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The chapel at Peterhouse, looking east

## CHAIRMAN'S COMMENTS

Kenneth Richardson has decided to retire from an active role on the Council of the Society, and will not be standing for re-election as Secretary at the AGM. I will first let my two predecessors as Chairman of Council have their say.

Michael Peel, Chairman of Council 1985-92 writes:

> Kenneth joined the Council in 1989, and in 1991 was elected Acting Secretary, a post, which for the year he held it, brought an increasingly heavy work-load. At that time it involved not only correspondence, but also editing the Newsletter, and the preparing of manuscripts for the press. In addition, as Chairman I much valued his advice on a number of difficult, time-consuming matters which I had to deal with on the Council's behalf. All who served with Kenneth (who from 1992 continued as Hon. Correspondence Secretary) will remember his quiet efficiency, courtesy and good sense, and above all his willingness to put the best interests of the Society first. It was a pleasure to work with him, and to him go the best wishes of many friends.

Paul Velluet, Chairman of Council 1992-1999 writes:

> Kenneth Richardson has made an invaluable contribution to the successful operation and administration of the Society, most recently as Secretary. In addition to meeting the considerable administrative demands required of his post with particular efficiency and characteristic helpfulness, he has undertaken a wide range of other work for the Society and its membership, showing an impressive commitment in furthering the Society's aims. Members of the Society owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Kenneth. We wish him every happiness in his retirement from the Secretaryship.

My experience matches that of the two previous Chairmen. Kenneth has despatched his role with efficiency, care and determination - for example, he oversaw the settlement of the Society's collections of books and slides at the cost of considerable time and trouble. He is also a much valued member of the Council for his quiet turning over of a problem, and ability to put matters in their wider context. We shall miss his routine presence, though I am pleased to say he has agreed to become a member of Council without particular office, and attend meetings on an occasional basis.

For many years Kenneth has been researching an inter-war campaign of church-building in the diocese of Southwark. Many members will have heard his talk on the subject at last year's AGM. I am pleased to say that after many delays his substantial book on this topic, which also contains a significant body of original illustrations by our member John Bray, is now at the printers. It will be posted free to members, making it the second in this *annus mirabilis* of free books, as the Society catches up with a backlog. The timing was not intentional, but is a fitting mark of thanks for Kenneth's efforts over the years. Members of the Council look forward to meeting members at the lecture and AGM on May 30th, details of which are separately enclosed.

Trevor Cooper
April 2002

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# 'NEW-DIVISED ANTHEMES TO MAKE THEMSELVE MERRY': CHORAL EVENSONG IN THE TIME OF WILLIAM LAUD

Trevor Cooper

Choral evensong is 'a time for great stillness', 'a service of reflection, of leaving oneself open'.[1] Such timelessness makes it easy to suppose it has not changed since very early days.[2] Yet appearances can be deceptive. Who, for example, would guess that the Christmas service of nine lessons and carols in its current form is not yet ninety years old?[3]

This article arose from a literature survey undertaken early in 2001, for a service of choral evensong at Peterhouse chapel, Cambridge using music of the 1630s. Although it was not the intention to reproduce a service of the period in all its particulars, it seemed important to understand how it might originally have been carried out. For this was the time of Archbishop William Laud, when Anglican ceremonial and music underwent considerable development. This was shortly afterwards swept away by the Civil War in the early 1640s, then reinstated and further developed at the Restoration twenty years later. Understanding what happened at Peterhouse in the 1630s is particularly important because this college was then well-known for its 'advanced' churchmanship. Under the leadership of John Cosin, the college led the way in the development of choral services and liturgical practice. Indeed, critics claimed that services were 'noted above all the Towne for popish superstitious practises'.[4]

John Cosin, shown either as a Doctor of Divinity, or as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, the post he held in 1639. Over his shoulder can be seen the west end of Peterhouse Chapel, and its surroundings.
(By kind permission of the Bishop of Durham and the Church Commissioners. Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute of Art.)

We shall see that there are differences, but much of what we today regard as typical of a service of choral evensong is equivalent to 'advanced' practice of the 1630s. At the time it was subject to criticism. In 1640, one critic said of Hereford Cathedral choir that, 'Their laboures being rediculous, twice a day they

chaunt the quire service (with all Instruments of musicke when they will make it pompous & with new-divised Anthemes to make themselve merry)'.[5]

It is important to appreciate that, at this time, as had been the case since the days of Queen Elizabeth, choral services were largely the preserve of cathedrals and institutional chapels, fewer than a hundred in number. Indeed, in the 1630s the typical parish church would have had no organ nor other instruments; no choir nor anthems; no psalm-chanting; and no hymns. In most cases, the only music would have been congregational singing of one or two metrical (i.e. versified) psalms at each service, sung unaccompanied to a small range of tunes. These were usually tacked on to one end or the other of the Prayer Book Service. From very slow beginnings in the eighteenth century, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that choral services were commonly found in parish churches, partly due to the influence of our predecessor Society. In the 1630s, choral evensong was not a parish service.

*Peterhouse choir and its music*

In 1634, the new chapel at Peterhouse was consecrated. It is outside the scope of this article to describe its appearance: sufficient to say that its 'high-church' decoration and furnishings scandalised the Puritan wing of the church. 'Here,' it was said, 'is a little chapel, but much popery'.[6]

In the year after its consecration, John Cosin arrived from Durham Cathedral as Master of the college, and decreed that Sunday matins and evensong should have a surpliced choir and organist. He acquired an organ, brought an ex-chorister down from Durham as organist, and set about creating a choir. Through his efforts, by the late 1630s the college held about a dozen members who had been recruited on the basis of their singing or musical skills (many were ex-choristers), and this probably indicates the size of the choir.[7] There is no evidence that the choir normally included choristers (boy trebles). The normal high part (the 'mean') of much music used in the college at the time can successfully be sung by male altos.[8]

In those days it is likely that the quality of choir singing was poor in most places. Nor did choirs always comport themselves with the dignity we expect today. In 1636 a report (probably written by Cosin) was not polite about the older choral foundations at the University – for example, at King's 'they commonly post over their service and perform it with little reverence. Their choristers make no preparation before service be well on, & their song-books are very rude and tattered'. At Trinity

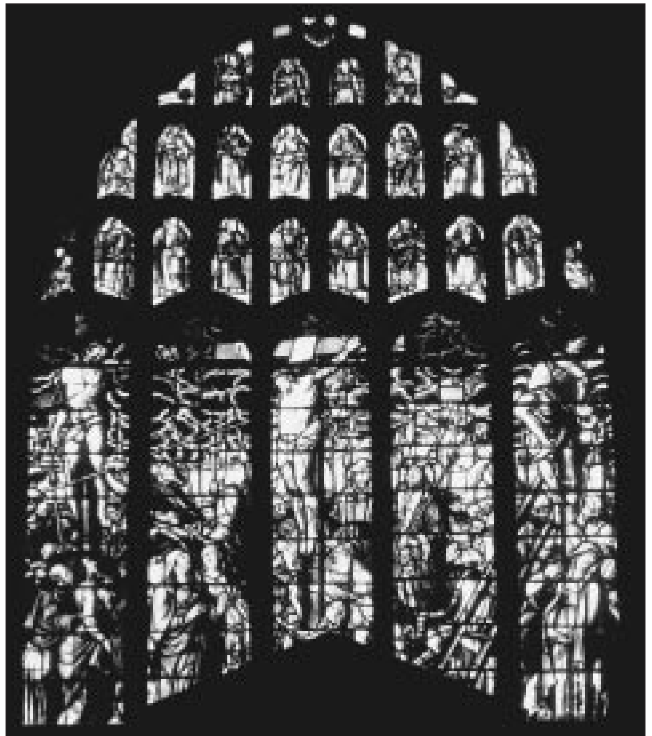
> A quire is there founded for Sundays and Holydays but the Quire men [are] so negligent & unskilful that unless it be in an Anthem they often sing the Hymns [i.e. canticles] no otherwise then in common Psalmerie tune… They leane or sitt or kneele at prayers, every Man in a severall posture as he pleases… Their Surplices and song Books and other furniture for Divine Service is very mean… instead of the *Magnificat* or *Nunc dimittis* they will at pleasure (sometimes when their Quiremen are present) sing the 23rd or some other riminge Psalme.[9]

In contrast, the rules of Peterhouse chapel, too long to be quoted here, make it clear that quiet, orderly concentration was strictly enforced on both the choir and ordinary college members, and that movements such as kneeling and sitting were carried out in a standardised, uniform manner.[10] Not surprisingly, Peterhouse received the all clear in the 1636 report: they 'endeavor

for order and have brought it to some good passe'.

Cosin brought some choir music with him from Durham, and over the following years the collection was built up. It should be remembered that choral music at this time was not normally printed, but hand–copied, making a set of choir parts something to be treasured. This music was hidden during the Civil War, and some of it was not found until 1926.[11]

The Peterhouse music includes three full sung Eucharists written between 1628 and 1645, an extraordinary collection when one appreciates that the number of surviving choral settings of the service for this period may be no more than five. This is a clear indication of Cosin's intention to revive the sung form of that office.[12]



The east window in Peterhouse chapel, made in the 1630s, shows a crucifixion based on Ruben's 'Le Coup de la Lance' (1631). New crucifixion imagery was not common at this time, and infuriated those with Puritan leanings.

In 1641 it was said that at Peterhouse 'Latine service on comon dayes is used' (the same was reported of Jesus College). The introduction at the Universities of Latin services for both communion and Morning and Evening Prayer also formed one of the complaints made by a Committee of Divines in the same year, who were worried that 'some young students, and the servants of the colledge, do not understand their prayers'.[13] Interestingly, the concern here does not seem to be 'popery', but understanding. The use of Latin at service is confirmed by Latin prayer books in the Peterhouse library, and some of the surviving service music and anthems are in Latin. Surprisingly, however, there are no Latin musical settings of evensong.

*Structure of service*

The structure of evensong in the 1630s would largely have been familiar. The Prayer Book was that of 1604, not 1662, but the majority of the 1604 service is identical. The most noticeable difference lies early on in the service, and is somewhat startling: the first Lord's Prayer is spoken (or intoned) by the minister *alone*, not accompanied by the congregation. Nor did the prayer have the closing doxology ('For thine is the kingdom').

The other obvious difference is also near the beginning of the service, in the *Gloria Patri* ('Glory be to the Father') which was prescribed for the minister alone and did not alternate between priest and congregation.[14] It also lacked the familiar closing phrase 'The Lord's name be praised'.[15]

There are other slight differences between Evensong in the 1604 and 1662 books: in the sen-

The chapel at Peterhouse, looking west. The gallery held an organ from the beginning, sold during the Civil War. It is not known where the choir sat, though the natural place today is in the front row in the middle. The roof was originally covered in cherubs, removed by the iconoclast William Dowsing in 1643.

tences at the start of the service; in the lectionaries; and in the introduction by the later book of state prayers at the end of the service, though in practice these were widely in use at the end of evensong by the 1630s, even though not a legal requirement.

In the 1630s, as now, the minister might speak or intone the service, practice seeming to have varied from place to place and time to time. Interestingly, from 1549 through to and including the 1637 Prayer Book, the lessons also could be, and were, intoned: 'and to the end the people may the better heare, in such places where they do synge, there shall the lessons be sunge in a plaine tune after the maner of distinct readinge: and likewise the Epystle and Gospell'.[16] Use of the 1611 King James version of the bible was common by the 1630s, although not, of course, enjoined by the 1604 book.

The chapel at Peterhouse, looking east. Built and originally furnished in the late 1620s and 1630s, much of the woodwork is original, and it remains a charming building, redolent of its period. When first built, the colourful altar hangings, the glass, the paintings round the altar, and the forms of service gave it the reputation of 'popery'.

It was during the 1630s that certain new rituals were adopted, or became more widely used. They caused controversy, though some are today customary. One was the custom of facing East for the Creed. Another was standing for the canticles (at evensong, the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*). These practices, and others introduced at the time, were bitterly complained of in 1641 as being 'innovations'.[17] The range of practices

A probable survival of the set of north windows in the chapel, which were pulled down during the Civil War. This shows part of the washing of the disciple's feet. Somewhat cracked, it is now on display in one of the college's function rooms.

at Cambridge at this time can serve as an index of churchmanship: unsurprisingly, given its reputation for advanced liturgy, Peterhouse scores highest on this index.[18] But not all the turnings to the east practised at Peterhouse and some other colleges have survived into typical current practice.

*The musical service*

What of the music in the choral form of evensong? Nowadays we are accustomed to an anthem at the beginning (sometimes referred to as an 'introit'). Although the Elizabethan Injunctions permitted a hymn or 'such like song' both at the beginning and end of the service, 'in the best sort of music that may be conveniently devised', it is unlikely that choral services normally began with an anthem in the 1630s. It seems that Cathedral statutes commonly did not require the choir to be in place until after the start of the service, suggesting that the first choir piece was the Preces ('O Lord, open thou our lips') or possibly the first Lord's prayer. As we shall see, although full settings of the Preces exist, in all likelihood they were normally intoned.[19]

As today, the two canticles were set by a single composer, and formed the musical centre of gravity of the service. But the psalms were handled somewhat differently. These days the psalms are chanted in harmony. There is evidence for *unison* chant in the 1630s, and this was usually sung *alternatum* - alternately across the two sides of the chapel, a practice likened to a game of tennis by critics: 'Their tossing to & fro of psalms and sentenses is like tenisse plaie whereto God is called a Judg who can do best and be most gallant in his worshipp.'[20] (The canticles, too, could be set *alternatum*.)

Evidence for *harmonised* chant for psalms is much slighter. Indeed, one of the few pieces of evidence that it was used comes from the Peterhouse part books, where part of a harmonised chant is preserved in manuscript. When choral services were revived in the early 1660s, after the hiatus caused by the Civil War, it seems that harmonised chant was probably only used on special occasions, the norm being unison chanting, and this may well

have been the case in the 1630s. In the 1660s (and no doubt earlier) there were anyway only a few harmonised chants to choose from,  all bassed on plainsong; the mass of chants available to today's Anglican are relatively recent.[21]

There is a similar story with the Preces (including the *Gloria*) and the Responses later in the service ('The Lord be with you'). Modern practice is to use harmonised settings of these. In the 1660s they were (it seems) normally intoned, except on festal occasions, when very simple harmonic settings were used.[22] This is probably what happened at most choral services in the 1630s.

But perhaps not. We know that at this date Cathedrals and colleges, including Peterhouse, did have available a number of carefully-crafted harmonised settings of the Preces and Responses, by composers such as Amner, Bird, and Gibbons. What is more, each of these harmonised settings is usually associated with two or three harmonised festal *psalms*. These psalm settings, some at least of which were sung *alternatum,* could also be complex, and some are by no means describable as chant.[23]

Euening prayer.

A folio prayerbook of the mid 1630s belonging to Peterhouse.  It has been interleaved with a small selection of music for each service.  The music shown above is Gibbon's *Magnificat*.

As the psalms set in this way were usually those associated with special occasions, it may be that the associated harmonised settings of the Preces and Responses were also only used occasionally. On the other hand, there is a prayer-book in the Peterhouse library (and a companion volume now at Christ Church, Oxford) which, according to one authority, looks like an unfinished attempt at a standard service; this does include harmonised settings of both Preces and Responses. It is possible therefore that at Peterhouse at least these settings may have been used fairly routinely, perhaps another example of Peterhouse developing liturgical practice. It is also worth noting that the Peterhouse choir were willing to use one composer's Preces with another's psalm setting, the part books having copies of William Smith's Preces against several psalm settings.[24]

'Le coup de la lance' by Rubens, 1631, and a nearly contemporary print by Bolswert (see next page). The print, rather than the original, was the source for the east window at Peterhouse, as can be seen by various small differences between the two, for example the position of the right arm of the soldier on horseback. (S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, 1999, ill. 6.3).

Both the psalm settings and the attached harmonised settings of the Preces and Responses seem not to have reappeared after the Restoration, and to have fallen out of use.

What role did the non-choir members of college take and how were congregational items such as the confession, the creed and the second Lord's prayer handled? The hostile puritan report on practises in the college chapels in 1641 suggests that the whole college might have intoned these parts of the service together – in what follows (with my italicisation), 'sung' probably means 'intoned'; the 'doxology' refers to the *Gloria*.

> PETERHOUSE: The lords prayer and confession are *sung and said by all the chappell…*; ST JOHN'S: the Confession *sung* by all the Colledge; The psalmes or hymnes are *sung or said* Alternatim by the two sides of the Chappell, but *all joyne together at the Doxologie*; QUEENS': The *confession is sung by all* on sundayes and holy dayes; PEMBROKE: They *sing* confession and prayers; CHRIST'S: Schollers spend very much time in learning of pricksong, in order to the chappell, to the great losse of theire time and prejudice to theire studies.

The rules of the chapel confirm that there was congregational participation at Peterhouse. Loosely translated from the Latin they read: ‘Let all learn to the best of their ability, trying as hard as they can, to sing psalms skilfully and sweetly, but on weekdays, when evensong is not choral, let all the psalms be said using that one tone which is appropriate to it, which the priest for the week should arrange.’ [25]

Organ books survive for choral music, and it is probable that in the 1630s the organ often accompanied choirs during the service, not only at rehearsal. This was no doubt necessary if the standard of performance was low as previously suggested. At Durham, the organ was used to accompany the choir for the closing anthem of the communion service.[26] The rules of the chapel confirm the point at Peterhouse, at least for those items where the whole congregation took part: ‘At the end of the time when everyone is singing, let no-one at all put down his book or move from his place or sit down before the last word and syllable has been uttered, *before the organ falls silent* and the Master, or whoever is leading the choir, takes his place again’ [my italics].

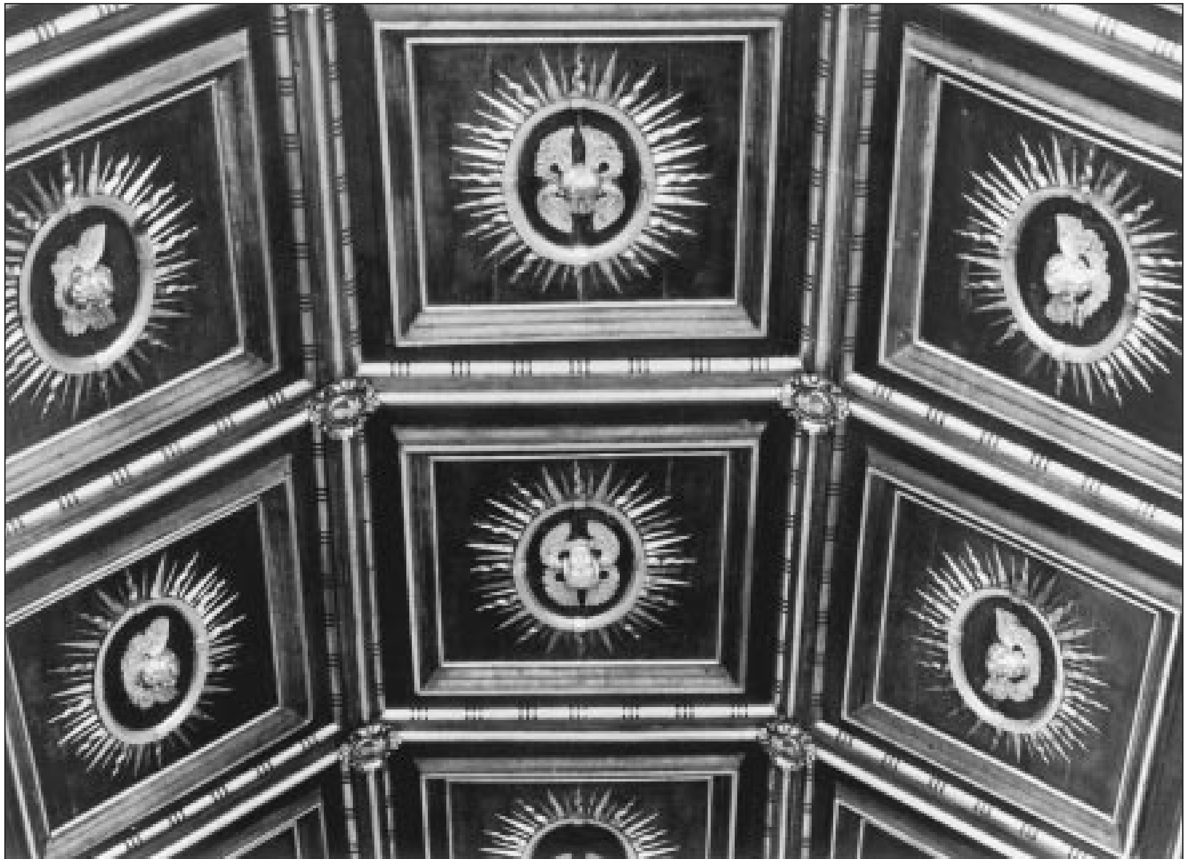
There would not, however, have been an ‘office’ hymn sung by the congregation – at, least, not at Peterhouse, for what would it have been? – metrical psalms were the only candidate, and Cosin is far from polite about these and their use in congregational singing: ‘songs of their own altering and composing to be sung … by a company of rude people, cobblers and their wives, and their kitchen maids and all, that have as much skill in singing as an ass has to handle a harp’. Previously, when he was at Durham, he was probably involved in replacing the metrical psalms at Communion service with an anthem, though later forced by the Bishop to reinstate the psalm, which he complained was ‘sung by all the people (most of them out of tune)’.[27]

In some places an organ voluntary was played after (sometimes before) the first lesson, a practice which is attested in post-Reformation services as early as the sixteenth century and seems to have only passed into abeyance in the mid to late nineteenth.[28] It is echoed in Lutheran practice. In some cases this voluntary would make use of melodic or harmonic material used in the following canticle. As for music before and after the service, it seems hard to imagine the organ

not being used in this way, though in researching this article no direct evidence has been encountered. In general, the quantity of written music of the period known to have been intended for a church organ is relatively small, and much must have been improvised.

As today, after the collects the service would end with an anthem. There is some evidence that by our period particular anthems were becoming paired with particular settings of the service.[29]

In summary then, someone familiar with a normal choral evensong today would have found it very similar to the most advanced form of service of the 1630s. But there would have been some differences. There would have been no choir introit. Near the beginning of the service, the Lord's Prayer and *Gloria* would have had noticeably different words. Normally the Lord's Prayer, and the Preces (including the *Gloria*) and Responses, would have been intoned, whilst the Psalms were probably chanted in unison, based on plainsong, alternating across the two sides of the chapel. At Peterhouse at least, the whole congregation would join in the chanting. On special occasions, however, and perhaps quite frequently at Peterhouse, fully harmonised settings of all these would have been used, sometimes far removed from chant. The lessons might be intoned, and there would perhaps be an organ voluntary after the first lesson. At some places there might



The roof of Gonville and Caius College chapel. The roof at Peterhousealso had 'chirubims and angells' until pulled down by Dowsing in 1643. Puritans were unhappy about the emphasis which some churchmen placed on the role of angels.

| | Gloria Stand | Gloria to east | Creed to east | Canticles Stand | Lord's Prayer & Confession to east | Psalms to east |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Emmanuel | (y) | | | | | |
| Sidney Sussex | (y) | | | | | |
| Trinity Hall | y | | | | | |
| Christ's | y | y | | | | |
| Trinity | y | y | y | | | |
| Queens' | y | y | y | | | |
| Jesus | y | y | y | | | |
| Caius | y | y | | y | | |
| St John's | y | y | y | y | | |
| Pembroke | ?y | y | y | | y | |
| Peterhouse | y | y | y | y | y | y |

Standing & turning to the east at Cambridge Colleges in 1641
(Source BL. Harl. 4019)

Key: y = yes; (y) = some members of congregation only

be cornets and other instruments during the service. There would have been no congregational hymn. And there would have been large variations from place to place in turning to the East, standing, and kneeling during the service.

*Civil War hiatus*

None of this was without controversy and criticism, especially from the Puritan wing of the church, which believed in clarity of words, lay participation, and worship with a minimum of art or artifice.[30] A flavour of the simmering row which boiled over in the Civil War can be gained from one Puritan's complaint about the musical service in Cosins' time at Durham Cathedral, a few years before he arrived at Cambridge:

> We… object that you John Cosin and your fellows… have not only banished the singing of psalms, in the vulgar tunes, by authority allowed… but you have so changed the whole liturgy, that though it be not in Latin, yet by reason of the confusednesss of voices of so many singers, with a multitude of melodious instruments… the greatest part of the service is no better understood, than if it were in Hebrew or in Irish…[31]

Most choral services stopped in the early 1640s, as the Long Parliament made its views known. Organs were dismantled and choirs broken up. No new generation of choristers learnt the repertoire, and old traditions of performance were lost.[32] Choral evensong died.

With the re-introduction of choral services at the Restoration nearly twenty years later, we find the publication of the first how-to-do-it books, designed to 'revive the generall practise of the ordinary performance of Cathedrall service'.[33] From then on, the history of the Anglican choral service becomes clearer. But still by no means fixed.

*This article is expanded from a note prepared for the Society's 'Dowsing Day' in March 2001 when, as part of the launch of* The Journal of William Dowsing *published by the Society, choral evensong was held in Peterhouse chapel using 1630s music from the college part-books. I am grateful for helpful discussion of various points with Thomas Cocke, Nicholas Cranfield and John Morehen. Any errors which remain are my responsibility.*

*Notes*

[1] Quotes from the websites of St Patrick, Dublin and Radio 3. Choral evensong has been broadcast on radio weekly since 1926, and is the longest running BBC programme from any outside venue.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The service dates in its current form from 1919, devised by the Dean of King's, Eric Milner-White. It was adapted from one of 1880, drawn up by Bishop (later Archbishop) E. W. Benson. See e.g. the King's College website.

[4] For a discussion of Peterhouse chapel under Cosin, see Trevor Cooper (ed.), *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 2001, 156-60.

[5] Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 206, fol. 10r, quoted in I. Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected Cathedrals c.1547–c.1646*, 1993, 157.

[6] Quoted in E. Conybeare, *A History of Cambridgeshire*, 1897, 218.

[7] Thomas Wilson, appointed by Cosin 12 November 1635. He had been a chorister at Durham up to late 1634. (Payne, *Sacred Music*, 95-6, 100; *Oxford Book of Tudor Church Anthems*, 331.)

[8] Questions of pitch and voice range are much debated, and are outside the scope of this article. It is worth pointing out that Wilson, organist at Peterhouse, did write out the solo part for Gibbon's 'This is the record of John' for treble as well as the normal male alto – if he did this whilst at Peterhouse, rather than in optimistic vein at Durham, it would indicate that he had at least one treble at hand from time to time. (*Oxford Book of Tudor Church Anthems*, 331.) It is possible that choristers' voices did not break as early as today, or dropped slowly, if they were kept singing, so perhaps they were able to provide the mean part at Peterhouse (S. E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700*, Exeter, 1996, 165; Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714*, Oxford, 1995, 90).

[9] The report of 1636 is in C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, III, 1845, 280-83.

[10] The rules are to be found in BL, Harl. 7019, fol. 71ff.

[11] A. Hughes, *Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse Cambridge*, 1953, x–xiv; *Tudor Church Music*, vol. II, xxiii; Payne, *Sacred Music*, 99–100.

[12] Hughes, *Catalogue*, xv. It appears that Cosin had introduced choral music at the communion service at Durham (Peter Smart, *The Vanitie & Downe-fall of Superstitious Popish Ceremonies, ...,* Edinburgh, 1628, 4).

[13] BL, Harl. 7019, fol. 71; E. Cardwell, *A History of Conferences . . . Connected with the Book of Common Prayer*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1861, 273.

[14] Thus the 1661 edition of Edward Lowe's book on Cathedral music had the *Gloria* sung by the choir alone, and probably represents pre-Restoration practice at choral services. The 1664 edition, modified for the changes in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, had the priest leading the *Gloria*, responded to by the choir. (Edward Lowe, *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Service*, 1661, enlarged 1664.)

[15] Both this phrase and the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer were first introduced in the abortive 1637 Scottish Prayer book, to be said by the congregation, though even in this book the minister continued to say the Lord's Prayer alone, and the entire *Gloria*. It is, however, possible that the Scottish prayer book indicates 'advanced' practice in England in the 1630s.

[16] John Cosin, *Notes and Collections on the Book of Common Prayer*, volume V of his *Works*, Oxford, 1855, 58.

[17] For the liturgical background of these practices, see e.g. F. Procter & W. H. Frere, *The Book of Common Prayer with a Rationale of its Offices*, 3rd impression 1958, 391. For complaints of liturgical practice at Cambridge colleges, including Peterhouse, see BL, Harl. 7019, fol. 71ff. For Peter Smart's complaints against John Cosin's liturgical introductions at Durham, see e.g. his 'Articles . . . against Mr. John Cosin', in John Cosin, *Correspondence*, Surtees Society 52 (1869), 161ff. (though these are not necessarily reliable as to date or in the allocation of responsibility), and for Cosin's responses, W. H. D. Longstaffe, *Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham*, Surtees Society 34, 1858, 215–41. For a sense of the Parliamentary reaction, see e.g. 'The Root and Branch Petition' (printed in S. R. Gardiner (ed.), *The Constitutional*

*Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660*, 3rd edition, reprinted 1968, 136-44.

[18] BL, Harl. 7019, fols. 52-93 *passim*. At Durham also, it seems that Cosin may have introduced turning to the east for both prayers and readings (Smart, *Vanitie*, 3).

[19] P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, 1967, 157.

[20] Robert Browne, *A True and Short Declaration*, 1583, quoted in John Morehen's discussion of *alternatum* singing in, 'The "burden of proof": the editor as detective', 209, in John Morehen (ed.), *English Choral Practice, 1400-1650*, Cambridge, 1995. Should this be taken to suggest that at this date the sentences were also sung *alternatum*? Morehen also quotes John Field's *An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572, section 13, where the tennis analogy is again used.

[21] Five harmonised chants, in two voice parts, perhaps originally set for four voices, which might fit the *Venite*, now held in the Cambridge University Library. (*New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 'Anglican Chant'; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 157-63; Ruth Wilson, *Anglican Chant and Chanting in England, Scotland and America 1660-1820*, Oxford, 1996, 40 & 54.)

[22] See Lowe's *Short Direction*.

[23] For those in the Peterhouse part-books, see Hughes, *Peterhouse Manuscripts, passim*.

[24] Hughes, *Peterhouse Manuscripts*, 36, 49–50; John Morehen, personal communication.

[25] Extracts regarding singing from BL, Harl. 7019, fols. 52-93 *passim.*

[26] See discussion in P. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115-16. The use of the organ with the choir was mentioned by Peter Smart in *Vanitie*, 4. The point is confirmed in 'A relation …that Judge Yelverton had with certaine of the Prebendaries' (John Cosin, *Correspondence*, 155).

[27] John Cosin, *Notes*, 63; John Cosin, *Correspondence*, 184 & 200-202; Longstaffe, *Acts*, 224-5; and see quote from Peter Smart later in the article.

[28] N. Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, I, 1979, 135 & 215; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 115; *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 'Voluntary' and 'Anglican and Episcopalian church music: 7.Organ music in the service, 1549–1830'. I have unfortunately mislaid my reference to sixteenth-century usage.

[29] Morehen, 'Burden of Proof', 211-15.

[30] See e.g. Payne, *Sacred Music*, 156-61; Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 52-3.

[31] Smart, 'Articles', 166. The use of cornetts during service is confirmed in a letter of Cosin's (*Correspondence*, 159). For instruments at Hereford, see the quotation earlier in article.

[32] Payne, *Sacred Music*, 170; S. E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals under Siege*, 166-7. However Keri Dexter has recently suggested that the choir of Eton College continued to function throughout the 1640s and 1650s ('The Provision of Choral Music at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and Eton College, *c*.1640-1733', PhD, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2000).

[33] For example, Lowe's *Short Direction* and James Clifford's *Divine Services and Anthems* (1664). For discussion, see Wilson, *Anglican Chant*, chapter 2.

The two pictures on page 5 were provided by Country Life Picture Library and that on page 10 is Crown Copyright. NMR

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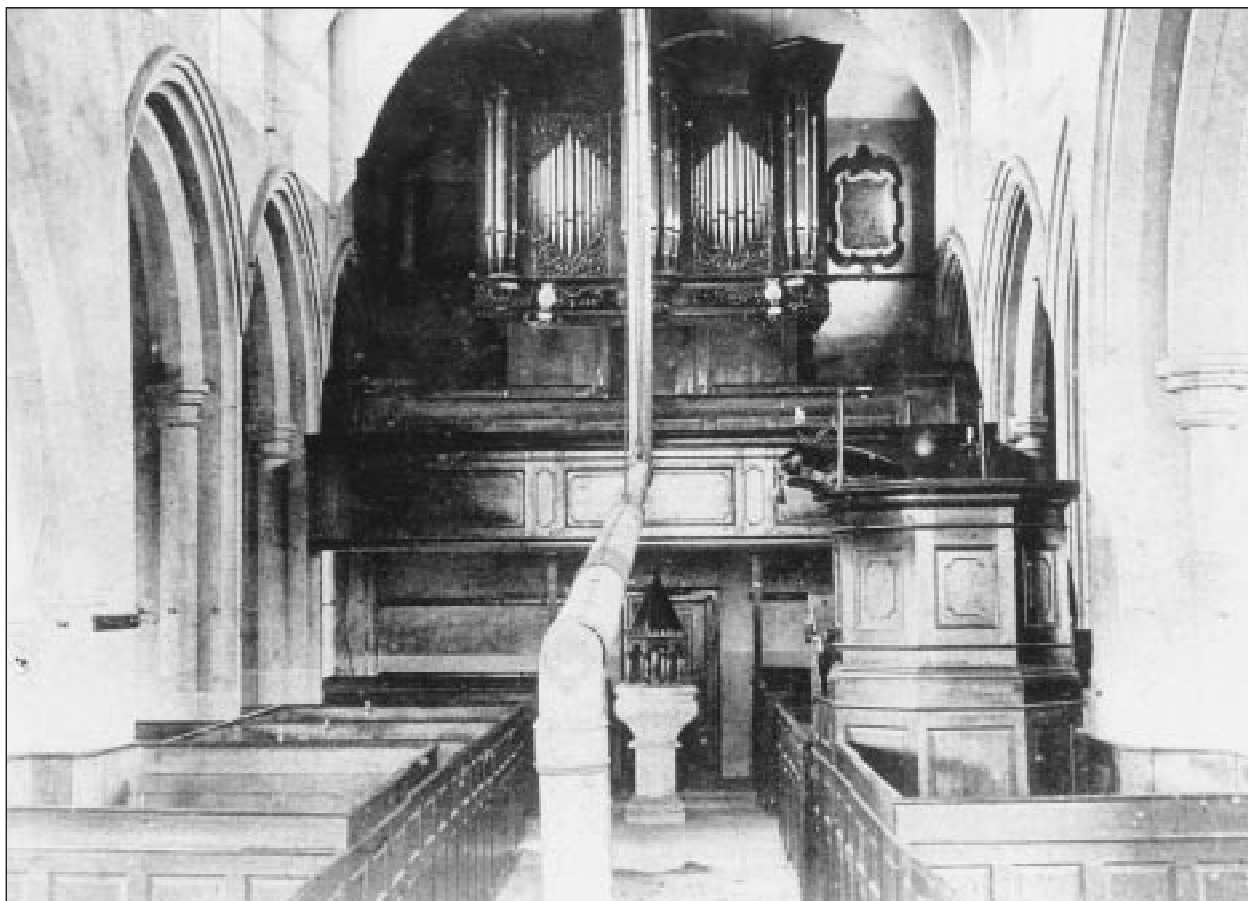
# Don't forget the AGM on 30 May 2002

# ‘BRINGING THEM TO THEIR KNEES’: CHURCH-BUILDING AND RESTORATION IN LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND, 1800-1914

Geoff Brandwood

Great ages of church-building require three things – faith, the desire to express that faith in bricks (or stone) and mortar, and finally the economic resources to do so. These three elements came together most spectacularly in northern France during the heroic early phase of gothic cathedral building. The same is true of the wool districts of England in the late Middle Ages. And also, of course, of Victorian Britain.

Mid-nineteenth century Britain was by far the richest nation on earth and therefore the wealthiest that had ever existed. It was also a very religious age, at least as far as those who held power and influence were concerned. Large amounts of money went into church-building and restoration. It would be wrong to think of the phenomenon as purely British (or indeed Anglican) but what was special here was the fervour with which architectural and romantic and religious sentiments became intermingled. Contemporary observers were acutely aware of something very



A Church as it should not be! Great Bowden before the restoration of 1886-7. The old ways - box pews, galleries, plaster ceilings etc - sometimes survived the ecclesiological onslaught until quite late in the century.

special taking place and at the height of the movement, in the 1860s, the King of Prussia despatched a commission to England to look 'into the cause of this manifestation of religious ardour'.

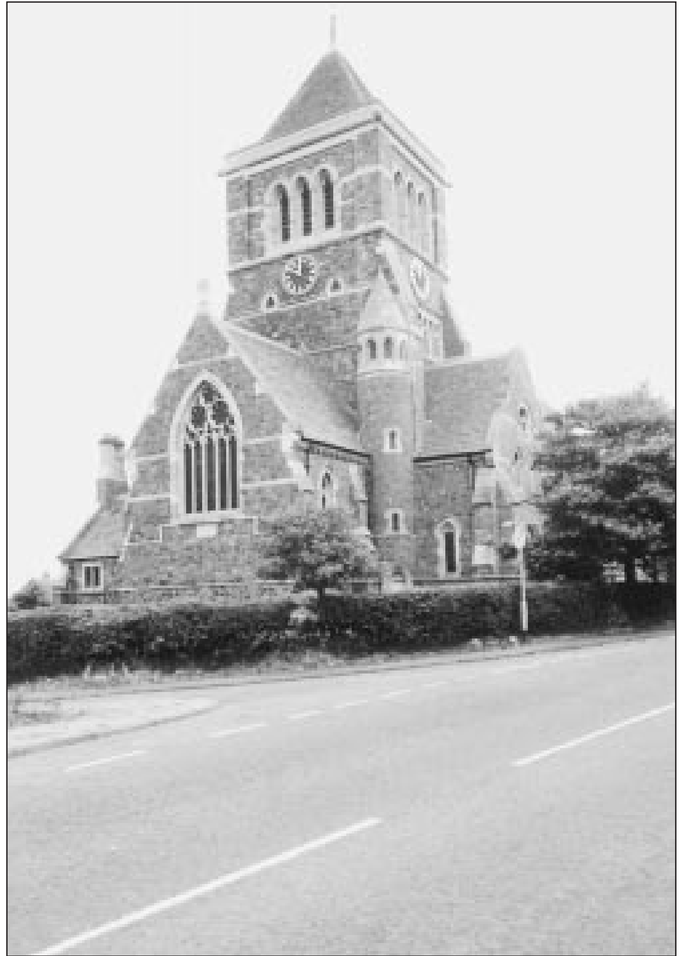
These momentous events touched all parts of the kingdom including the sleepy little rural county of Rutland and its larger, industrialising neighbour, Leicestershire. Both have some fine medieval churches but, in the grand scheme of things, neither county can be regarded as particularly remarkable either in terms of their architecture or religiosity. Leicestershire did produce two outstandingly important early gothic revival churches prior to the nineteenth century at Staunton Harold and King's Norton while the second quarter of that century saw a significant phase of the Roman Catholic revival enacted in and around Charnwood Forest. But historians do not look to these counties to find events, personalities or architecture which changed the course of Anglicanism or its buildings in the late Georgian or Victorian periods. There were no Ritualist tussles, no equivalent of All Saints, Margaret Street and no local grown architects who figured large on the national stage. Nor were Leicestershire and Rutland home to many members of the Cambridge Camden Society or its counterpart in Oxford. This, though, is the very interest of the area, presenting as it does the typical, not the usual.

A church as it should be! The masterpiece of Joseph Goddard, St John the Baptist, Leicester 1884-5, whose double passage aisles and internal buttressing are based on Pearson's St Augustine, Kilburn.

It is perfectly clear that between 1840 and 1850 there was a transformation in the way church architecture and fittings were approached in the area. What was regarded as the norm in the late 1830s became unacceptable to the vast majority of clergy, patrons and architects ten years or so later. The change is often put down to the obsessional writings of Pugin and the dogmatic campaigns of the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS). But that they could write the way they did and carry the field with them is ample proof that they were fighting from a position of strength. There was already a widespread interest in and love of things medieval, much of it led by clergymen who took pleasure in antiquarian studies. The steady stream of books on gothic architecture, such as Rickman's, was directed at a willing readership.

Ecclesiology makes a curious and tentative appearance in Leicestershire about 1841 at Norton-juxta-Twycross where there was much rebuilding and a complete refitting. Carefully detailed tracery and a splendidly authentic fourteenth-century-style east window by Warrington

are evidence of the new ways but the pews still have doors (albeit also poppy-head ends), there is a gallery and a spindly roof. The work was paid for by Earl Howe who was to become one of the two greatest patrons of church-building in Leicestershire. It may have been he who brought in the innovations as no local architect was yet up to full-blown ecclesiology.



Muscular church building. Leicester architect J B Everard designed Mugglescote church and it was built between 1878 and 1888

By 1845 it was different story and local *builders* Broadbent & Hawley were capable of designing Anstey church which actually won grudging praise from the hard-to-please *Ecclesiologist.* Admittedly the chancel was considered a bit short and the mouldings were criticised (rather unfairly) as being rather thin but on the whole it was a good, serious effort (Benjamin Broadbent had a good knowledge of medieval architecture and when on to other but more modest design projects). But until the late 1840s it was generally national architects who took the more advanced schemes, for instance Railton at Thorpe Acre, Woodyer at Smeeton Westerby and none other than Pugin for the restoration of Wymeswold. The latter got enthusiastic reviews in the local press in 1846. Whereas, in Charles Eastlake's words, the 'Protestant party … saw …heresy peeping from behind every Gothic pillar', and there were disputes over the Round Church in Cambridge, not to mention the first ritual riots in Exeter, no-one in Leicestershire dreamed of Popery being on a hidden agenda at Wymeswold.

One thing apparent from Leicestershire is that, as other scholars are showing, pre-Victorian churches were not all in the terrible, about-to-collapse state that Puginian-CCS orthodoxy would have us believe. Visitation records compiled by Archdeacon Bonney, who was no slouch when it came to having churches in a decent state, suggest that only about ten per cent were in what might be regarded as poor condition. About half were in a good state needing no repair work in the foreseeable future. The fact that they were furnished with enclosed pews, galleries, plaster ceilings and other such ecclesiologically unacceptable items is not the point.

In the late 1840s and '50s we find local architects' practices developing as Victorian building work increased in general and church work grew in particular. J G Bland from near Market

# TO ALL PERSONS

ENGAGED IN THE

# RESTORATION OF THIS CHURCH.

**We earnestly request all persons engaged in the Restoration of this Church to bear in mind the following remarks and suggestions :—**

**1.—We hope that no person employed here will allow himself to use oaths, or bad, or profane language. Christ said "swear not at all." "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of Judgement.**

**2.—We hope that all the workmen engaged will do their work, workmanlike, thoroughly and well; recollecting that, if "the workman is worthy of his hire," an honest workman will be known by his work, and work ill done will be sure to be found out and bring disgrace.**

**3.—We wish it to be remembered that this being a work of Restoration, it is not desired to make the Church look new, but to restore what is old and decayed, and make it such as it was when it came fresh from the builder's hands some hundreds of years ago, keeping all the old features and work where it can properly be done.**

**4.—Finally, we hope that all who work on this Church will be prepared and made living stones in the Church of God, of which the foundation and the top stone is Jesus Christ, who said "I am the door, by me if any man enter in he SHALL be SAVED."**

**On behalf of the Church Restoration Committee,**

**M. O. NORMAN, Chairman,**
**R. W. JOHNSON, Architect.**

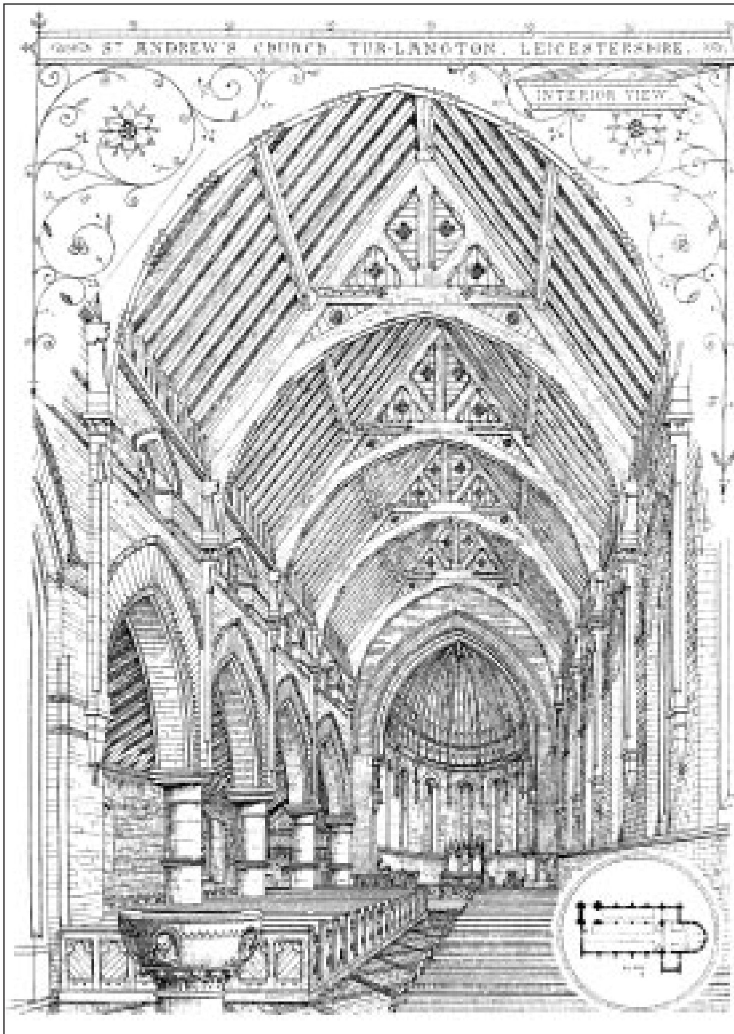
**Harby,**
***June*, 1874.**

An exhortation to workmen at Harby for the 1874-6 restoration. Points 1 & 2 carry a high moral tone and 3 epitomises the dilemma of restoration. Johnson was based in Melton Mowbray and carried out seventeen church restorations.

Harborough produced a decent Perpendicular church at Cranoe in 1848. Henry Goddard of Leicester turned his hand to various church schemes but was not yet fully conversant with the new ways, incurring the ire of the ICBS with the idea of adding a north transept at East Norton which faced a pulpit stuck in the middle of the south wall of the nave. He made a similar mistake at Tywcross by proposing south facing seats at the east end of the nave. Yet at precisely the same time he produced a perfectly respectable Decorated chancel at Burton Lazars.

The churching of rapidly expanding Leicester really began in the 1850s, staring with the first of four churches by the ubiquitous Scott. This was St John the Divine of 1853-4. Progress was then slow till the 1860s and, indeed, church provision lagged behind population growth much to local consternation. There were various initiatives to establish fund-raising bodies for stimulating church-building and restoration. Although it is perfectly true on the broad canvas that the Victorians poured huge amounts of money into such projects, the reality on the ground was that raising enough cash was usually a slow and painful business in which individual acts of extraordinary generosity – like those of Earl Howe – were beacons to encourage those less generous.

By the prosperous 1860s, church-building and restoration in the two counties, as in so many other parts of the country, was at an unprecented peak (even in comparison to the great local age of medieval church-building around 1300). In the '60s Scott built two more churches in Leicester. St Andrew, like, say, his Crewe Green (Cheshire) shows a tough, Butterfieldian approach which



This is High Victorian exuberance. Joseph Goddard was Leicester's leading Victorian architect and his vibrant brick church at Tur Langton was his first major work.

is so-far unaccounted for in his output. The now-demolished St Matthew had free seats throughout and so earned itself the nickname of 'the poor man's cathedral' (though how often poor men from the surrounding industrial area actually filled it is questionable). During the 1860s Leicester's best local architect, Joseph Goddard, rose to prominence, his first major building being the vibrant red brick church of Tur Langton amid the lovely south Leicestershire countryside. As with other fine, later buildings of his the young Goddard kept his eye open for the trends of the time. He was never an innovator but was an enormously skilled adaptor with Tur Langton drawing imaginatively upon Street's important church of St James the Less, Pimlico.

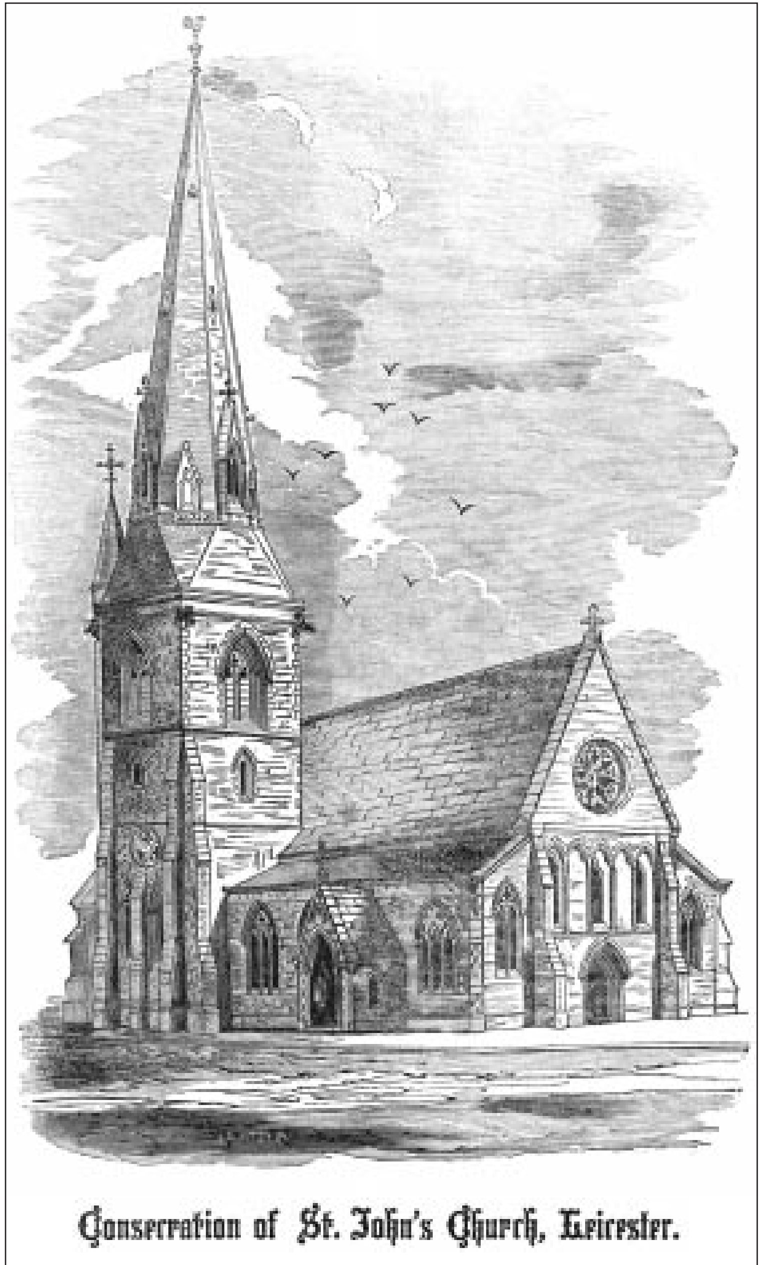
The restoration business was in full swing in the 1860s with churches being repaired and refitted and assuming the appearance which has generally survived until the present day. It was this period which, perhaps more than any other, gave Victorian church restoration a bad name. There is no doubt that some of the schemes were dull or at worst grim. The removal of wall-plaster and the provision of fiercely detailed furnishings are not things that have improved with time. However, at their best Victorian schemes could much enhance a church and a good instance is Scott's work at Theddingworth in the late 1850s where the furnishings are of the highest quality. Leicestershire is a very fruitful county for studying Scott's work and for assessing his reputation whether as destroyer or preserver. At various buildings we can see arch-conservatism was at work, whereas elsewhere we can be horrified by what strikes us, as intellectual heirs of Ruskin and William Morris, as wilful change. The east window at Oakham should be Perpendicular, not Decorated as it became in 1858!

Judging restoration work from the perspective of the present day is fraught with difficulties. To think of Victorian work simply in terms of vandalism will not do. Apart from incompetence on the part of a small minority of untrained practitioners, restorers had definite objects in mind

even though we may not approve today. It is a remarkable experience to stand outside the former workshop of the Halliday building firm in the Rutland village of Greetham. Incorporated in the walls are large chunks of medieval tracery removed during various restoration schemes by several different architects. Even now, nearly 150 years, on it still mostly looks in good condition. Until the SPAB message really took hold few people thought it important to retain every scrap of ancient masonry. Authentic *design* was what mattered, not the material itself. And, if one accepts that premise, then there is no harm in improving on medieval work – which is exactly what Scott and other restorers believed they were doing and which explains the east window at Oakham.

Of course many things changed after about 1870 and High Victorian architecture with its prolific use of polychromy, florid design, spiky detail and muscular forms withered away. In the secular field gothic withered away almost completely whereas it continued to be used for churches but in an increasingly restrained way. Restorations became more conservative and in tune with modern thinking. The trends can be traced in Leicestershire and Rutland. A good example is the restoration work of J. C. Traylen, diocesan architect to Lincoln and Peterborough, who laid but a light hand on a number of Rutland churches.

One of the most striking new churches is St John the Baptist, Leicester of the mid-'80s and which is probably the masterpiece of Joseph Goddard. Here he offers a reworking of Pearson's St Augustine, Kilburn complete with passage aisles and internal buttresses. The building is generously scaled but the detail is simpler than twenty years before. There still is polychrome but it is sub-




Leicester, St John the Divine, 1853-4. The first of G G Scott's four Leicester churches.

dued while dying arches, such a characteristic feature of the late gothic revival, make a prominent appearance. At the very end of the century, Goddard's son, H. L. Goddard produced a remarkable church, which turned its back on gothic altogether – St James the Greater, Leicester, which took as its model an early Christian basilica.

A study of Leicestershire and Rutland offers a kind of microcosm of what was happening in church architecture and furnishing betweeen 1800 and 1914. I spent a number of years studying it in the late 1970s and early '80s, which led to a Ph.D thesis submitted to Leicester University in 1984. Although I made half-hearted attempts to publish at the time, the project languished and was not resurrected until the Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Society agreed to publish a version of my work in the late 1990s. Ph.D theses are boring affairs and are not intended for normal consumption. I like to think the distilled version (146pp in A4 format), which has just been published, offers something readable with a wider perspective than just the two counties under focus. Hopefully, a further twenty years reflection on the broader picture of the gothic revival, has helped me put the story into context. The article above outlines just some of the ideas and subjects covered. The book also includes a large-scale appendix listing the work done at over 350 churches, naming architects, patrons, contractors and costs. Virtually every major church architect of the day did something in the two counties.

*Copies of Geoff Brandwood's new book – title as at the head of his article – are available price £15 (post free) from LAHS, 37 Dovedale Road, Leicester LE2 2DN. Cheques to be payable to 'Leicestershire Archaeological & Historical Society'.*

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## PLEA FOR HELP

Adam Goodyer of 34 Imperial Road, Edgerton, Huddersfield HD1 4PJ is researching the stained glass work of Hugh Easton (1906-65) and would like any information that is available on this talented designer.

Easton's early training was with W H Randall Blacking in Guildford. It is possible that at this time he also considered a career as an architect, only moving to stained glass design later. He became acquainted with Christopher and Geoffrey Webb and also Ninian Comper and all of these encouraged him to set up a stained glass studio in Cambridge around 1928. After the 1939-45 war he established a studio in Hampstead and later in Holbein Place off Sloane Square, with workshops in Harpenden

His work between 1937 and 1958 is fairly well documented, though Adam Goodyer would like to know of any commissions between 1928-37 and 1958-65 as he is aware of very few window commissions during these two periods.

In addition if anyone is able to provide any information on Easton's years with Randall Blacking this would also be useful. It may be that some members knew Easton or those associated with him and perhaps they could make contact with Adam.

Adam Goodyer is a designer, restorer and conservationist of ecclesiological stained glass. He has a studio in Huddersfield.

# CHURCH CRAWLER REPORTS

*Major work at Dorchester*

If you are planning to visit the medieval Augustinian Abbey church at Dorchester-on-Thames in Oxfordshire soon, you may find, like me, that it is not possible to appreciate this fine building fully as the parishioners have embarked on an ambitious £5million improvement campaign. The picture of the interior was taken on the 2nd February 2002, as the scheme to install underfloor heating was nearing its end. Sadly the visit was confined to the west end of the nave, the south aisle and south choir aisle and chapels, leaving only tantalising glimpses of the east end and the famous Jesse window.

By the time this is in print these works should be finished, though more is planned, including the removal of the blistering oil-paint from every wall to be replaced with limewash and a sympathetic colour scheme to enhance the interior. This will entail the erection of much interior scaffolding which will also give access to the roofs which are in need of further work too. Improvements to the main entrance at the south-west will include disabled access and a visitor-welcoming centre inside the church with glazed screens. It seems work in the south choir aisle, where the shrine of St Birinus is sited, has been completed although there are still metalwork screens to be installed here. The tower will incorporate a store and kitchen on the ground floor and a vestry and meetings room will be created in the floor above. The twelfth century lead font currently in the south aisle will be resited at the west end of the nave.

Outside, improvements are planned to the churchyard on the south including work on the paths and new trees. To the north a new extension, on the site of the south cloister walk, is being built against the twelfth century north wall of the nave. This will house the new heating boiler and an exhibition of artefacts.

Dorchester Abbey under repair.

The plans have been drawn up by Martin Ashley Architects. You can follow the work via the abbey's website at www.dorchester-abbey.org.uk and you can of course contribute to the appeal fund c/o Critchleys, 1-5 Broad Street, Oxford OX1 3AW.

*Bristol churches - First the good news.....*

The Georgian church of St Paul, Portland Square is at long last receiving some serious attention from the Churches Conservation Trust in which it is vested. This church, built 1789-1794, is an odd mix of Gothick outside and Classical features inside, but is chiefly famous for its odd tower, of three tall stages, with a further two recessed stages of decreasing size, and capped off by a recessed spirelet or overgrown pinnacle! It is not certain at this stage whether visitors will be able to see inside when work is completed. The CCT were appealing for suggestions for use, and its spacious nave and aisles would make an excellent exhibition centre for the local area.

One of Bristol's finest churches, St Pauls in Portland Square. Once an area of high fashion, then a 'Red Light' area and now fast becoming a major commercial centre.

Another Georgian Gothick and Classical mixed-style church attached to a fifteenth century Perpendicular west tower is not faring so well. St Michael-on-the-Mount-Without (1775-7) has an increasing number of boarded up windows as the vandals enjoy the three-year waiting period which this church is in following redundancy. It is in a prime position for use by Bristol University, along the lines of churches in Oxford (All Saints) and Huddersfield.

St Matthew, Moorfields (1875 by J.C.Neale) is in the final throws of conversion into flats, begun earlier this year. It seems that the exterior will be preserved, although probably with reglazing of the Gothic windows and the insertion of skylights in the roofs.

More information on Bristol's churches on www.churchcrawler.co.uk where there is a complete listing of churches within the city and links to many other pages detailing the history, description and photographs of churches past and present; an on-going and ever-growing resource.

*Weston-Super-Mare (North Somerset)*

Another EcclSoc member John Crockford-Hawley has kindly provided the following information. St Saviour's in Locking Road was closed in June and the parish amalgamated with All Saints. This church is well known to visitors of the resort arriving by train from Bristol or by road on the main A370, appearing absurdly tall for its length.

St Saviou's was built by Sidney Wilde, a local architect (who also drew up unexecuted exten-

Ecclesiology Weston Super Mare style.

sion plans for St Jude's - now the Greek Orthodox Church of St Andrew Weston-Super-Mare). St Saviour was built in the Early English style using polychromatic brick (very odd in the environs of carboniferous Mendip). Foundation stone laid 15th Oct 1890, opened for worship 28th Aug 1892. It was never completed - temporary west wall, plus tower and transepts never built. Originally planned to seat 800!

All the fittings and furnishings have now been removed - either to other churches or sold for reclamation (none were of high quality). The glass by F.C.Eden has been removed for safe keeping and will soon be installed in All Saints, where it will sit comfortably in the south chapel which was also designed by Eden (although most of All Saints is pure G.F.Bodley, Eden completed the struture in 1925, well after the great man's death).

St Saviour's is now boarded up and reasonably vandal proof. It is on the market and hopefully might be converted into flats, failing which it could be demolished, which would be a pity. (The picture is taken from Rob Malpas's new Somerset Churches Website which you will find at http://www.robm16.freeserve.co.uk )

Another recently closed Weston-Super-Mare Church is the Hill Road Methodist Church, which is currently being converted into flats, though it had been used as a Scout HQ for over 20 years (the Methodists had decamped to the adjacent 1960s classroom for worship).

*Plans to rebuild St Erkenwald, Southend-on-Sea?*

Made redundant in the late 1970s, this large church by Sir Walter Tapper was built in two main stages before and after the first world war. It was destroyed by fire in 1992 and demolished four years later. Now plans are being made to rebuild the church, but not in brick and concrete but "virtually" on the internet, in an ambitious site belonging to John Whitworth. The site is very new but if anyone has old pictures of the church, or stories to tell about St Erks then John would be pleased to hear from you. The site is at www.st-erkenwalds.co.uk and will be worth keeping an eye on in the coming months!

*And Finally...*

If you think this page is a good idea then I would be pleased to hear from any EcclSoc member because it is only possible to compile it from information that you send to me. I would be pleased to receive contributions (with photographs preferred) either by post or Email. I can be contacted at P.M.Draper, 10 Lambley Road, St George, BRISTOL BS5 8JQ or at pmdraper10@aol.com and I will be happy to return all pictures or clippings promptly to the sender if you include a stamped addressed envelope. In addition you can join many others from around the world in chatting about ecclesiology via the internet or Email. Details on my website "ChurchCrawler" at www.churchcrawler.co.uk

Phil Draper (*Ecclesiology Today* Newshound!)

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## VICTORIAN SOCIETY EVENTS

Below we list a number of the events that the Victorian Society is mounting in the coming months as many may be of interest to members. Bookings should be made direct to the Victorian Society, Priory Gardens, Bedford Park, London.

| Date | Event | Details | Price |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 May | St Mary Magdalene, Paddington | Visit at 6.30 pm | £6 |
| 25 May | Holy Rood, Watford | Visit from noon | £6 |
| 12 June | Hilltop Nunhead Cemetery | Visit from 6.20 pm | £6 |
| 27 June | J F Bentley in Hammersmith | Visits from 6.00 pm | £6 |
| 2 July | Walk around Muswell Hill | Walk from 6.30 pm | £6 |
| 5-7 July | Seaside weekend in Bournemouth & Swanage | | £210 |
| 9 July | Christ Church, Streatham | Visit from 6.30 pm | £6 |
| 9-11 Aug | G F Bodley and Anglo-Catholic Patronage in West Yorkshire | | POA |

For regional events contact

| Region | Telephone |
|---|---|
| Birmingham | 01562 887733 |
| Eastern | 01799 521290 |
| Leicester | 0116 236 5824 |
| Liverpool | 0151 728 8028 |
| Manchester | 0161 448 9205 |
| South Yorkshire | 0114 268 6729 |
| West Yorkshire | 01924 407569 |

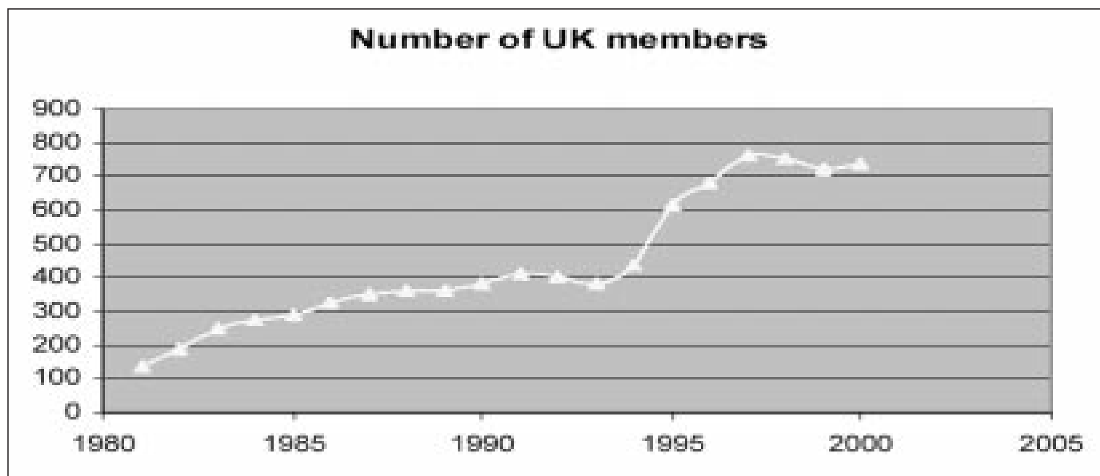
## MEMBERSHIP FACTS & FIGURES

This article presents some key facts and figures about the Society's membership. It summarises a report presented to Council in June 2001, based on data up to the previous December. It is worth pointing out that, because of the nature of the sources, the exact numbers are not accurate, and will not reconcile with each other. But the general picture is reliable.

*Number of members*

As the following graph shows, between January 1994 and December 1997, membership nearly doubled. This was a period of deliberate fast growth. Between 1997 and the end of 2000, it was decided to slow down a little, to allow time to assimilate the larger numbers. Our total membership stabilised: the inflows continued, but our outflows increased both because of the loss of members (estimated at 10%) when subscription were raised, and from a more active policy regarding members who were significantly behind with their subscriptions.

About one quarter of our membership are ladies, with the proportion slowly growing over the

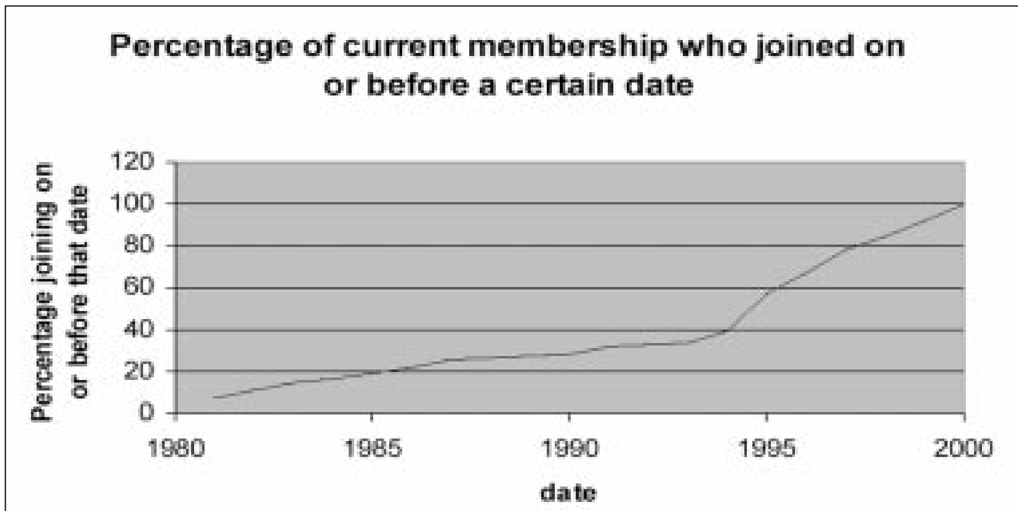



last ten years. About 60% of our subscription-paying membership pay the full rate, and are presumably not retired. Nearly 80% pay by standing order (bless them!).

*How long have members been with the Society?*

Like most Societies, a number of people leave each year. Detailed analysis, not shown here, suggested that on average about 5% of people will leave in a typical year, though once a member has been with us for ten or twelve years, he or she tends to stay.

This turnover, coupled with our growth in size, means that a high proportion of our members have not been with us very long. This can be seen in the graph on the next page. For example, about 20% of our members joined before 1985. Only one third will remember the Newsletter before it was renamed *Ecclesiology Today* under Professor Murta's editorship (1992/3). Roughly a quarter have only ever known *Ecclesiology Today* in its current incarnation (early 1997).



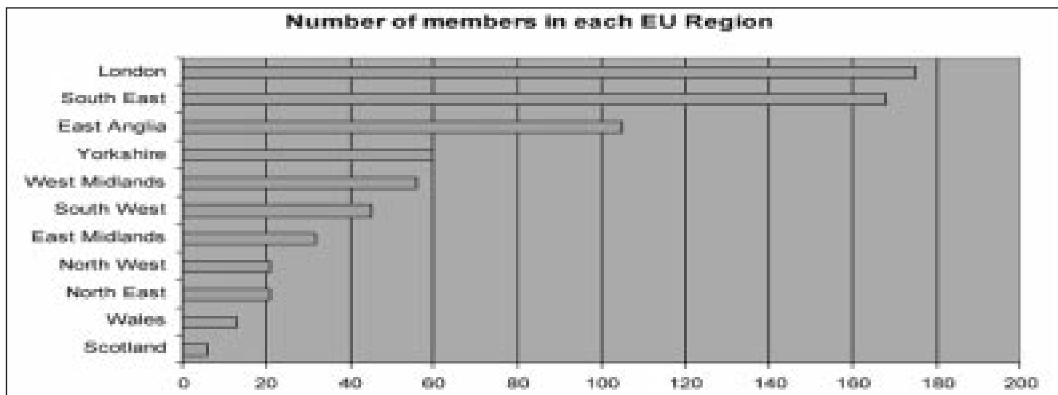

Approaching a third of our current members have joined since we began running annual conferences in 1996 – for them, these conferences are the norm.

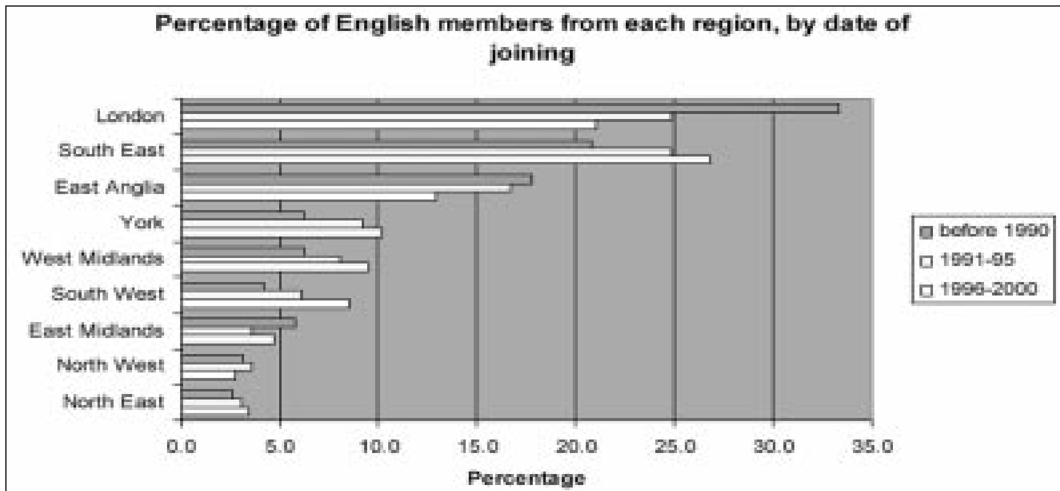
*Where do we live*

Our Society was founded as a London Society. Only relatively recently has it spread its wings to the whole of the UK. From the bar chart below it is clear that approximately two thirds of our UK members live in London, the South East and East Anglia – that is, within striking distance of London. (We have used the EU definitions of the regions.) The remaining third are spread over the rest of the country. Thus we still have a majority of members who live close to London.

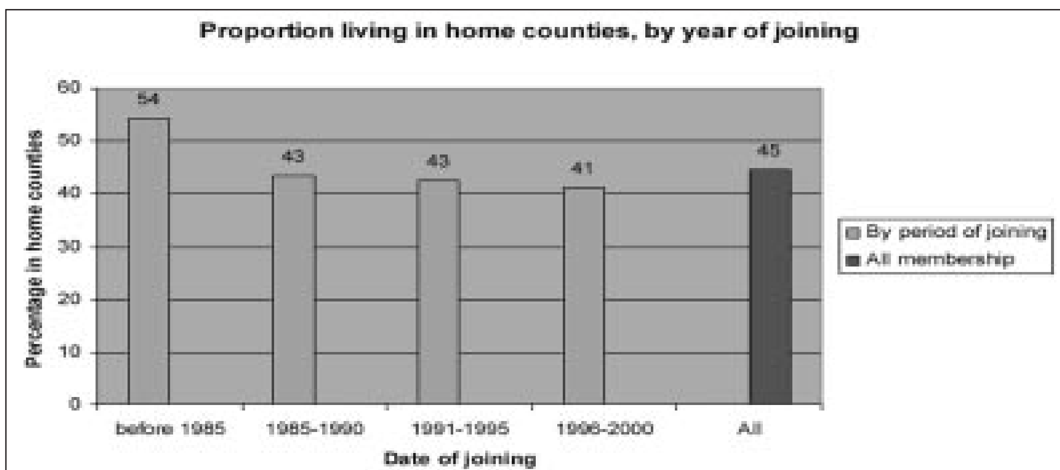
Yorkshire region (i.e. Yorkshire & Humberside) has an unexpected 60 members (many of whom have joined quite recently). The South West is surprisingly low, given the density of historic churches in the region.

This picture is misleading in some ways, because it ignores the fact that the South East is more heavily populated. London, the South East and East Anglia have about one and a half times the share of membership which we would expect if our members were distributed according to population density. Yorkshire and the West Midlands are not far off expectations, the South West, the East Midlands and the North East are low, and the North West is very low.






We would expect the marketing campaigns of the last few years to have shifted the balance away from London, as most of our marketing is national. This is indeed happening, as can be seen from above which shows the proportion of current membership in each region according to the period they joined the Society. (The three periods had very roughly equal numbers of new members.) The proportion from London and East Anglia does show the expected drop. That from the South East has risen, though some of this is due to the recruiting activities of Sue Branfoot and John Elliott at Reading University. The proportion from other areas shows signs of rising, as expected. Nevertheless, 60% continue to join from London, East Anglia and the South East though the proportion of new recruits from close to London has dropped from 54% to 41% in that twenty-year period.



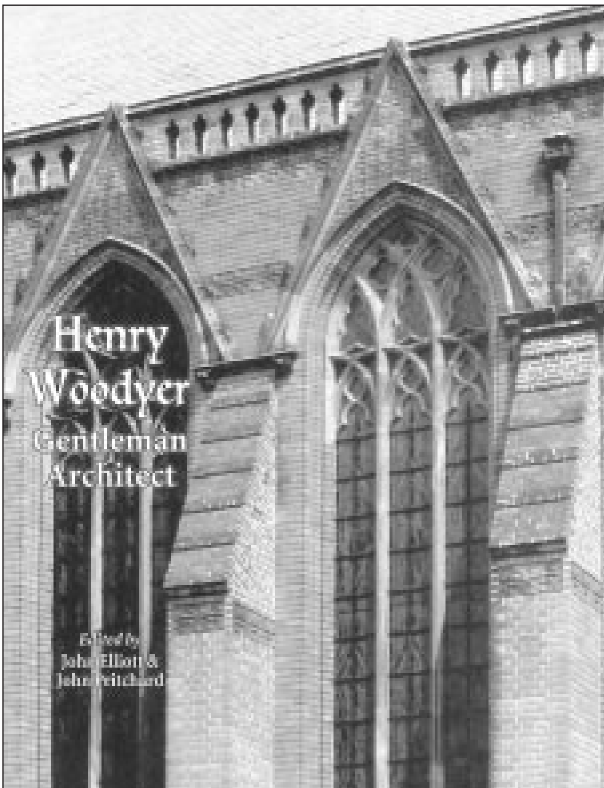

So if we continue in the present way, we will slowly become less clustered round London. However, on current recruitment patterns it is unlikely that the proportion from London, the South East and East Anglia will ever be less than half, and will probably settle around 60%.

# BOOK REVIEWS

John Elliott and John Pritchard (eds): *Henry Woodyer Gentleman Architect* (University of Reading, 2002, 285 pp., 269 pls, £22.95. Pbk, ISBN 0 7049 13313). Available from The University of Reading, School of Continuing Education, London Road, Reading, RG1 5AQ. The price includes postage and package.

Henry Woodyer (1816-96) was a first-rate Gothic Revival architect who specialised in the design of Anglican churches, and this volume will be of great interest to readers of *Ecclesiology Today.* Knowledge of his work used to mark you out as a particularly devoted and discerning student of Victorian architecture, a bit like Henry Clutton or Robert Withers, both Woodyer's near exact contemporaries. In fact this reviewer clearly still remembers a conversation with the great American architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock, who, advising on a suitable doctoral thesis subject, observed that 'a really good book could be written on that second tier of Church-building Gothic architects', and then named these three (Woodyer, Clutton and Withers) to make his point.

Arguably at his best Woodyer was as good as Carpenter, and his evolution as a designer (chronicled in this book) shows him to have been in touch with the latest architectural thinking, at times achieving the kind of sophisticated design (and even some of the same traits) we associate with Butterfield. John Elliott and John Pritchard have overseen the publication of just the sort of 'really good book' Hitchcock thought Woodyer deserved.




That Woodyer is not now more widely known is largely his own fault. Unusually for an architect of his generation, Woodyer did very little to promote himself. He did not seek to have his work widely published and did not write. In these respects he could be compared with Philip Webb, his junior, were it not for the difference in personal circumstances. For Woodyer was university educated, which was a rare thing for an architect then to be, and he benefited from a modest inheritance. Not seeking major commissions or publicity, he had no need for a large office or a cadre of articled clerks to churn out working drawings or write complicated specifications. He saw himself, in short, as a gentleman, hence the subtitle of the book under review.

*Henry Woodyer Gentleman Architect* is arranged thematically rather than chronological-

ly, more as a series of essays. A very good biographical chapter sets the stage and gives coherence to the ones which follow. Inevitably there is some repetition, but not much. Perhaps the best chapter is the one on 'Patronage and Practice', and there is a fascinating one on Woodyer's House of Mercy at Clewer, an Anglican community founded in 1849 to aid 'fallen women'. The study of Woodyer's links to Hardman stands out a bit, but is very informative and welcome as a study in its own right. Finally, there is an illustrated catalogue of Woodyer's oeuvre et al, some 170 works as well as appendices detailing undocumented attributions and exposing false attributions. This catalogue is a work of nice scholarship, drawing on exhaustive archival investigations of a kind that no single author - including someone writing a PhD - would relish doing and which is very well suited to the collaborative method.

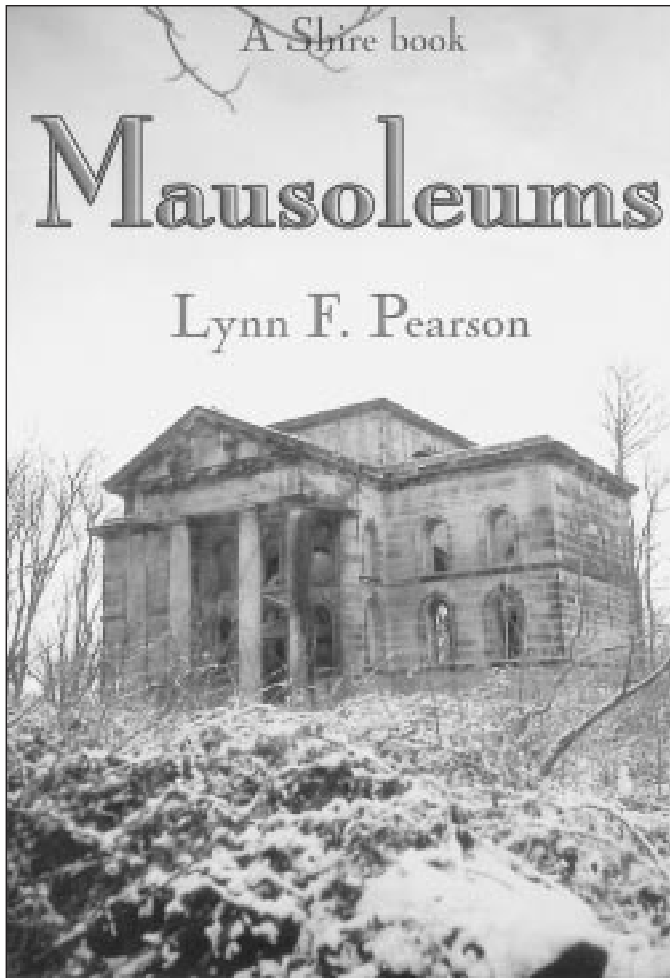
What is perhaps most interesting about *Henry Woodyer* is the way it has been executed. It is not a conventional, multi-authored volume but a collaboration of as many as eleven people, all connected with the Continuing Education Department of the University of Reading. The editors have decided not to credit individuals but to present it entirely as a joint work (with the exception of the chapter on Hardman, which is an advance taste of Marie-Therese Shepheard's doctoral thesis).

This is of course the way the early ecclesiologists themselves worked, a method which explains their extraordinary productivity and also their success. There are many Victorian architects who deserve just the treatment Woodyer has enjoyed at the hands of Elliott and Pritchard's team, intelligent, diligent and careful; desk-top publishing now makes it easy to achieve an attractive book layout on what must have been, in this case, a very modest margin. This, surely, is the right way to develop our understanding of Victorian architecture, the study of which stalled in the late 1980s but has recently revived, in no small measure due to the efforts of the Ecclesiological Society (and readers will know John Elliott's role in this).

And who next? For purely selfish reasons, this Society will want to see more church architects as the recipients of future endeavours, but in truth there are large areas of nineteenth century architecture that could effectively be explored - many for the first time - by this collaborative method: the development of the profession in provincial areas, for instance; patronage; or Victorian town planning schemes (yes, there were many). And what about the leading figures who lack a modern monograph? I am thinking here of Barry but of course also of Street (whose Berkshire work has been examined already in Woodyer-fashion by Elliott & Co).

However, I suspect that Street is one of those artists - and Pugin another - who really deserves a more conventional life-and-work treatment, even a proper biography. Great artistic genius needs the subtlety and purpose that comes from a single, strong authorial voice, and that is hard to achieve through the vehicle of a project team, though of course any biographer's job would be so much easier if they had to hand the kind of exemplary, factual analysis that this new book on Woodyer achieves.

Chris Miele




Lynn F. Pearson, *Mausoleums* (Shire Publications, 2002, 40 pp., 62 pls, £3.50. Pbk, ISBN 0 7478 0518 0).

Mausoleums - magnificent, monumental tombs - are often haunting, powerful buildings in evocative sites. The locations can range from rolling hills and carefully crafted parkland to gloomy churchyards and crowded Victorian cemeteries. These buildings are the latest church-related topic to be added to the modestly priced and usually excellent Shire range of booklets. The text really falls into two parts, a history which is followed by a gazetteer. The former is, even in the context of the modest size of the volume, slight. From earliest times to the seventeenth century is covered in a mere 40 lines, but once the eighteenth century is reached, the book becomes much more valuable. It is this and the nineteenth centuries that are the real focus and, especially in the comprehensive gazetteer of Great Britain (excluding Northern Ireland), the structures erected for the rich and famous are carefully examined. Here we see Hawksmoor's mausoleum at Castle Howard and Paine's at Gibside, Tatham's at Trenham and Humbert's at Windsor. However, the middle classes are not overlooked, and there is much useful information about the great Victorian cemeteries of Bradford, Glasgow and the various districts of London.

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Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (The Boydell Press and The Centre of East Anglian Studies, 2001, 330 pp., 24 illus., 8 col. pls., £60.00. Hd bk ISBN 0 85115 820 X. Available to members of the Ecclesiological Society at £40.00, including postage. This offer is now extended until the end of May 2002. To order a copy, please use the flyer which was included with the January 2002 edition of *Ecclesiology Today*. Alternatively, the book can be ordered at this price from Boydells at PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk, IP12 3DF, quoting reference 01273/900.)

In today's largely secular society, death and remembrance have become distanced. Death is widely regarded as final; and elaborate monuments and funerary sculpture are discouraged, if not banned outright, in most parishes.

However, this was not always so, and in the late Middle Ages, death was perceived as the next stage of the soul's journey, and remembrance, which was closely interwoven in the whole ethos of living and dying, was possible for the better-off to ensure, and for those left behind to initiate.

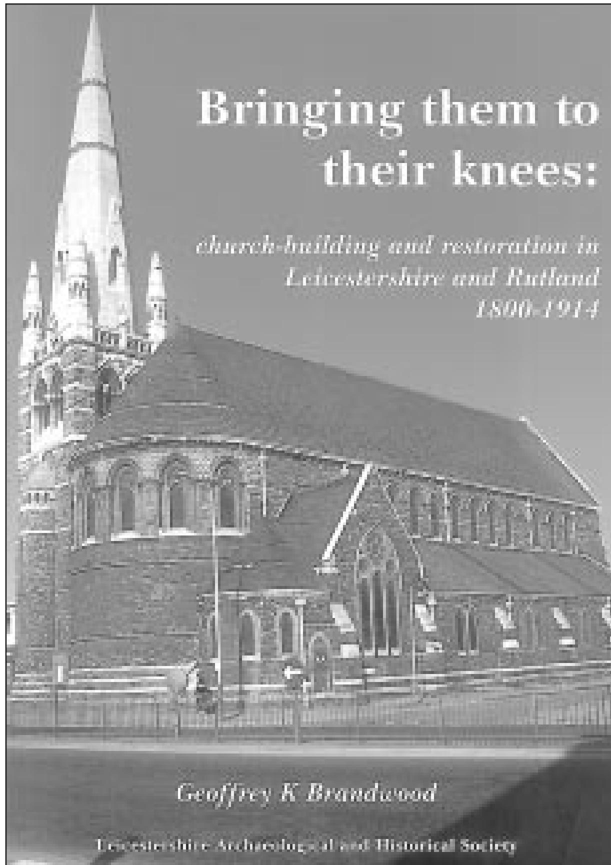
Believing that intercessory prayers would accelerate the soul's passage through Purgatory reinforced the sense of continuation and negated the sense of bereavement, which made the marking of the grave only one of many ways in which remembrance was secured in late medieval society.

In this thorough study, Judith Middleton-Stewart considers the former deanery of Dunwich in East Suffolk and examines the wills written between 1370 and 1547 by members of its fifty-two parishes.

These near three thousand wills include the details of the ways in which the testators wished to be remembered through their material and spiritual bequests. Many purchased prayer (the prayers of the poor being particularly sought); but testators also left instructions for the acquisition of liturgical books, church plate and embroidered vestments. Elsewhere gifts provided stained glass windows, seven-sacrament fonts and rood screens.

The book begins by examining the provision of churches and places of worship in the deanery, reviewing the range of testators and considering their stipulations. Later chapters look in more detail at different types of gifts and bequests, grouped under headings dealing with such things as stained glass, vestments and the provision of service books.

By the very nature of the detail of the research, studies such as this will inevitably deal with a specific geographical area, rather than offering a national perspective. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to believe that this book will appeal only to those interested in Suffolk's history. The copious examples are, it is true, all located in Dunwich but the fascinating story they tell will be appreciated by a national readership.




Geoffrey K Brandwood, *Bringing them to their knees: church-building and restoration in Leicestershire and Rutland 1800-1914*, Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 146 pp, £15 ISBN 095423880X

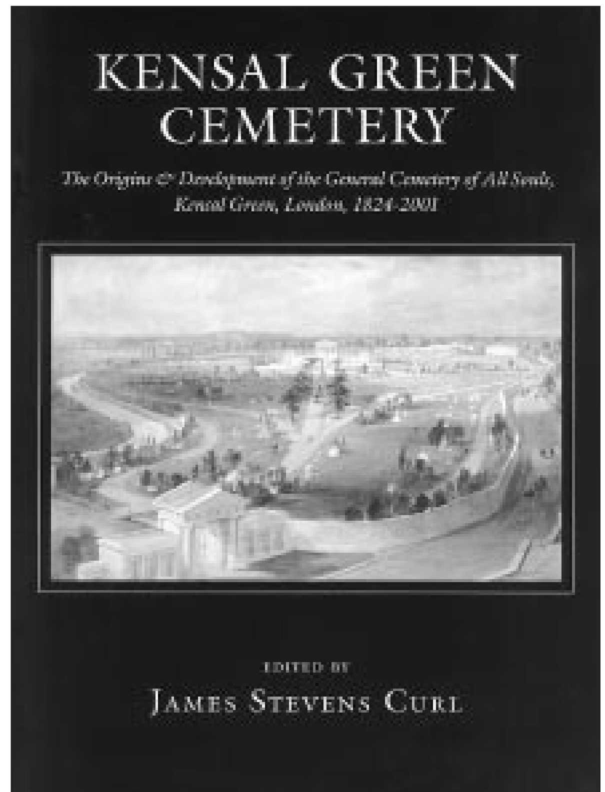
Thankfully the shortage of good books on local churches is now being corrected, though this is somthing more than just a book on Leicestershire and Rutlandshire churches. Geoff Brandwood explains what was wrong with Georgian churches and recounts the rise of ecclesiology before explaining how some of the debates over restoration progressed in the nineteenth century.

Geoff is a member of this society and Chairman of the Victorian Society. As such he is much involved with saving churches and trying to increase interest in them. We recommend this book to everyone who feels the same.

James Stevens Curl (ed), *Kensal Green Cemetery*, Phillimore 402 pp ISBN 1860771947

This is a beautifully produced book which deals with the historical development of one of London's great cemeteryies. Masterminded by James Stevens Curl, there are sixteen chapters with contributions from Ruth Richardson, Brent Elliott, Eric Robinson, Jennifer Freeman, Roger Bowdler, Chris Brooks, John Physick, Timothy Freed and Julian Litten. If you buy this book you will get everything from the geology of Kensal Green to the architecture which was employed there.

The book is expensive and this should mean that the sales are limited, though clearly Phillimore believe that the excellent reproductions and in-depth essays will guarantee sufficient sales to make it all worthwhile.



# PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Anthony Hamber

*The background*

'The Laws of the Cambridge Camden Society' began, in the first paragraph, by stating that 'The Object of the Society shall be to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture and Antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural remains.' The seventeenth paragraph stated 'The Society invites its Members to examine every church in their power, to furnish reports and drawings thereof to the Secretaries, and to contribute original papers on any subject connected with its designs.'[1] With this in mind the Society published 'hints' for graphic reproduction and underlined the need for accuracy and measurements. *The Ecclesiologist* gave detailed and often specific guidance on what part of buildings to document and the style in which this should be carried out.[2]

The Society published *A Blank Form for the Description of a Church* that listed some 58 individual features in its first edition and had grown to a weighty two hundred and sixty by the seventh edition of 1841. Though it might be considered that the features listed in this 'Blank Form' might have guided early architectural photographers this does not seem to be the case. Given that from its earliest years the Society commissioned graphic delineations of architecture, that it purchased specialist illustrations and how verbally graphic the columns of *The Ecclesiologist* were, there is a degree of irony in that the publication made sporadic and seemingly inconsistent use of illustrations. Within this context this article intends to examine the degree to which photography was exploited by the Ecclesiological Society to achieve its aims and objectives.

The illustrations within *The Ecclesiologist* followed many scholarly periodicals of the mid nineteenth century. Illustrations appeared on single sided unpaginated sheets that were bound into the signatures when volumes were sent for binding. Some of these sheets were larger than the page format of *The Ecclesiologist* and therefore had to be folded. The style of the illustrations varied considerably. Some were simple line drawings of ground plans. Others were 'picturesque' views that included figures. On very rare occasions illustrations appeared integrated with text pages.

Evidence suggests that *The Ecclesiologist* had no specific editorial policy regarding illustrations, that were considered 'occasional' additions. Indeed, there is evidence that in some instances architects furnished illustrations, perhaps as part of a surreptitious marketing or advertising campaign. For instance, in the issue for February 1860 an article on George Gilbert Scott's All Soul's Halifax was accompanied by a full page illustration of a drawing by J.D. Wyatt of the interior of the church. In the article it was stated that 'Thanks to Mr. Scott's courtesy, we present our readers with an interior view of the Church.'[3]

The comparative paucity of illustrations within *The Ecclesiologist* is underlined by the fact that during its early years the CCS spent a considerable part of its annual income on lithography and engraving. In 1841 it was reported that some £41 8s. 8d. had been paid to Hullmandel for 'Lithography'[4] and the report of the Sixth Anniversary Meeting 1845, the year of a crisis for the Society, included detail of expenditure including £80 for engraving by Le Keux and £116 for printing by Messrs. Metcalfe and Palmer. This expenditure was in a year when subscriptions

amounted to £216 15s.[5] However, the funding of such graphic delineations was not always successful and this may have caused some hesitancy in outlaying funds for photography.[6]

By coincidence the Cambridge Camden Society was formed in the same year as the announcements of the photographic processes of Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre (1789-1851) and William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877). These two photographic processes differed significantly. Daguerre's process was based on a highly polished silvered metal plate onto which the photo chemicals were exposed and within which the image was formed. The Daguerreotype image was unique, laterally reversed and could not be easily copied. Conversely, Talbot's photographic process used paper as the image support. While Talbot's first photographic process, Photogenic Drawing, produced direct positive images, his Calotype process was far more significant. Talbot discovered that a latent image formed in the photo chemicals coated onto the Photogenic Drawing paper base. This image could be developed out using chemicals. However, it appeared in 'negative' form. By contact printing in daylight this 'negative' onto another piece of chemically sensitised paper a 'positive' print could be produced. Multiplication of the image was therefore possible. The Calotype (also known as the Talbotype) was announced in 1841 and through its negative/positive technique forms the basis of modern photography.

While during the 1840s both the Daguerreotype and the Calotype were used to document architecture there were some practical considerations. Firstly camera exposure times were very long, initially measured in minutes even in broad daylight. Thus photographic interiors views of buildings were extremely challenging during the 1840s and are rarely to be found. Other restrictions included the limited angle of view of camera lenses, which again limited architectural views. Finally, the cameras of the 1840s were simple devices, boxes with fixed lenses. Without the ability to shift, tilt or swing the lens of the camera while keeping the image plane vertically parallel with the building itself there were fundamental challenges for the photographer to compose architectural views and keep vertical elements in the scene in the correct perspective.

During the 1840s small numbers of professional and amateur photographers used the Daguerreotype and Calotype to document architecture. The Great Exhibition of 1851 acted as a catalyst for the rapid growth of the medium during the 1850s and at the demise of the CCS in 1868 photography was a global commercial business with professional photographers to be found throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. Commercially available photographs of the architecture of the past, present and future were readily available in a wide variety of formats and becoming increasingly affordable. However, the crusading years of the Society were the 1840s, a period during which photography was in its infancy and commercial outlets for photographs were comparatively limited. Nevertheless, as will be pointed out below, the 1840s saw a significant number of examples of photography being used to document architecture of interest to the Society. In this respect the medium could have been seen to have been an appropriate tool to add to the armoury the CCS employed to achieve its aims. Certainly from a pragmatic viewpoint, sending a member or an employed agent on excursions into the depth of the countryside with a camera to document architecture could have been shown to have been a cost effective use of the Societiy's resources.

White's survey of the 'Cambridge Movement' pointed to the Society's use of graphic repro-

ductions but did not detail its origins or its significance.[7] He made reference to the Society expending considerable sums for hiring engravers, commissioning measured drawings and paying for travel expenses to remote areas.[8] A recently published survey adds significantly to our understanding of various aspects though there is no specific study on the Society's use of graphic or photographic illustration.[9] As was pointed out, during the early history of the Society 'it is no wonder that our realization of the past should be so weak, when our ideas of it are so inaccurate.'[10] From today's perspective it would seem that photography was a powerful tool that the Society could have successfully exploited to meet its aims and objectives. An underlying theme within this paper is that of a lost opportunity.

Following its public announcement in January 1839 it was quickly acknowledged by contemporaries that the Daguerreotype could record extremely detailed views in a matter of minutes, a level of detail that would take considerably longer through traditional manual graphic reproduction.

The scale and scope of Daguerreotype photography of architecture in Great Britain is an ongoing subject of research for the author. To date at least three Daguerreo type views of Wells Cathedral dating to pre-1850 have been located. These were likely to have been produced by commercial photographers, as the *etiquette* of the early photographic entrepreneur Richard Beard on the verso of one of the images attests.[11] Only significant further research is likely to indicate whether members of the CCS came into direct contact with Daguerreotypes of picttures.

Similarly, during the 1840s photographers using Talbot's paper negative process also documented medieval architecture. By the mid 1840s the amateur photographer Hugh Owen (1808-97), Chief Cashier of the Great Western Railway, began to document some of Bristol's medieval churches such as the Cathedral and St. Mary Redcliffe.[12] In December 1845 William Henry Fox Talbot included a view of George Gilbert Scott's Martyr's Monument in Oxford as plate XXI of *The Pencil of Nature,* generally considered the first photographically illustrated publication.[13] Talbot also took at least three photographs of Holy Trinity Church, Bishop's Road, Paddington, built between March 1845 and July 1846 by Thomas Cundy (1790-1867), whose son, Thomas Cundy junior (1820-1895), became a member of the Society in 1850 though he had been a member of the Oxford Society since 1846.[14] However, it is unknown as to how widely available copies of these photographs were and whether they had any significant contemporary impact.[15]

Researching the Society's relationship to photography is problematic given the comparative paucity of original source materials. The exact scale and scope of the holdings of the Society's library and collections remains unclear. The author is unaware of a printed or published catalogue of the holdings of the CCS library though published accounts of donations of books, prints etc. are to be found in *The Ecclesiologist* and these give some indication of the contents. At the time of the Society's removal to London in 1846 it seems unlikely that there would have been significant photographic holdings. Whether the entire holding of its library and other collections was moved is unclear. However, by the late 1840s the Society 'had lost much of its pristine energy' and 'seemed ready to settle down for a productive middle age.'[16] In 1850 it was decided to close the London rooms of the Society at 78, New Bond Street when the lease ran out in 1851.[17] By 1853, at a time when photography was beginning to take off as both an amateur and profession-

al activity, the Society's collections had been given to the Architectural Museum. By late 1865 the Society was donating books to the RIBA and six volumes of the Society's papers, including the minute books from November 1854 until December 1866 were acquired by the RIBA.[18]

The primary source that the author has called upon has been *The Ecclesiologist*. This publication not only gives an overview of the Society's activities and events but is also a key resource for the analysis of editorial interests. What was excluded about photography is as significant as what can be found within the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*. For instance, when reporting on the activities of other societies, the mention of photographs was in some instances curiously omitted though it might have been documented in the original printed account of the relevant society's publications.[19]

*Direct exposure of the Society and its members to photography within a formal Society setting*

Reviews of photographs at the meetings of the Society were comparatively infrequent and particularly when compared to the meetings of other similar specialist societies. How accurately *The Ecclesiologist* reflected the events that took place in CCS meetings is difficult to assess. No evidence has been found in *The Ecclesiologist* to suggest that Daguerreotype or Calotype images were displayed during the 1840s. However, by the mid 1850s the situation changed and mirrored the practises at meetings of similar societies.

At the meeting held on 5th and 6th June 1856 'The Committee also examined drawings and photographs of the designs, respectively by Herr Firstl and Herr Ernst, which obtained the first and second prizes for the competition for the great Votive [sic] Church in Vienna.'[20] It is unclear who brought these photographs to the meeting though George Gilbert Scott is one candidate as is A. J. Beresford Hope.

The exposure of CCS members to photography at the meetings of other societies to which they belonged will require further research into the matrix of individuals, specialist societies and the multiple associations and affiliations. It is clear that some key enthusiasts of the new medium 'did the rounds' of architectural societies. In October 1855 The Rev. George Aycliffe Poole read a paper on 'Photography as applicable to Architecture' to the Architectural Society for the Archdeaconry of Northampton.[21] During the same year Poole communicated a paper on 'Photography and the Sketch Book' to the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society.[22]

Another dimension is highlighted by the connections between the CCS and activities of George Gilbert Scott, A. J. Beresford Hope and the Architectural Museum. George Gilbert Scott was instrumental in the formation of the museum and in March 1853 wrote to the Ecclesiological Society stating that the 'we hope to collect photographs of objects too large to be moulded.'[23] By 1855 a review of the catalogue of the Architectural Museum appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* in which it was stated 'To these [tracings, casts etc.] are being added, as opportunities offer, photographs from architectural objects at home and abroad.'[24]

Alexander James Beresford Hope (1820-1887), President of the Architectural Museum, held key positions within the CCS; Chairman 1845-59, a trustee from 1845, President 1859-68. His role in the promulgation of photography requires further investigation but it is clear that by the end of the 1850s he had become a vociferous advocate of the medium. In April 1858, at a time

when the Architectural Photographic Society was being founded and which Beresford Hope was to become a founding member, he was instrumental in the founding of the Kent Archæological Society. At the Inaugural Meeting held on the 14th April Hope moved the fourth resolution which called upon 'members to contribute original papers, drawings etc.' Hope then stated that 'Under that 'etc.' is concealed something which is more valuable than all the drawings in the world – I mean photography.' 'Photography is the honest friend who always comes out with the whole truth' he continued and concluded that the Society should adopt photography for 'it would be a shame and disgrace to it not to do.'[25]

Another significant contemporary forum in which architectural photography was displayed was the annual Architectural Exhibition. Anonymous reviews of these exhibitions appeared in *The Ecclesiologist* and photographs were both noted and commented upon. The author hopes to identity the CCS reviewer(s) of the Architectural Exhibition during the ongoing research on this project and also to see whether these mentions of photographs had any significant impact

*The photographic activities of the membership*

It would be no surprise to find that during the 1840s the membership of the CCS included enthusiastic amateur photographers. Both Daguerreotype and paper print (known as Talbotype or Calotype) photographs of medieval and contemporary Gothic architecture were created by a number of amateur and professional photographers during this decade.

Little research has been carried out on photographic collecting during the 1840s and whether significant numbers of CCS members owned photographs has yet to be deduced. However, there are noteworthy examples such as the antiquary John Britton (1771-1857), a member of the Society from 1841, who is known to have collected (perhaps even commissioned) photographs.[26] It is possible that while members of the CCS did collect photographs – and indeed may have displayed them at the Society's meetings – this was not deemed worthy of inclusion in the published account of these meetings.

The matrix of societies under examination includes the CCS, other architectural societies, other archaeological and local history societies, photographic societies most pertinently the Photographic Society of London (later the Royal Photographic Society) founded in late 1852 and specialist photographic societies such as the Architectural Photographic Association founded in 1857.

To date the most prominent photographer identified amongst the membership of the CCS is the Reverend Frederick Anthony Stansfield Marshall who became a member of the Society in the mid 1840s. Marshall was a member of the Photographic Club (also known as the Calotype Society) that had been formed in 1847 and by the mid 1850s, now a curate in Peterborough, he was exhibiting his photographs, including architectural views, at formal photographic exhibitions. Marshall's photographic career spanned the move away from the use of paper negative process (the Calotype or Talbotype) to the adoption of glass plates as a support for the photographic negative using the Collodion process. He used both of these processes.

1855 was a particularly significant year in Marshall's photographic career. In centred on two publications and a paper he presented to a specialist architectural society. In July 1855 the peri-

odical *Notes & Queries* recommended his book *Photography: the Importance of its Application in Preserving Pictorial Records of History and Art. By The Rev F.A.S. Marshall, M.A. of Peterborough. With An Appendix containing A Practical Description of the Talbotype Process, As Adopted and Practiced by the Author during the last Seven Years* , published in 1855 by Hering and Remington of London and Thomas Chadwell and J. Clarke of Peterborough.[27] From this thirty-page publication it is possible to build a profile not only of Marshall's photographic activities and interests but the manner in which these were related to specialist architectural societies.

The publication was a version of a paper 'read before the Architectural and Archælogical Societies of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, the Diocese of Lincoln, the County of Leicester and the University of Cambridge. At their General Meeting in the City of Peterborough, May 24th, 1855, when many beautiful and interesting specimens of Photography were exhibited, to which the attention of the audience was directed during the reading of the Paper.'[28] *The Ecclesiologist* did not refer to this paper – or its subsequent publication – in its pages, a curious exclusion which has raised the possibility that Marshall had in some way fallen out with the CCS and was spurred on to publish 'privately' because he appreciated he might not appear in print elsewhere.[29]

Marshall began by stating that 'A volume of Photographic Views of the Cathedral and City of Canterbury, taken by myself during a brief visit in August 1853, was exhibited' at the joint meeting of the societies in 1854.[30] He referred his audience to a photograph of the ruined abbey of Croyland (presumably which he had taken) to which the members of the Societies had travelled that day and claimed 'is not the ruined Abbey again before you in this beautiful Photograph?'[31] Marshall also produced 'Photographs of various objects, such as fern leaves, feathers, lace, &c.'[32]

Marshall was also aware of forthcoming photographic publications and mentioned that 'but the other day we learnt that one of our most successful Photographers [Roger Fenton], after a short visit to the Crimea, was preparing to bring home no less than eight hundred pictures, illustrative of the far-famed fortress of Sebastopol, its works, and surrounding scenery.'[33]

At the end of his paper Marshall asked his audience 'to examine carefully the Photographs, especially the beautiful series from Paris, [presumably from his own collection] which now adorn these walls. Among them you will find representations of the Architectural details, on a large scale, of the Louvre, the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, and the picturesque Chateau at Blois…. Look at the rich mass of Sculpture over the West Door of Notre Dame. What more could you desire to bring before you the work and genius of the Sculptor? What could be more truthful than this, the very impress of the object?'[34]

In a Postscript, Marshall directed attention to the photographs of MM. Bisson Frères, of Paris. 'They have undoubtedly taken the lead in this most important application of Photography. When are our own Public Buildings, &c., Monuments of our History and our Art, to be in like manner preserved and brought within the reach of the Student and the Artist? It is a reproach to the English Professional Photographers that they give so much attention to the practice of Portraiture.'[35] Marshall concluded with a section on 'Practical Hints to the Photographer' in which he emphasised that the 'You can hardly spend too much time in the study and selection of your viewpoint.'[36]

As a member of the Photographic Club one of Marshall's photographs appeared in *The Photographic Album for the Year 1855. Being Contributions from the Members of The Photographic Club.* Photograph No.42 was his view of 'Lady Chapel, Peterborough Cathedral. Talbotype process, August 13, 1855. 13 sec exposure.' In 1857 Marshall was also to become a member of the Architectural Photographic Association (APA).

However, Marshall's seemingly failure to influence the CCS is curious given the evangelical support expressed only a few years later by one of the most influential members of the Society, A.J. Beresford Hope. It may be that Marshall was involved in the acrimonious divisions within the Society during the mid 1840s and was no longer a member of the CCS by 1855. One gets the impression that Marshall may have been considered as something of a 'black sheep' by the CCS. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the papers on photography presented by G.A. Poole contemporaneously with Marshall's activities were documented comparatively extensively in *The Ecclesiologist* and Poole was not a member of the CCS.

*Membership of related societies and subscriptions to publications*

While the Society did hold membership of related architectural societies it also held membership of at least one society specialising in graphic reproduction of art and architecture. In 1850 the Society decided to subscribe to 'the Arundel Society, instituted for the publication of works of the purest Christian art.'[37] The Society does not seem to have been a member of the Photographic Society of London (formed in 1853 and later to become the Royal Photographic Society) nor to have subscribed to photographic journals. Nor did the Society form a 'union' with a photographic society though it documented such activities by other architectural societies.

The relationship of the CCS with one specialist photographic society, the Architectural Photographic Association (APA) is significant. The APA was founded in 1857 at a time when commercial photography was booming and photographs of architecture from across Europe and beyond were becoming freely available in Great Britain.[38] The Society published a notice about 'an excellent scheme now afoot for forming an Architectural Photographic Association' and stated that 'The Provisional Committee hope to be able to supply annual subscribers of one guinea, with at least three of the largest sized architectural photographs, or from thirty to forty small stereoscopic views. Applications from persons desiring to become members should be made to the Hon. Secretary, R. Hesketh, Esq. 95, Wimpole Street, W.'[39] However, the CCS did not become a founding member and no evidence has been found to suggest that it ever became a subscriber.

However, a comparison of Brandwood's recently published list of the members of the Cambridge Camden and Ecclesiological Societies from their beginnings in May 1839 to the election of the last known new member in 1867 with the published 1858 membership list of the APA is informative. Of the 723 listed subscribers to the APA some 57 were contemporaneously members the CSS and nine of these were officers of the APA though A.J. Beresford Hope was listed only as a subscriber. A further three APA subscribers would subsequently become members of the Society. In addition four architectural societies were members of the APA.

Mention of the first exhibition of the APA was brief and merely suggested 'that its utility would be increased if it gave new as well as ancient buildings.'[40] The 1861 APA exhibition was

described as a 'very attractive collection, from which its subscribers may choose.' However, the manner in which the APA had been set up doomed it to failure. Its members paid a subscription and then had the right to choose a set number of photographs selected from commercially available photographs. These photographs were displayed at Association exhibitions in the form of sets of images distributed on a number of boards. Members could not choose more than one photograph from a single board thus making it impossible to form a complete set of images of a single building.

The exhibiting of APA photographs at the meetings of other architectural societies was noted in the columns of *The Ecclesiologist*. At the meeting held on Tuesday 4th June 1861 by the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society it was reported that 'The room was adorned with a large collection of fine architectural photographs, chiefly lent for the occasion by the Architectural Photographic Association.'.[41] 'Owing to the lateness of the hour at which the lecture was concluded, there was little time for calling attention to the beautiful collection of photographs. A vote of thanks to the Architectural Photographic Association for their kindness having been passed, the meeting was brought to a close. Several persons, however, remained for some time afterwards to inspect the photographs.' [42] How common an occurrence this represents remains unclear.

The APA staggered from crisis to crisis though it had something of a Renaissance during the late 1860s when John Pollard Seddon became active in the organisation of photographic campaigns. Seddon had become a member of the CCS in November 1857.

*The reference to photography within the Society's publications*

Reviews of photographically illustrated books and publications in the columns of *The Ecclesiologist* are another source that the author has specifically targeted. Again *The Ecclesiologist* is a paradox. In general it did not extensively review books or other publications. The number of reviews of photographically illustrated books can be numbered on the fingers of one hand. An early publication that had specific relevance to the CSS, *Photographic Delineations of the Scenery, Architecture, and Antiquities of Great Britain, and Ireland,* published by Samuel Highley of London in 1854 received no mention whatsoever.[43] However, there was a review of a title that does not appear in the standard bibliographies on photographically illustrated books of the 19th century. *Photographic Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England* published by Dolamore and Bullock of London contained four photographs, two each of Wells Cathedral and Glastonbury Abbey. The review stated that 'The West front of Wells is a marvel of minute accuracy of detail.'[44] Dolamore and Bullock were at the time employed by the Architectural Museum to photograph its collections.

In 1861 *The Ecclesiologist* reviewed James Contencin's *Photographic Illustrations of the Architecture and Sculptured Details of Streetley Church, Derbyshire. With Plans and sections measured and drawn by Theophilus Smith,* published in Worksop in 1860, saying:

> This is an excellent description of a little known, but most interesting, church, and we are truly glad to see photography thus made useful in preserving the form of a fast perishing monument of antiquity.

> The photographs – twenty-one in number – are of extreme beauty, very soft and distinct, and giving every detail.[45]

In 1865 a review of *Photographs from Sketches by Augustus Welby N. Pugin* published by the photographer Stephen Ayling in London in 1865 stated that 'these five hundred valuable photographs will remain a work of standard value to all coming ecclesiologists.'[46]

It is significant that *The Ecclesiologist,* save for its reference to the APA, did not review photographic exhibitions. No mention of the exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society, or the large displays of photographs at international exhibitions such as the 1855 exhibition in Paris, are to be found. This is particularly curious given the Society's involvement with the 1862 Internal Exhibition and the fact that architectural photography was prominently displayed.

*The use of photographic illustration by the Society within its publications*

It is unclear whether any illustrations within *The Ecclesiologist* were based on photographic originals. Such use of photographs had begun soon after the invention of photography though its scale and scope during the 1840s.[47]

The first use of photographic illustration within the *The Ecclesiologist* took place in 1867. An article on Honolulu Cathedral included a single Albumen photographic print of a 'Honolulu Cathedral. View of the choir, Now in Course of Erection'[48] The image was mounted on an unpaginated page within litho-ruled border and had a printed caption.

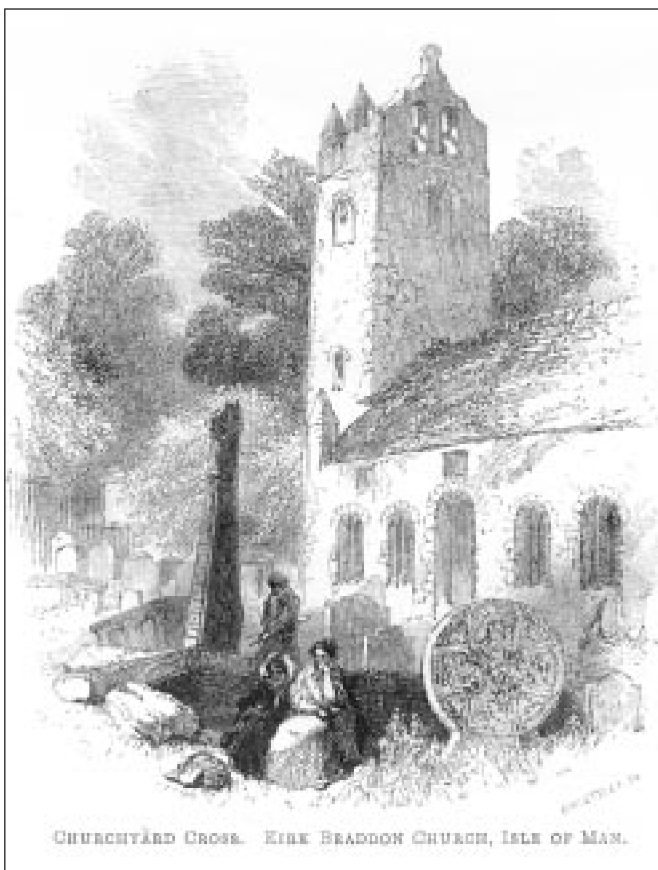
Honolulu Cathedral. View of the choir in course of erection. Albumen print.
*The Ecclesiologist*, August 1867, opposite p 295.

Honolulu Cathedral was built between 1862 and 1889, though not completed until 1987. The design was by the London firm of William Slater and Richard Herbert Carpenter, both of whom were members of the CCS and the work was overseen by Benjamin Ingelow who worked for the firm from 1858 and became Carpenter's partner in April 1875 following Slater's death in 1872.

Perhaps the most significant use of photographic illustration took place in the issue of *The Ecclesiologist* for February 1868 when an almost full page Albumen print photograph of the interior of S. Peter, Peterstow, Herefordshire was included. This

was to accompany a text in the form of a letter from The Rev. John Jebb, the vicar of Peterstow from 1843 until 1886, in which he stated that 'I have ventured to send you, for insertion in your present number, a photographic view of the interior of St Peter's church, Peterstow, in Herefordshire, restored from a condition of great rudeness and disfigurement, by Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, in 1866; being reopened for service on the 3rd of July that year.'[49] This 'insert' points yet again to the editorial policy being far from pro-active as regards photographic illustration.

Some photographically-illustrated publications of the late 1860s are directly related to the Ecclesiological Society such as Edward Young Cox's *The Art of Garnishing Churches at Christmas and other Festivals.. with Photographs, lithographs, & wood engravings, illustrating the original designs of several architects etc.*, published by the author in London in 1868. A second edition was published in the following year. However, there seems to be no link between this publication and the CCS.




Churchyard cross. Kirk Braddon Church, Isle of Man
Engraving by H Vizetelly. To accompany an anonymous article entitled 'Ancient Crosses in *The Ecclesiologist*, February 1848, pp 220-39.

In retrospect it would seem that the CCS failed to make significant use of photography during its most dynamic period of the 1840s. The following decade saw no change in this stance, though photography could have been strategically exploited to consolidated the CCS success. The 1860s represented a number of missed opportunities though the Society was by this date on the decline and perhaps considered that commercial photographers and publishers together with other societies fulfilled the aim of promoting Gothic architecture through the medium of photography. Future research may add more detail to our knowledge of the relationship of the CCS to photography though it may not change the overall conclusions of this paper.

*I should like to thank Geoff Brandwood, John Elliot and Trevor Cooper for generously sharing their knowledge on various aspects of the Ecclesiological Society.*

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*Notes*

[1] See Appendix C in James F White, *The Cambridge Movement. The Ecclesiologists and The Gothic Revival*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962, pp.231-236.

[2] *The Ecclesiologist*, 'A Few Words to Sketchers', Volume I, No.VI, VII, April, 1842 pp.101-102.

[3] *Ibid*, Volume XXI, No.CXXXVI, February, 1860 p.84.

[4] *Ibid*, Report of the Twenty-Second Meeting of the Cambridge Camden Society, Vol.I, No.II, November, 1841 pp.22-29. Annual subscriptions for the period 8 May to 4 December 1841 amounted to £221 12s. 6d.

[5] Cited from page 7 of a special publication of twenty-eight pages published for the Society from a 'Newspaper Report' of the meeting held on 8 May, 1845 and bound at the back of the copy of volume IV of *The Ecclesiologist* in The London Library.

[6] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume 10, No. LXXV, November 1849 p.219 reported that 'The Committee have [sic] made a small grant towards procuring drawings of some mural paintings lately discovered in Great Milton Church, Oxon.' This grant of three pounds for 'coloured copies' was later deemed 'to have turned out to be of less value than expected.' (Volume 11, No. LXXVIII, June 1850 p.52).

[7] White. op.cit.

[8] *Ibid*, p.53.

[9] Christopher Webster and John Elliott, *'A Church as It Should Be' The Cambridge Camden Society and Its Influence*, Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2000.

[10] Quoted in White, *op.cit.* p.29.

[11] These are held by the Royal Photographic Society in Bath, George Eastman House, Rochester (USA) and the Candian Centre for Architecture in Montreal. The last of these images, a view of the West front, is illustrated in Richard Pare, *Photography and Architecture 1839-1939*, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, 1982 plate 1. It has the *etiquette* of Richard Beard on its verso.

[12] See James Belsey, *A Small Light in the Far West*, Cartwright Solicitors, Bristol, 1996. Owen's most significant photographs were of Paxton's Crystal Palace and the objects displayed as part of the Great Exhibition of 1851.

[13] W.H.F. Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature by H. Fox Talbot F.R.S.,* Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London [1844-1846]. The plate appeared in Part V. See Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile - Introductory Volume Historical sketch . Notes on the plates . Census*, Hans P. Kraus, Jr. Inc., New York, 1989.

[14] I am grateful to Geoff Brandwood for this information.

[15] See Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000, plate 96 pp.224-225.

[16] White, *op.cit.,* p.203.

[17] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume 11, No. LXXVIII, June 1850 p.52.

[18] RIBA Library, ES/1/1-6. Robert Elwall, Curator of Photographs, RIBA has informed the author that the RIBA collection does not include any photographs originating from the collections of the Ecclesiological Society.

[19] The 'Temporary Museum' held at the annual conference of archæological societies indicate that members were collecting photographs by the late 1840s. In 1850, the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society held its annual meeting at Frome, where the Revd E. Dighton showed a 'Daguerreotype view of the leaning Tower of Pisa'. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History society*, vols. 1-2, 1851 p. 41.

[20] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVII, No.CVX, August 1856 p.298.

[21] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVI, No.CXI, December 1855 p.377-384. Poole was an Honorary Member of the Oxford Society for the Study of Gothic Architecture and Editorial Secretary of the Northampton Architectural Society. I thank Geoff Brandwood for this information.

[22] Reference to Poole's paper appeared within a review of *Reports of the United Architectural Societies of Northampton, York, Lincoln, Bedford, Worcester, and Leicester during the Year 1855* published by Masters of London. *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVII, No.CXVI, October 1856 pp.369-370.

[23] The letter was published in *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XIV, No.XCV, April 1853 pp.84-86.

[24] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVI, No.CVII, June 1855 p.158.

[25] *Archaeologia Cantian*, Volume I, 1858.

[26] In September 1849 Britton exhibited a Daguerreotype by Antoine Claudet at the 'Temporary Museum' set up by the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society as part of its annual meeting held in Taunton. This was reported in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society*, vols. 1-2, 1851, p.25.

[27] 'Photographic Correspondence: Photography Applied to Archaeology' *Notes and Queries*, Volume 12, 28 July, 1855 p.72 which described this as 'an earnest and eloquent appeal' and referred to 'the practical utility of [this application] which we really see no limits.'

[28] Rev. F.A.S. Marshall, *Photography: the Importance of its Application in Preserving Pictorial Records of History and Art. By The Rev F.A.S. Marshall, M.A. of Peterborough. With An Appendix containing A Practical Description of the Talbotype Process, As Adopted and Practiced by the Author during the last Seven Years,* Hering and Remington; Thomas Chadwell and J. Clarke, London; Peterborough, [1855] preface.

[29] Geoff Brandwood has suggested to me that Marshall may have fallen out with the CCS at the time of the great schism at the end of the 1840s.

[30] Marshall, *op.cit.*, p.[5].

[31] *Ibid,* p.6.

[32] *Ibid,* p.7.

[33] Published by Thomas Agnew & Sons in Manchester. An advertisement announcing the forthcoming publication of this series appeared in the *Athenæum*, in September 1855 (No.1456, 22nd September, 1855 p.1075) Nowhere near the eight hundred photographs referred to by Marshall were published. A set of 160 views costing 60 Guineas seems to have been the largest set offered. The photographs, though highly prized today, were a commercial disaster at the time of their sale and were subsequently auctioned off.

[34] Marshall, *op.cit*. p.18.

[35] *Ibid*, p.19.

[36] *Ibid,* p.29.

[37] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XI, No. LXXVIII, June 1850 p.53.

[38] Robert Elwall, 'The foe-to-graphic art': the rise and fall of the Architectural Photographic Association', *Photographic Collector*, vol.5, no.2, 1984, pp.142-63.

[39] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVIII, No.CXXI August 1857 p.262.

[40] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XIX, No.CXXIV February 1858 p.47.

[41] *The Ecclesiologist*, No. CXLV, August 1861 p.266.

[42] *Ibid*, p.272.

[43] The photographs were by Russell Sedgfield. It appears that the intention was to publish six parts. The first three parts appeared in 1854, costing one guinea each and containing 5 or 6 prints and a title page. Only four parts are known to have been published.

[44] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XVII, No.CXVII, December 1856 p.429. The standard published work is Helmut Gernsheim, *Incunabula of British Photographic Literature 1839-1875*, Scolar Press, London, 1984. The author is currently working with two other historians of 19th century photography on an annotated international bibliography of photographically illustrated publications of the 19th century.

[45] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XXII, No. CXLII February 1861 pp.12-13.

[46] *Ibid*, Volume XXVI, No.CLXX, October 1865 p.352-353.

[47] *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* published as a part work between 1840 and 1844 by Ritter et Goupil, Lerebours, H. Bossange in Paris. Reputedly over 1,200 Daguerreotypes were commissioned by Noël-Marie Paymal Lerebours (1807-73). These were reproduced as line engravings, line engravings with aquatint, lithographs and two images (details of sculpture relief on East end exterior of Notre-Dame, Paris and an exterior view of Hotel de Ville, Paris) produced by the photomechanical process of Armand-Hippolyte-Louis Fizeau (1819-96) which consisted of etching and then electroplating the Daguerreotype plate.

[48] *The Ecclesiologist*, Volume XXVIII, No.CLXXII, August 1867, opposite p.295.

[49] *Ibid*, Volume XXIX No.CLXXXIV, Feb 1868. opposite p.35. As with other photographic illustrations in *The Ecclesiologist* the photograph is separately mounted on an unpaginated page and has no caption or credit.

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