

ECCLESIOLOGY TODAY



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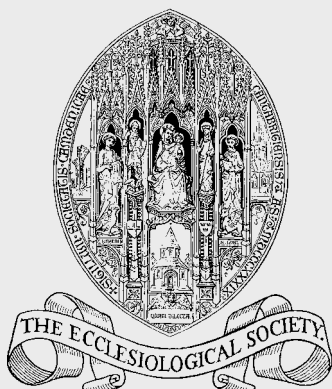
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Cover image: The west end of All Saints', Cambridge; wall decorations by F. R. Leach. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)



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Editor's letter

Dear Fellow Member,

welcome to the fifty-third edition of *Ecclesiology Today*.

The arts and crafts of church furnishing and decoration take centre stage in this edition. In our first article, Robert Halliday describes the work of one distinguished family of makers, the Leach family of Cambridge, whose work fed the Victorian appetite for colourful church interiors, in that city and further afield. (Readers wanting to know more about the background to the Victorian passion for colour can look back to James Bettley's article on the subject in *ET* 45, which like most back numbers of the journal is available on our website.)

Meanwhile, Michael Statham examines the use of a single material – alabaster from Penarth in South Wales – to create rich interior fittings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which remain a distinctive feature of the local churches to this day. Churches may have become plainer in the twentieth century, but, as Robert Drake shows in his overview of the career of architect J. Harold Gibbons, artists and craftsmen still had an important part to play in providing an architectural and spiritual focus to church interiors.

In our last article, M. Patrick Graham introduces us to the Revd Gordon Taylor Collection of church guides, a resource for the study of British churches which resides in the unlikely surroundings of Atlanta, Georgia, in the USA. Could this collection of over 10,000 guides be the largest in the world? I would be interested to learn of any other collections that can rival it.

To round off this edition, Christopher Webster has assembled a bumper crop of book reviews, which take us from Constantinople to St Davids and from the fourth century to the twenty-first. The range and quality of books reviewed here shows, happily, how the practice of ecclesiology is flourishing. Long may it continue to do so!

Nick Chapple
editor@ecclsoc.org

F. R. Leach and the Leach family, Cambridge artist-craftsmen

Robert Halliday

THE LEACH FAMILY OF CAMBRIDGE are representatives of the little-known and under-appreciated class of Victorian artist-craftsmen who contributed immensely to the ecclesiastical arts of their times. Frederick Richard Leach (1837–1904) founded an art-workman firm which made its mark on churches across Britain, as well as universities, public buildings and the mansions of the wealthy, most notably in his native city. Decoration is an ephemeral art, so inevitably much of this work has been lost, but enough is known about Leach to mark him out as a significant figure, who worked with William Morris, G. F. Bodley and C. E. Kempe, and had some prestigious clients.

I became acquainted with F. R. Leach in 2000, when I obtained the post of custodian of All Saints' church in Cambridge (Fig. 1), an unaltered High Victorian church, which he and his family firm decorated. Few books give Leach much coverage, but I found some illuminating observations in Duncan Robinson and Stephen Wildman's *Morris and Company in Cambridge* (1980), and

Robert Halliday is a native East Anglian and worked for the Churches Conservation Trust in Cambridge for several years. In retirement he has been able to pursue ecclesiological research and a new-found passion for horses.

Fig. 1: All Saints', Cambridge, one of the finest examples of the work of F. R. Leach. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)



Margaret Stavridi's *Master of Glass: Charles Eamer Kempe, 1837–1907* (1988). While I was researching this article Michael Hall threw new light on Leach in his masterful biography, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (2014). Some archival material is also accessible to researchers: the William Morris Museum at Walthamstow in London holds correspondence between Leach and his clients, and there are company records in the Museum of Cambridge.

Another valuable source of information was the late Harold Lister, a retired craftsman living in the Leach family's former home and workplace in City Road, Cambridge, who had known F. R. Leach's grandson, Francis. Most significantly, I had the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of F. R. Leach's great-grandson, Frederick ('Ric') Leach, who possesses a large collection of family papers, and who provided invaluable genealogical material and family traditions. These provided me with a rare opportunity to illuminate the subject of Victorian architectural art by looking at one artist-craftsman's career, and the history of the firm he established. I hope future researchers will discover more.

The Leach family in Cambridge

While the Leach family had lived in Cambridge from at least 1675, their history as artists and craftsmen starts with Richard Hopkins Leach (1794–1851). Family papers say he was apprenticed to 'Mr Sowerby', possibly James Sowerby, the botanical illustrator. Aged twenty, Richard took a three-year walk to Cornwall and back, financing himself by painting signs for inns he passed on his travels. Returning to Cambridge he started business as a painter and artist.¹ In 1820 he married Isabella McLean. Eight of their twelve children died before reaching the age of thirteen, but those who reached maturity included Barnett (1823–80), Frederick Richard (their ninth child, born in 1837) and John (1839–1908), all of whom were to follow the family trade. The 1841 census listed Richard as a painter, living in Maids Causeway, a highway on the east side of Cambridge. Ten years later the census shows him at the same premises, as a 'master house painter'; Barnett, then aged 27 was also a painter, while Frederick and John, aged 14 and 11 respectively were still at school.

Ric Leach possesses F. R. Leach's notebook diary, *Retrospective Remarks*, maintained between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. This shows that he enjoyed long walks, drawing and angling. At fourteen he visited Waltham Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, sketching architectural details. Aged seventeen, he resolved to dedicate his life to and use his talents for

God, leading him to adhere to what would now be labelled Low Church Anglicanism.

Richard Leach died on 31 August 1851, aged 56, at which point the family business passed to his eldest son Barnett. The 1861 census shows the Leach family still living in Maids Causeway; Richard's widow, Isabella, was head of the household and Barnett and Frederick were house painters. John was apprenticed to Rattee and Kett, the well-known Cambridge building firm, before moving to Lichfield, where he was employed by the artist-craftsman company of Robert Bridgeman & Sons, working at Lichfield Cathedral and elsewhere. Bridgeman was a native of Burwell, a Cambridgeshire village, and learned his trade in Cambridge, so their professional relationship probably originated in local connections.

F. R. Leach & Sons, Art Workmen

On 31 May 1862 Leach bought 35, 36 and 37 City Road in Cambridge, with loans from his brother John and a friend, Patrick Beales Seekings. Part of the property had been a public house called *The Flower Pot*, which he made his home. In the other part he started business as a painter, decorator and artist-craftsman (Figs 2 and 3). He married Mary Ann Goodenough on 21 January 1864 and their son, Barnett McLean (1864–1949) was born later that year. They had three other sons who grew to adulthood, all of whom would play a part in the family business: Frederick McLean (Frederick II) (1869–1948), Walter Perry (1870–1934) and Charles (1875–1961).

A cashbook which Leach kept until 1867 (now in the Museum of Cambridge) shows that the business soon became



Fig. 2: Leach's house and studio in City Road, Cambridge, in 2002. It was demolished in 2014. (Photo: Robert Halliday)



Fig. 3: Advice to visitors at the door of the studio: ring the bell loudly and walk in like a mouse. (Photo: Robert Halliday)



Fig. 4 : The Leach showroom in central Cambridge as it is today. (Photo:Trevor Cooper)

popular, perhaps because Leach was already a well-established name in Cambridge. He undertook many routine painting-and-decorating contracts in private houses, shops and business premises which provided a constant source of trade and income, ensuring the firm's longevity and success, even if such contracts were probably of limited artistic significance. Leach's first work on a church interior was at St Matthew's, a small church being built on the east side of Cambridge, although it was a straightforward painting job, rather than an artistic commission.

As business expanded Leach established a showroom in St Mary's Passage, opposite Great St Mary's Church, to which he added a prominent pargetted front and elaborate hanging metal shop sign to provide a suitably artistic façade (Fig. 4). With his brother John he devised a woodblock trademark comprising three interlocking circles showing a man digging the soil, tending his crop and reaping the harvest of his labours (Fig. 5).

Ric Leach possesses a series of annual notebooks that F. R. Leach kept from 1866. Rather roughly drawn up, these may have been written as *aides memoire* rather than a coherent account of business progress. Nevertheless they give details of some of his projects and occasional glimpses into his personal life. By then his expertise and ability was being sought nationally, as he began to be associated with Charles Eamer Kempe, George Frederick Bodley and William Morris. Though these three men are all better known, it could be argued that Leach played a significant and underestimated role in their artistic and professional development.



Fig. 5: Detail of a nineteenth-century tradecard, showing the company's tripartite emblem.



Fig. 6: St John's, Tue Brook. The painted decoration was carried out by a number of artists including F. R. Leach. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

Leach's notebook for 1866 records a payment from Kempe of £200, for work at St John's church in Tue Brook in Liverpool, being built and decorated as an 'Anglo-Catholic' church to Bodley's plans (Fig. 6). In the same year Bodley and Morris were commissioned to restore the nave and transept roofs of Jesus College Chapel in Cambridge; Leach was entrusted with executing parts of the design, a three-year assignment. When the Dean of the college complained of Morris's lack of direct involvement, Bodley replied that it was impractical for Morris to be personally involved in every detail of every contract:

I would say that Morris finds Leach a very capable and able executant. The design and the exact shades of the colours are all done according to the directions given to him. He is doing it quite as well as Morris's own men would.²

Bodley suggested decorating the chapel walls with floral designs and although the college authorities disagreed, a trial panel was painted by Leach on the north nave wall (which was uncovered during conservation work in 2004 (Fig. 7)).³



Fig. 7: A trial panel of decoration in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

During 1867 Leach explored southern England with Kempe, followed by a trip to Gloucestershire in 1868, when Kempe entrusted him with restoring stained glass in Cirencester church.⁴ When Kempe decided to open a stained glass studio he charged Leach with finding a kiln of the correct specifications and seeing to its installation and early operations. While Kempe possessed obvious artistic ability, he required Leach's skills to implement the technical side of stained glass manufacture. Kempe's letter to Leach on 23 October 1868 is of considerable importance for understanding the Kempe Studio's early history:

Since my return home I have been thinking that I am only losing time in looking to strangers for the execution of my glasswork; and am eager to start some project whereby it may be carried on under my own eye. I have resolved to make a beginning at once, and look to you to help me. I feel pretty sure that with an effort we may arrive at producing work, more in harmony with my own wishes, without seeking help of those whose methods I believe to be wrong. I am also somewhat indisposed to recommend any of the young hands whom we hope to bring forward to learn the business elsewhere, when I believe we may arrive at better results by our own experience. It will be very important to me to know if you can see your way to starting work at once and I shall be anxious to see you did come to the same decision on the earliest day you can name. A hired room and the construction of a kiln in a cellar must be our first step, and that as near to me in this neighbourhood as may be.⁵

Albeit inadvertently, Leach also supplied the Kempe Studio with one of its most important craftsmen, Alfred Edward Tombleson. Born at Houghton in Huntingdonshire, Tombleson was apprenticed to the Leach firm in 1868. His skills so impressed Kempe that he effectively 'poached' him from Leach. Tombleson became the Kempe studio's leading draughtsman, the only



Fig. 8: The chancel roof of St Botolph's, Cambridge. (Reproduced by kind permission of the David Parr House, copyright Hannah Boatfield)

member apart from Kempe allowed to add his signature (A.E.T.) to finished windows.⁶

Faith and work

Leach's regular place of worship in Cambridge was Christ Church on Newmarket Road, the nearest church to Maid's Causeway and City Road. Built at the start of Victoria's reign, this was a decidedly Low Church establishment. (Ambrose Poynter, the architect of the church, was subjected to a controversial attack in the first issue of *The Ecclesiologist*.)⁷ Yet Leach seems to have had no difficulties in collaborating with the wholly High Church Bodley and Kempe, evidently applying the maxim 'to work is to pray'. Decorating ceilings of Cambridge churches *gratis* became an expression of his Christian values and desire to serve God. Between 1869 and 1872 he decorated the roofs of St Andrew the Less (also known as 'The Abbey Church') and St Botolph's (Fig. 8). The *Cambridge Chronicle* noted his contribution (in 1870) to All Saints':

Great praise must be given to Mr. F. R. Leach, our fellow-townsmen, who is carrying out these works, for it is no small credit these days to be able to work out such details in free hand drawing ... the whole of the nave roof having been decorated by Mr. Leach at his own cost.⁸



Fig. 9: The faded remains of Leach's decoration on the nave roof of St Michael's, Cambridge. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)



*Fig. 10: St Clement's, Cambridge showing Leach's rood beam and, beyond, his painting on the east wall.
(Copyright Ken Barley)*



Fig. 11: Detail of the chancel east wall, St Clement's, Cambridge. (Copyright Ken Barley)

At St Michael's, where he also glazed the west windows, the vicar expressed gratitude: 'the principal gift is that of Mr. Leach, who has done the whole work of the decoration of the roof and walls of the chancel without charge.' (Fig. 9)⁹

Leach's most impressive ecclesiastical project in Cambridge was the interior of St Clement's, the first church in the city to adopt full-blown Anglo-Catholic ceremonial. Several campaigns between 1866 and 1883 were his original work (unlike the many commissions where he executed the designs of an architect or another craftsman). He designed and made the rood beam, inscribed 'Via Crucis, Via Lucis' (Fig. 10), and painted the entire interior with simple patterns on columns and architectural details, and saints and religious figures on the walls. Most of this has now been lost, but one important survival, on the chancel east wall, shows a spectacular representation of 22 figures from the New Testament and the Middle Ages paying honour to Jesus as the divine head and great high priest of the church (Fig. 11). (It includes Leach himself, at bottom left, as Francis of Assisi).¹⁰

A growing business

The 1871 census described Leach as 'painter, church ornament and glass painting master, employing twelve men and two boys';

Fig. 12: The reredos at St Michael's, Cambridge. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)



his brother Barnett, described as a ‘master painter’, lived next door in City Road. His 1872 notebook shows that the workforce had increased to fifteen employees. This was a busy and productive year. He received £318/11s/4d for work at Castle Howard in Yorkshire with Wyndham Hope Hughes, another Kempe associate (who also worked at All Saints’, Cambridge). A smaller Cambridgeshire commission was three stained glass windows in the newly-built chancel of Ashley Church.

A new client in 1872 was George Gilbert Scott Jr., who was reordering the chancel of St Michael's, Cambridge. His design for a new reredos, which incorporated sculpted figures from an earlier altarpiece in the church, was built by Rattee and Kett and painted by Leach (Figs 12 and 13). His collaboration with Kempe continued at the Adelphi in London and Bodley's new church of



Fig. 13: Detail of the reredos at St Michael's, Cambridge. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

St Michael's in Folkestone (demolished in 1953, but photographs show Leach stencilling on the walls).¹¹ He may have fallen out with Kempe, however, at Folkestone. Details are only hinted at, but they disagreed over work by a man called Beavor, who appeared on Leach's wages list. It is unclear if this was ever resolved, but there is no further record of work with Kempe.¹²

Leach's 1873 notebooks record two payments from Bodley: £109/14s/9d for St Augustine's, Pendlebury, near Manchester, and £72/13s/-d for the chapel of the public school at Marlborough, Wiltshire. The year also marked the start of a decade's employment on Cavendish College (an unsuccessful experiment in a student hostel affiliated to Cambridge University,



Fig. 14: St Salvador's, Dundee, looking east. Wall and ceiling decoration by Leach. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

the buildings later became Homerton College). Visiting Ely Cathedral, he met Thomas Gambier Parry (1816–88), the artist, art collector and supporter of the Cambridge Camden Society, who was at that time decorating the Octagon. Leach found him ‘conceited and braggish’.

Next year, the Bodley partnership continued with church restorations at Edwardstone, Suffolk, and Kings Stanley, Gloucestershire, and the new churches of Holy Angels’, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, and St Salvador’s, Dundee (Figs 14–15), where he produced elaborate roof paintings. (He returned to St Salvador’s in 1878–79 to adorn the walls.)¹³ In 1875 Leach assisted Bodley’s redecoration of the Hall of Queen’s College,



Fig. 15: The nave of St Salvador's, Dundee, looking west. Wall and ceiling decoration by Leach. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)



Fig. 16: East end of the south aisle, All Saints', Cambridge. (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

Cambridge, receiving £345/18s/2d for 885 gilded lead stars on the roof. (This amazing chamber was re-painted in 1967, when the colour scheme was greatly emboldened.)¹⁴ During the same year he also helped William Morris to decorate the Oxford Union.¹⁵ In 1876 Leach decorated St Giles' church, Cambridge, which had recently been rebuilt by T. H. and F. Healey of Bradford.¹⁶ Artistic sensibilities are hinted at when he worked at Hampden House for the Earl of Buckinghamshire, accepting ten pictures worth £40/5s/-d, rather than money, in payment.

In 1878 Leach returned to Bodley's All Saints', Cambridge, to provide extensive wall paintings in the form of textile patterns (Figs 16–18). Sometimes attributed to William Morris, Leach's notebooks and the church records show they were envisioned and designed by Leach, and executed by his studio. The vestry gave 'the thanks of this meeting to Mr Leach for his liberality in



Fig. 17 (top): Detail of decoration in the nave, All Saints', Cambridge (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

Fig. 18 (bottom): Detail of decoration in the nave, All Saints', Cambridge (Photo: Geoff Brandwood)

bestowing time and labour on the completion of the interior decoration of the church.’¹⁷ (When The Wall Paintings Workshop conserved these in 2002, signatures of Leach craftsmen were found on the west wall in the uppermost section of the design.)

Leach’s notebooks become less informative after 1880, a year in which two important events occurred. His foreman, William Oliver Powell (1850–1903), moved to Lincoln to start an independent firm. It is not known why, but Bodley transferred his patronage to Powell, never working with the Leach studios again.¹⁸ On a more positive note, Leach commenced his most prestigious commission, decoration of the interior of St James’s Palace in London, causing him to open a temporary office in the capital. Regrettably, there are few records in his notebooks of what could have been a fascinating part of his professional life, and, since St James’s Palace is closed to the public, it is difficult to establish how much Leach work survives.

F. R. Leach’s later career

In 1881, after nearly twenty years in business, the company was bigger than ever, employing, according to that year’s census ‘28 men, two women and six boys’. The firm’s work was summed up as ‘painted decoration and stained glass and making furniture’. Yet there are recurring hints in the notebooks that his financial position was not entirely secure. In 1878, despite apparently having plenty of work he complained of financial problems and had a £150 overdraft. He wrote: ‘the difficulties in paying our way makes nonsense of either inability in the management of business affairs or else idleness in oneself. I often wish one had taken into some employment in which there had only been oneself to deal with’. In 1887 Leach hinted at more financial difficulties: his daughter Ada had married Harry Heffer, of the Cambridge bookselling company, and in April he borrowed £50 from the Heffers (paid back the next month). In 1900 Leach wrote ‘this year has been fairly busy for all branches of our trade, but I fear profit less from a financial side, but Our Father has granted all the family health and happiness’.

Leach’s output in the 1880s and 1890s continued to be significant. From 1882 he provided a set of stained glass windows, all of different designs, for All Saints’, Barrington, in Cambridgeshire (Figs 19 and 20). In 1884 he worked on St Cuthbert’s church in Everton, Merseyside and visited Carlisle, possibly working on St Cuthbert’s church. Over 1884 and 1885 he was employed at St Peter’s church in Cambridge, installing the

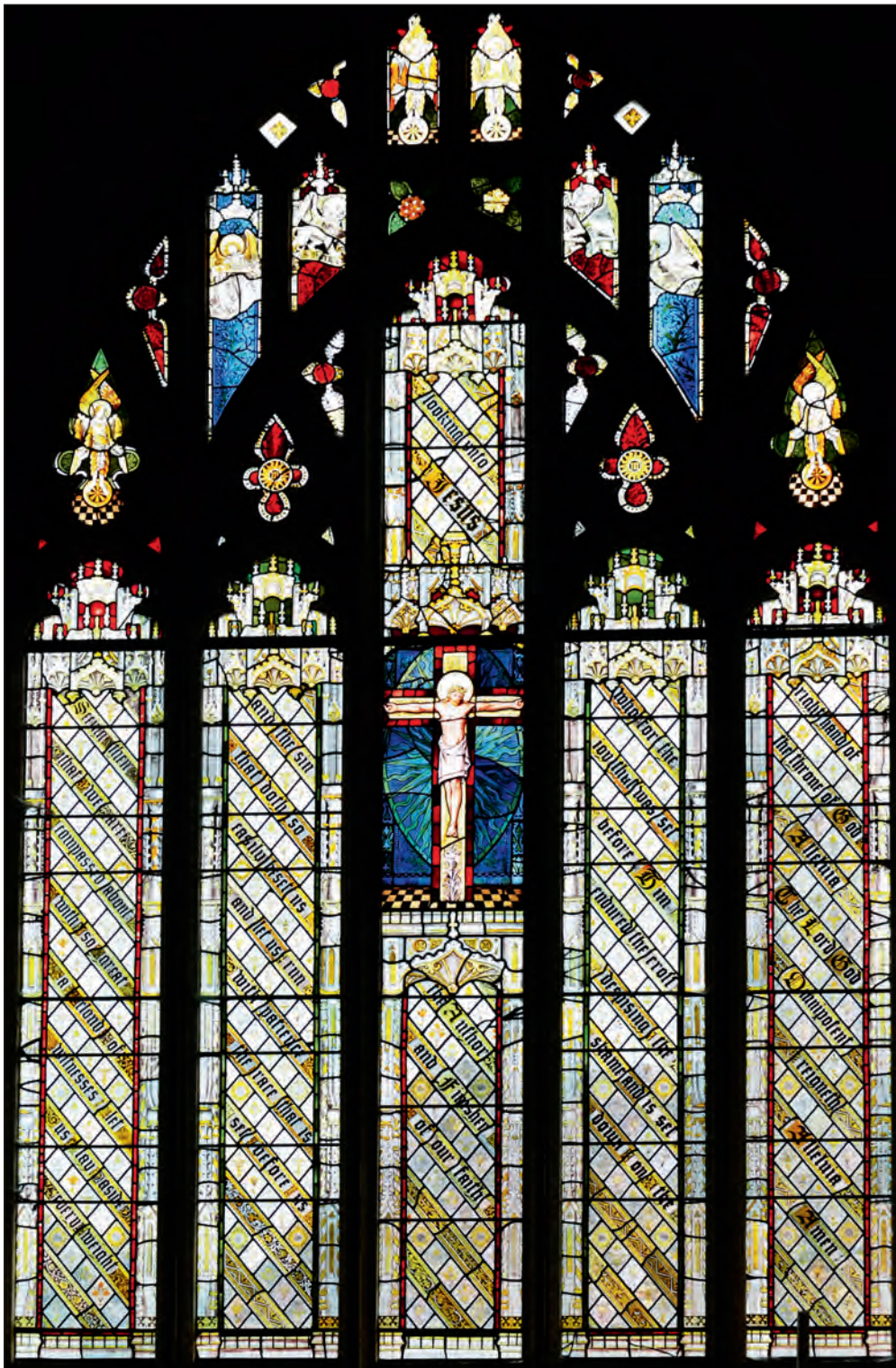


Fig. 19: The east window of All Saints', Barrington. The design of scripts in diagonal bands may be based on the medieval glass at Ockwells Manor, Berkshire. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)



Fig. 20: East window of the north aisle at All Saints', Barrington. The design is similar to Leach's west window at St Michael's, Cambridge, with the addition of the three figures. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

east window, unmistakably his studio's work (Figs 21 and 22). In 2003, when the Lincolnshire Stained Glass Studio was restoring the large and colourful east window of Christ Church, Cambridge (Fig. 23), Leach's place of worship, it was found to bear the name 'F. R. Leach' and the date 1885.¹⁹ Another prestige commission, extensive work on the interior of the Liberal Club, commenced in 1890.



Fig. 21: The east window of St Peter's, Cambridge. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

The 1891 census showed F R. Leach (Fig. 24) and family still resident in City Road. Barnett, was an 'artist in stained glass', Frederick (II) a 'cabinet maker', Walter a 'painter and draftsman' and Charles a 'scholar'. Two years later, despite past financial difficulties, Leach and his wife moved to 'St George's', a new house in De Freville Avenue, Chesterton, on the north side of Cambridge (Fig. 25). Next year his firm decorated the Cambridge Union Society dining room and the Combination Room at Trinity College.

F R. Leach died on 18 December 1904, aged 67. He was buried in the churchyard of his parish church, St Andrew's, Chesterton. Family tradition says he asked to be buried with small expense and Christian cheerfulness. His obituary in the *Cambridge Chronicle* of 23 December 1904 recorded:



Fig. 22: Detail of glass in the east window of St Peter's, Cambridge.
(Photo: Trevor Cooper)



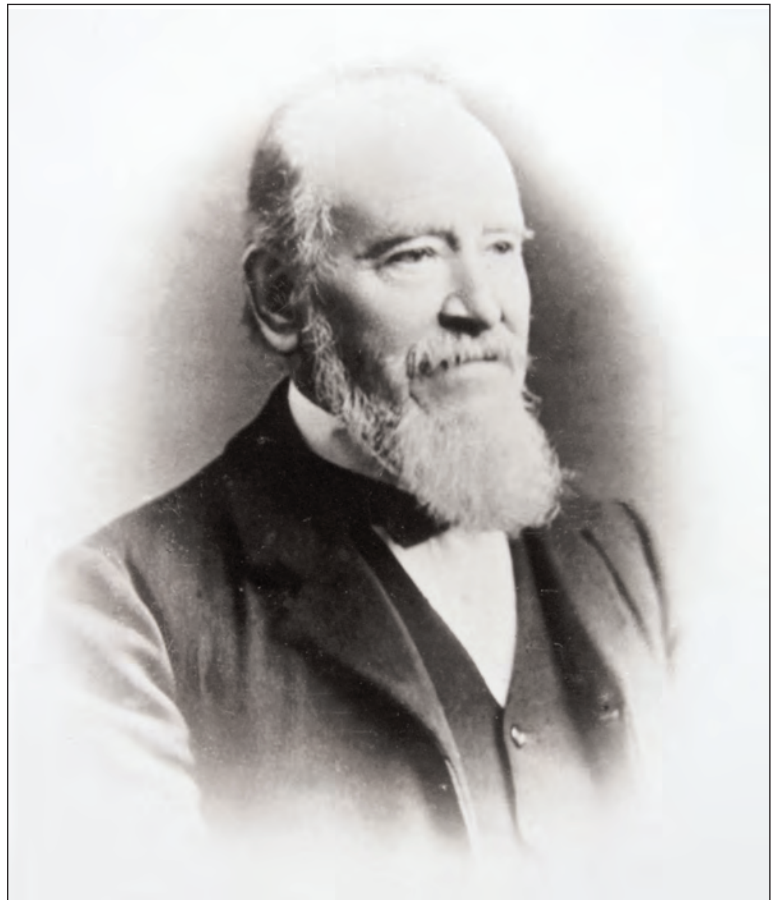
Fig. 23: The enormous east window of Christ Church, Cambridge. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

He was a highly respected tradesman, and though he took no very prominent part in public life he will be greatly missed. He leaves a widow, three daughters, one of whom is married, and four sons, one of whom, Mr. Charles, is at present abroad. He was a Churchman, and for some years was identified with Christ Church [in Cambridge].

It continued:

Mr. Leach was well known among Freemasons. Becoming a member of the Lodge of the 'Three Great Principles' No. 441, in December 1886, he was chosen to preside over the brethren in 1898, in which year he attained to Provincial rank, being appointed by Col. R. T. Caldwell as G. Supt. Works. He also took an active interest in R.A. Masonry, was M.E.Z. of Fidelity Chapter in 1903, and attained to the Provincial rank of G 2nd Asst. Soj.

This passage hints at the difficulties a biographer might have in tracing Leach's life, as his surviving personal and professional papers fail to mention freemasonry (apart from a late commission to work on the Cambridge Masonic Hall).



*Fig. 24: F. R. Leach in old age.
(Photo courtesy of Ric Leach)*

The next generation

Leach's youngest son, Charles, had emigrated to Canada but his other sons continued running the business in partnership. Barnett was regarded as the artist, Frederick as the practical craftsman, and Walter was company secretary. Frederick introduced discord by installing power-driven machinery (mortgaging his property to do so), an innovation his father had resisted, and to which his brothers objected.

Disaster occurred in the second decade of the twentieth century when the brothers worked on the Benson Building at Magdalen College in Cambridge. Potentially a prestige project, they greatly underestimated the cost and made considerable financial loss; it then transpired that they had lost money on other jobs. This caused considerable rancour between the brothers, Walter, as company secretary, being singled out for blame. The partnership could not survive and the *London Gazette* of 29 January 1916 reported the Leach Company's voluntary liquidation. Family tradition says by then the brothers were hardly on speaking terms.

Fig. 25: 'St George's', F. R. Leach's home from 1893.

(Photo: Robert Halliday)





Fig. 26: The rood carved by Barnett McLean Leach in the church of Our Lady and the English Martyrs, Cambridge. (Reproduced by kind permission of the David Parr House, copyright Hannah Boatfield)

Although too old for conscription in the First World War, Leach's second son Frederick entered the armed forces, then became involved in aeroplane manufacture and after the war became a builder. His third son, Walter, opened an arts and crafts shop at 18 King's Parade in Cambridge (with a workshop in Caroline Place, off East Road) which his son, John, continued to run until 1962. The eldest son, Barnett, who had converted to Roman Catholicism, stayed in City Road, producing ecclesiastical art and design, including fittings for Our Lady and the English Martyrs, Cambridge's largest Roman Catholic church (Fig. 26). His son, Francis, was also a Roman Catholic and worked for many churches of that denomination. Francis regarded his best work as the stained glass in the chapel of St Edmund's College in Cambridge (Fig. 27) (founded for Roman Catholic students). Francis Leach's death in 1962, which coincided with John Leach's retirement, marked the end of the family's role as ecclesiastical artists.²⁰

The Leach family's legacy

F. R. Leach may not have achieved the fame of contemporaries such as Kempe and Morris, partly because he possessed far smaller financial resources, and often worked at the behest of other architects and craftsmen. Yet he possessed considerable powers of representation and imagination which he used in the service of his Christian beliefs. Although a distinctive Leach style would be hard to identify, one obvious sign of his work is the metal stars he used to decorate ceilings and woodwork; these still illuminate many churches.



Fig. 27: Glass by Francis Leach in St Edmund's College chapel, Cambridge. (Photo: Robert Halliday)

In 2014 historian and curator Tamsin Wimhurst organised a comprehensive exhibition of the Leach family's work in the Museum of Cambridge, assisted by historian Shelley Lockwood. It was a sad irony that, as the project was reaching fruition, the family's home and workplace in City Road was subjected to wholesale re-development. Tamsin was at least able to record the studio before demolition and salvage some material from the premises. Artefacts connected with the Leach family are now stored at the Museum of Cambridge for further study.

Tamsin Wimhurst has also prepared a 'Leach Trail' around Cambridge, following some of the family's achievements in their home city. In addition to work in several churches (see gazetteer below), one brilliant product of the company survives in the city and has recently become public. Over the course of forty years, David Parr, an employee of three generations of the Leach family, decorated his own Victorian terraced house in the florid style used in the company's ecclesiastical work (Fig. 28). This remarkable house has been preserved and is now used as a centre for the study of the Leach family, where volunteers are recording and studying material.²¹ While Victorian architects, and some of their patrons, are widely celebrated, the craftsmen who realised their designs and dreams are largely forgotten. Happily, in the case of Frederick Richard Leach, his legacy lives on.

Fig. 28: The Front Room of the David Parr House, Cambridge. (Reproduced by kind permission of the David Parr House, copyright Howard Rice)



Postscript:

The congregation of St Clement's Church in Cambridge are currently hoping to initiate the conservation of Leach's painting on the east wall and would be grateful for any support or interest. Contact: stclements.cambridge@gmail.com.

Gazetteer of work by the Leach family

Below is a list of places where work that is identifiably by the Leach family can be found. It excludes basic painting-and-decorating jobs. I have visited locations in Cambridge and Suffolk, and searched the latest editions of Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series for references. If readers of *Ecclesiology Today* can provide other examples I will be glad to hear from them. Contact: roberthalliday2011@gmail.com.

Unfortunately, not all of the churches on this list are easily, if at all, accessible and I would urge readers to contact the churches in advance to check on access arrangements if planning a visit.

BEDFORDSHIRE**Arlesey**

St Peter's Church: west window (1885).

CAMBRIDGESHIRE:**Ashley**

St Mary's Church: three windows in the apse of the chancel (1872).

Barrington

All Saints' Church: four stained glass windows (1882 onwards).

Barton

St Peter's Church: three windows by the Leach firm (1907 onwards) (Fig 29).

Cambridge

All Saints' Church, Jesus Lane: stencil design on the walls, roof decoration, two windows in the south aisle (1870–79).

Christ Church, Newmarket Road: east window (1885).

Jesus College: chapel: roof decorations, a patch of wall painting on north nave wall (1866–69).

Our Lady and English the Martyrs Roman Catholic Church, Hills Road: rood beam by Barnett Leach (1914).²²

Queen's College: assisted with the college hall (1861–74).

St Barnabas's Church, Mill Road: mural decorations in chancel show typical Leach workmanship, four windows by Barnett Leach (1919).

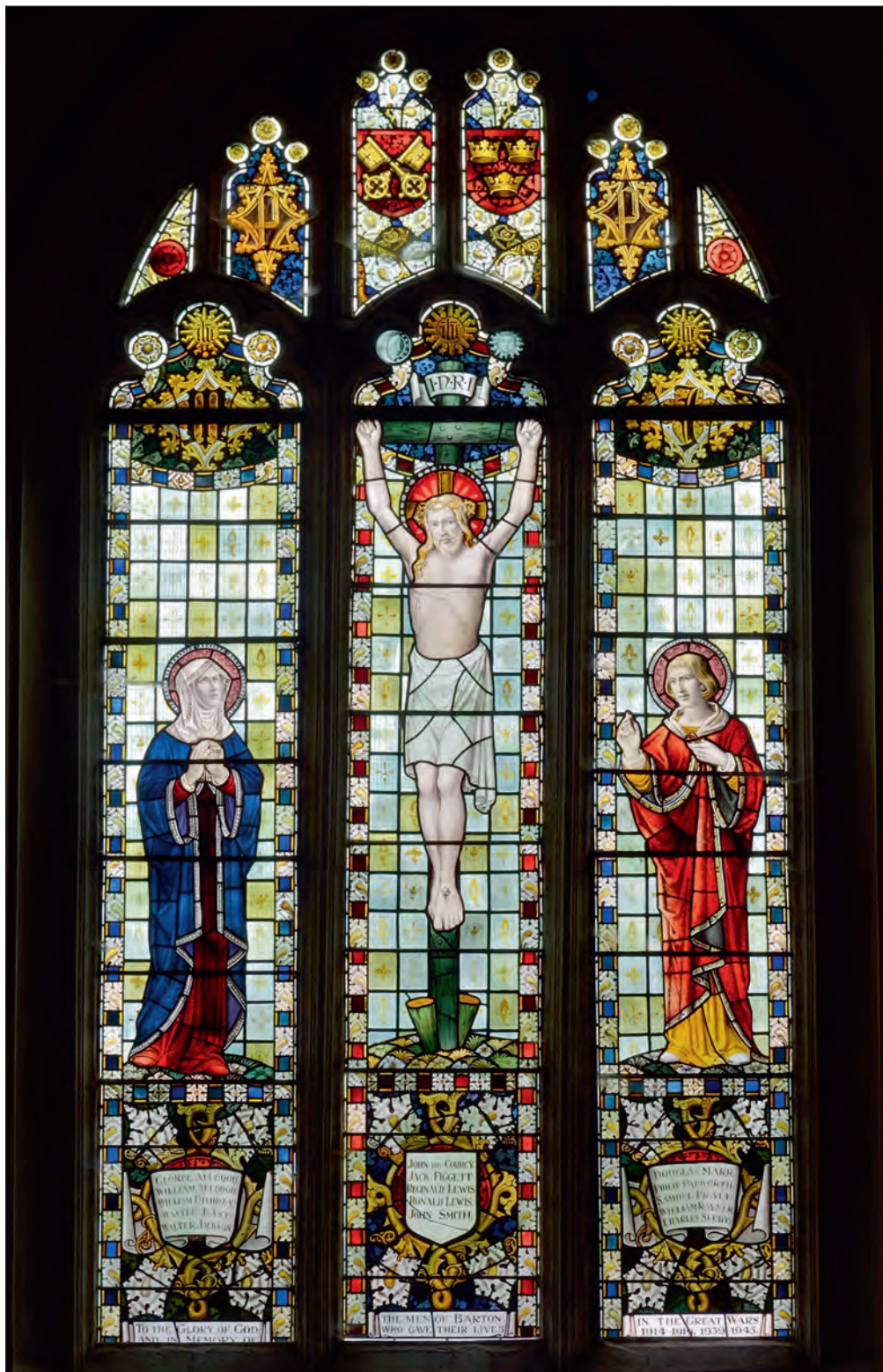


Fig. 29: The war memorial window in St Peter's, Barton, c. 1920. (Photo: Trevor Cooper)

St Botolph's Church, Trumpington Street: chancel roof decoration (1872–73).

St Clement's Church, Magdalene Street: mural on east wall, rood beam (1872).

St Edward, King and Martyr Church, Peas Hill: roof decoration.²³

St Mark's Church, Barton Road: stained glass windows in apse, Barnett and Francis Leach, (1926).

St Michael's Church, Trinity Street: ceiling decoration and west window. Reredos painted by F. R. Leach (1872–73).

St Peter's Church, Castle Street: east window. No record of its manufacture, but unmistakably F. R. Leach (1884–85).

St Edmund's College, Mount Pleasant: stained glass and roof decoration in the chapel, Francis Leach (mid-twentieth century).

Chesterton

St Andrew's Church: south aisle window (1880).

Ely

St Mary's Church: nave ceiling.

Gorefield

St Paul's Church: chancel decorations (1903).

Longstanton

All Saints' Church: chancel windows (1912 and 1917).

Wilburton

St Peter's Church: north nave windows (1921).

ESSEX

Little Dunmow

St Mary's Church (Priory Church): war memorial window, Walter Leach (1920).

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

King's Stanley

St George's Church: chancel roof decoration (1876).

LINCOLNSHIRE

Lincoln

St Mary le Wigford Church: south aisle windows (1877–78).

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Plumtree

St Mary's Church: stencilling on roof (c.1873–74).

SUFFOLK

Edwardstone

St Marys Church: chancel roof and organ case decoration (1872).

Framlingham

St Michael's Church: mural decorations, chancel (1908).

SCOTLAND

Dundee

St Salvador's Church: wall and roof decoration (1874–78).

Notes

- 1 Inn signs he painted are displayed in the Museum of Cambridge. David Hopkin, *The Inn Signs of Richard Hopkins Leach* (Museum of Cambridge) gives details of his life and work.
- 2 Duncan Robinson and Stephen Wildman, *Morris and Company in Cambridge*, Cambridge University Press and the Fitzwilliam Museum, 1980, entry 53, pages 37–9.
- 3 Michael Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America*, Yale, 2014, 136–141.
- 4 Leach Papers, William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, London, J.601.
- 5 Leach Papers, Wm Morris Gall, J.602.
- 6 Margaret Stavridi, *Master of Glass, Charles Eamer Kempe and the Work of his Firm in Stained Glass and Church Decoration*, John Taylor Book Ventures for the Kempe Society, 1988, 29, 82, 86, 156; Hall, 143, 157–9, 192–3.
- 7 James Floyd White, *The Cambridge Movement, the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge University Press, 1962, 117–121.
- 8 Stephen Humphrey, *The Victorian Rebuilding of All Saints' Church, Cambridge*, Ecclesiological Society, 1980, 25; Robinson and Wildman, entry 44, p. 31.
- 9 Andreas Loewe, 'Constituting angels and mortals in a wonderful order', George Gilbert Scott Junior's sanctuary in St Michael's church, Cambridge', *Ecclesiology Today* 44, July 2011, 31, 35, 39, 43–4.
- 10 Robinson and Wildman, entry 34, p. 25.
- 11 Hall, 190, 416.
- 12 Leach Papers, Wm Morris Gall, J.605; Hall, 158, suggests that Kempe felt resentment from 1868 when Bodley started a partnership with Thomas Garner (1839–1906) after which Bodley passed over Kempe for church contracts.
- 13 Leach Papers, Wm Morris Gall, J.598; Hall, 136.
- 14 Hall, 130–2.
- 15 Leach Papers, Wm Morris Gall, J.596.
- 16 Leach Papers, Wm Morris Gall, J.850.
- 17 Humphrey, 25–7; Hall, 148–9.
- 18 Hall, 270–1.
- 19 I am grateful to the churchwarden of Christ Church, Charles Hall, for providing this information.
- 20 *Cambridge Daily News* 19 April 1962.
- 21 For more information on the David Parr House in Cambridge and activities there see the website: www.davidparrhouse.org.
- 22 Nicholas Rogers, *Catholics in Cambridge*, Gracewing Press, Leominster, 2003, 126–7.
- 23 Thomas Dinham Atkinson, *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, Macmillan, 1897, 141.

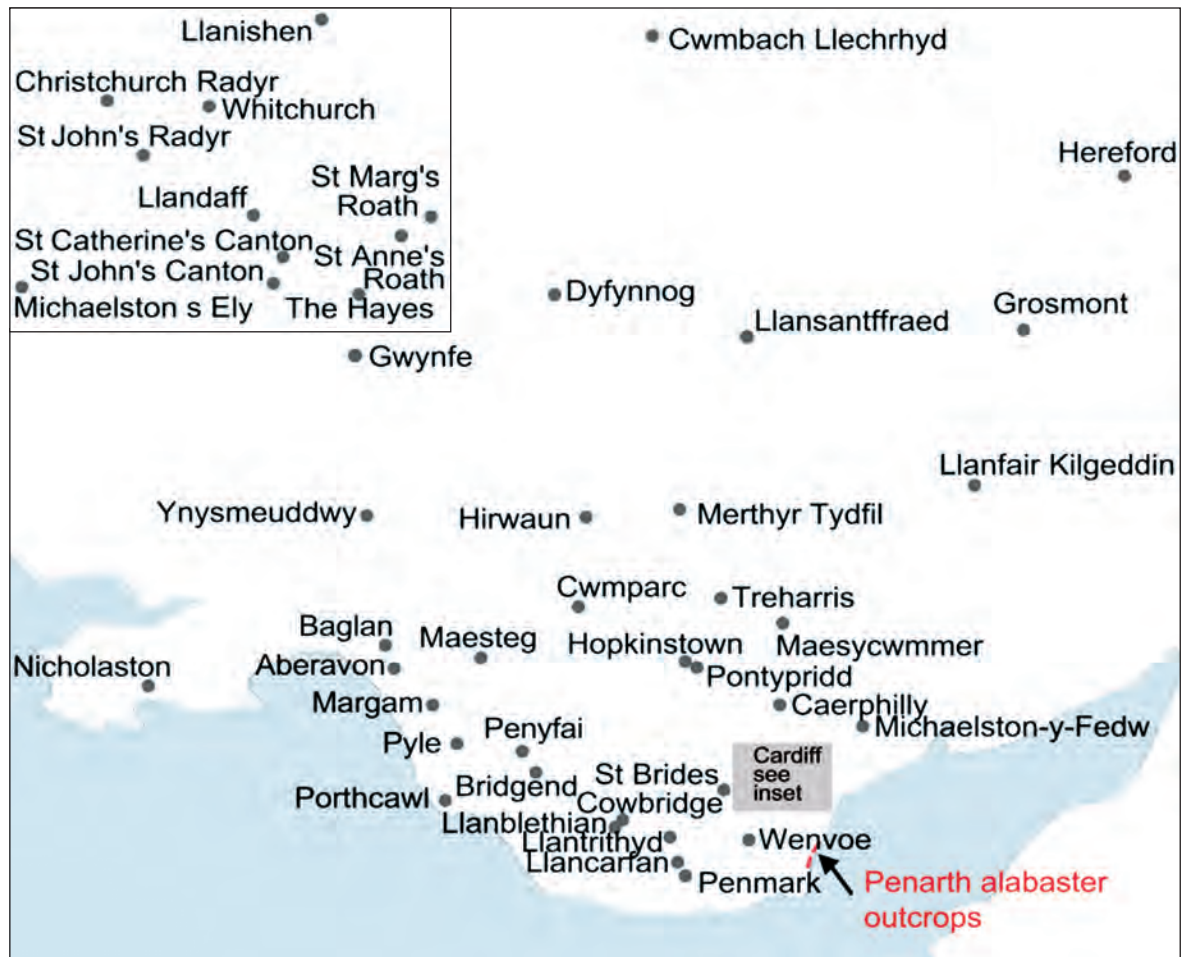
In search of Penarth alabaster

Michael Statham

I HAVE LONG BEEN INTERESTED IN MINING, having helped to put together a Review of Mining Instability for the Department of the Environment, which gave me an insight into historical mineral exploitation in Great Britain. After retirement I had time to look in more detail at some of the historical mine sites in my local area of South Wales (Fig. 1). One which intrigued me was a reference to 'old level for gypsum' in the sea cliffs between Lavernock and Penarth, near Cardiff.¹ Gypsum from this locality is fine grained, in which form it is more generally referred to as *alabaster*, a stone that is easy to carve and takes a fine polish, making it ideal for both sculpture and decorative stonework, though being slightly soluble in water it is only suitable for internal use.

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Fig. 1: Locations of churches in South Wales containing Penarth alabaster.



Alabaster has been widely used in churches across Britain since the Middle Ages. The main centres of production were around Chellaston near Derby, and Fauld, near Tutbury in Staffordshire, but it has been exploited at a few other localities in the UK including Ledsham in Yorkshire during the late Medieval period, whilst Firman established that alabaster from Watchet in Somerset was widely used in south-west England during the seventeenth-century,² and also suggested that the source of alabaster in some of his finds might actually have been Penarth.³ John Newman noted a few seventeenth-century alabaster memorials in South Wales churches, but he was unaware of the source of the stone, stating that Penarth alabaster (PA) was not exploited until the nineteenth century.⁴ Horák and Kerbey undertook some preliminary research into PA in 2004 which was augmented by my published work on the subject in 2013.⁵ Since then, research has continued apace. This article summarises what is known about the use of PA in churches. It draws particularly on the records of the building and monumental masonry firm, W. Clarke of Llandaff.

Early history

PA is known to have been exploited since the seventeenth century, and that there was once a thriving trade in this material is beyond question. The earliest reference so far found is related in the travel journal of Sir William Brereton dated 25 July 1635: 'From Sillie to the Holmes about two leagues; to the north of these Pennart Point, where alabaster is digged;...' ⁶ Seventeenth-century examples of sculptural use of PA can be found in the tombs and memorials in Margam Abbey church, memorials in the churches of Holy Cross, Cowbridge, St Mary's, Wenvoe, St Bridget's, St Brides-super-Ely, St Michael's, Michaelston-super-Ely (Fig. 2), St Mary's, Penmark (two examples) and St Cadoc's, Llanccarfan, together with two armorials in St Iltyd's, Llantrithyd. A seventeenth-century memorial in St Michael's, Michaelston-y-Fedw, is thought to be of Watchet alabaster with late nineteenth-century repairs in PA.

Undoubtedly the principal use in this period, however, was for making plaster. A letter dated 1736 from Dr John Harris, Bishop of Llandaff, describes some restoration works that he had undertaken at the cathedral: 'as we have a quarry of alabaster near the place, with other very good materials for stucco, we have employed a skilful plasterer to adorn the inside in such a manner as decency requires...' ⁷ The Cardiff Council Proceedings of 1762 (quoted in an article in the *Cardiff Times* in 1880) contained a list of goods that were not to be left on the quayside for more than twenty-four hours on pain of a penalty of one shilling; the list included alabaster, indicating that it was regularly exported from



Fig. 2: Wall monument of 1658 in the former church of St Michael, Michaelston-super-Ely. It commemorates Richard Jones, who died at the age of 107, and his son John.

Cardiff in the eighteenth century. In 1815 Davies noted the trade, mentioning that ‘Some of this alabaster is the finest yet discovered in Britain being scarcely inferior in beautiful whiteness and polish to the statuary marble of Carrara[r] *[sic]* in Italy’.⁸ The trade continued to be mentioned in local directories up to 1871.

From 1850 to the 1930s

With the rise of the South Wales coal industry from the 1850s there was an explosion of building throughout the area, including many churches, and several talented architects made use of PA. Robert George Windsor-Clive (1857–1923), the 1st Earl of Plymouth, owned most of the exploitable deposits and used it in his own, secular projects, the most spectacular of which was the

entrance hall of his house at 54 Mount Street, London. From the mid-nineteenth century the use of PA is documented in several newspaper accounts and from c.1888 onwards in the private records of the building and monumental masonry firm of W. Clarke of Llandaff.⁹

The majority of ecclesiastical examples so far discovered are described below under the heading of the architect or designer responsible.

John Prichard

Welsh architect John Prichard (1817–86) set up in practice in Llandaff where he became diocesan architect and in conjunction with J. P. Seddon is most noted for his restoration of Llandaff cathedral. Prichard first employed PA in the reredos at Holy Cross, Cowbridge c.1852 and in 1859 ‘reddish alabaster from Penarth Point’ was used at St Johns, Canton, Cardiff, where five stout columns of this material support the font.

In 1869–70 he designed St Margaret of Antioch’s in Roath, Cardiff, which was paid for by the Marquis of Bute. Here Prichard was the first to employ PA extensively. It can be seen in bold bands in the walls of nave, the elaborate reredos (moved to St Anne’s church, Roath in 1926), the chancel and in the font and pulpit, all

Fig. 3: Chancel of St Catharine’s, Baglan.



executed by Clarke's of Llandaff. He also designed the Bute mausoleum attached to this church which contains bands of PA.

Another Prichard design is St Catharine's, Baglan, near Port Talbot (Fig. 3), which was consecrated in 1882. It is sometimes referred to as 'the alabaster church' and even greater use of PA was made here than at St Margaret's. Although an early design and estimate appears to have been rejected on the grounds of cost,¹⁰ the final result was justly much praised.¹¹

John Dando Sedding

In 1875–76, architect J. D. Sedding (1838–91), an influential figure in the Arts and Crafts Movement, designed and rebuilt the church of St Mary the Virgin in Llanfair Kilgeddin, Monmouthshire (Fig. 4). Although better known for the art nouveau *sgraffito* panels by Heywood Sumner, it contains a reredos principally constructed of PA. Whilst Newman attributes its design to Sedding this is not certain as it was noted at the Consistory Court of Llandaff hearing of 3 May 1888, when agreement in principal for Sumner's artwork was granted, that no design for the reredos had been submitted. The piece occupies the entire width of the chancel, and partly obscures the stained glass window, again suggesting that it

Fig. 4: Reredos of the former church of St Mary, Llanfair Kilgeddin.



was installed sometime after the church was built. The whole edifice is rather subdued in appearance, perhaps to avoid drawing attention away from the works of Sumner, which cover practically every other wall-space. The church has been de-consecrated and is now looked after by the Friends of Friendless Churches.¹²

John Bacon Fowler and the Wiesbaden Connection

Brecon and Swansea architect J. B. Fowler (1845–1914) designed the church of St John the Divine at Cwmbach Llechrhyd, Radnorshire (Fig. 5), financed by a relation of his, Miss Clara Thomas of Llwyn Madoc and Pencerrig. It contains a beautiful reredos constructed almost entirely from the highest quality pink and white PA. No record of the sculptor has been found, but it seems likely to have been the work of William Clarke of Llandaff once again, as his extant accounts show he later did work for Miss Thomas at Ystrad Mynach and Llanbradach.

Fowler later moved to Wiesbaden in Germany, where in 1889 he was the subject of an attempted murder. In 1890, presumably by way of giving thanks to God for his escape from an untimely death, Fowler designed a reredos for St Augustine's English church

Fig. 5: Reredos of the church of St John the Divine, Cwmbach Llechrhyd.



in Wiesbaden. It was made by W. Clarke of Llandaff, who sent a man to Germany to install it. It was principally constructed of Derbyshire alabaster but, 'the capitals and bases of the panels, however, forming two shallow courses across the face of the work, are of a different alabaster, which is found on the cliffs at Penarth Head, near Cardiff, and has a beautiful, but very peculiar, rich pink tint, that contrasts well with the more transparent Derbyshire stone.'¹³ The reredos was destroyed in the Second World War but a postcard dated 1911 shows the inside of the original church, in which the reredos can be seen.

Frederick Robertson Kempson and Charles Busted Fowler

F. R. Kempson (c.1837–1923) of Llandaff and C. B. Fowler (1894–1941) of Cardiff designed an elaborate reredos for St Mary's, Aberavon, which was constructed in alabaster and marble by W. Clarke, with statues by H. H. Armstead. It contains some small elements in PA. The pulpit is of a similar high standard of design and construction, again with some small elements in PA.

In 1896–97 Fowler was also responsible for restorations at St John the Baptist's, Llanblethian near Cowbridge, which included a new pulpit with a carved top and plain polished panels of richly coloured PA.

George Eley Halliday

Diocesan surveyor and architect G. E. Halliday (1858–1922) was obviously very fond of PA as he used it in many of his designs, all constructed by Clarke's, most notably at the church of St Nicholas, Nicholaston, Gower (1894), which John Newman described as 'a tiny jewel box' (Fig. 6). Here PA was used in elaborately carved window surrounds and the reredos.

In 1896, Arthur Gilbertson, in memory of his wife Ellen, employed Halliday to enlarge and beautify the chancel of his private church of All Saints', Pontardawe. The work included a memorial tablet to Ellen and an elaborate reredos, both in PA. These items, together with a memorial to Arthur were moved to St Mary's, Ynysmeudwy in 1998, when All Saints' was converted to a domestic dwelling. This church was also closed in 2010, and since the Church in Wales has no repository for artefacts, and no-one else wanted the fittings, they were sold in-situ with the building where, at present, they remain.

In 1896 Halliday designed St George's, Cwmparc, Rhondda, which contains a small but beautiful reredos in PA. The front panel of the grey stone pulpit also contains a square cross of singular design in PA, inlaid in a shallow quatrefoil recess. A very similar alabaster cross was inlaid into the pulpit of St Illtyd's,

Fig. 6: View into the sanctuary of St Nicholas's, Nicholaston.



Llantrithyd during Halliday's restoration works there in 1897. These features add a delicate personal touch, almost a signature, to two otherwise rather plain pieces. He also used PA in the pulpit of St Michael and All Angels, Maesteg (1897), the reredoses in St Martin's Caerphilly (1902), and St Isan's, Llanishen, Cardiff (1904), the pulpit in St Martin's, Caerphilly (1908), the pulpits in Christ Church, Radyr, near Cardiff (1912), and St David's, Gyfelliwion, near Pontypridd (1914) – the main bodies of which are virtually identical – and in the font of All Saints', Porthcawl (1914).

Joseph Farmer

The new church (the chancel of which is dedicated to St John the Baptist and the nave to St Andrew) at Kemberton, in Shropshire, designed by local architect Joseph Farmer, was erected in 1882 on the site of the old church.¹⁴ The pulpit (Fig. 7), of uncertain date, is principally constructed of high quality PA, as is the low chancel screen. In 1893 a reredos was installed, which includes four white

alabaster figures of apostles, which stand on blocks of PA. However, it cannot be stated with certainty that Farmer was the designer of any of these fittings. To date no connection with South Wales has been found and the reason why PA was used so far from 'home' remains unexplained.

W. Clarke of Llandaff

Amongst the many artisans attracted to the Cardiff area in the mid-nineteenth century was the talented sculptor Edward Clarke, a Bristolian who came to work for Prichard on Llandaff Cathedral. His son William founded the firm of W. Clarke which still exists to this day and was at one time the pre-eminent firm of church furnishers in South Wales. William was also a talented sculptor and was succeeded by his son Thomas Guy Clarke, (known as Guy) who became an architect and surveyor. William and Guy were responsible for most of the Penarth alabaster work



Fig. 7: Pulpit of the church of St John and St Andrew, Kemberton.

in South Wales and the firm had commissions where they acted as both designers and builders.

In addition to those mentioned already in this article, known works by Clarke which incorporate PA are listed below:

St Ffraed's, Llansantffraed, near Brecon (Fig. 8) – a memorial tablet to the poet Henry Vaughan (1897).

All Saints', Penyfai, near Bridgend – the reredos and pulpit (c.1903).

St Luke's, Pontnewydd – pulpit (1888), reredos (1894).

All Saints', Gwynfe, Carmarthenshire – pulpit (1899).

St Cynog's, Defynnog near Brecon – memorial tablet to Revd Philip Howel Morgan.

St Luke's, Chelsea, London – memorial tablet to the Revd Thomas Wilkinson Norwood (1908).

Hereford Cathedral – on 20 November 1909 a mason and a labourer at Clarke's workshop spent 18 hours sawing and packing alabaster for Mr Clarke of Hereford. It is assumed that this was for William Clarke's brother Robert, who ran a masonry business in Hereford and it is believed that this material was used to repair the tomb of Alexander Denton and wife Anne (1909).

Fig. 8: Memorial tablet to Henry Vaughan in St Fraedd's church, Llansantffraed.



St Catherine's, Kings Road, Cardiff – reredos (1916).

St Lleurwg's, Hirwaun, Rhondda Cynon Taff – pulpit (1919).

St James's, Pyle near Bridgend – pulpit in memory of Ivor Morgan killed in the First World War (1920).

Welsh Tabernacl in the Hayes, Cardiff – First World War memorial tablet (1920).

Tabor Congregational chapel, Maesycwmmmer – First World War memorial tablet (unseen as the building is boarded up, but a black and white photograph of the tablet survives in Clarke's archive) (1920).

St Mathias's, Treharris, (moved from Trelewis when the church there closed) – First World War memorial tablet (1921).

St Michael's, Michaelston-y-Fedw – First World War memorial tablet (1921).

St Catherine's, Pontypridd – First World War memorial tablet (1921)

Llandaff Cathedral and St Mary's, Nolton, near Bridgend – tablets in memory of the Revd Frederic William Edmondes, a former rector of Coity and archdeacon of Llandaff (1921).

St David's, Merthyr Tydfil (Fig. 9) – a pulpit erected by Nest Francis Williams in memory of her mother Edith Cresswell (1925).

St Mary's, Whitchurch – wings of the reredos (1936).

Conclusion

The use of Penarth alabaster as a decorative and sculptural stone is not widely known and until recently what little was known related to the nineteenth century. However, recent research has shown that it was in fact exploited from the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, its heyday was undoubtedly in the period from 1850 to the 1920s, when it was principally, but not exclusively, put to use in the elaborate decoration of many churches. Because exploitable deposits were limited, use was almost entirely confined to the South Wales area and it constitutes a distinctive feature of the region's historic churches to this day. Several examples are thought to have been lost to enemy action in the Cardiff area in the Second World War and further examples are suspected to have been lost from churches which have subsequently been demolished or redeveloped for secular use. With the ever decreasing size of congregations and consequent closure of churches the future survival of some of those that remain may be tenuous, but it is hoped that this article will draw attention to and increase the appreciation of this beautiful stone.

Notes

- 1 A. Strahan and T. C. Cantrill *Memoirs of the British Geological Survey of England and Wales: the Geology of the South Wales Coalfield part 3, the country around Cardiff* (HMSO 1902), 98.

Fig. 9: Pulpit of St David's, Merthyr Tydfil.



- 2 R. J. Firman 'Alabaster update' Archaeological Stone: Scientific Studies Conference, The British Museum, November 14–15, 1991.
- 3 R.J. Firman Somerset Alabaster: the Devon Connection *Church Monuments Society Newsletter* Vol. 9 No. 4 (Winter 1993–94) pp.34–36.
- 4 John Newman *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (Yale UP 2004) pp.513–4; John Newman *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent and Monmouthshire* (Penguin 2000) pp.284–5.
- 5 Jana Horák and Helen Kerbey 'Source and Use of Penarth Alabaster' *Welsh Stone Forum Newsletter* (National Museums and Galleries of Wales, October 2004); Michael Statham 'Penarth Alabaster – A Brief History' *Morgannwg* Vol. LVII (2013) pp.120–132. Further research can be found at <https://museum.wales/curadurol/daeareg/fforwm-cerrig-cymru/projects/>.
- 6 Quoted in *Somerset and West of England Advertiser*, 7 August 1931, p.8.
- 7 Quoted in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* October 1854 pp.301–302.
- 8 Walter Davies *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales* (1815).
- 9 The National Library of Wales' collection of historical newspapers and journals is available online at newspapers.library.wales/.
- 10 Letter dated 17 November 1874 in copy letter book of Griffith Llewellyn and his brother William 1874–77, p.19, Glamorgan Archives DLL/E/5.8.
- 11 'St Catharine's Church Baglan, Consecration Service' *Western Mail* 8 March 1882
- 12 See www.friendsoffriendlesschurches.org.uk.
- 13 'St Augustine's Church (Wiesbaden)' *Carmarthen Journal* 11 April 1890, p.6.
- 14 *Kelly's Directory of Hereford and Shropshire*, 1895.

J. Harold Gibbons, an architect of refinement

Robert Drake

JOHN HAROLD GIBBONS (1878–1957) was a High Church architect, active from the beginning of the twentieth century right up until his death at the age of nearly 80. He was working at a time when ecclesiastical work was less important to the architectural profession than it had been in preceding generations and as a result he never achieved the fame of some of his Victorian predecessors. Posthumously his reputation waned for many years until the London: North West volume of the *Buildings of England* was published in 1991.¹ This featured a number of churches designed by Gibbons, perhaps the best-known being St Mary's, Kenton (Fig.1), and paved the way for a rediscovery of his work.

Robert Drake has had a long involvement with the Twentieth Century Society as a Trustee and church casework lead. He has led many events for the Society focusing on different twentieth-century church architects.



Fig. 1: The west front of St Mary's, Kenton. (Photo: Steve Cadman)

Compared to many architects, however, there is a distinct lack of documentary evidence about his life and work, making him an elusive figure. The RIBA holds little information beyond his application for Fellowship of the Institute and a small number of drawings; no other archive of his work is known to exist.² The best sources of information, therefore, are the churches themselves, of which many are still in use and some are protected by listing. This article gives a brief overview of Gibbons's career; in a future edition of *Ecclesiology Today* I will take a more detailed look at some of his churches.

Early life and career

Gibbons was born in 1878 in Manchester, where his father, John Gibbons (1850–1935) was employed in Manchester Corporation's Architects' Department, becoming its Principal in 1893.³ The younger Gibbons was articled as a pupil to the leading Manchester firm of Thomas and Percy Scott Worthington from 1895 to 1899.⁴ He also attended Manchester School of Art, where he won a number of prizes and two travelling scholarships which enabled him to visit France and Italy (in 1899) and Belgium and Germany (1902). From 1899 to 1902 Gibbons worked with his father, who had set up in private practice in 1898. In 1902 he qualified as an Associate of the RIBA and joined the office of Temple Moore. Although he only stayed in the office until 1903, Moore remained an abiding influence and inspiration for Gibbons.

Gibbons father and son went into partnership in 1906 and over the next eight years they worked together on churches in the north of England, while the younger Gibbons did similar work on his own in London, where he moved in 1907. Works in the north included St Michael and All Angels, a new church in the Bramhall suburb of Stockport, consecrated in 1910. Additions were also made to churches at Stretford, Burnley, Trawden, Cheetwood and Far Headingley, Leeds, where in 1909–11 they added a new chancel and Lady Chapel to St Chad's church (1868 by E. B. Denison, Lord Grimthorpe). This work included a magnificent reredos, perhaps Gibbons' finest, made by Boulton's of Cheltenham (Fig. 2). Other reredoses were designed for St John's, Werneth, Oldham (now at Christ Church, Moss Side, Manchester) and for Norman Shaw's church of St Margaret's, Ilkley.

In London, Gibbons installed the pulpit sounding board (1907) and Lady Chapel reredos (1908) in the exquisite church of St Cuthbert's, Philbeach Gardens (1888 by H. Roumieu Gough). Both were made by the Manchester firm of Pearson Brown. Many



Fig. 2: The reredos of St Chad's, Far Headingley. (Photo: Robert Drake)

of the other churches in London where Gibbons worked before the First World War are now lost, for instance St Michael's, Shoreditch, St Philip's, Dalston, All Hallows, East India Dock Road and the Charterhouse Mission Church in Bermondsey. His major surviving work of the period is the towering west front of St Augustine's, Highgate, added to the earlier church by J. D. Sedding and Henry Wilson in 1914–15.

Gibbons served in the British Expeditionary Force in the First World War, before joining the Imperial War Graves Commission,

under the direction of architect Sir Reginald Blomfield. In 1919 Gibbons successfully applied for Fellowship of the RIBA, his application supported by Blomfield, Moore and the incumbent President of the RIBA, Henry T. Hare.

The inter-war period

Gibbons appears to have resumed architectural practice in about 1921, with very similar work to that which he had before 1914, for instance adding a Lady Chapel to the church of St Mary the Virgin, Great Ilford, Essex, and a reredos and Lady Chapel to St Paul's, Royton, near Oldham. In 1927 he built a chapel for an Anglican order of nuns at St Saviour's Priory, Haggerston, in east London. He then added a clergy house and parish hall for St Augustine's church (1866–67 by Henry Woodyer) which stands opposite. His first really large complete church was St Francis of Assisi's, Bournemouth, of 1929–30, which John Betjeman summed up as 'white, Italianate and vast.'⁵ In 1930, Gibbons was one of four shortlisted architects in the competition to design Guildford Cathedral (Fig.3), but he eventually lost out to Edward Maufe.

In the 1930s, opportunities to build new churches were more plentiful and Gibbons followed St Francis's, Bournemouth, with a

Fig. 3: Gibbons' perspective sketch of his unexecuted design for Guildford Cathedral, 1932. (RIBA Drawings and Archives)





Fig. 4: St Francis of Assisi's, Gladstone Park. (Photo: Steve Cadman)

sequence of buildings in the outer suburbs of London: St Francis of Assisi's, Gladstone Park (1933) (Fig. 4), St Jerome's, Dawley (1934) (Fig. 5) and St Mary's, Kenton (1936). In 1938 he started building the Church of the Transfiguration, Kempston, Bedfordshire, and in 1939 work began on two more churches: the Church of the Ascension, Ayling Hill, Aldershot, and St Barnabas, Northolt Park, Middlesex (Fig. 6). The outbreak of war did not prevent completion of the church at Kempston, which was consecrated in August 1940, but work at Ayling Hill was halted and never resumed; St Barnabas's was finally completed in 1954. Despite the amount of work that must have been involved in designing and building those new churches, Gibbons continued to supply reredoses and other church fittings during the 1930s, perhaps the outstanding example being the superb reredos of 1936 for St Patrick's, Patrington, East Yorkshire, made by Boulton's of Cheltenham.



*Fig. 5: Chancel of St Jerome's, Dawley. The stained glass by Francis Spear was added in 1954.
(Photo: Steve Cadman)*



*Fig. 6: St Barnabas', Northolt Park.
(Photo: Robert Drake)*

Post-war work

After the Second World War Gibbons was still active as an architect, starting with the rebuilding after bomb damage of the parish church of St Peter and St Paul, Bromley, Kent (1949–57). In 1954 he built a fine church, St Philip and St James, for the Anglican Franciscans in Plaistow, east London (Fig. 7). Another work of the 1950s was a new church, St Cyprian's in the Sheffield suburb of Frecheville, paid for by the 'drowning' of Derwent church in the Ladybower Reservoir on the other side of the city. Finally, with the firm of Humphrys and Hurst as executive architects, he built the church of the Ascension, Wembley Park (Fig. 8), and St Augustine of Canterbury's, Whitton, Twickenham, in 1957–58.⁶

A Gibbons style?

In many ways Gibbons' church buildings were typical of their age. He referenced historical styles, both English and European, but refined them architecturally and adapted them to modern churchmanship. Unlike some of his rivals, however, Gibbons could design convincingly in both Gothic (Kenton, Northolt) and Romanesque (Bournemouth, Gladstone Park). Crucially his refined style made his churches economical to build, an important consideration after 1918.



*Fig. 7: The church of St Philip and St James, Plaistow.
(Photo: Robert Drake)*

The most distinctive feature of his interiors was his inclusion of a raised chapel behind the high altar. This is found in St Saviour's Priory, Haggerston, St Mary's, Kenton, and the Transfiguration, Kempston. These had a liturgical function, but also had the architectural effect of giving drama and spatial complexity to the interior. Similar drama was created by the use of a baldacchino as a canopy over the altar – a relatively advanced feature, liturgically speaking – which Gibbons introduced at Kenton and Plaistow (see fig. 7) (although other congregations apparently refused them, for example, Frecheville in Sheffield). Gibbons' interior fittings, especially his reredoses, have a greater flair and vitality than those of most of his contemporaries and, in his new churches, contrast intentionally with the simplicity of the surrounding architecture.

Combined with refinement of architectural form are the contributions of his collaborators in church fittings. One of the earliest and most consistent collaborators was the stained glass artist M. E. Aldrich Rope.⁷ She first worked with Gibbons at St Chad's, Far Headingley in 1922–23 and other examples of their collaboration include the chapel at St Saviour's Priory, St Augustine's, Highgate, St Barnabas', Northolt Park (Fig. 9),



*Fig. 8: Church of the Ascension, Wembley Park. The mural above the altar is by Hans Feibusch.
(Photo: Steve Cadman)*

Fig. 9: East window of St Barnabas', Northolt Park, with glass by M. E. Aldrich Rope. (Photo: Steve Cadman)



St Peter and St Paul, Bromley and St Mary's, Leamington Spa, where Gibbons' chancel of 1930 was adorned with an east window by Rope. She trained at the Central School of Art in London with Paul Drury and Mary Lowndes. She took space at their House of Glass studios in Fulham with Irish artist Wilhelmina Geddes and then worked from her own studio in Putney. Much of her work was done with her friend and assistant Clare Dawson.

Gibbons also worked with other painters and stained glass artists such as James Bateman (the chancel painting at St Francis's, Gladstone Park (Fig. 10)), Tom Carter Shapland and Leonard Walker (who both provided stained glass for the Ascension, Wembley Park), Hans Feibusch (who painted the mural over the



*Fig. 10: James Bateman's chancel arch decoration at St Francis of Assisi's, Gladstone Park.
(Photo: Steve Cadman)*

high altar at the same church) and the sculptors Herbert Palliser and Albert Toft (who both worked at St Mary's, Kenton).

The post-war churches continue his inter-war style in a more pared-down way. They embody a synthesis of his ideas for enhancing the architectural quality of simple suburban churches built on small budgets, specifically by giving them a sense of drama and spirituality in their use of space and through some fine fittings and decoration such as murals and glass.

Gibbons' place in twentieth-century church building

By the 1930s Gibbons was recognised as a leading church architect. In 1937 the Royal Academy staged an exhibition of British architecture, with an emphasis on work since 1919.⁸ Of

the 40 architects featured in the churches and cathedrals section of the exhibition, Gibbons was second only to Sir Charles Nicholson in the number of his works displayed (six; the same number as Adrian Gilbert Scott, another architect who had worked for Temple Moore).

Two books published either side of the Second World War by the Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) to showcase the best in new ecclesiastical architecture – *New Churches Illustrated* (1936) and *Fifty Modern Churches* (1947) – featured churches by Gibbons. A further book, *Sixty Post-War Churches*, published by the ICBS in 1956, included two more of his churches. The first edition of the Collins Guide to parish churches, edited by John Betjeman and published in 1958, includes several works by Gibbons, both entire churches such as St Mary's Kenton and fittings such as the reredos at Patrington. This coverage of Gibbons' work suggests that his reputation remained high in certain circles right up to the end of his life, although none of the architectural periodicals appears to have published an obituary of him.⁹

Conclusion

Half a century on from his death, seven of Gibbons' new-build churches are listed in recognition of their special architectural and historic interest, confirming the enduring quality of their architecture and decoration. The churches are typical of their age in many ways, but are raised above the average by greater spatial imagination, by the relatively advanced liturgical arrangements required by his clients and by the quality of fittings and decoration provided by the craftsmen and women with whom he worked. Far from being simply the 'last gasp' of traditional ecclesiastical architecture, they make a valuable contribution to the long history of English church-building.

Notes

- 1 Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Buildings of England London 3: North West* (1991).
- 2 FRIBA application dated 1 April 1919, RIBA archives ref. 1655.
- 3 British Architectural Library *Directory of British Architects 1834–1914 Volume 1: A–K* (2001), 718.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 John Guest (ed.) *The Best of Betjeman* (1978), 143–6.
- 6 Drawings of St Augustine's, Whitton are in the Dove Brothers Collection, held by the RIBA, along with drawings of Gibbons' churches at Bournemouth, Bromley, Highgate, Haggerston and St Saviour's Priory.
- 7 For more information on M. E. Aldrich Rope, see www.arthur.rope.clara.net/
- 8 The Royal Academy of Arts 53rd Winter Exhibition. The full list of works from the exhibition is available online at www.racollection.org.uk.
- 9 Gibbons' terminal date is given in most published sources as 1958, but in fact he died on 30 December 1957.

A collection of British church guides in America

M. Patrick Graham

THE LARGEST COLLECTION of church guides in America has been gathered in a rather unlikely place, the Pitts Theology Library of the Candler School of Theology at Emory University (Atlanta, Georgia). These have been acquired and catalogued over a period of about 40 years and now total more than 10,000 items.

The decision to collect church guides

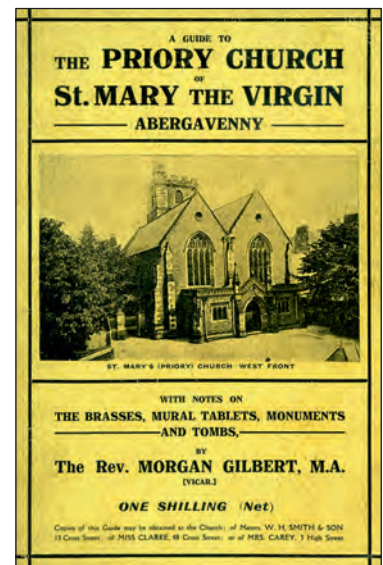
The decision to collect these materials was made by Professor Channing R. Jeschke, who built the Pitts Theology Library from its mediocre state in 1971 to one of America's three largest theological libraries by the time of his retirement in 1994. In the course of his visit to England in the 1970s, his attention was drawn to the modest church guide for its potential to assist historians who wanted to hear from vicars and parishioners in local churches about the histories of their institutions and what they saw as distinctive and important. So Jeschke set about gathering these guides and included them in the library's larger English Religious History Collection. He typically purchased them from English dealers, a few dozen at a time, and acquired not only those of churches in England but also those from Wales and Scotland too. By the time of his retirement, the Pitts Library held about 2,500 items.

The Revd Gordon Taylor Collection

As Jeschke's successor, I continued his efforts with this collection, and in 2003 the Revd Gordon Taylor's collection of about 3,500 church guides was purchased by the Pitts Theology Library. Gordon Taylor (1915–2009) was an Anglican priest, who had served in the Royal Navy and spent 51 years as rector of St Giles-in-the-Fields, London. He had begun collecting the guides in the 1930s as a schoolboy but later enlisted the help of family and friends in the effort. His two daughters, Lady Mandy Strathalmond and Mrs Vanessa Bourne, subsequently donated an archive of about 2,000 of his sermons to the Pitts Library. As a tribute to Revd Taylor's efforts to document the history of the Christian church in the United Kingdom, the library's entire collection of parish guides was named in his honour.

In order to publicise the collection and invite donations of additional materials, a brief article was submitted to the *Church Times* and published in 2010. Generous collectors read the piece and began sending their materials to the Pitts Library, usually a handful at a time, and then Mrs Susan Dalton contacted the

Dr M. Patrick Graham is the Margaret A. Pitts Professor of Theological Bibliography at the Candler School of Theology (Emory University) and director of the Pitts Theology Library.



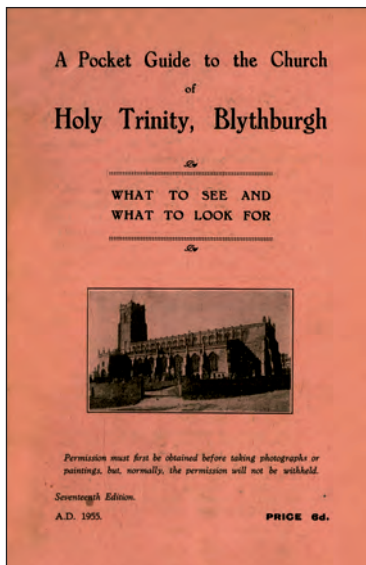
A guide to St Mary's, Abergavenny, published c.1910 by the Church Army Press.

library. She offered to donate the collection of about 7,000 guides that she and her husband Christopher had gathered over more than 60 years of distinguished service for the Churches Conservation Trust (formerly the Redundant Churches Fund). Mrs Dalton's generous spirit and extensive knowledge of the history of the church guides was truly delightful and even inspirational for library staff. Dr Denise Hanusek of the Pitts staff devoted herself to cataloguing the Dalton collection and at present has only 200 or so remaining items to process. Whenever duplicates from the Taylor or Dalton collections were identified, these were sent to the John W. Graham Library at Trinity College, University of Toronto.

The typical church guide

The typical church guide or church history is 10–50 pages in length, attractively printed – although some may be a single page or mimeographed or the offprint of a journal article – and is usually devoted to a single church (though some treat all the churches in a city or region). Most of the guides describe Anglican churches, but many Catholic and dissenting churches are included in the Pitts collection as well. Their authors – when identified – include clergy, churchwardens, amateur historians, and theological luminaries such as E. B. Pusey. Most of the pamphlets in the Pitts collection were issued from 1950–2000, with perhaps a quarter of the total from the 1960s. Many of these publications were produced as part of a parish anniversary celebration or some other special occasion, and sometimes they include lectures delivered at or about the church. The demand for them is clear from the fact that so many went through multiple editions. A variety of firms (often local print shops) issued the guides, but as time progressed, the British Publishing company came to dominate this business and so is represented more often than any other firm in the Pitts collection. By the 1960s, most of the pamphlets were professionally done.

In terms of the contents of the guides, they usually deal with the history of the church or parish, its buildings, and perhaps even the church graveyard, providing interesting illustrations that assist visitors with self-guided tours of the grounds. The reader usually finds photographs, sketches, inscriptions, advertisements, lists of rectors or benefactors, brief chronologies, explanations of architectural features, information on the church registers, maps, information on church finances or rules, times for worship services, and lists of sources used for the composition of the guide. Occasionally liturgical or poetic compositions, such as prayers and solicitations for such, are included too.



The 1955 guide to Holy Trinity, Blythburgh, including advice on 'what to see and what to look for'.

Purpose of the church guide

The stated intention of the pamphlets is most often that of instruction – a guide to the church's building for visitors or as an architectural or historical record for residents and visitors. Many of the pamphlets were also issued for fundraising purposes and sold for two or three pence to one shilling (in the 1960s, some went for two shillings). The publications will often note that all revenue from the sale of the pamphlets would be used for building repairs and upkeep.

While the guides began to be issued in the nineteenth century, their publication accelerated in the twentieth century. There were surveys (archaeological and architectural, sometimes connected with the Fellows of the Royal Society of History) done in England in the mid-nineteenth century, the results of which were published in scholarly and academic journals, and these included detailed information about the ancient parish churches. These likely heightened the appreciation of parish clergy and members for their church buildings and furnishings, and so the publication of church guides provided a convenient way to share this information with church members and visitors. In addition, the desire to restore churches that had fallen into disrepair led churches to sell the guides and solicit advertisements as fundraising efforts. There also developed in the guides a pronounced concern for liturgical and religious practices, and so the guides added prayers, poems, and other devotional aids so that visitors were encouraged to leave a donation at the church to fund its upkeep and to say a prayer for the church, its ministries, or other concerns. In this way, the church guide supported and encouraged religious devotion, and so visitors came to see their visits, offerings, and prayers in terms of service to God. The language of pilgrimage was even used on occasion to describe the



The 1993 guide to the church of St Andrew's, Winterborne Tomson, in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust.

visits to these churches, as ‘pilgrim’ or ‘pilgrimage’ sometimes occurs in the pamphlet title.

The former director of the Graham Library at Trinity College, Mrs Linda Corman, collaborated in a conference presentation on the genre of the parish guide at the 2012 meeting of the American Theological Library Association (‘Friends of Friendless Churches: The Library and the Parish Guide’). The presentation concluded that these publications: (1) often provided an ‘on the ground’ assessment by those who knew the churches and their histories best and over many years, (2) reflect through their own variety the diversity of the churches and so attest the changes in congregational interests and needs over more than two centuries, (3) show how churches responded when presented with the opportunity to tell their stories, and (4) illustrate the complexities of authors navigating courses that attended to the needs of a variety of audiences – the casual visitor, the educated layperson with architectural interest, etc. – while making an effort to advance the church’s historic mission of witness to the Christian faith.



The Pitts Theology Library continues to be grateful to individuals or organizations donating their collections of parish guides and histories to the library’s holdings. Such may be sent to: Pitts Theology Library / 1531 Dickey Dr., 560 / Atlanta, GA 30322 / USA (or inquiries to libmpg@emory.edu).



Specific titles in the Pitts Theology Library catalogue may be searched via WorldCat (<https://www.worldcat.org/>) or Emory’s online catalogue (http://discover.emory.edu/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do).

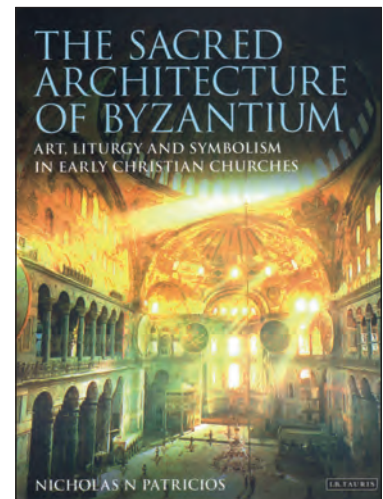
Book reviews

Nicholas N. Patricios, *The Sacred Architecture of Byzantium: Art, Liturgy and Symbolism in Early Christian Churches*. I. B. Tauris, 2014, xviii + 445 pp., 1161 colour & b&w pls, £45 hbk, ISBN 978 1 78076 291 3

The aim of this book is both ambitious and laudable: to explain the tightly bound inter-relationships between the architectural forms, decoration and functions of Byzantine churches from the foundation of Constantinople in the fourth century to the fall of Byzantium in 1453. The text is accessible to non-specialists, and is accompanied by a wealth of illustrations – church plans, reconstructions of buildings, and both colour and black-and-white photographs. Although most of the illustrations are quite small (there are 40 full-page colour plates in two sections in addition to colour and black-and-white illustrations in the text), they are well reproduced and clear. Detailed references have been kept to a minimum, but there is a good bibliography as well as suggested further reading specific to each chapter. A glossary would have been a useful addition.

The first chapter sketches the historical background to the Byzantine world and Church. A pair of chapters then discuss the forms of Byzantine churches, the first setting up a framework for detailed consideration, in the second, of a large number of individual churches focussed around larger and more ‘splendid’ (a term much used by the author) examples in the main ecclesiastical centres of the Romano-Byzantine world – Rome, Constantinople, the Holy Land – and the regional centres of Ravenna and Thessaloniki. A similar pair of chapters considers the works of art with which the buildings were adorned, the first again setting out a framework, the second concentrating on individual examples, once more arranged geographically, though in a different order from before, starting with Rome and moving in a circle through north Italy, the Balkans, Greece, Constantinople, the Holy Land, Egypt and ending with a single example from Sicily. Chapter 6 is a short history and explanation of the Orthodox Liturgy (the equivalent of the Western Mass), showing how the buildings were used, while a final chapter explores historic understanding of the symbolic meanings of the buildings, and provides an overall summarising conclusion to the volume. There is much in this which is commendable, but flaws in presentation and a lack of discipline in the use of material compromise the utility of the book.

First, the positive. Chapter 2 provides a useful introduction to the different types of churches, based on a classification by plan



form; and to their fixed furniture, clearly explaining the ways in which the spaces and their furnishings were used during the Liturgy, and discussing changes through time. Chapter 4 explains the nature and function of the art with which the interiors of the churches were adorned, setting out how particular kinds of image were associated with each individual part of the building, and again describing chronological developments. Chapter 6 provides a short but fuller account of the Liturgy and its development, while the last chapter seeks to pull the threads together and explain the interdependence of the architecture, fixed furnishings, art and Liturgy to create a coherent and integrated practical and symbolic environment for the celebration of the Liturgy. Those brought up in the Western Church and seeking an introduction to the Orthodox culture of worship ought to find much of interest in all of this.

But this good content is let down by the rest and by overall poor presentation. Chapters 3 and 5, which between them account for over half of the book, consist of little more than, respectively, descriptions (mostly fairly short) of churches (by place and type) and works of art (by place). There is very little sense of chronological development and there is no discussion of how or why patrons chose particular forms of architecture or schemes and forms of art. Some of the same buildings are described in both chapters, but there is no cross referencing – the reader has to go *via* the index. While the illustrations are lavish in number they are not referred to in the text; the presence of the two sections of large colour plates is not apparent until one stumbles across them, unless one has turned to the list of illustrations and picture credits at the end of the book. While there are numerous plans, they are neither to a uniform scale nor, save in a tiny minority of cases, accompanied by a scale, rendering meaningful comparison impossible. Despite the geographical organisation of these chapters, there are no maps of sites either in relation to modern political units (e.g. Jordan) or older descriptors (e.g. Cappadocia), which are used alongside each other. Even in the historical section, which discusses the extent of the Byzantine Empire at different dates, there are only three maps: two (why?) of the Empire under Justinian I (527–65), one showing his re-conquest of parts of the West, though that is hardly touched upon in the text and one relating to the ninth century. There is nothing showing the impact of the Persian, Arab, Crusader and Ottoman inroads, though all are important for the spread and survival of Byzantine churches. In short, these two major parts of the book are little more than piles of facts and illustrations with no narrative or argument to drive them, failing by some measure

to realise the potential of creating the integrated understanding the author set out to provide.

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, Oxford

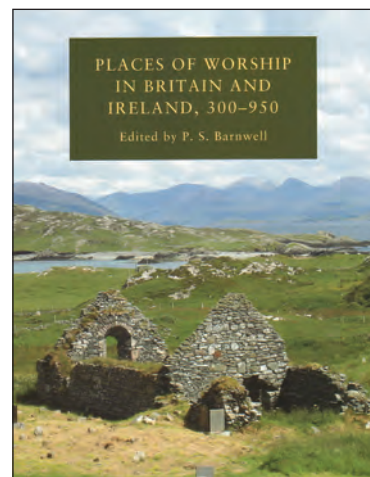
P. S. Barnwell (ed.), *Places of Worship in Britain and Ireland, 300–950*. Donnington, Shaun Tyas, 2015, 240 pp., 14 col. Pls, 47 b&w pls, £40.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 907730 48 1

For anyone interested in the history of the Church in Britain and Ireland in the first millennium this book constitutes a major resource, as it is scholarly, up-to-date and accessible. It presents accounts of the immense amount of research that has been undertaken on the subject in recent years. The chapters are written by leading scholars, indeed the leading scholars in the subject areas, and a multidisciplinary approach is characteristic.

There are eleven chapters. The first is an introduction to the subject, the second deals with the Romano-British period, chapters 3, 4 and 5 discuss Wales, Ireland and Scotland respectively, then Anglo-Saxon England gets the lion's share with five chapters, on the kingdoms of Kent, Deira and Northumberland, and the two churches at Brixworth and Deerhurst, and the eleventh provides a summary. One or two chapters are expressly summaries of larger publications, but they are justifiably included to provide coverage. The volume is produced to the highest standards, including the design, illustrations and printing (though Ireland should be mentioned in the first title and I would have welcomed either a bibliography or an indication of which footnotes contained the full details of references).

One of the most important things about the book is the breadth of the contexts in which discussions are set, evident in, for example, the prominence of the landscape in many chapters. Indeed *Places of Worship* (with the stress on places) is an apposite title because of this going beyond churches into wider settings. It involves the ways in which sites such as cemeteries, the home and places of baptism could all play a liturgical role as central as that of the church building.

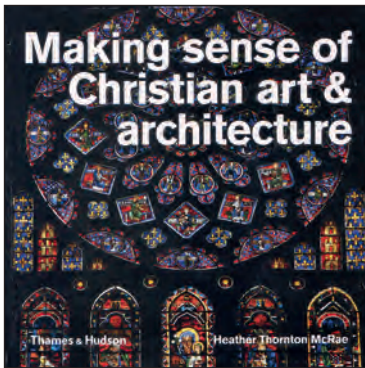
Other subjects include the difficulty of distinguishing pagan and Christian sites in Roman Britain, the ever present problem of the uses of the porticus, and how to define monasteries, both individually, as they were so closely involved with power structures, and (the landscape again) forming groups. Then there is the tenacity of tradition, the levels of sophistication which could be reached by timber churches, symbolic references to Rome contrasted with those to Jerusalem, the re-use of Roman masonry not just for convenience, but either to appropriate the past or to confer authority, the difference between a ring crypt and an



ambulatory, the display of relics on a tower, and the relationship between the liturgy and architectural form.

This is the first in a series of studies on places of worship in the British Isles and Ireland up to the present. It bodes well for future volumes.

Eric Fernie, Courtauld Institute



Heather Thornton McRae, *Making sense of Christian art and architecture*. London, Thames and Hudson, 2015, 214 pp., 212 col. pls, £9.95 pbk, ISBN 978 0 500 29170 2

This small book is a classic example of an attempt to achieve, 'multum in parvo'. Unfortunately the, 'parvo', is much too small to deal in any way adequately with so vast a subject. To identify six areas is, to say the least, ambitious. Any one of them would merit a discourse of at least this size.

At first glance, this small format, paperback book, appears to offer a fresh perspective on the much trodden paths which make up the multi-layered and faceted world of Christian art, architecture and design. Far from creating a clear pathway through this immense field, the book immediately signals a primary fault, in not clearly defining a cogent thesis. There is no real rhyme or reason to the sub-divisions or indeed the specific choice of examples. This lack of clarity in the introduction merely serves as a warning of what is to come.

Moving to the choice of content, the chronological approach has merit, but only if there is some continuity. Using examples from across the world makes this well nigh impossible. Although there are, obviously, crossovers between developments in different countries and continents, there is little in the narrative for each example to define or amplify its place in a sequential narrative. For example, the double-page spread devoted to Durham Cathedral is a confusion of *non sequiturs* which create obfuscation about the developmental elements of the building. Durham Cathedral is above all, a Romanesque building exhibiting one of the first uses of groin vaulting. The illustration does not do justice to this element, rather it adds to the non-developmental aspect of this book. Indeed the main photograph of the choir of the cathedral depicts the famous Perpendicular screen, designed by Henry Yevele, of which there is no mention.

It is unclear why there is a small sub-section on Fan Vaulting, the photograph incidentally so small as to be pointless. In fact the section on buildings twice displays images of Fan Vaulting, but does not afford any proper explanation. There is also the unnecessary design feature of a box with larger type providing in many cases a superfluous statement. The layout and design of the

pages means that the wonderful images are almost routinely divided across pages, with sub boxes of text, which provide quotations and anecdotes, further spoiling the image. The size of the book already means that these images are being displayed on such a small scale as to afford no justice to the subject matter.

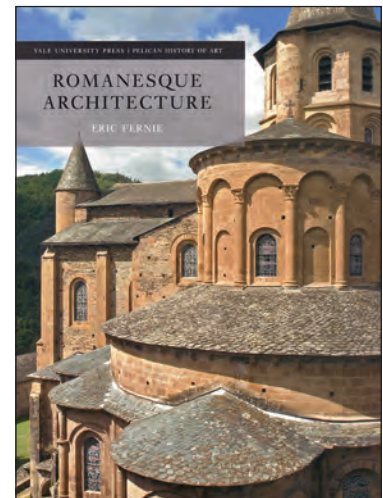
I am left with the nagging thought that this book is merely another product of the, '100 best of', culture. Surely this subject, which is the spiritual and visual underpinning of Western Culture, deserves something better. In conclusion this is a book, which neither acts as a delicious appetiser to such a varied subject matter, nor regrettably adds anything to an already saturated market.

Mike Hope

Eric Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age*, Yale University Press, 2014, xxx + 300 pp., 120 colour + 269 b&w ill., 19 maps, £55 hbk, ISBN 978 0 300 20354 7

Professor Fernie sets himself an ambitious task: to provide an overview of Romanesque architecture across all the regions of Europe where the style was used, from Ukraine to Ireland and the Mediterranean to the Baltic. It is a task rendered more difficult by the problem of defining 'Romanesque', and, further, by now long-standing debates amongst art historians concerning the utility of the very concept of 'style'. The result is a distillation of a lifetime's thought, presented in a finely honed form, which should appeal to a wide readership while at the same time providing both an up-to-date discussion and a critique of previous scholarship essential for students and specialists. 'Overview' it is – the geographical and chronological scope, the latter from the late eighth century into the thirteenth and even beyond, render that inevitable – but that does not mean it is either bland or uncontentious. The book pursues a number of arguments, the most notable being a defence of the investigation of a 'style'; and a belief, which determines the structure of the largest parts of the book, in the importance of the political units of the time in explaining the pattern of different forms and appearances of buildings across the territorial extent of the Latin Church of the middle ages, with which the incidence of the style coincides.

As succinctly stated on page 2, 'The purpose of the book is to identify those characteristics which most clearly define the masonry architecture of the type known as Romanesque in style, and where, when, how and why they were developed'. This forms the rationale for the structure of the book. A first part, of three chapters, carefully lays out the problems of defining 'Romanesque', defending the usefulness of the label against recent



criticisms; even when disagreeing with other scholars, Fernie is invariably courteous, explaining his reasoning rather than engaging in polemics or point-scoring. The next question is that of the period during which the style was in vogue. The end is relatively easily defined, marked by the adoption of Gothic styles, even if the chronology varied considerably across Europe (as shown in detail in later chapters). The beginning, however, has been debated. A clear argument is here made that Romanesque developed in the context of the medieval revival of the idea of the (Roman) Empire from the time of Charlemagne onwards. Before then, the predominant style was essentially that of late antiquity – i.e. a continuation of late Roman forms themselves. This groundwork having been laid, the third chapter more fully establishes the defining features of Romanesque.

The second, and by far the longest, part of the book is its heart. It is conceived as an historical narrative, and is subdivided into three chronological sections, respectively covering the ninth and tenth centuries, the eleventh and early twelfth, and the later twelfth and thirteenth. Within each section, the chapters are arranged geographically, almost always following the political units of the time. It is here that the highly regional nature of Romanesque is both established and explained, and that the argument is made for the significance of political entities and the associations their rulers sought to convey through the choices they made in relation to building design. The discussion almost entirely concerns churches, other kinds of building, including monastic complexes, being treated in the third thematic part, which also pulls together and elaborates upon the role of the patron (in deciding form and appearance) and master mason (in providing the technical means of executing the patron's wishes). There are also brief but cogent discussions of the relationships between form, function and iconography, and particularly useful summaries of features associated with particular kinds of church or functional areas of church buildings, and of the geometrical basis of Romanesque architecture. Finally, a very short fourth part, a single chapter of seven pages, examines and renders transparent some of the methodological assumptions which underlie the main discussions.

The book requires to be read with attention as there is much detailed description and analysis, but it is eminently readable, expressed in clear language and devoid of unnecessary jargon. Much thought has been given to assisting the reader, in particular the non-specialist. The text is supported by a very significant number of illustrations; the publisher's designer is to be commended for the fact that, cross-references apart, almost every illustration is visible on the same opening as the accompanying

text, yet all are of a serviceable size and the overall layout is seldom cramped. There is, in addition, a substantial initial series of maps showing places in relation to (changing) medieval political units, and a final pair of maps (with key) showing the sites in relation to present-day countries. There is a useful glossary, and a select bibliography of key works for each chapter complements the full bibliographical listing and scholarly apparatus.

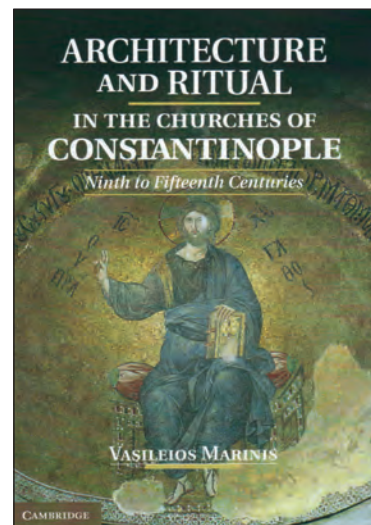
P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, Oxford

Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge University Press, 2014, 243 pp, 137 b&w pls, £60.00, hdbk, ISBN 978 1 107 04016 8

Anyone seeking an introduction to the ways in which Byzantine churches were used in the middle ages should consider starting with this book. It provides a clear and not overly-technical discussion of the practice of worship in Constantinopolitan churches during the Byzantine period. Part of the clarity is achieved by the division of the book into two almost equal sections, the second being a well-illustrated descriptive gazetteer of the buildings discussed. This enables the individual churches to be understood as complete entities, while allowing the main text to proceed thematically, and permits the argument of the first part to flow free of much of the clutter of architectural description; it also means that the book could be used as a guide by anyone visiting Istanbul.

To a greater extent than their counterparts writing on western medieval churches, historians of Byzantine church architecture have tended to adopt a formalist stance: the form of the building is dictated by its function. This book, by contrast, while rigorously focussed on the ways in which the buildings were used, argues convincingly for a more flexible understanding. Some types of space were used for more than one purpose; some of the ways of using space evolved during the middle ages, so that a space designed for one function came to fulfil another; and, most importantly, it is shown that despite a high degree of continuity in the liturgy there are some significant difference between medieval and modern practices.

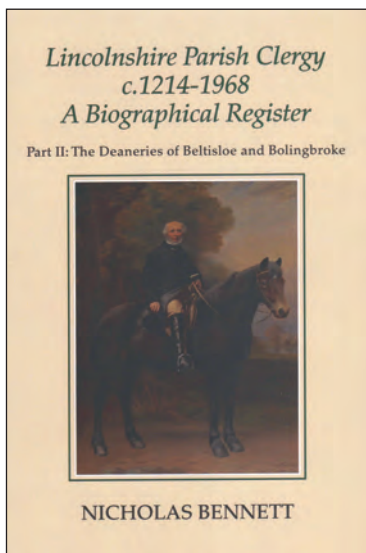
After a short introduction which sets out the subject and the approach, the opening chapter presents a concise account of the nature and evolution of the Byzantine liturgy during the middle ages. It covers a great deal of ground in a short space and has to be read with attention, but provides vital background for what follows. Thereafter, the first half of the book is arranged according to the various parts of the building; starting at the east, it moves



through the *naos* (nave) to the west end, and then turns to the subsidiary chapels (mainly for commemoration of the dead), outer aisles (for access), crypts and ambulatories (for burial), and galleries (several functions). In each, the nature of the space is described, and variations between the churches of Constantinople explored with full cross-referencing to the detailed accounts of the buildings in the gazetteer, and the reasons for the variations (whether, for example, they are chronological or relate to differences in patronage or church type, some being monastic, others parochial and yet others palace chapels – one criticism of the gazetteer is that it does not always state of which type a church was). A final thematic chapter considers the non-liturgical functions and uses to which the various areas in the church might be put, such as private devotion, private votive prayers for the dead, the seeking of cures and other miracles, and various forms of entertainment. Throughout, the relevant liturgical actions are explained. For readers familiar with the medieval west, the most striking differences relate to the form of the Eucharist and to the commemoration of the dead in the absence of the western Doctrine of Purgatory.

The text is eminently readable, with terms unfamiliar to western readers clearly explained and supported by a short glossary. The gazetteer is illustrated with clear phased plans reproduced at a scale easy to follow, and numerous black-and-white photographs which are sharp and a decent size, laid out for ease of reference, and there is a list of all the significant literature on each church. Indeed, part of the value of the book as a whole is that it makes accessible to an Anglophone readership the fruits of much recent scholarship in both Greek and Turkish, as well as in western European languages.

P. S. Barnwell, Kellogg College, Oxford



Nicholas Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy c.1214–1968, a Biographical Register. Part I: The Deaneries of Aslaoe and Aveland*. Lincoln Record Society, Boydell & Brewer, 2013, xxxviii + 472 pp, £40.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 0 901503 96 1

Nicholas Bennett, *Lincolnshire Parish Clergy c.1214–1968 a Biographical Register. Part II: the Deaneries of Beltisloe and Bolingbroke*. Publications of the Lincoln Records Society, 2016, 518 pp., 30 b&w pls, £40.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 910653 00 5

Since its foundation in 1910, the Lincoln Record Society has published a wide range of sources relating to the county and diocese of Lincoln. It is justly famous for its editions of key medieval texts, such as the *Registrum Antiquissimum* of Lincoln

Cathedral, which dominate the early volumes in its records series. More recently the society has ventured into more diverse areas of publication. The present volumes are a welcome addition to the new dispensation, being the first two parts of a monumental project to provide an overview of the patrons and incumbents of the 700 or so parishes in Lincolnshire from the first surviving episcopal register c.1214 to Pastoral Measures which abolished patronage in 1968.

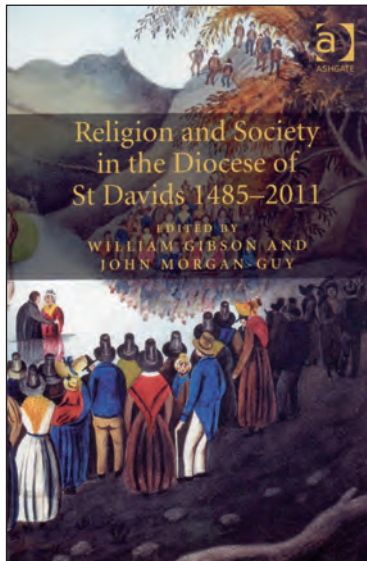
The 1000 pages of the first two volumes cover ninety-two parishes in four deaneries. Each parish is prefaced by a brief history of the advowson and then the incumbents are listed chronologically by living. Details of presentation and institution are given first and then biographical data. Not surprisingly there is little information on the earliest incumbents; personalities begin to emerge only from the fifteenth century. Date of birth, parentage, education, date of ordination, clerical career, and date of death are all recorded where known. Such further detail is provided as afforded by the vast range of sources consulted. We learn, for example, that Hugh de Scalleby had been given the custody of the church of Cold Hanworth 'to give him time to study and practise singing', but on his institution in 1218–19, he had been ordered by Bishop Hugh de Welles to attend the schools 'because of his insufficient learning'; that Robert Lanam of Castle Bytham left in his will of 1551 'to Sir John my preyst, my bonet, my furred gowne, my best jackett, my best dublet...and a hole quarter wages, to pry for the helthe of my sowle and all chrystyn sowles'; that the advowson of Corby Glen was auctioned off at Garraway's Coffee House in London by its Roman Catholic owner with the added incentive that 'the present Incumbent [is] upwards of 82 years old'.

There is much of interest for the casual reader of this kind. These volumes are of also of obvious value as a reference source for local historians. However, it will be regrettable if they are used only for these purposes; their potential in wider historical analysis is considerable. They will be a godsend for the landscape historian for whom the advowson of a church is a vital clue to unlocking the history of a settlement. But this specialist use pales into insignificance when compared to their value to the ecclesiastical historian. Here are the data for prosopographical analysis of incumbents and their patrons which promise to cast light at a local level on key historical problems such as the state of the parish clergy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the impact of the Reformation, the growth of puritan thought, the state of the church in the eighteenth century, the growth of the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth, and much more. Equally fascinating is the material for an anatomy of patronage and its role in

Lincolnshire, and by extension English, society through the ages.

Nicholas Bennett is to be congratulated for compiling a biographical register that, when complete, will have the potential to transform our understanding of the church in Lincolnshire and beyond.

David Roffe, University of Oxford



William Gibson and John Morgan-Guy (eds), *Religion and Society in the Diocese of St Davids 1485–2011*. Ashgate, 2015, 240 pp., no illustrations, £70.00, hdbk, ISBN 978 1 4094 4772 6

This is a bold undertaking that owes much to the inspiration of the late Nigel Yates; it is the first history of the diocese for over a century. The editors have assembled a team to cover a vast period and while there are inevitably overlaps, they have done a good job of taking us through the period. Bill Gibson's introduction sets the scene well, commenting on the various ways in which Welsh ecclesiastical history has been rendered as a matter of decline, periodic revivals, very much a part of a distinctive Welsh culture or indeed at odds with that culture, one studded with famous evangelical preachers, some notable bishops, all set in a very particular geographical context.

The essays are strong in showing the complexities of life in this diocese and exposing 'myths and legends'. They all play their part in showing how problematical it is to talk of 'reformations', 'revivals', success and failure. While many would think of Welsh Nonconformity, this is a volume that stresses the distinctiveness of the Anglican tradition in this isolated area. It confirms the importance of some images – such as the temperance tradition – within a broad Welsh narrative. While John Morgan-Guy confirms the view that Welsh monasteries were probably ripe for reform by the mid-sixteenth century, this was far from the case with parish worship. Hence, we also have a description of a 'long reformation' that was far from easy – as elsewhere in the British Isles – complicated in Wales by the need to translate the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh. The search for sufficiently educated Welsh speaking clergy appears to have been a constant problem over the centuries.

While John Morgan-Guy gets the luxury of two chapters to provide an historical framework for the periods 1485–1553 and 1553–1660, Robert Pope is given the unenviable task of discussing the theology of 'defending the faith' between 1534 and 2000. This highlights how clashes over the theology of Arminianism affected St Davids as well as English dioceses, stresses the efforts of bishops from Barlow on to inculcate education, and places appropriate emphasis on the role of St David's College,

Lampeter, in educating vast numbers of clergy of the diocese after 1827. There is a tendency here, as with other contributions in the collection, to stress the role of bishops or heads of college, so that one criticism of this volume might be that it overdoes the 'top-down' approach'; this may, however, be a useful corrective to what has often happened with Welsh history, namely the stress on key evangelical preachers at a lower level.

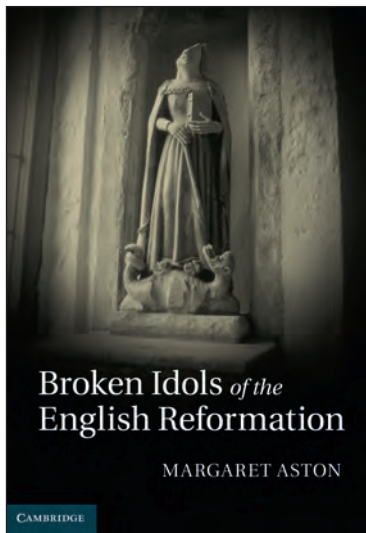
Bill Gibson picks up the story of the Restoration Church between 1660 and 1730, and shows how indeed it was quite a successful 'restoration' in contrast to gloomier images produced by Erasmus Saunders in 1721. Here is also a case where one generation stressing a 'great awakening' or revival is at pains to depict earlier times in a poor light. We are again told much about the bishops, but one or two mentions of archdeacons and rural deans should remind us of the importance of these lower ranks in the church, particularly the latter, whose role was most aptly fitted for the nature of the terrain. Bishops Ottley and Smalbroke are seen as key figures in the eighteenth century; both paid close attention to the role of the cathedral in the diocese. The clergy emerge from this sketch as more Welsh than might have once been supposed, better educated, and thus reasonably successful and esteemed for their care of their flock.

Erin White tackles the great theme of religious revivals over not just one, but three centuries. She usefully poses questions about how religious enthusiasm could be troubling, frightening, and noisy; making the point that 'revivals' came and went, often following clearly delineated patterns. Mike Benbough-Jackson's case study of St David's Day celebrations illustrates the use of such ceremonies for Anglicans, Catholics and nonconformists in Wales as a means of demonstrating national identity. Frequently seen as something important to Welsh people 'in exile' in London, such ceremonies also played a significant part in the diocese.

One feature of this collection is the way in which the contributors tackle dominant narratives and expose neglected areas that might require more research. Harri Williams thus demonstrates how the career of Bishop John Owen has been neglected, largely because his fight against Welsh disestablishment was eventually lost in 1914, and it has been too easy to ignore how he then played a great part in the successful creation of the new Church in Wales. The role of bishops and the importance of the Welsh language loom large in the last article on the modern diocese of St Davids by William Price. This is a difficult piece because it inevitably charts a decline in number of clergy, increasing problems facing all concerned in diocesan affairs, while ecumenism and the ordination of women were matters of controversy here as elsewhere in the Anglican communion.

The attempt to get away from an institutional approach has its merits, and this volume does convey interesting vignettes of this diocese, but more could perhaps have been said about the source problems that make writing about Welsh history so difficult, and also about the structure of the diocese and the role of its cathedral throughout. Nevertheless, this volume is welcome for its celebration of the diocesan framework and might encourage others to follow suit elsewhere.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent



Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, 2016, 1109 pp., 99 b&w pls, £120, \$200, hdbk, ISBN 978 0 521 77018 7

In the 1960s Margaret Aston conceived the highly original idea of investigating the sensory revolution which occurred at the Reformation when the English church ceased focusing primarily upon images to concentrate virtually exclusively upon the word. It was an undertaking which was to occupy her for all the rest of her life. The first fruits of her research appeared in 1988 in *England's Iconoclasts: Laws against Images*, which traces the developments in theology and politics at a national level which made the transformation possible. This companion volume, completed just before her death in 2014, examines in very considerable depth the aims and achievements of the iconoclasts in the country at large.

The book, which spans the period from the late fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, is divided into three parts. The first, largely chronological section considers the motivation for the destruction of images, the consequences of dispersing the now redundant objects of worship, and the partial reversal of the process under the early Stuarts; the second by means of a series of detailed case studies highlights the often idiosyncratic policies of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, while the third provides an overview of the treatment of two particular classes of images: stained glass and crosses.

Artists in the later middle ages had few inhibitions about creating literal representations of the mysteries of the faith, depicting the Trinity, for example, as a bearded old man on a throne cradling a crucified Christ with the Holy Spirit overhead in the form of a dove. Since the time of Wyclif citing the second commandment Lollards had considered such images to be blasphemous and made isolated attempts to purge the church of idolatry. At the Reformation evangelicals condemned images on exactly the same grounds, though now their iconoclasm was on a quite different scale, with much of it orchestrated not by

individuals but by the state. The only visual reference they now permitted to God the Father was the tetragrammaton, a combination of Hebrew consonants, and they showed an increasing reluctance to sanction any portrayal of Christ or the Holy Spirit. The cleansing of churches of idolatry at the beginning of the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I was supervised by churchmen, in the latter case by clerics who had themselves experienced at first hand worship in the reformed churches on the continent. Alongside the obliteration of relics of the Catholic past went the need to re-educate the laity, and the clergy made words in the form of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed together with a diverse selection of biblical texts the chief adornment of churches. Contemporary teaching through sermons, catechising and the book of homilies read by non-preaching ministers to their congregations Sunday by Sunday drove home the sinfulness of idolatry, and more and more the godly began to feel empowered to act on their own initiative if the chief magistrate evinced insufficient commitment to reform. When the tide turned, therefore, in the early seventeenth century, and anti-Calvinist churchmen began commissioning new statues and stained glass windows and replacing tables with altars they reacted with horror at what they saw as a re-introduction of the false worship of the medieval past. Their revulsion contributed in no small measure to the spate of popular iconoclasm in the early years of the Civil War.

Having chronicled outbreaks of iconoclasm episode by episode over the period the book goes on to explore the very different treatment of two medieval saints, Thomas Becket and St George. Immediately after he had severed ties with Rome Henry VIII embarked upon a personal vendetta against Thomas Becket, the saint most responsible for having secured the independence of the English church during the middle ages. Statues, paintings on walls and in windows, references in service books were all erased and church dedications switched to the uncontentious Thomas the Apostle. The martyr had been vaporised in a few short years. Edward VI intended a similar fate for St George, but died before he had finished his re-organisation of the Order of the Garter, and the saint survived in an attenuated form as a symbol of English nationalism.

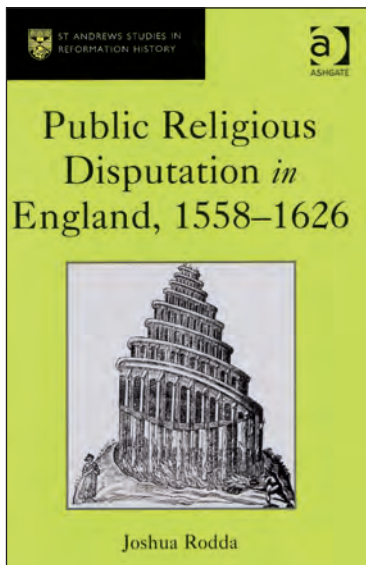
Iconoclasts found it relatively easy to hack down sculpture, cart away ornaments and vestments, and whitewash walls, but often held back from destroying stained glass windows because of the very considerable expense of re-glazing. An image of God the Father as an old man creating the world remained in a window in St Edmund's parish church in Salisbury until 1630 when the city recorder, Henry Sherfield, with disastrous consequences for his

career, took an axe to the offending picture. A similar war of attrition was waged on crucifixes indelibly linked with treason after the papal excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570. As hostilities intensified against Catholic Spain, crucifixes, market and wayside crosses, even plain crosses within churches fell victim to Protestant ire.

The book concludes with a discussion of the extent to which reformers succeeded in changing churches originally designed for spiritual gazing upon material representations of the divine into to auditories for the hearing the word, and thus in according priority in worship to the ears over the eyes. The appetite for sermons and the spontaneous attacks on images once the Civil War had started suggest that after a century of constant teaching and preaching the fear of idolatry ran very deep.

The two last sections of this very long book consist of more or less free standing essays so it is possible to pursue particular topics of interest, as the author herself points out, without necessarily reading it from beginning to end. Empathetic, allusive, but above all else challenging, it includes an extensive scholarly bibliography, and is attractively produced with its many illustrations integrated into the text and its footnotes at the bottom of the page. *Broken Idols* together with *England's Iconoclasts* will now surely become an essential resource for all serious future work on the history and archaeology of churches during the long English Reformation.

Claire Cross, University of York



Joshua Rodda, *Public Religious Disputation in England, 1558–1626*. St Andrews Studies in Reformation History Series, Ashgate 2014, x + 232 pp., £75 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 4724 1555 4

Joshua Rodda has produced an excellent first book based on his PhD thesis and provides a neatly nuanced account of the nature of academic, theological controversy in his chosen period. He notes the university conventions that bound the form of such meetings and the theological imperatives that drove Protestant and Catholic clergy alike to participate. Various tensions unfolded over the period in question, as champions of Catholic and Protestant faith joined battle at court, in prisons, and in the houses of nobleman, often on the pretext of saving the soul of some prominent convert. While James I in particular revelled in taking the role of moderator – most notably at Hampton Court where the battle was between Protestants of different hue in 1604 – Queen Elizabeth and Charles I wisely kept such disputations at a distance. There was always the danger that such disputes could engender civil unrest.

Rodda details some classic encounters over the period, noting the Westminster Conference of 1559 that was effectively orchestrated to outmanoeuvre Catholics unwilling to accept the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity. Edmund Campion was a critical hero for the Catholics who took on a succession of Protestant divines like Nowell, Fulke, Goad and Charke from the Tower in 1581. Later disputations were as likely to be amongst Protestants, as when Sparke and Travers attempted to best Archbishops Whitgift and Sandys, and Bishop Cooper in front of an audience containing the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley in 1584. Archdeacon William Hutchinson found himself called upon to deal with the notable separatists Barrow and Greenwood in 1590.

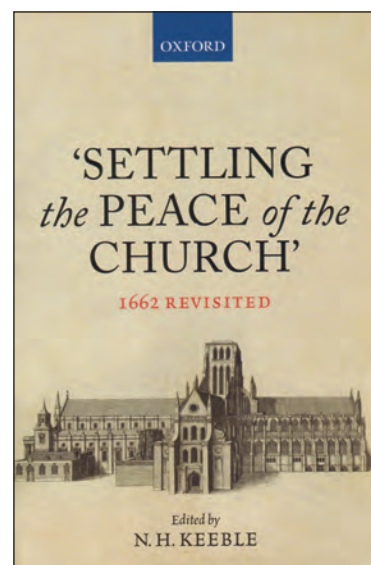
One famous protagonist was Daniel Featley, who first came to notice when representing his faith in disputations held in France between 1610 and 1613; he later took part in the meetings with Fisher in 1621 and over the Countess of Buckingham in 1622, which also drew in William Laud. But that was really the end of this phase of antagonistic public debate. The York House Conference of 1626 was more private and exploratory in nature, still very political, but now about the new threat of 'Arminianism'. Joshua Rodda has woven a good story out of strands that reflect usefully on the history of education, of the universities, and of religious developments in this period affecting both English Protestantism and Roman Catholicism.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent

N. H. Keeble (ed.), *'Settling the Peace of the Church': 1662 Revisited*. Oxford University Press, 2014, 270 pp., (no plates), £60.00, hdbk, ISBN 978 0 19 968853 1

This is an excellent collection of essays that originated in papers delivered in 2012 at the eighth annual conference of the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies held at Dr Williams's Library in London. That conference marked the 350th anniversary of the Act of Uniformity, and this collection hits its mark in underlining the significance of that Act for the Church of England and dissenting congregations of the British Isles. Professor Keeble sets the scene with a detailed chronology of events between 1660 and 1662, carefully woven together with discussion of the options for comprehension that came and went, the role of the King, his bishops, and parliament. The piece closes with the failure of attempts to achieve uniformity, the ejected, and the legacy of this critical episode for all concerned.

This introduction eschews comment on sources and approaches, but such matters get full discussion later. Jacqueline



Rose provides a useful theoretical framework regarding the debate over authority, adiaphora, the civil magistrates and the settlement of religion. The debates are suitably located in a longer timescale stretching back to the Reformation, which has the merit of revealing how the language subtly shifted so that the fault lines appeared more between conformists and dissenters, when once the divisions had been more sharply drawn with Papists. This likewise picks up the ways in which the Restoration Church of England continued down the path set by Archbishop Laud and his followers, rather than espousing a broader church as once espied by Archbishop Abbot. It thus becomes apparent why the search for comprehension eventually foundered, and why toleration then became the resolution to the problem.

Paul Seaward picks up the theme by highlighting temporary concessions, the work of Clarendon in all this, and the politics of comprehension *vis-à-vis* toleration. Clarendon is portrayed in all his complexity, caught as he was between conflicting ideals, wedded as he was to the role of the crown and the bishops in any revised Church, aware – as he is portrayed here – of just how much had changed since the 1640s. Clarendon was not prepared to grant concessions that would have eased the way to a more comprehensive church. For a stalwart of a different hue, Michael Davies discusses John Bunyan. He explores why Bunyan wrote *I Will Pray with the Spirit*, sets the work in a Bedford context, and notes what was lost to congregations there on the Restoration, so highlighting the brief window of opportunity that was offered to many by the Cromwellian regime.

A strong feature of this collection is the way in which it follows the impact of events of 1662 on a number of other countries. Hence, Robert Armstrong discusses the return of bishops to Ireland and their battles with Presbyterians and other nonconformists, not to mention Catholics. In this regard he feels the critical date for Ireland was 1661 with the mass consecration of two archbishops and ten bishops who moved to establish their authority more speedily than their compatriots in England. Alasdair Raffe discusses similar problems in Scotland, where it seems that what was considered fit for England and Ireland carried the return of bishops for Scotland with subsequent repression of Presbyterianism.

Gary Cotter and Owen Stanwood provide interesting counterpoints to these studies. The first discusses the new wave of exiles that departed for the Netherlands after 1662 and the impact that people like Matthew Newcomen had on Leiden. Several clergymen took to medical studies in that famous University town and all sustained a lively intellectual network both on the continent and with friends in England. Owen Stanwood then

explores crises and opportunities created under the Restoration Church in New England. He rejects an isolationist model and notes considerable interaction between the old world and the new, picking up how the latter was another safe haven for religious exiles. New England became a more diverse population as a result of a series of migrations over the latter half of the seventeenth century, and the age-old problems of attempted control from London were not resolved.

The collection concludes with two pieces discussing alternative grand narratives of the events of 1662, notably that proposed by Baxter, Clarke and Calamy, as opposed to that stoutly defended by Walker. Professor Keeble notes how the former group wrote for posterity and attempted to vindicate the 'Bartholomeans' as 'ministers of Christ'. They were portrayed as moderate, peaceable and ordinary folk who suffered great calamities for their faith. Mark Burden tells the story from the other side: John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* being the classic response to the outpourings of pity for the nonconformists. Through a combination of oral, manuscript and printed testimony, Walker worked between 1703 and 1714 to produce his *magnum opus* on those of the Church of England ejected largely in the 1640s and 1650s. This is an excellent piece for revealing just how Walker put together his great work, the backing he received, and the resources still left for historians to tap in his voluminous letters and journals.

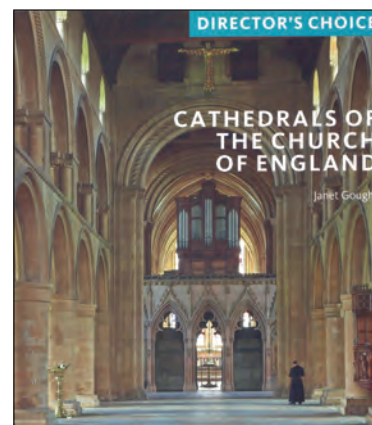
The collection contains treasure trove for further lines of research, some of which have already been followed up, as in Fiona McCall's work on Walker. A word of caution about the numbers of ejections mentioned throughout, for new research on the clergy is starting to show the complications of these particular phases of 'numbering the godly'. Nevertheless, this collection is to be commended, for it does what the blurb claims in that 'it constitutes the most wide-ranging and sustained discussion of this episode for fifty years'.

Andrew Foster, University of Kent

Janet Gough, *Cathedrals of the Church of England*. London, Scala, 2015, 96 pp., 94 col. pls, £12.95, pbk, ISBN 978 1 85759 940 4

The author is Secretary of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England and Director of the Cathedral and Church Buildings Division of the Church of England. The book is one in Scala's Director's Choice series, all of which have the same near-square format (190 x 165 mm) and interior layout.

Janet Gough covers all of England's current 42 cathedrals, so the 'director's choice' in this book comes down to what items of



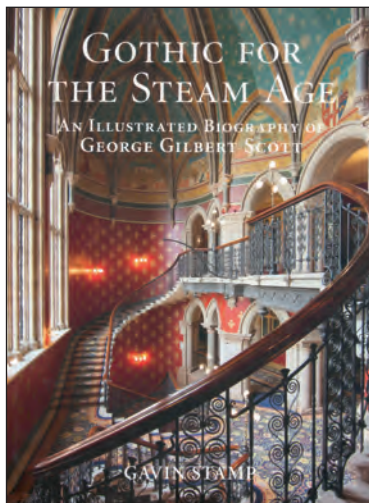
history, architecture and artefacts she chooses to highlight in her descriptive text and the accompanying photographs. Each cathedral is treated equally on a two-page spread, words and a small photograph on one page and a large photo on the opposite page. I liked this approach, as too often the 'parish church' cathedrals have received scant coverage in comparison to the greater cathedrals in other books. In one page it cannot offer more than a taster for each cathedral; if you want to read more you will turn to Pevsner or the guidebook.

The descriptions are preceded by a headline, title, a one-line summary and the cathedral's website URL (e.g. "Resting place of two queens", Peterborough Cathedral, Twelfth-century Norman abbey; became cathedral under Henry VIII, www.peterboroughcathedral.org). I found the content interesting for each cathedral, often discovering information that had passed me by over the years! If there is a bias in the text, it is the inclusion of recent changes to the fabric or contents, but that is a plus in my opinion. The labyrinth at Wakefield, Salisbury's font by William Pye and the Richard III-driven alterations at Leicester are all examples. The photographs are delightful, and some are quirky even (like the geometric staircase at St Paul's and a new gargoyle at York). I also liked that there is a majority of photographs that are not the standard views that have been published many times before. One also reminded me that I still have not seen the new west front at Portsmouth.

Try as I might I could not work out the running order for the cathedrals. It seemed to start with the foundation date of the see, and certainly from Ripon onwards that is the case. However the pre-Henry VIII foundations get confused see-wise quite quickly, and even those post-Reformation foundations are in a random order. I can though see why St Paul's is included next as it is the first post-Reformation 'new build', and then Ripon etc. follow on. Maybe an index or contents page would have been handy for those who may not instantly locate a cathedral by photo on a quick flick-through.

The last paragraph is however a bit nit-picky as my overall impression of this book is positive and it will form a welcome addition to my library when it leaves the coffee table.

Phil Draper



Gavin Stamp, *Gothic for the Steam Age: An Illustrated Biography of George Gilbert Scott*. London, Aurum Press, 2015, 208 pp., many col. and b&w pls, £30, hdbk, ISBN 978 1 78131 124 0

'Will anyone ever admire the works of Scott?' wrote Basil Clarke in 1938 in his pioneering study *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*. The faithful restoration in recent years of George Gilbert

Scott's most important secular works, the Foreign Office, the Albert Memorial, and the Midland Grand Hotel at St Pancras, all in London, has seen Scott's reputation rightfully restored. Scott's extraordinary achievement in re-imagining Gothic as a 'free, comprehensive, and practical' style suitable for modern domestic, commercial and public buildings produced his greatest single work, at St Pancras. (It also generated his often 'ponderous and churchy' country houses – Stamp's verdict again – none of which is still lived in.) But, as Stamp insists, Scott was 'first and foremost a church architect'.

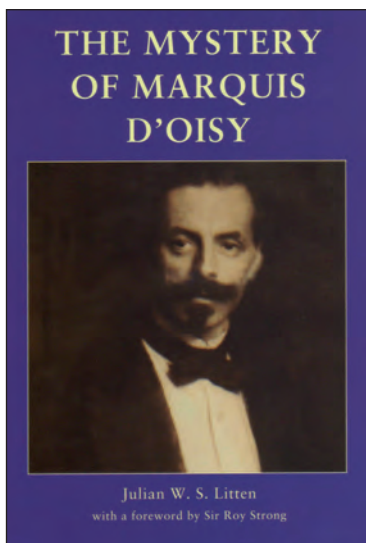
'Many but certainly not all of Scott's churches were repetitive and they could be, frankly, a little dull', Stamp comments. Such was the flowering of church architecture in Victorian England that many appear stifflingly conventional alongside the work of Bodley and Street (both sometime pupils in his office), Burges and Butterfield. The sheer scale of Scott's practice made it impossible for him to control every project in detail, though this left scope for Street, Bodley and other talented assistants, including his own sons G. G. Scott Jnr. and the much underestimated John Oldrid, to contribute significantly to the designs. In church matters, Scott was a middle of the road Anglican, brought up in an Evangelical ethos. 'Advanced' churchmen did not come to him: he was left to deal with the 'promiscuous herd'. *The Ecclesiologist* famously damned him for the 'sin' of building for Lutheran 'heretics' in Hamburg. (The Nikolaikirche there, largely destroyed by the RAF in 1943, was probably Scott's finest church.) Pugin, Scott's great hero, excoriated the (Protestant) Martyrs' Memorial in Oxford. But could any other leading Victorian architect have so skilfully combined the memory of a lost building with fertile new invention as Scott did in the case of St George's, Doncaster? The churches illustrated here, including the magnificent All Souls, Haley Hill, St Barnabas's, Ranmore, All Saints', Sherbourne, and St Paul's, Fulney (completed, like the equally impressive All Souls', Leeds, after Scott's death) illustrate the sheer range of invention emanating from Scott's office.

Scott's work on the restoration (he preferred 'reparation') of ancient buildings, notably the many cathedrals on which he worked, is now understood and not ignorantly condemned as it once was. The architectural integrity of a great church, and its suitability as a continuing place of worship, mattered more to him than the retention of decayed stonework. Even the arch-SPABite Lethaby conceded the value of much of Scott's work at Westminster Abbey. Here and elsewhere, Scott was able to bring to bear some of the greatest decorative talents of the age, working in stone, wood, metal and glass to create interiors which recalled the lost splendours of the Middle Ages. It now seems

extraordinary that Nikolaus Pevsner, no less, could condone the removal of Scott's Salisbury screen. How bleak the cathedral appears today, stripped of Scott's fittings. Gavin Stamp, already responsible for a valuable annotated edition of Scott's *Recollections*, has written a text, far from long, not uncritical, but packed with judicious comment, which reveals a real sympathy for Scott as a man whose character was 'a combination of sensitivity and bumptiousness'. The attacks to which he was subjected wounded him – but he gave as good as he got and never doubted his own talents. Stamp has brought Scott, family man, Christian, and architect – *Vir Probus, Architectus Peritissimus* as he was justly described – vividly to life in this book. His publishers have served him well with a book that is elegantly designed and lavishly illustrated with well reproduced photographs and drawings. If any book can cement the rehabilitation of Scott, this is it.

Ken Powell

Gothic for the Steam Age is available for Ecclesiological Society members at the special offer price of £24 including UK P&P (RRP £30). Telephone 01903 828503 or email mailorders@lbsltd.co.uk, quoting the offer code APG359 and the book's ISBN 9781781311240.



Julian W. S. Litten, *The Mystery of Marquis d'Oisy*. Shaun Tyas, 2015, 120 pp., 76 col. pls, £14.95 pbk, ISBN 978 1 907730 49 8

It is hard not to criticise this unusual little book, but much, much harder to resist its charm. The style is as frustrating as the opacity of its subject, Ambrose Thomas, a gifted designer apparently born in Bath but claiming to be Brazilian, a one-time navy who assumed the French title of Amand Edouard Ambroise Marie Louis (Louis to his friends) Etienne Phillipe d'Saint Andre Tournay, Marquis d'Oisy (to the world Marquis, to an irreverent youth once in his employ 'Marq'). *Sic*.

Three times in nine pages we are told that this Roman Catholic left the Anglican Benedictines of Caldey in a ketch. Four times in six pages we are told that the music for one of his pageants was provided by Kenworthy Smith, a notable exponent of the pipe and tabor and 'arguably one of the finest jig dancers in England'. Data is repeated, and the author's analysis is followed with an extended quotation of the source. That said, the appendices consist of fascinating verbatim interviews of people sharing their recollections of Marquis. And somehow the book never outstays its welcome.

It tells the story of a romantic original, a tall Edwardian eccentric, who always wore sandals and shorts, and slept with his

dogs on an open-air balcony. In the unrecorded years from 1902 to 1917, perhaps through theatrical contacts, more likely through links with Louis Grossé and Company (of Bruges and Baker Street), he became a costume designer of skill, and a highly gifted painter and restorer of furniture. At the centre of the book are some stunning photographs of his work in churches. It was during this same period that Ambrose Thomas became the Marquis; it is just possible that Ambrose was itself a reinvention. In his heyday he was deeply involved in the pageant culture of Essex in the 1920s – a real flavour of that culture wafts through the book.

The culture came inevitably to its end. The 1940s saw demand for hand-painted furniture virtually cease. The tolerance of neighbours and the generosity of friends allowed this resilient man to survive his poverty; clearly, you could not help but like him. His body was buried in the coffin he had made many years before.

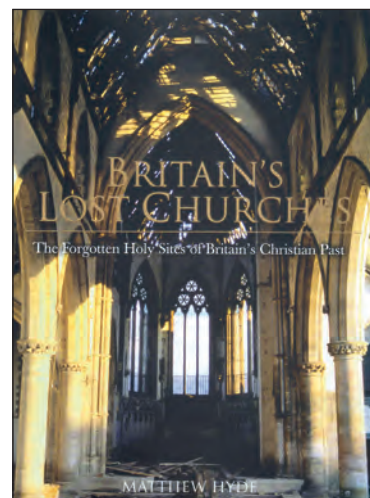
This is a touching book, as well as an enjoyable one, and worth its £14.95. Prepare to be frustrated, but prepare to be enriched as well.

John Thewlis, Carshalton

Matthew Hyde, *Britain's Lost Churches*. Aurum Press, 2015, 191 pp., 48 col. pls, £20.00 hdbk, ISBN 978 1 78131 121 9

A moment's thought will tell you that Britain is dense with lost churches. All the dissolved monasteries, for example, all the Saxon and Norman churches that were demolished to make way for Gothic successors, all the medieval churches swept away by Victorian improvers, all these are lost. So are many Victorian churches, destroyed by modern developers. There seem no limits to the ways in which churches are lost. How to choose from the spectral legions of lost churches some specimens that will stir the imagination or illustrate a theme: that is the challenge. Matthew Hyde, an architectural historian, takes the anecdotal approach. He selects a moderate number of buildings, little known for the most part, which have a curious history and which also exemplify the processes that lead them to perdition.

Historically, land erosion, fire and bombing have been causes of church loss, but social erosion now represents the greatest threat to the ecclesiastical stock of the nation. Dwindling congregations and disintegrating communities leave many places of worship stranded and financially unsustainable. The collapse of Methodism in Wales, the subject of one of Hyde's chapters, has left innumerable chapels abandoned, and in poor communities it is often difficult to find new roles for buildings that were designed for hundreds of people. In England, urban churches that lose their congregations are a particular problem. Melancholy photographs



show the demolition of St Alban, Cheetham, Manchester as recently as 1998. Here was a noble church by J. S. Crowther built in the late 1850s and splendidly furnished in the High Church mode (it was chosen for illustration by Pevsner in his *South Lancashire*) but its congregation largely defected after the introduction of women priests and it closed. St Alban was the product of High Church principles and also their victim, but vandalism hastened its fall. *Habent sua fata ecclesiae*.

Matthew Hyde's book excels in surprising the reader with unexpected and tantalising information. How many would know, for example that John Wood of Bath, the architect of Queen Square and the Circus, built a neo-classical temple within the ruins of Llandaff Cathedral so that worship could be re-instated there? Or that the Saxon minster founded by St Augustine at Reculver in Kent survived until 1809, when it was unnecessarily demolished, with total indifference to its history? No trace of either structure remains, and the elaborately carved Saxon cross that may have been raised in Augustine's time went too. How many readers are aware that a thoroughly picturesque ruined abbey, Calder Abbey, survives, unspoiled by English Heritage's tidy presentations, close to Sellafield nuclear power station? Not only birds and wildlife benefit from compromised environments, but churches also.

Churches that have been lost but found again form an intriguing feature of this book. The Saxon church of Bradford on Avon was disinterred from later buildings in the mid-nineteenth century. The chapel at Bures in Suffolk, which had been consecrated in 1218 by Archbishop Langton to mark the place where King Edmund had been crowned in 855, re-emerged in the twentieth century from a great overlying barn. The remains of the Royal Chapel of St Stephen constructed in the reign of Edward I reappeared after the burning of the Palace of Westminster in 1834. Heavily overbuilt, it had served as the setting for the House of Commons, and Hyde helpfully reminds us that the chapel layout of 'two adversarial sets of choir stalls facing each other' has shaped our parliamentary practice ever since. Even the custom of bowing to the Speaker may be a survival of medieval custom, for he sat where the altar had been.

Britain's Lost Churches is full of such stimulating, miscellaneous information. It's a good read, yet it's a book without any obvious structure, without notes or references or index. Strongly in its favour, however, is its wealth of unfamiliar and fascinating photographs. It would make an excellent gift book, for it touches the imagination and creates a desire to get out and see some of these strange buildings for oneself.

Graham Parry, University of York

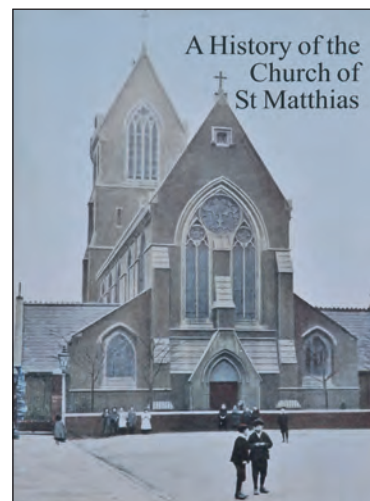
Nicholas Riddell, *A History of the Church of St Matthias, Stoke Newington*. Church of St Matthias, 2015, 28pp., 19 b&w and col. pls, £10 incl. p&p from Fr David Lambert, The Vicarage, Wordsworth Road, London N16 8DD. ISBN 978 0 99318570-0

This is an impressive guide to one of the most important English churches of the mid-nineteenth-century – hence of any century. It is a seminal masterpiece of William Butterfield who was then forging new church architecture for a new age. Under Ecclesiological influence, the early 1840s had seen the rapid acceptance of Early Middle Pointed – that is of styles prevalent about 1300 – as the orthodoxy for church building and the copying of the achievements of that time. This was beautiful architecture, fitting for the highest of Man's endeavours, the worship of God.

Not surprisingly, since nothing stands still, there followed the idea of developing the achievements of the Middle Ages. In this Butterfield was pivotal. His vicarage and lych-gate in the mid-1840s at St Saviour's, Coalpit Heath, just north of Bristol, broke new aesthetic ground with a severe geometry which must have bewildered local observers. At that time Butterfield was being favoured by the Cambridge Camden Society and its soon-to-be dominating figure, Alexander Beresford Hope. That would, of course, lead on to nothing less than All Saints', Margaret Street.

All Saints', Margaret Street, is the more famous sister of St Matthias, Stoke Newington, but the latter has an extraordinarily important and interesting history which is laid out here by Nicholas Riddell. It was Butterfield's first London church, being commissioned a year before All Saints. The go-ahead began in 1848 (consecration took place on 13 June 1853).

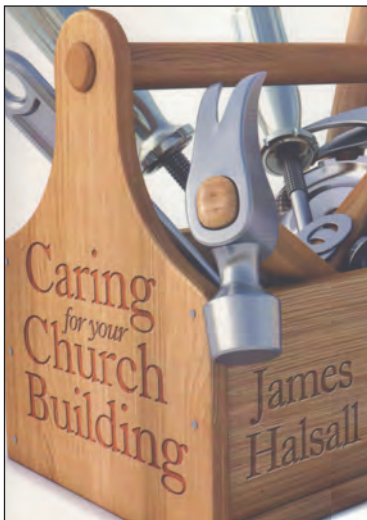
The nineteenth-century rise towards Tractarianism, Ritualism and Anglo-Catholicism can so easily be filtered through its great clerical figureheads yet it was the influence and wealth of the sympathetic laity that helped make that rise possible. Such was the case at All Saints, Margaret Street, where Alexander Beresford Hope and the banker Henry Tritton, turned vision into reality. So too at St Matthias. Here a doctor, Robert Brett, led the move to establish the church. Not a vastly wealthy man like Hope and Tritton, he had a brilliant ability for drawing in High Church backers. The whole trajectory of St Matthias, as Nicholas Riddell shows, was at the very high end of liturgical practice and the church was on the receiving end of popular riots in 1867 to stamp out 'popish practices' – altar lights, choral services, surpliced choirs, plainsong and so on. Presentation to the living was vested alternately between the Crown and the Bishop of London and there were perennial concerns that an antagonistic bishop would



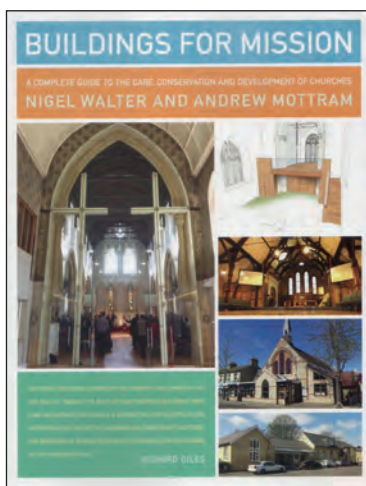
try to put a stop ritualistic practices. That they ultimately failed is a story too long to set out here but it is superbly laid out in this new publication.

The booklet is richly illustrated with a collection of historic drawings and photographs and is evidence of careful in-depth research. There are some fascinating quotes but it is a regret that the source of these is not generally given (although the ‘usual suspect’ secondary sources are in the unenlightening bibliography). What was the source for the building committee, on approving the final plans, declaring Butterfield’s design ‘rather singular’? Who was it who accused Brett in 1852 of wasting money ‘in running brick and mortar up into the skies’. Then we get ‘An ecclesiologist towards the end of the nineteenth century; saying ‘it is “impossible to imagine an interior more calculated to inspire devotional feeling”’ – why not tell us who?! These are important opinions in judging contemporary reactions to Butterfield’s very original work. A point that could have done with greater elaboration is Butterfield’s far-reaching idea of placing his tower over the choir, rather than between the choir and nave. It had been pre-figured in Lancashire in the 1830s by architects John Lathom and Edmund Sharpe but with no real consequences, so Butterfield’s plan was really most important. Riddell simply quotes Pevsner as suggesting this was an idea imported from Normandy but it would have been good to know more about sources and derivatives as this was so important for late nineteenth-century church planning.

Geoff Brandwood



James Halsall, *Caring for your Church Building*. Stowmarket, Kevin Mayhew, 2015, 158 pp., many b&w drawings, £12.99 pbk, ISBN 978 1 84867 779 1



Nigel Walter and Andrew Mottram, *Buildings for Mission: a complete guide to the care, conservation and development of churches*. Canterbury Press, 2015, 335 pp., many b&w photographs, drawings and diagrams, £29.99, pbk, ISBN 978 1 84825 760 3

Two new books on an ever-relevant topic, both aimed primarily at a Church of England audience and both to a large extent covering similar ground, but one displaying greater ambitions.

A member of the Church Buildings Review Group (which published the recent report on the future of parish churches), James Halsall’s day job for the last twenty years has been as Secretary of the St Edmundsbury and Ipswich DAC. He has distilled his experience and knowledge in a handy and fairly short guide, aimed primarily at churchwardens and others charged with

the care of church buildings. As the illustration on the front cover makes clear, this is a practical day-to-day toolkit, and does not stray very much into deeper waters. Janet Gough, Director of the Cathedral and Church Building Division, says in her foreword 'The Church of England has responsibility for 16,000 parish churches, 12,500 of which are listed. Most of these are cared for by volunteers and others who have had no professional training in historic buildings and their conservation, which is why a book like this is so helpful'. And indeed it is. The reader is guided in plain and jargon-free language through the labyrinths of quinquennial inspection, faculty jurisdiction, grants, the pros and cons of different heating, lighting, WC and kitchen options, statements of need and significance, and much else besides. Halsall brings us up to date with changes to faculty jurisdiction and other developments (such as the fact that churchyard exhumations no longer need a Home Office or Ministry of Justice licence, just faculty approval). A very useful guide for the perplexed, and *aide memoire* for the rest of us.

Buildings for Mission is also a practical manual, written in plain language, with much good and useful advice. But it is also a book with, well, a mission, and comes with the imprimatur of the Very Revd Richard Giles, author of *Re-pitching the Tent* (2004). Nigel Walter is a Cambridge architect specialising in the 'development of church buildings for contemporary mission', while Andrew Mottram is an Anglican priest and ecclesiastical heritage consultant, best known for his transformation of All Saints, Hereford as a 'café-church' – a scheme widely acknowledged to have saved that building from closure. He and Walter now wish to roll out a similar programme across the land. They invite us to explore 'a new medievalism', whereby the naves of our churches can be reclaimed for the people. Getting in the way of this, of course, is the 'toxic' legacy of Tractarianism, 'never a good idea theologically'. It turns out that Pugin and co. weren't being medieval at all or, if they were, they were being medieval in the wrong way. The idea that the naves and aisles of our medieval churches were used for secular functions as well as serving as sacred spaces is familiar, although the authors do acknowledge that the modern separation of the realms of sacred and secular would be an alien concept to our forebears – as well as being the forum for parish business, naves and aisles would have accommodated processions, shrines and altars, none of which the authors propose to revive. In fact, the process of 'secularisation' of church spaces is already well underway, with the encouragement of policymakers and grant-giving bodies (and incidentally prompts the question whether such buildings – or parts of buildings – should continue to be exempted from secular heritage controls). In practical terms,

this seems invariably to boil down to questions about pews, and the legacy of what the authors call the ‘sclerosis’ of Victorian over-provision. Walter and Mottram want to accelerate this process, but also to ‘reawaken the understanding of church buildings as holy places’. It’s not certain that they can have it both ways, but the museums option apart (how funded?), we probably have no choice but to go down this route – given that fewer than one million people now attend their Church of England church and some 2,000 rural churches cannot muster a congregation of more than ten. Walter and Mottram’s diagnoses and remedies are trenchantly argued, and in some respects unarguable (though no doubt making uncomfortable reading for many). At least they offer a positive vision, and one which is very timely, given the imminent ‘English Churches and Cathedrals Sustainability Review’.

Andrew Derrick, Architectural History Practice

The Ecclesiological Society

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

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

Contributions to *Ecclesiology Today*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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