopefully coverage of the British Isles can be completed with volumes for the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Phil Draper



Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (eds.), ***The Temple Church London: History, Architecture, Art.*** The Boydell Press, 2010, xx+286 pp., 8 col. pls, 109 b&w pls, £40.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 84383 498 4

The Knights Templar came to England in 1128; by mid century they had a London house south of Fleet Street. When the Order was abolished, the buildings were taken over by groups of lawyers, becoming two of the four Inns of Court. Of the medieval buildings the church survives, readily accessible albeit not obvious from the street.

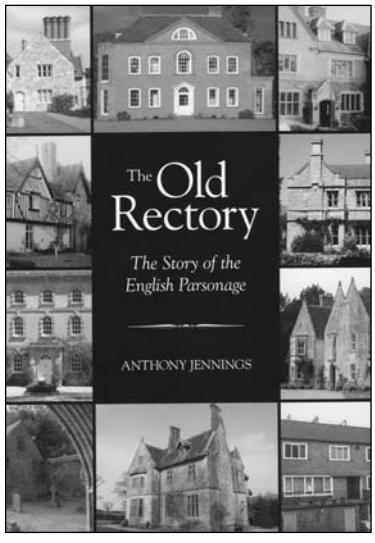
Today, the Temple Church consists in plan of a circle and a larger rectangle. The rectangle is the choir, built as a hall church in the years before 1240, in the finest Early English style with the (unfulfilled) promise of royal burials in mind. Virginia Jansen's contribution to this remarkable and well-produced collection of conference papers puts the enterprise of enlargement, as well as plan and style, in their religious and court setting. The circle is the nave, dedicated in 1185 according to a reliable but now lost inscription. Its form, and the magnificent but now sadly battered series of military monuments on the floor, have tended to distract attention from its architecture. It has an arcade of pointed arches on widely-spaced thin pillars, aisle vault, triforium with intersecting round arches, and a thin-walled clerestory with pointed windows. This is already the architecture of light, and an important milestone in English Gothic. Christopher Wilson here plausibly pushes the date back to c.1160, so explaining its apparent un-Englishness: it takes its spirit and its motifs directly from northern France, not ignoring but predating Canterbury.

The Great Fire of London just missed the church, but the lawyers, charged with its upkeep by James I's charter of 1608, undertook restoration and refitting in the 1680s. Griffith-Jones, the present Master (chaplain) of the Temple, shows how interwoven notions of the Temple in Jerusalem, the legendary history of Britain, and recent constitutional events, influenced the endeavour.

Other papers cover burials, monuments and attitudes to death in general, and the military effigies in particular; and the church in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth, including another important re-ordering. The opening chapter is an informative review of the London Templars by Helen Nicholson, establishing, as a major feature of the book, its insistence in investigating aspects of work on the church in the context of the aspirations of its owners. It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the book's riches, but one can confidently say that every reader of *Ecclesiology Today* will find something to interest, inform or challenge here.

Mark Ockelton

Anthony Jennings, ***The Old Rectory. The Story of the English Parsonage.*** Continuum, 2009, xii + 282 pp., 68 b&w and col. pls, £25 hdbk, 978 0 8264 2658



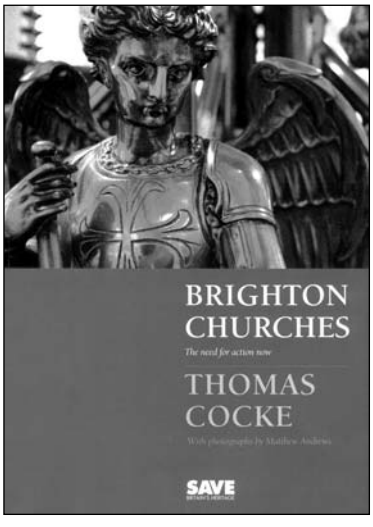
The historic houses of the English clergy have received surprisingly little attention since the pioneering general surveys of Alan Savidge and Anthony Bax, both published in 1964. Recently, like buses, three books have turned up in a row. Timothy Brittain-Catlin's excellent study (Spire Books, 2008) covers the early nineteenth century when, under the influence of Pugin, parsonages emerged as a distinctive specialist building type. Bill Bryson's *At Home* (Doubleday, 2010) was inspired by his own house – a former East Anglian rectory – but, while his reflections on all the different rooms provide the basis of brilliant sorties into unfamiliar aspects of private life and the every day, he says little specifically about clergy residences. So a substantial overview from the Director of Save Our Parsonages raises great expectations.

Sadly, *The Old Rectory* fails seriously to deliver. Its main interest lies where the author's knowledge and experience is greatest. Jennings's tone is one of constant outrage in the face of the parlous business case that drove the frantic rate of disposal in the late twentieth century – justifiable, given the figures (based on analysis carried out for *Country Life* by Michael Hanson). In 1978 and 1979, for instance, parsonages were sold at an average price of £34,450 and £53,930 respectively, but the average cost of new (more suitable) ones was £43,490 and £61,300, excluding site value – no great display of financial acumen, but pretty typical. Yet, parish reorganisation and the decline in the number of clergy made some rationalisation unavoidable and, although the Church Commissioners' use of the term 'unsuitability' proved elusive and mutable, many large parsonages were undoubtedly unfit for small clergy families and modern clerical life. They represented a liability that the Church of England simply could not meet, a fact reflected in poor standards of maintenance and repair. It is difficult not to suspect – and it

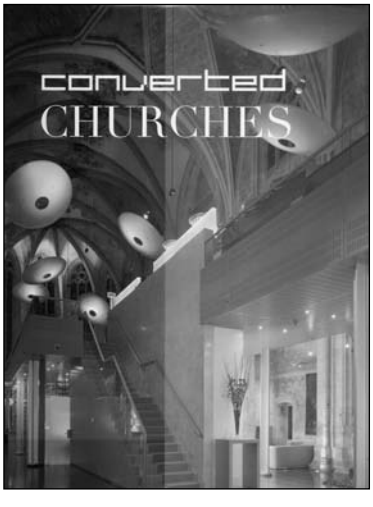
would be interesting to see this assumption tested – that the bulk of historic parsonages, many of them listed (and unlike churches not subject to ecclesiastical exemption), are better looked after, indeed cherished, since coming on the market.

The historical chapters of the book, which pad out what is otherwise a polemical pamphlet, add little to the work of Bax and Savidge – a canter through epochs and architectural styles with lists of architects, incumbents, curiosities and buildings, all the entries comprising a sentence or two, in the nature of index cards, occasionally raising a smile but adding up to very little. The whole book is propelled by a real passion for parsonages, but is tarnished by nostalgia for the days when engaged couples sat nervously silent on the parsonage sofa, 'resigned to the vicar's homilies', and a disdain for the present occupants, with their loud children, 'recalcitrant nanny' and off-road vehicle speeding off to Waitrose.

Martin Cherry



English Heritage, ***New Uses for Former Places of Worship***. English Heritage, 2010, 24 pp., many col. pls, available to download free from EH's website



Thomas Cocke, ***Brighton Churches: The Need for Action Now***. SAVE Britain's Heritage, 2009, many col. pls, £20.00 pbk, ISBN 978 0 905978 56 7

Eva Marin (ed.), ***Converted Churches***. Tectum, 2007, 216 pp. 200 col. pls, plans and drawings, £30.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 9076886 44 2

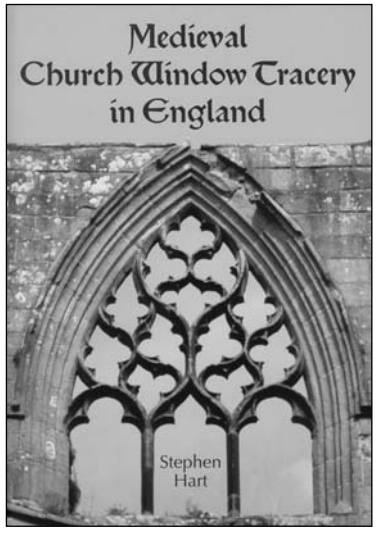
New guidance from English Heritage relating to closed churches complements previous guidance on churches in use, and the principles it sets out are broadly common to both publications: change should be based on a full understanding of the significance of the building, on a clear and demonstrable need, should respect the significance of the building, its contents and setting, should minimise intervention in historic fabric, and should achieve high standards of workmanship. Additionally, and importantly, it highlights the importance of identifying and addressing any major repair needs at the outset. The guidance is clearly written, and constructive in tone, avoiding over-prescriptiveness. It does not rule out residential conversion as an appropriate new use in some cases, but states a preference for new uses which allow for some degree of continued public access. The photographs, which are of high quality, indicate the preferred course: avoid major internal subdivision and encourage community uses wherever possible. The guidance acknowledges the importance of ensuring not only the conservation of historic fabric and (where possible) furnishings, but also taking account of more intangible issues of taste and sensitivity – photographs of Laudian communion rails being used as a playpen enclosure and of a Classical high altar as a bar fitting make the point. The guidance can be downloaded from English Heritage's website, www.english-heritage.org.uk.

SAVE's report on the churches of Brighton is a valuable pre-emptive strike. Written by Thomas Cocke and illustrated with stunning photographs by Matthew Andrews, this tells the story of a remarkable group of urban churches, built largely by two generations of the Wagner family, bringing Anglo-Catholic ritual and architectural splendour to some of the poorer district of the town (now city). Demographic and ecclesiastical changes have cast a threat over what is described by Cocke as 'one of the most significant groups of religious buildings, still largely complete with their contents, anywhere in the UK, indeed in Europe'. Their significance extends well beyond their architecture; Cocke writes that their sacristies are 'full to bursting with the multiplicity of objects necessary for their style of worship … To disperse such objects, even to sympathetic homes, would be to deprive them of their prime significance'. The greatest threat is to the most prominent of all the Brighton churches, Barry's St Peter's; Cocke writes that to close this would 'give the strongest possible message that not only is the role of the Church of England in Brighton finished, but also that of Christianity itself'. As a possible way forward, he points out that there is an increasing erosion of the traditional distinction between churches in use and 'redundant' ones, and cites cases (All Saints Hereford and St Michael Cambridge) where religious use has successfully been extended rather than replaced by secular uses.

St Michael's Cambridge and other well-known examples of church adaptation (e.g. St Paul's, Bow in East London) also feature in *Converted Churches*. Less familiar will be the examples from mainland Europe (the publisher is Belgian) and North America. There are chapters on hotels (odd that this use, about the least appropriate, should be given such prominence), housing, culture, multifunctional uses, bar/restaurant/club and commercial uses. This is a glossy publication, the illustrations focusing on interior design as much as the architecture. The accompanying text (in English, French and Dutch) is brief, and in many cases appears to have been written by the architect or client. The general impression is of far more damaging and interventionist (bold and exciting?) solutions than the English Heritage guidance would encourage. Nevertheless it is instructive to be reminded that the problem (or challenge) of church adaptation is not unique to this country, and to see the various solutions, ranging from crass and destructive through to inspiring and beautiful, that have been achieved elsewhere.

Postscript: The Brighton churches publication appeared after the sad and untimely death of Dr Thomas Cocke. Ecclesiologists might like to know that two angels from the 1693 organ case at Ely Cathedral, which had been lying in a Cambridge church, have now been restored as a memorial to Thomas and placed in the south transept at Ely.

Andrew Derrick, The Architectural History Practice



Stephen Hart, ***Medieval Church Window Tracery in England***. The Boydell Press, 2010, 184 pp., 20 col. pls, 256 b&w pls, £45.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 84383 533 2

Stephen Hart's book focuses on a sample of parish churches mostly from the East side of the country in order to deliver a chronological analysis

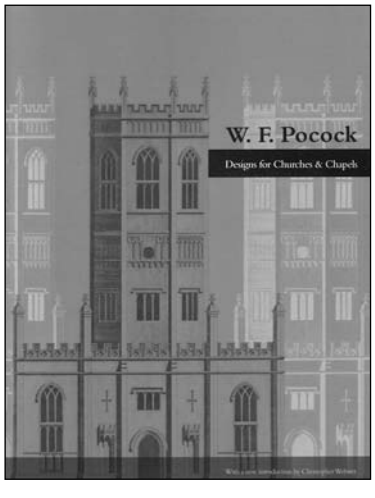
of the forms of traceried windows from the early 1200s to the Reformation. An introductory chapter briefly outlines the development of the categorisation of the phases of English Gothic in the writings of scholars such as Rickman, Freeman, Sharpe and Pevsner and explains the geometry of the profiles of the main arches used in the Gothic period. Geometry dominates chapter two also where an analysis of the main frameworks adopted in traceried compositions is offered and a number of important technical terms introduced. Chapter three turns to a detailed description of various traceried techniques whilst the final four chapters explain the development of tracery styles from Lancet to Perpendicular. The book is richly illustrated with nearly three hundred of the author's own photographs.

Armed with this book a reader will be able to analyse and articulate the most complex of traceried designs, using a rich technical vocabulary which Stephen Hart provides. It will therefore be a most useful *vade mecum* for the enthusiastic church visitor or for any student writing an architectural assignment and wishing to accurately transform complex visual experiences into accurate language. For the uninitiated or architecturally faint-hearted however it is not easy to read, and the density of the text and its narrowness of focus may not win around many converts. A sentence such as this – 'Its motifs have stylistic affinity with the chancel east window of similar proportions at Market Harborough, Leicestershire where three trilobes like those in the subarcuations at Fishtoft occupy its big centre circle, but its subarcuations are Non-Coincident with ogee lights and a vesica in their apices' (p.53) – is typical, and hard to digest, especially when the Market Harborough window is not illustrated.

Difficulties of assimilation are compounded by some of the editing decisions made. For example, illustrations are frequently in other parts of the book to where they are referred to in the text, and rather than explaining technical terms in words, more diagrams would have assisted in visualising and therefore explaining their meaning effectively. The gazetteer of sites would be more useful had it included page references to where the churches listed appeared in the book itself. Indeed overall the book suffers from something of an identity crisis. It is not designed as a handbook but neither is it an academic text since there are no citations (despite frequent reference to scholarly debates) and no context is given – for example, comparisons with high status church building or comments on regional variations.

This does not take away the value of the book as a comprehensive overview of English parochial tracery design, but simply questions whether the material has been presented in a way which would open up this fascinating subject to the newcomer.

Catherine Oakes, Kellogg College, University of Oxford



W. F. Pocock, ***Designs for Churches & Chapels*** (first published 1819), with an introduction by Christopher Webster. Spire Books, 2010, 210 pp., 64 b&w illustrations, £39.95 hdbk, ISBN 1 904965 29 9

All those interested in early nineteenth-century church architecture will welcome this initiative to reissue, in facsimile (quarto), one of only two

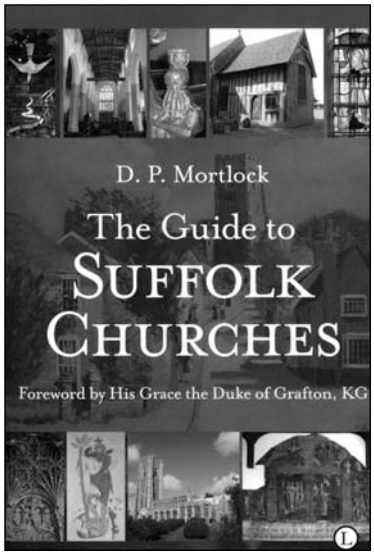
pattern books devoted exclusively to church and chapel architecture produced during the twenty years following Waterloo. First published one year after the Church Building Act, when Parliament voted to spend one million pounds on the building of churches, it went through three identical editions and it is the third (1835) that is printed here – the going rate for an original on the second-hand market is £450. This edition benefits additionally from a useful introduction by Christopher Webster, which provides context and brings together much new information and many illustrations.

Pocock (1779–1849) – characterised by Colvin as 'a meticulous, hard-working man' and a 'competent but unremarkable' architect – persuaded his father to cancel his articles in the family carpentry firm in order to join Charles Beazley as a pupil, later served with Thomas Hardwick, and was an early member of the Institute of British Architects. He ran a widespread and diverse business that included surveying, estate administration and property speculation – not untypical of the time – and published on many practical subjects ranging from rustic cottages to bond in brickwork. It is his combination of practical, professional and management skills that makes *Designs for Churches & Chapels* particularly interesting. As Webster points out, his plans are ingenious and his elevations not without merit (all 44 plates are very crisply reproduced here), but this is a pattern book directed as much, perhaps more, towards clients than fellow architects – 'to assist the views of Ministers and others [for which read vestry committees] who are desirous of promoting the best interests of the people'. While the plates showcase a range of styles and planning solutions that could be adapted by a reasonably skilled provincial architect – and Webster traces Pocock's impact on architects in America and raises the intriguing possibility that the pepper-pot tower on Plate 27 may have influenced Schinkel when preparing his designs for Berlin Cathedral – it is the practicalities of financial and quality control that lie at the heart of the book. As both the introduction and the text make clear, Pocock's studies of 'ecclesiastical architecture' were not of the ecclesiological or picturesque variety, but about planning, organisation and costings. The advice given on p.12 (of the reprint), which is essentially about project management, is telling in this respect and has a curiously modern feel. The 'dry and uninteresting subject matter', Pocock tells the (non-specialist) reader, is 'a subject of the first consideration'. The overall approach should be by 'contract and competition' under the direction of a competent architect. This involves 'several meetings, or consultations' prior to a general design being agreed. Real need, that is the number of persons to be accommodated, must be realistically assessed – a common fault of the time was to overestimate numbers and build too large. Then should follow the detailed drawings, specifications, costings and tender documentation and presentation of these to the project committee. There are various procedures, too, to avoid 'unpleasant sensation' and prevent 'private intelligence and undue influence'. No wonder he joined the Institute for British Architects as soon as he could.

This reprint, with its short and informative introduction, illuminates attitudes to church building before the ecclesiologists, at a time when

unprecedented resources were available, and laymen needed guidance as to how best to secure decent 'accommodation of the greatest number of persons, at the least possible expense'. It is most useful to have it easily available.

Martin Cherry



D.P. Mortlock, ***The Guide to Suffolk Churches***. Lutterworth Press, 2009, 392 pp., many b&w pls, £31.00 pbk, ISBN 978 071883 076 2

If there is one thing better than wandering around medieval churches on your own, it is doing so with a companion who is affable, knowledgeable, and interesting. The facts about any church are easily obtained from reference books. But you need someone who can breathe life into the dry dust of an ancient building. Anyone who can do this helps us understand the ways in which a medieval church is a touchstone down the long generations, for so long the beating heart of a community. Anyone who has such a companion is fortunate indeed.

When I started exploring Suffolk's churches in the 1990s, I found the standard works on the county were long out of date. Cautley, author of the 1937 *Suffolk Churches and their Treasures*, had travelled these pathways a quarter of a century before I was even born, and there was Pevsner, his 1961 *Buildings of England: Suffolk* perfunctorily revised. And then I discovered Mortlock. In the 1980s he had visited all the Anglican churches of Norfolk and Suffolk in a six volume anti-clockwise swathe. The three Suffolk volumes were originally published by Acorn Press, and by the last years of the twentieth century were difficult to obtain, and still apparently little-known. They are now brought together in a single lavish 600-page volume by Lutterworth, the entries extensively revised and updated.

The guide is organised alphabetically, with a glossary at the rear. A typical Mortlock entry begins with a tour of the outside. He has the engaging manner of a detective, piecing together the story of the building from the available evidence, describing the historical development and idiosyncratic features. Inside, his eye ranges around the fixtures and fittings, their age, provenance and significance. He has a particular knowledge of post-Reformation memorials and nineteenth-century glass.

The beauty of this book is that it is written by an enthusiast. While there is no doubt about Mortlock's expertise, he is never formulaic; alongside the naming of furnishings and architectural features, his eloquent prose finds room for insignificant details which he happens to find interesting. Coming to a known church with Mortlock is like seeing it for the first time. Secondly, the articles are accurate; you are in the presence of someone who has walked these ways before you. Most importantly of all, Mortlock has an Anglican sensibility. He knows the true emotional value of the buildings he describes.

The new *Guide to Suffolk Churches* is outstanding; better than the 2007 revised volume for Norfolk. This is partly because the revision has been much more rigorous than it was for Norfolk. There are few inaccuracies or omissions, but all that seems to have fallen through the gap between

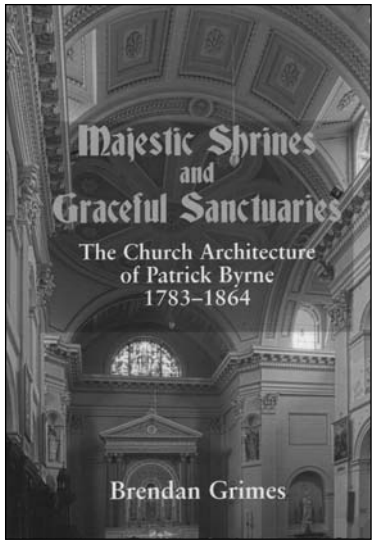
the two editions is a handful of minor projects completed before the new millennium. Probably only the absence of Surinder Warboys' important 1990s windows at Chillesford will raise the eyebrow of any future explorer.

The inclusion of relatively insignificant modern churches causes a skew of emphasis, not least because none of Suffolk's non-conformist or Catholic churches are here: Mortlock is rigorously Anglican in his tastes. However, Suffolk bell expert George Pipe has contributed details of all the ringable bells in the county.

In the absence of any new revision of the Suffolk Pevsner, Mortlock's Guide to Suffolk Churches remains the only complete and reliable guide to the churches of Suffolk in print. Even when Pevsner's revising editor has completed his work, this book will remain the definitive text on the subject for years to come.

Simon Knott, suffolkchurches.co.uk

Brendan Grimes, ***Majestic Shrines and Graceful Sanctuaries: the Church Architecture of Patrick Byrne*** *1783–1864*. Irish Academic Press, 2009, 197 pp., 103 b&w pls, £45.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 7165 3073 2



From the middle of the eighteenth century the situation for Irish Catholics began to improve and by the end of the century almost all their civic rights had been restored. By the early nineteenth century most of the legislation that had restricted them had been repealed and thus they were free to build as they pleased. It was the beginning of a Golden Age of Catholic church building, and Byrne's career was thus perfectly timed to exploit it.

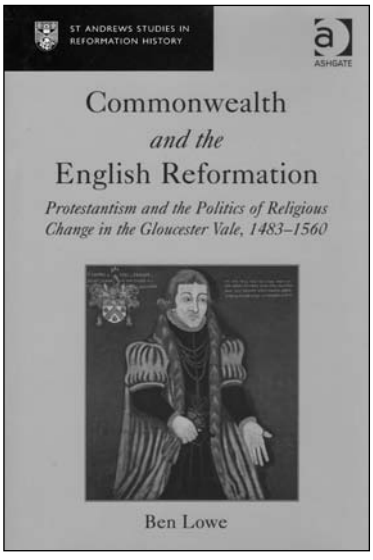
Forty years after Bryan Little's *Catholic Churches*, Christopher Martin's *A Glimpse of Heaven* was a welcomed addition to the subject, and Roderick O'Donnell has diligently examined the Pugins in Ireland. However, there remains much still to be explored and while Byrne's work is in and around Dublin, Grime's study nevertheless usefully extends our understanding of the wider issues of Catholic church building in the middle third of the century, especially the stylistic debates.

Byrne trained as a Classicist and his early churches are accomplished essays in that style. Then, with a not inconsiderable nudge from Pugin's 1841 and '42 articles in the *Dublin Review*, Byrne makes the stylistic shift, although his Gothic work tended to lack the assurance of the Classical compositions. This is an entirely predictable development and there are plenty of English parallels, both Catholic and Anglican. What is unexpected is that in the late 1840s, he returns to his earlier style, and presumably for entirely contented patrons. Of the late Classical churches, perhaps the most interesting is Our Lady of Refuge at Rathmines, Dublin. The expanding suburb quickly outgrew the *c.*1830 Gothic church – by an un-named architect – and in 1848 Dr William Meagher, the parish priest, proposed not a mere extension, but an entirely new church. Meagher had a clear stylistic preference and set out to assert his authority on any wavering parishioners: '[there] has sprung up in these countries [the British Isles], not an admiration, not a rational love of

Gothic religious architecture, but a mania. Beware of that mania, Gentlemen; it has led many astray'. The result was a majestic Classical edifice, which literally encased the still-recent Gothic structure before the latter was demolished to reveal an interior in the best Italian tradition.

The text successfully blends an examination of architecture, patronage and liturgy, and benefits from 18 church plans, drawn to a common scale, adeptly produced by the book's architect author. However, a good copy editor should have sorted out some of the repetition in the text and for £45.00, one might reasonably expect a higher standard of book production.

Christopher Webster



Ben Lowe, ***Commonwealth and the English Reformation Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale, 1483–1560***. St Andrew Studies in Reformation History, Ashgate, 2010, xvi + 308 pp., £65, ISBN 978 1 4094 0045 5

This book is typical of current work on the English Reformation that is exposing the complexity and paradoxes in what was a slow and painful process for so many. It looks sympathetically at how people coped with the changes, provides rich socio-economic context, and thus helps to explain how individuals could mourn lost ceremonies and beliefs while benefiting financially from the acquisition of monastic property. In this case, it pays close attention to how the Gloucester elite managed the Reformation. Ben Lowe paints a detailed picture of government, business and urban politics in late medieval Gloucester, analyses how the religious community worked pre-Reformation, and provides an account of the county's leading gentry. It then discusses the land transfers of the 1530s and '40s, the critical role of Bishop Hooper as a reforming bishop, and the aftermath of his episcopate.

The book is strong in stressing how the turbulent times must have felt to people, good on the complexity of motives for change, and sensitive in showing how that was mediated by a strong sense of 'stewardship' regarding property, education and care for the poor. Such 'commonwealth' thinking was also part of the rhetoric of Bishop Hooper and his followers. Lowe has no doubt that the region's medieval church in all its guises was in need of reform, yet he also notes the loyalty of many to the Catholic Church and the awkward decisions they had to make. The destruction of monasteries, priories, friaries and hospitals was accepted by Gloucester's civic elite, who, through their 'commonwealth' thinking, preserved as much as they could in new civic virtues concerning education and charity. It is good to see acknowledgement of an extra ingredient in this particular story, namely discussion of Gloucester as a new diocese formed in 1541, yet more could perhaps have been made of this theme. How badly handicapped was Hooper by having to take on Worcester diocese as well after 1552; how much work did a new diocese create to offset losses associated with shrines and chantries; and what problems were caused by both changes and continuities to key personnel in running church courts and estates? And

the problems play out when discussing how effective was the Marian regime in attempting to turn the clock back. The martyrdom of Hooper failed to halt the spread of Protestantism and Lowe concludes that while many now talk of a 'Long Reformation' for the country as a whole, for Gloucester and its region the Reformation was won by 1563.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent

Peter Leach and Nikolaus Pevsner, ***The Buildings of England: Yorkshire West Riding: Leeds, Bradford and the North***. Yale, 2009, 824 pp., 128 col. pls, £29.99 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 300 12665 5

All new editions of the *Buildings of England* volumes are to be welcomed and none more so than this substantially revised edition of part of the West Riding, first published in 1959, with even the slightly-expanded second edition appeared over forty years ago. Firstly however a *caveat*: in order to facilitate a more comprehensive account of the buildings of West Yorkshire, the decision was taken to split the old West Riding volume into two. Any division of this type is relatively arbitrary but in this instance, the separation of Leeds and Bradford from Halifax and Huddersfield, the old Clothing District of the West Riding, flies in the face of historical commonsense. That said we now have 824 pages in this volume compared with the 603 pages of the original Pevsner. How well has this additional space been used? The new text includes vastly more information on Victorian and industrial buildings, a greater focus on suburbs, and Nonconformist chapels – although not as well documented as Anglican churches – are treated with greater parity. Also particularly welcome are references to places of worship associated with non-Christian congregations but on the whole, post-1914 buildings are both under-represented and rarely discussed in great detail.

An example of some of these new approaches can be found in the entry for All Souls Church in Woodhouse (Leeds). Despite being the last church designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott (Scott died two days after its consecration), this has been an unjustly neglected building. In Pevsner's 1959 volume, it merited only four lines of description whilst the new book devotes nearly a page to the church. Even so I feel that an opportunity has been lost here: as with other High Church missions to poor areas, at All Souls the high sacramental tradition was married with a pastoral zeal that meant that the church was only part of a complex of ecclesiastical buildings designed between 1884–6 by R.J. Johnston of Newcastle. That these buildings cost £12,500 compared with £18,000 for the church itself is an indication of the importance the parish attached to outreach activities, something not reflected in the five lines of text devoted to these buildings, whilst the large 1914–8 war memorial, a bronze crucifix set on a high plinth by the south-west door, receives no mention at all.

But don't throw away your old editions of Pevsner as they serve as a reminder of the buildings we have lost. In the case of Leeds city centre, 23 buildings which appeared in the 1959 edition have been demolished including Benjamin's Gott's huge Bean Ing factory (1792–3), the impressive Brunswick Methodist Chapel (1824–5) and Scott's Gothic-

styled Beckett's Bank (1863–7). Another advantage of the old Pevsners was their portability, certainly this new volume would hardly fit into a pocket or handbag and now serves more as a reference text rather than a guidebook which means that 'the perambulations' become somewhat redundant; and for reference purposes more thought needs to be given to the way buildings and places are indexed.

These quibbles apart, Peter Leach and his fellow contributors' research and scholarly descriptions add much to our knowledge and appreciation of the buildings of the West Riding and I look forward to Ruth Harman's companion volume which will be published next year.

Janet Douglas, Leeds Metropolitan University

Andrew Braddock, ***The Role of the Book of Common Prayer in the Formation of Modern Anglican Church Identity: a study of English parochial worship, 1750–1850***. Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter, 2010, 327 pp., £74.95, ISBN 978 0 7734 1442 6

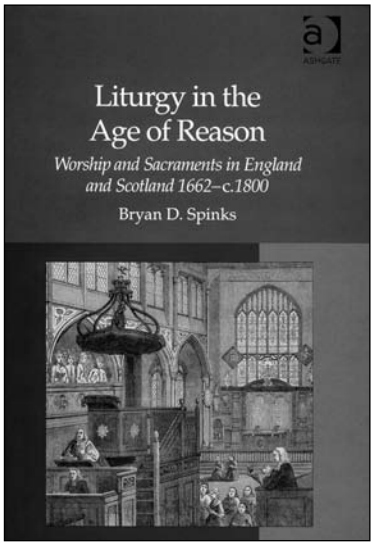
This book is a timely reminder of the importance of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) for the identity of the Church of England in past centuries. Mr Braddock argues convincingly that the BCP in its entirety defined the Church and largely held it together until the mid nineteenth century. The word 'Common' was crucial to this role. In 1662 the revised BCP expressed the essence of good practice and good order for the restored Church and defined both what it was and was not. With the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, and the growth of dissenting sects with their own ideas on worship, the importance of common, communal worship gained a new emphasis as the Church defended its position, though Mr Braddock is careful to recognise that Wesleyan Methodism also long continued to accept this, with its services being held either in addition to Prayer Book services or in accordance with the Prayer Book. At a time when evangelicals were rejoicing in the spiritual freedoms of extempore worship, the BCP was used to assert the value of the liturgy as a shared, public activity.

The overall intention of this study is to reinforce the now-eighty-year-old revisionist view of the pre-Tractarian Church as one of spiritual vitality and renewal in which the BCP played an essential part. After an excellent survey chapter on the eighteenth-century Church, and a consideration of the role of the BCP in the making of Anglican identity and in Church reform, Mr Braddock then goes on the examine how the words of the BCP were borrowed and adapted by non-Anglicans and used more widely as the basis of private and domestic devotions. Its rubrics and instructions, though, had an ambiguous effect. Did the Athanasian Creed really have to be said quite so often at Morning Prayer – if at all? Was it necessary to wear or remove the surplice when preaching? Could hymns be added to the Psalmody of the BCP? Fortunately some common sense flexibility was practised with moderations according to local custom. But problems remained: should an Evangelical priest expect to say and believe at the baptism of an infant, 'Seeing now … that this child is regenerate'? By the 1840s the arguments for reforming the BCP in different ways according to the

various factions in the Church made it more a symbol of their divisions than of what held them together. Since then, along with the King James Bible, the BCP has suffered from the sanctioning of modernising alternatives and its central, uniting role in creating the identity of the National Church has been neglected.

Edward Royle, University of York.

Bryan D. Spinks, ***Liturgy in the Age of Reason. Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland 1662–c.1800***. Ashgate, 2008, ix + 284 pp., £55.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 7546 6089 7

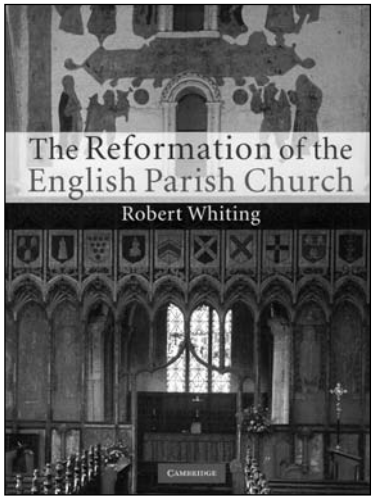


This is an immensely scholarly, detailed to the point of exhaustive, account of worship and liturgy in England and Scotland between 1662 and the turn of the nineteenth century. Thoroughly embedded in the wider thinking of the time spawned largely by the Enlightenment, this study offers a comprehensive account of the topic that builds on the earlier successful work of the author published as *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*, also by Ashgate in 2002. The work is divided into ten chapters starting with the Restoration settlement of worship in the established churches and covering sacramental teaching in particular, north and south of the border. Then it is the turn of the Glorious Revolution and for discussion of worship and hymns in late seventeenth-century dissent, for one strength of this book is the way in which it interweaves themes and influences common to all strands of religion in both countries. The problem of authority is broached in chapters on the '*ancien regime*' and Newtonian and Lockean Theology. The Evangelical revival gave us 'affectionate worship' while the later Georgian period gave us 'common or garden liturgy'. Chapters nine and ten conclude with discussion of aspects of worship and sacramental instruction in the Georgian Kirk, and glimpses of dissenting worship, 'old, new and curious'.

The book is a product of immense learning and will become a standard work on this subject. It fits very well with other writing that stresses that the Church of England in the eighteenth century was far from moribund. It is excellent in relating the thinking of intellectuals like Locke and Newton to the writings of theologians whether in prose tracts, catechisms, sermons, hymns or prayers. The roll call of heroes in this work includes: Thomas Marshall and Gabriel Towerson for their catechisms in the late seventeenth century, Robert Kirk with his Gaelic psalms, the Baptist hymn writer Benjamin Keach, those who wrote tracts on the liturgy like Edward Stephens and Johannes Grabe, and evangelicals like Thomas Haweis, Samuel Walker and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. And there is obviously space for the Wesleys.

This book charts constant attempts to improve church music over the period, close attention to the sacraments properly explained and administered, and a heartening willingness to reinvigorate the liturgy at all times.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent



Robert Whiting, ***The Reformation of the English Parish Church***. Cambridge University Press, 2010, xx + 298 pp., 60 b&w pls, 12 col. pls, £55 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 521 76286 1

The subject of this book is the changes wrought to the interiors of English parish churches during the sixteenth-century Reformation and the following century, a topic in urgent need of further systematic analysis and appraisal. A wide-ranging selection of physical evidence for alterations (many destructive), new fittings and furnishings, is complemented by extensive use of churchwardens' accounts and other written sources, and a wide range of items is illustrated. The latter often supply the only evidence for what was removed from churches, and give insights into the ways in which change was managed and financed. The amount of material packed into the book is impressive, and it has the potential to make an interesting and innovative study.

After a short introduction which characterises the interior of churches in 1530, on the eve of the Reformation, and again a century later, the book is organised in fourteen chapters, each dealing with a specific feature – e.g., screens, church plate, wall paintings. Within each chapter, the material is organised in a similar way: evidence for what existed before the Reformation, followed by description of what was removed, destroyed and newly supplied. Chapters conclude with a brief section headed 'analysis' which summarises the information and, usually in a few paragraphs, makes a few comments on the motivation (religious, social, economic) of those who paid for the changes or implemented them. The chapters are not identically structured, but so nearly so that the overall effect is repetitive.

There is no narrative framework either in the introduction or elsewhere; and while terms like 'Laudian' are occasionally used, they are nowhere explained. The 'Analysis' sections are over brief, and are characterised by assertions concerning people's motivation rather than by demonstration and argument. While the author may have hoped that patterns in the material relating to the different features would enable interpretations and a narrative to emerge, little is done to draw them out or debate different points of view concerning what was at the time (and still is) contested territory. The reader is not aided by the lack of explanation of the editorial conventions used in the book (the method of referring to illustrations is idiosyncratic; the text refers to churches by place-name only, while the county for each is listed in the index entry – a sensible enough scheme, but the reader is left to find it for him or herself), and many of the illustrations are murky or flat. That said, the book contains a vast amount of data, and will prove useful as a quarry for future researchers

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, University of Oxford

Other publications received

Alan Edward Teulon, ***The Life and Work of Samuel Sanders Teulon***. Published by the author, 2009. 122 pages, about forty ills. mainly in colour, pbk (copies available from the author 54 Clarence Avenue, Northampton, NN2 6NZ; £9.50 post free in UK, £10.50 overseas)

Samuel Sanders Teulon (1812–73) was a prolific Victorian architect, who developed an individual, if not idiosyncratic, style of Gothic. As well as a range of secular buildings, including some significant country houses, and more or less the entire village of Hunstanton, Co. Durham, he built approximately one hundred churches, representing about half his work; many use structural polychromy, and have inventive window tracery, and can be spatially innovative. His work has been both criticised and admired.

This is the first book devoted to his life and work. Alan Teulon, the author, is a great- great-great-nephew of the architect, and has been exploring his work for the past fifty years. The book is written in a personal, relaxed style, with the author describing how many of his discoveries have been made. There are about twenty short chapters, some chronological, others devoted to particular aspects of the architect's career, such as his colleagues, his style, technical aspects and work for Royalty.

The final chapter, much the longest, is a description of what the author considers to be Teulon's ten best buildings, followed by a supplementary list of other buildings worth seeing. As the author says, 'whether you love or loathe his buildings is for you to decide'.

Robert A. Faleer (ed.), ***Church Woodwork in the British Isles, 1100–1535: an Annotated Bibliography***. The Scarecrow Press (4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 207006, USA), 2009, 446pp., three b&w drawings, hdbk no price (internet price approx £70), ISBN 978 0 8108 6739 0

This most useful book is an annotated bibliography of published material on church woodwork from 1100–1535. There are 961 citations. The author has attempted to examine each item cited, and a typical entry has a paragraph summarising the contents. Where the material is available online, the author has noted this.

The material is grouped into seven chapters, based on the purpose of the woodwork being described or its location, and most of these chapters have subdivisions. Thus, for example, in the chapter on 'Furnishings of the nave' there is a subdivision on 'Benches and Bench-ends', which occupies 14 pages.

The book is well indexed. The first index is of names (authors, photographers, historical personages etc). The second is of places, allowing entries to individual buildings to be located; this index includes county lists of places mentioned. The third is of subjects.

Hugh Playfair, ***Keeping Somerset Churches Alive – for worship, pilgrimage, visitor and community***. 48pp., numerous colour ills., pbk (copies available from Blackford House, Blackford, near Yeovil, Somerset BA22 7EE £7.00 post free, cheques payable to Friends of Somerset Churches and Chapels)

This is an unusual and intriguing short book, describing how various Anglican churches in Somerset have adapted their buildings to meet today's needs. There is a ten page introduction to some of the issues (the chapter rather confusingly called 'heritage'), then chapters on access, major re-ordering of interiors and extensions, providing better facilities, and enhancing churches. These chapters are packed with short descriptive examples, some forty in all, many of them with accompanying photographs. The booklet finishes with a two-page description of the process for making changes to Anglican churches, and there is an index of places. The whole provides a quick overview of how churches are changing in one English county, and gives much food for thought.

Stephen Savage, ***Mission Accomplished: Five Lost Churches of Leeds***. Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2011, 146 pp., 38 b&w pls, £12.00 plus £1.95 p&p, pbk, ISBN 978 0 9550714 9 6 (copies available from: Mr G.B. Skelly, 24 Cloudesley Square, London, N1 0HN)

By the beginning of Victoria's reign, church provision in Leeds was woefully inadequate. For C.T. Longley, appointed bishop to the new diocese of Ripon in 1836, and W.F. Hook, who arrived as Vicar of Leeds just 12 months later, a solution was urgently needed. By the time of Hook's departure for Winchester in 1859, 21 new churches had been added, and a further 12 were built between 1864 and 1877. Yet more followed later, but many had a relatively short life and have disappeared almost without trace, despite, in some cases, being the products of major architects like Scott, Butterfield or Bodley.

This engaging book, the product of years of impeccable research by its author, gives a detailed account of five of them, chosen in part for their High Church sympathies. Alongside details of building histories, Savage is especially interesting in his discussions of the incumbents, their concerns, and their liturgical practices.

Peter Brierley (ed.), ***UK Church Statistics 2005–2015,*** *being a fresh compilation of the number of members, churches and ministers in the many denominations in the UK, with summary tables, explanatory articles and other data*. ADBC publishers (The Old Post Office, 1 Thorpe Avenue, Tonbridge, Kent, TN10 4PW), 2011, 123 pp., £25.00 post free from the publishers, pbk spiral binding, ISBN 978 0 9566577 2 5

Peter Brierley formerly directed Christian Research, which under his guidance published a series of volumes setting out key religious trends and statistics. These were indispensable to those interested in the ebb and flow of religious practice, and its likely impact on, for example, church buildings.

This volume continues that tradition, pulling together a wide range of data from the large number of denominations (the author estimates more than three hundred) in the UK. There is a also a brief section on international statistics, and five evidence-based articles on various aspects of church life. Those who make use of this type of data are likely to want to acquire a book which is in many respects a successor to Brierley's previous volumes.

Peter Ryder, ***The Cross Slabs of Brancepeth***. Broomlee publications (www.broomlee.org; telephone: 01434 682644), 2009, 68 pages, numerous b&w drawings, four col. pls incl. a plan, £5.00 pbk, ISBN 978 0 9559093 1 3

In September 1998 a disastrous fire destroyed one of the most important post-Reformation church interiors in England, that at St Peter's, Brancepeth, Co. Durham. The church fabric was badly damaged.

Over the next seven years, substantial repairs were carried out, with detailed archaeological recording. During this work, a large number of medieval grave slabs were found to have been used as building stone in the fabric. These were retrieved, and as a result, as the book explains, 'today Brancepeth has the largest collection of such monuments in the Northern Counties'.

Some 23 of these stones are on display in the church, which is now open again for worship with a brand new interior, and this short book, by an acknowledged expert on grave slabs, was published to coincide with the opening of the display. It is designed for the reader without particular expertise in grave slabs, and is very readable.

There is a brief introduction to the history of the church, and grave slabs in general, followed by a detailed and accessible description and drawing of each of the 23 on display. This is followed by a brief inventory of all the slabs (more than 100 entries), and the booklet concludes with an appendix on the structural history of the church, based on post-fire investigations.

Matthew Saunders, ***Saving Churches: the Friends of Friendless Churches: the First Fifty Years***. Frances Lincoln Ltd (4 Torriano Mews, Torriano Avenue, London, NW5 2RZ), 2010, 128 pages, numerous col. and b&w ills., available in pbk (£16.99, ISBN 978 0 7112 3154 2) or hdbk (978 0 7112 3041 5)

The Friends of Friendless Churches was fifty years old in 2007, and this book celebrates the work of that first half century. There is a useful overview of the history of the Friends, and a brief memoir of its Founder, Ivor Bulmer-Thomas but the book is essentially a description and gazetteer of the forty redundant (but, as it says, architecturally and historically important) churches that the Friends care for. In large format, and with many excellent photographs, the book fulfils this task admirably.

Ian Smith, ***Tin Tabernacles Postcard Album***. Camrose Media Ltd (106 Main Street, Pembroke, SA71 4HN), 2010, 154 pp., numerous b&w ill., £12.99 plus £2 p&p (direct from the publishers), pbk, ISBN 978 0 9566132 0 2

The author has previously published a book about 'tin tabernacles' – that is, corrugated iron churches, chapels and halls built in the Victorian period to satisfy the demand for cheap, easy-to-erect, temporary places of worship.

In this book there is a short introduction to the buildings, followed by the reproduction of approximately 200 picture postcards of these buildings, with a brief commentary on each. Although each postcard is particular and local, the cumulative effect of so many illustrations is strangely informative.

Richard Surman (ed.), ***Betjeman's Best British Churches***. Collins, 2011, 896 pp., numerous colour ills., map of each county, £35.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 00 741567 0

John Betjeman's *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches* was published in 1958 in a single volume, followed ten years later by the two volume *Collins Pocket Guide to English Parish Churches* (enlarged in 1980 to include Wales). Many readers of the journal will know and use one edition or another of this book, often referring to it simply as 'Betjeman'.

The original 'Betjeman' listed about 4,500 churches. This new edition, has about 2,500 entries selected and updated from the original, and also includes, for the first time, a number of notable Roman Catholic buildings and a section on Scotland. The precise location of each church is given, for users of both Ordnance Survey maps and Satnavs. A major difference from previous editions is the large number of colour photographs, many of them full page; and the book itself is notably larger and heavier than previous editions.

Nigel Saul and Tim Tatton-Brown, ***St George's Chapel Windsor: History and Heritage***. Dovecote Press, 2010, 264 pp., 64 b&w pls, £14.95 pbk, ISBN 978 1 904 34983 9

St George's Chapel is one of the most celebrated buildings in England, a magnificent place of worship, a masterpiece of medieval architecture, and a witness to the antiquity of the English monarchy. Drawing on the latest historical studies of the building, the book thoroughly examines the chapel. A series of essays range from the Middle Ages to the present day and include its building history, ties with the Order of the Garter, its associations with the cult of Henry VI, its Tudor glass, its library, and its restorations.

Sarah Brown and Peter de Figueiredo, ***Religion and Place: Liverpool's Historic Places of Worship***. English Heritage, 2008, 96 pp., 64 col. pls, £7.99 pbk, ISBN 978 1 873592 88 5.

From its unpromising early days as a small fishing port with only one church, Liverpool grew to be a city defined by its churches, chapels and the two prominent cathedrals that now dominate the skyline. Rapid growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries prompted many new places for worship and while the Anglicans produced the most ambitious buildings, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics and a range of immigrant communities also erected places of worship. The story of the city's religious buildings continues to the present day, and the book is also valuable for a series of stunning interior photographs of largely inaccessible structures.

Michael Billett, ***English Thatched Churches***. Robert Hale, 2009, 256 pp., around 200 col. pls, £12.99 pbk, ISBN 978 0 7090 8907 0

England possesses more than 100 thatched churches yet this is the first book devoted to the subject. Following two general chapters on 'Thatch and the Church' and 'Thatch and the Clergy', the bulk of the book comprises a county-by-county gazetteer in which each church has a thorough description – usually with good photographs – as well as useful instructions for visitors seeking these often remote buildings.

Peter Meadows (ed.), ***Ely Bishops and Diocese***. Boydell, 2010, 354 pp., 42 col. pls, 43 b&w pls, £29.95 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 84383 540 0

Until the nineteenth century Ely was one of the wealthiest dioceses in the country, and in every century there were notable appointments to the bishopric. Few of them were promoted elsewhere; for most it was the culmination of their career, and many made significant contributions, both to national life and to scholarship, before their preferment to Ely. In essays each spanning a century, experts in the field explore the lives and careers of these bishops, their families and their social contacts, as well as their role in the wider church in England. Other chapters consider such areas as the estates, the residences, the works of art as well as the library and archives of the diocese.

Sally Badham, ***Medieval Church and Churchyard Monuments***. Shire Library, 2011, 64 pp., many col. pls, £6.99, pbk, ISBN 978 0 74780 810 7

Churches contain much of the most interesting medieval sculpture in the country. Magnificent effigies, whether of cast copper-alloy, wood or stone, continue to provoke awe and wonder, evoking images of a glamorous age of chivalry. Yet in their intended setting these major works of art are often little known to non-specialists. This latest edition to the

Shire collection is a commendable publication, lavishly illustrated and clearly written, a rich source of information for anyone interested not only in church history, but in costume, heraldry, sculpture and genealogy.

Bill Forster, ***Ripon Cathedral: its History and Architecture***. Privately printed, 2010, 200 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £10.00 pbk, ISBN 978 0 9531979 0 3

Among the least known of the English cathedrals, Ripon has an impressive history and includes a crypt dating back to c.670. It is modest in scale when compared to other cathedrals yet it has a building history sufficiently complicated to stimulate the enthusiast, and a visual attractiveness to appeal to the more casual visitor. Forster's book provides a comprehensive account of the building's history and architecture, all set in the wider context of national developments.

Brian Doolan, ***The Pugins and the Hardmans***. Archdiocese of Birmingham, 2004, 34 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £5.00, pbk, ISBN 1 871269 22 9

This booklet tells the remarkable story of two remarkable Catholic families and the contribution they made over several generations to the churches in the Midlands and beyond, as designers, craftsmen and devout and generous Catholics. Discussion includes architecture, metalwork, stained glass and vestments.

David and Susan Neave, ***Pevsner Architectural Guides: Hull***. Yale, 2010, x + 254pp., many col. pls, pbk £12.50, ISBN 978 0 300 14

An attractive and authoritative guide to Hull, expanded and corrected from the 1995 Pevsner, with much new material and many excellent photographs. About one half of the book is taken up with ten walks, encouraging the city to be explored on foot. Holy Trinity, which is the largest early medieval brick building in Britain, is given a useful ten page entry.

Historic Churches: the Conservation and Repair of Ecclesiastical Buildings (seventeenth annual edition), Cathedral Communications Ltd (High Street, Tisbury, Wiltshire, SP3 6HA; www.buildingconservation.com), 52pp, col. photographs, limp A4 pbk £5.95, ISBN 978 190091552 6

Published annually since 1994, one quarter of this useful volume is a directory of products and services, and the remainder consists of articles by experts in their fields. This issue has ten such articles, including two on the preservation of churches in the United States (revealing a quite different situation from that in UK), a piece on the Arts and Crafts architect John Coates Carter, an article on the digital modelling and representation of church interiors, and a discussion of the story of stained glass following the Reformation.

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 often 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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Above is an early photo of the east end of the church of the Holy Spirit, Harlescott, Shrewsbury, built by Herbert Luck North in 1934–6. This issue of *Ecclesiology Today* includes an article on North's churches. The front cover shows the archangel Michael on the recently restored reredos at St Michael, Cambridge, designed by George Gilbert Scott Jnr, and discussed in this volume.

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