The Arts & Crafts

in church-building in Britain

1884-1918

Alexander Graham Hamilton
Kellogg College

submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architectural History

University of Oxford

Trinity 2016

Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Oxford and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. This thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas. Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

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This thesis is approximately 96,300 words long, including Appendix 1.

(signed)

Alexander Graham Hamilton

23 June 2016

Short Abstract

The Arts & Crafts in church-building in Britain 1884-1918

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Academic interest in Arts & Crafts architecture has tended – as did the architects themselves – to concentrate on houses. This thesis, for the first time, examines the Arts & Crafts in *church* architecture: there is no book on 'Arts & Crafts churches'. Monographs on Arts & Crafts architects include their church work, of course, but there has been little consideration of the form as a type, considering *as a group* churches by architects working in the Arts & Crafts milieu, and at the same time. The thesis starts by discussing the underlying problems – the lack of a clear definition of Arts & Crafts, and the questionable concept of Arts & Crafts architecture. It establishes definitions, sets out criteria for considering architects and their churches, and identifies a group of 35 'core churches' from which the majority of the evidence is drawn. The second chapter sets out the historical contexts – religious, architectural, and cultural – and how these contexts intertwine to foreground the personal and individualism in both spiritual and architectural expression. The central three chapters examine the interplay of client and architect: how the attitudes and beliefs of the former affected their relationship to their churches and architects; and how architects' ideas and interests were expressed in their methods, their buildings' construction and decoration. Chapter six explores the diffusion of Arts & Crafts in churches at the end of the period – the role of enthusiastic amateurs; churches as centres of craft education; manifestations of different, even attenuated forms of the ideas in later churches. After a concluding chapter which suggests that the uncategorisability of the churches – exemplified throughout the thesis – demonstrates the way in which belief moved from the cultural centre to the margins, a substantial Appendix sets out details of the core churches: dates, client, funding, architect, craftsmen, plan.

Long abstract

The Arts & Crafts in church-building in Britain 1884-1918

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Academic interest in Arts & Crafts architecture has tended – as did the architects themselves – to concentrate on houses. This thesis, for the first time examines the Arts & Crafts in *church* architecture, considering *as a group* churches by architects working in the Arts & Crafts milieu, and at the same time. While the phrase 'Arts & Crafts church' seems to describe something that exists (in the way Arts & Crafts furniture and houses exist), it is unclear what the phrase describes. In the four decades that straddle 1900 churches were built which seem to be unlike what had been built around say 1860. These new churches did not supplant the high Victorian Gothic: 'traditional' churches went on being built. But there were enough of these 'different' churches to suggest something new was going on, perhaps expressing something particular and characteristic about their times. The question is 'what?': it seems importantly to have been the influence of the Art Workers' Guild. This thesis explores these churches, not as a homogeneous group, or movement, but as heterogeneous expressions of new ideas, both religious and artistic, that were individual and, of their very nature, diverse – and seeks to analyse and understand what made them distinctive and characteristic, and thus assess their deeper significance as symptoms both of religious exploration and architectural adventure.

Before the first chapter is a list of the 35 'core churches' chosen to provide the majority of examples and evidence for the thesis – there is a discussion later in Chapter One of why these 35 were chosen. There is a brief literature survey, and a review of the currency of the notion of 'Arts & Crafts church'. Then an overview of the argument and direction of the thesis, outlining the three strands it follows to arrive at its conclusions, and pointers towards those conclusions. There is a detailed consideration of the problems involved in any examination of an Art & Crafts subject: the phrase 'Arts & Crafts' itself – in what sense does Arts & Crafts exist?; was it a 'movement' or something less coherent?; is 'Arts & Crafts architecture' a meaningful term?; and the problem of churches which 'are' Arts & Crafts, and those which merely look like it, and the need to distinguish between appearance and practice. There is a discussion of the way in which the Arts & Crafts spirit became pervasive, penetrating deep into how architects and craftsmen-designers worked from the 1880s into the first half of the 20th century. To provide parameters, definitions are given of the key terms used in the discussion, including 'Arts & Crafts' – which embraces people and organisations, in particular the Art Workers' Guild; 'church' and 'church-building'; and finally 'Arts & Crafts church' - is there any such thing? There is an explanation of the chosen start and end dates, suggesting a chronology of Arts & Crafts influence. Finally, an account of the 35 'core churches', and an explanation not only of why they were selected, but why others were not.

Chapter Two examines context – what makes these churches worthy of examination? First the architectural and artistic milieu: the Caxton Technical Manual *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1911) provides a guide as to how churches were regarded after the death of Bodley, who was revered, and the surprising omissions from it of what would now seem to be key churches. This leads to a discussion of the Art Workers' Guild,

and the significance of membership to the architects considered: its emphasis on the unity of the arts, equality in the status of making and designing; that hand-made was better than machine-made, and not just for aesthetic reasons, but spiritual: and how these ideas were expressed in co-operativeness, good fellowship and an aversion to commercialism. The notion of craft as a form of art (socially acceptable, learnable, moral, worthy) was, importantly, reinforced by a democratic and liberating commitment to education and training which brought it to wide notice. Architects applied the ideas selectively, idiosyncratically and inconsistently.

Next, the religious context. The period witnessed the gradual dissipation of consensual religion, in particular among educated and moneyed people. In the Church of England (CofE), anxieties and liturgical debates, with their concomitant legislation and bitter confrontations, gradually gave way to something more pragmatic in the face of a growing sense of individualism, and disaffection towards hierarchies. Spiritual enquiry led to new denominations, even new religions. Meanwhile Roman Catholics had a new sense of belonging, greater social acceptability, and visibility; and there was Nonconformist assertion, whether in the building of Methodist Central Halls, or new churches for Unitarians. Detailed consideration is given to the relationship between church building and attendance numbers, in England, Scotland and Wales. The dissipation of religious consensus towards something more various, personal and even secular coincided with the good-hearted socialistic inclinations of the Arts & Crafts.

Third, the social context – the drifting of belief from centrality as the CofE passed from a defining element of culture to something more peripheral (as did, perhaps, God); the influence of the Higher Biblical criticism; new freedoms in thinking and expression; the

emergence of social democratic thought, and the rise of a socially engaged clergy, and spiritual exploration among the laity, which de-emphasized the suffering Christ and judgmental God. The intertwining of the three contexts found its clearest expression in the Settlement Movement and experiments in 'Christianity without Christ'.

Chapter Three examines the clients – their beliefs, demands, ideals and expectations. Their relationship with their architects reflected changes in the balance of power. Some clients simply wished to make statements about their wealth and status; some wished to express philanthropy, benevolence and even altruism, and felt, as their fathers had, they should build a church. Their relationship with God was not unquestioning, as it might have been a generation earlier: there was scepticism, ego and self-expression. Money was no longer derived from land, but from trade, railways, mining, stock markets: worldly lawyers, retailers, industrialists and their lively wives wanted 'arty' churches. It is posited that their churches were now built for four main reasons: commemoration of the self, amounting in some cases to self-glorification, with religion almost incidental; dynastic commemoration – a sort of late assertion of eternal verities, but lacking in depth; genuine and active beneficence; and, in the case of many Nonconformist congregations, self-assertion of community, providing for new or enlarged congregations, which, in many cases, failed to materialize. The motivations of clergymen are also considered – and the role of fund-raising. By examining clients' interests and motivations in parallel with their architects', the churches are interpreted not simply as ecclesiastical buildings, but as expressions of cultural self-confidence and personal spirituality; diagnosed as varied expressions of new ideas, both religious and aesthetic, whose characteristics express deeper cultural currents.

Chapter Four considers the architects – their attitudes and interests. First the way in which they tended to see themselves as artists – and their anxiety about status (or indifference to it), and the effect this had on their churches; their inclination towards independence and innovation; their impatience with strictures and precedent. Allied with this – and sometimes creating conflict – was their determination also to be seen as hands-on practical craftsmen. This went with a desire to co-operate: they liked working alongside kindred spirits – at least in part to do with a disinclination towards competitiveness. They were interested in means over ends. Yet they were emphatically not tradesmen – the question of class and status anxiety is ever-present. They valued originality, with a liking for the extraordinary and up-to-date – coupled with a romantic fascination for the past. To draw these points together, two groups of three churches are compared and contrasted. The architects valued comradeship and commitment – and their connection to the Art Workers' Guild (and the AA and RIBA) is set out in a 'table of affinity'. They were earnest, and convicted: and some were socially engaged beyond architecture. Their interests included debate – there is a consideration of what was discussed at the Art Workers' Guild; travel; and the curious and arcane, which is drawn together under the notion of 'folk'. Their interest in nature is exemplified; in tradition; but also in fun – music and laughter. Their sense of personal commitment, whether artistic or social, amounted in many instances to great selflessness: which leads to a consideration of their religious attitudes – where they stood *vis à vis* the Church or religion.

Chapter Five considers the buildings themselves, their construction and materials. Whatever they may have written or said, the architects worked in certain ways – this chapter assesses their methods rather than their theories: the relationship between principles and the expression of those principles. Underlying all was the importance of truth; a reverence for

the local in materials and men and methods (and the difficulties this constantly caused); the elevation of the plain and simple and the 'rough-hewn'; sincerity – with the examination of a church designed and built by a priest; the dislike of contracts and Clerks of Works, and preference for friendship. This leads to a consideration of a key issue – the way in which these churches look. Though the Arts & Crafts claimed to eschew style, nonetheless the way a church looked was clearly important – 'Arts-&-Crafts-looking-ness'. Finally, the difficult subject of beauty – as distinct from prettiness (also discussed); the fine line between nostalgia and sentimentality; and the temptation towards theatricality, with a consideration of how Arts & Crafts ideas influenced architectural drawing.

Chapter Six explores 'what happened next': the penetration of Arts & Crafts ideas into the wider world, seen most clearly in the involvement of the 'enthusiastic amateur' in many aspects of church work – in particular woodwork, textiles and painting. How this expressed a new 'democratization' of religion – the importance of personal artistic expression as a statement of religious engagement – extending to clergymen's relatives, especially female, and even to clergymen themselves: the client as craftsman. There is an examination of the phenomenon of churches as centres of craft instruction, and an account of the diffusion of the ideas in various attenuated forms in later churches.

Chapter Seven draws the threads together: the 'Arts & Crafts church' is an attractive idea, but even as a shorthand, misleading and inadequate: some churches built around 1900 were influenced by these ideas, but in widely diverse ways, and to different depths; many were not at all, or only superficially. The label 'Arts & Crafts' tends now to focus attention on objects and artistic mannerisms, but it is in the 'how' and the 'why' of these buildings that their significance lies – that they expressed changing ideas not only about architecture, but

about religion: church-building was, in the period, losing its role as the definitive statement in architecture of consensual ideas about culture, both for clients and architects, for whom churches were no longer career-defining. While some of these churches were attempts to democratize and de-mystify religion, many were manifestations of the importance for some of personal, and often highly individual, spiritual and artistic expression.

An Appendix gives key facts – with illustrations – of the core churches, in alphabetical order. Two other appendices indicate the relationship of key architects to the founding organisations of the Arts & Crafts; and list churches which, although built before 1884, presage some of the same ideas.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due first and foremost to my wife Susan, who endured (and occasionally enjoyed) the conception, growth and eventual delivery of this thesis; who delighted in the visits; and mopped the brow.

To Paul Barnwell and Geoffrey Tyack, my supervisors; and the very many academics and researchers who have been unfailingly encouraging and helpful: Peter Cormack, Alan Crawford, Mary Greensted, the late Sue Selwyn; and James Bettley, Clyde Binfield, Geoff Brandwood, Annette Carruthers, Elizabeth Cumming, Charlotte Gere, Simon Green, Peter Howell, Cyndy Manton, Neil Moat, Ken Powell, Alan Powers, Gavin Stamp, Adam Voelcker and Lynne Walker. And to very many other encouraging supporters and interested bystanders, not least Malcolm Airs, Emma Anderson, Barrie and Wendy Armstrong, Allan Barton, Philip Brown, Alan Calder, Revd Charles Card-Reynolds, Trevor Cooper, the late Robert Edwards, Michael Hall, Michael Haslam, John Hume, Christopher Marsden, Revd John Morgan-Guy, Tony Nicholson, David Ottewill, Chris Paterson, Steve Pilcher, Clare Price, John Salmon, Alison Scott-Baumann, Chris Wakeling and Rosemary Yallop.

At the core churches I am grateful in particular to: at Aberlour, Fr Colin Stewart; at Ben Rhydding, Laurence Turner, Kathleen Pinder, Colin Dews and Roger Davy; at Brockhampton, Jeremy Clay; at Charterhouse-on-Mendip, Revd Jane Chamberlain; at Cheltenham College, Nicholas Lowton; at Colehill, Canon John Goodall; at Cricklewood, Chris Bayfield; at Curbridge, Revd Tim Partridge and Bill Butler; at Dockenfield, Tony Clayton, Maureen Stone, Ursula Howard and John Chuter; at Great Warley, Fiona Agassiz; at Gunnerton, John Wylam and Michael Slade; at Haslemere, Frankie Gaiter; at Hoarwithy, Philip Anderson; at Hutton, Rod Greig; at Inkpen, Gerald Atkinson and Penny Stokes; at Kempley, Chris Bligh and Basil Jarvis; at Matlock, Revd John Drackley and Adam Bench; at Onibury, Caroline Magnus; at Paisley, Wesley Hands and Norman Gilkison; at Pamphill, Vera Ricketts; at Pixham, Alexandra Wedgwood; at Port Seton, Tom Donaldson and Sheila Bulloch; at Stonebroom, Revd Margaret Jacques, Sally Mason, Kath and Eddie Greenwood, Jennifer James and Graham Ullathorne; at Summerstown, Revd Roger Ryan; at Ullet Road, George Craig; at Wallasey, Terry Edgar; at West Woodhay, Lizzie Hayes, James Cole and Revd Rachel Lewis; at Woolmer, Tony Rook.

And at some of the churches visited but not cited, or only passingly: Ann Pickard at Barrow Hill; Catherine Smith, Archivist and Clive Case, Chaplain at Charterhouse School; Alan Fernback at Egremont, Wallasey; Fr Oliver Coss at Small Heath; Christine Grime at Middleton; Derek Adlam at Welbeck Abbey; Sir John Hall at Wynyard Hall; Elsie Seatter at Melsetter; Revd Felicity Scroggie at Sudbury.

At libraries, archives, and record offices: Kate Jones and Kurt Helfrich at RIBA; Jim Robinson at Bolton History Centre; Mr Evans of Dolgellau Library Services (Brithdir); Mark Smith at Derbyshire Records Office (Matlock and Stonebroom); Ann Laver at Dorking Museum (Pixham); Cate Metheringham at Berkshire Records Office (Inkpen); Robert Finnigan at Leeds Diocesan Archives; Maggie Goodall at SPAB; Surrey History Centre; Liverpool Records Office (Ullet Road); Hertfordshire Archives (Woolmer); Dorset History Centre (Colehill); Mark Head and Yvonne Breadney at Bradshaw, Gass and Hope LLP in Bolton. And to Lord Inchiquin for the loan of Norman Shaw's Richards Castle letters.

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List of abbreviations

AA	Architectural Association
ACES	Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society
AR	*Architectural Review*
AWG	Art Workers' Guild
(AWG)	Member of the Art Workers' Guild
BAL	British Architectural Library (at the RIBA)
BCLA	Birmingham City Library Archives
BL	British Library
CofE	Church of England
CofS	Church of Scotland
CofW	Church of Wales (CinW post-1921)
Cong	Congregationalist
CSAC	London County Council Central School of Arts and Crafts
DSA	*Dictionary of Scottish Architects*
FC	Free Church of Scotland
FRIBA	Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects
GoH	The Guild of Handicraft
ICBS	Incorporated Church Building Society
JRIBA	*Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAL	National Art Library (at the V&A)
NAWG	Northern Art Workers' Guild
NC	Non-conformist, non-conformity
n.d.	no date given
n.p.	no publisher given; no page number
OUDCE	Oxford University Department for Continuing Education
PCC	Parochial Church Council
Prim	Primitive Methodist
RA	Royal Academy
RC	Roman Catholic
REEA	*Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* (see Bibliography)
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RO	Records Office
SGAS	St George's Art Society
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
UPC	United Presbyterian Church
URC	United Reformed Church
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum
VCH	*Victoria County History/ies*

List of illustrations

Drawings are described by title (or part of title) given on the drawing, or the caption given with them if/when published, shown in single quotes. Photographs are by the author, except where noted in a credit line accompanying the image in the text. Some of the wordings in this list have been shortened, for convenience, from what is in the text, and a few expanded for clarity. The 35 'core' churches, as explained at the start of Chapter One (p. 1), are referred to by their location rather than their full dedication.

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The 'core' churches

435 churches were visited during the initial stages of this thesis. Of these, 25 were researched fully, including drawings, correspondence, parish and diocesan records and all other primary sources where available: detailed case studies were written 2010-2013. These case studies provide the core data from which illustrative examples have largely been drawn. A further 10 churches ('minor') have been added to the list to make subordinate points: none was researched to the same level of detail as the 'major' 25. A discussion of why these 35 churches were chosen is on pp 30-36.

On page 2, the churches are listed in date order. On page 3, in alphabetical order.

When any of these 35 churches is mentioned in the text, it is referred to, for brevity, by its location only, e.g. St Michael and All Angels, Colehill, Wimborne, Dorset (W D Caröe, 1892-5) is referred to hereafter simply as 'Colehill'. Churches other than these 35 are cited in the text of the thesis by their full dedication, location, architect and date, as they arise; but in shortened form thereafter – e.g. St Andrew's, Roker, Tyne and Wear (E S Prior, 1905-7) becomes 'Roker'.

Appendix 1 provides, for all 35 'core' churches, in alphabetical order, essential data: dates, client, architect, funding, brief description, and where available, plan.

In date order: (The 10 'minor' churches are given in *italics*.)

1878-1903	**Hoarwithy**	St Catherine, Hoarwithy, Herefordshire (J P Seddon)
1890-2	**Richards Castle**	All Saints, Richards Castle, Salop (R Norman Shaw)
1891-2	**Lower Kingswood**	Wisdom of God, Kingswood, Surrey (S Barnsley)
1892-5	**Colehill**	St Michael & All Angels, Colehill, Dorset (W D Caröe)
1892-6	**Cheltenham**	Cheltenham College Chapel, Glos (H A Prothero)
1895-8	**Brithdir**	St Mark, Brithdir, Dolgellau, Gwynedd (Henry Wilson)
1896-7ff	**Inkpen**	St Michael, Inkpen, Berks (rebuild and fittings, C C Rolfe)
1897	**Matlock**	St John Baptist, Matlock Dale, Derbyshire (Guy Dawber)
1897-1907	***Down Ampney***	*All Saints, Down Ampney, Glos (woodwork by Charles Ponting)*
1898-1902	**Ullet Road**	Unitarian Church, Liverpool (Thomas Worthington)
1899	**Woolmer**	St Michael, Woolmer Green, Herts (R Weir Schultz)
1899	***Wallasey***	*Unitarian Church, Liscard, Wallasey (Rathbone and Ware)*
1899-1901	***Gunnerton***	*St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland (John Hawes)*
1899-1906	**Glandford**	St Martin, Glandford, Norfolk (Hicks & Charlewood)
1900-1	**Stonebroom**	St Peter, Stonebroom, Derbyshire (Percy Heylyn Currey)
1900-3	**Haslemere**	St Christopher, Haslemere, Surrey (Charles Spooner)
1901-2	**Brockhampton**	All Saints, Brockhampton, Herefordshire (W R Lethaby)
1902-3	**Pixham**	St Mary the Virgin, Pixham, Surrey (E L Lutyens)
1902-3	***Onibury***	*St Michael, Onibury, Salop (interior by William Weir)*
1902-4	***Great Warley***	*St Mary the Virgin, Essex (Harrison Townsend & Reynolds-Stephens)*
1902-4	**Kempley**	Edward the Confessor, Kempley, Glos (A Randall Wells)
1903ff	**West Woodhay**	St Laurence, W Woodhay, Berks (fittings: Cole sisters)
1903-7	**Summerstown**	St Mary, Summerstown, Wandsworth (G Pinkerton)
1904	**Port Seton**	Chalmers Memorial, Port Seton, Lothian (Sydney Mitchell)
1904-6	**Curbridge**	St John Baptist, Curbridge, Oxfordshire (Charles Nicholson)
1905-7	***Paisley***	*St George UFC, Paisley (W G McLennan)*
1906-7	**Pamphill**	St Stephen, Pamphill, Kingston Lacy, Dorset (Chas. Ponting)
1907-08	**Cricklewood**	Baptist Chapel, Sneyd Road, Cricklewood (Arthur Keen)
1908-23	***Charterhouse***	*St Hugh, Charterhouse-on-Mendip, Somerset (W D Caröe)*
1909	***Aberlour***	*Church of the Sacred Heart, Aberlour, Banffshire (A Macpherson)*
1909	***Ben Rhydding***	*Ben Rhydding Methodist, Ilkley, Yorks (Garside & Pennington)*
1909-10	**Dockenfield**	Good Shepherd, Dockenfield, Surrey (W Curtis Green)
1910-11	***Shefford***	*St Stephen, Shefford Woodlands, Berks (A C Burmester)*
1912ff	**North Cerney**	All Saints, North Cerney, Glos (F C Eden, furnishings)
1913-4	**Hutton**	Hutton and Shenfield Union Church, Essex (William Hayne)

In alphabetical order: (The 10 'minor' churches are given in *italics*.)

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Chapter 1

Introduction and definitions

> The principal difficulty arises from the fact that every building... differs in some important respect from every other...
>
> John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, II, chapter vi

This thesis was originally 'What is an Arts & Crafts church?' Reflection suggested two problems: 1) 'What is 'Arts & Crafts'?'; and – seemingly less intractable – 2) 'What is a church?' As research progressed, a third, and more challenging question emerged: 'Is there *any such thing* as an Arts & Crafts church?' The evidence accumulated since 2009 tends to suggest not. That observation led to the present thesis's central argument.

The assumption is rather widely held (admittedly within the small world of Arts & Crafts scholarship) that 'Arts & Crafts churches' exist. Two scholars – Alan Crawford and Gavin Stamp – have lectured on 'The Arts & Crafts church.' Crawford's 2006 lecture, wholly re-written to give a detailed account of just six churches, was published in 2011.[1] Stamp's 2005 lecture – which mentioned many more churches – remains unpublished.[2] Simon Green of RCAHMS lectured on 'Scottish Arts & Crafts churches' in 2009.[3] The phenomenon has been noticed and discussed by other scholars, notably

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[1] Alan Crawford, 'Arts & Crafts churches', lecture to the Victorian Society, 24 October 2006. A copy of the text of the talk was provided by Alan Crawford to the author. The text, very heavily revised, was published as 'Arts & Crafts Churches' in Teresa Sladen and Andrew Saint (eds), *Churches 1870-1914* (London: Victorian Society, 2011), pp 63-80. The churches discussed in it are Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, Chelsea (J D Sedding, 1888-90); Brithdir; Brockhampton; Great Warley; Holy Trinity and St Mary, Dodford, Worcs (Arthur Bartlett, 1907-8); and St Andrew, Roker, Tyne and Wear (E S Prior, 1905-7). Crawford also deals briefly with Kempley.

[2] Gavin Stamp, 'The Arts and Crafts church', lecture at Rewley House, Oxford, 15 May 2005, as part of a study weekend, 'The Architecture of the Arts & Crafts Movement', 13-15 May 2005.

[3] Simon Green, 'Scottish Arts & Crafts churches', lecture to the James M MacLaren Society, 28 August 2009 and, to another audience, November 2010. (Notes for the latter talk were provided by Simon Green to the author, 26 November 2012.)

Elizabeth Cumming;[4] Andrew Saint – without using the term – in a talk in 2006;[5] and touched on by others.[6] Monographs on individual 'Arts & Crafts architects' discuss individual churches.[7] But it was, at least partly, surprise at finding no book on 'Arts & Crafts churches' that first piqued this researcher's interest.[8]

The notion that the type exists has popular appeal. One church, Long Street Wesleyan Church, Middleton, Lancs (Edgar Wood, 1899-1901), has gone so far as to call its website 'theartsandcraftschurch.com' (since 2014). The notion of an Arts & Crafts church aggrandized to a cathedral also appeals: John Betjeman called Holy Trinity, Sloane Street (John Dando Sedding, 1887-90), 'The cathedral of the Arts & Crafts';[9] a recent architectural monograph on E S Prior states, 'St Andrew's church [Roker] is generally considered as the cathedral of the Arts and Crafts Movement.'[10] But, whilst 'Arts & Crafts church' seems to describe something that exists, or is recognisable – analogous to Arts & Crafts stained glass, perhaps[11] – it is unclear what it is. If it is a type, it is clearly not one with sharp boundaries - unlike 'Roman Catholic church', 'Gilbert Scott church', or 'Commissioners' church'; nor does it seem as robust a descriptor even as 'Gothic Revival church'. The suspicion arises that the phrase is merely a convenient shorthand for a church built at a certain time, and/or in a certain way, or with certain aesthetic

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[4] Elizabeth Cumming, 'The Ministry of the Beautiful' in *Hand, Heart and Soul: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006), pp. 135-168.
[5] Andrew Saint, 'The Late Victorian Church', lecture to the Victorian Society, 4 October 2006; published as 'The late Victorian church?' in Sladen and Saint (eds), *Churches 1870-1914*, pp. 7-25.
[6] For example, several lectures to the Victorian Society, later published in Sladen and Saint (eds), *Churches 1870-1914*: Peter Howell, 'New directions in late Victorian Catholic churches' (9 October 2006), published as 'Between medievalism and the Counter-Reformation: Catholic church building after Pugin', pp. 27-43; Gavin Stamp, 'Architecture of Good Taste: the state of Anglican Churches in 1914' (22 November 2006), pp. 145-165; Julian Orbach, 'Welsh Chapels 1859-1914' (17 October 2006), pp. 45-61.
[7] See below, pp. 36-38.
[8] The present author put forward his position on the matter in a lecture first given to the Victorian Society, 21 October 2014, 'The Arts & Crafts church – does it exist?'
[9] John Betjeman, *Collins Guide to English Parish Churches* (London: Collins, 1958), p 255. Betjeman is also reported (on its website and elsewhere) as describing Kempley, as a 'mini-cathedral of the Arts & Crafts', but the source of this quotation has proved elusive.
[10] Martin Cook, *Edward Prior, Arts and Crafts Architect* (Ramsbury: Crowood, 2015), p. 125.
[11] See Peter Cormack, *Arts & Crafts Stained Glass* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).

characteristics, or with certain differences from what went before. Perhaps it means no more than, 'a church built by an Arts & Crafts architect'? (Which begs the question, 'What is an Arts & Crafts architect?') A small group of churches seem to 'qualify' as the ideal of 'Arts & Crafts church': helpfully Simon Jenkins's 1999 popular gazetteer *England's 1000 Best Churches* identifies just four as 'Arts & Crafts' - Holy Trinity, Sloane Street; Brockhampton; Great Warley; and Roker.[12] Attempts to find characteristics in common amongst even these four strongly suggest neither visual nor material factors can be what is meant: they are deeply various, even in the way they were built. While it seems to be clear to a modern observer what an 'Arts & Crafts church' might be, it does not seem to have been to its architect – nor his client: did the idea even occur to them? Yet might there be something richer beneath the superficialities? If so, what? The idea of 'Arts & Crafts church' is alluring: but where this research started, seeking to identify and define the type, is not where it has led. What then is being examined here?

Before proceeding, the central question implied by the final thesis title should be addressed: is the Arts & Crafts discernible in churches built in Britain 1884-1918? The answer is 'yes', as will be shown, but a cautious yes. If there are no Arts & Crafts churches, there are plenty of churches (around 350) where the Arts & Crafts can be discerned – and not merely in the glass or furnishings, but in the building itself. This thesis seeks to identify this, examine it and account for it. Going further, did the Arts & Crafts have any impact on church-building in general? Research tends to indicate it had some impact, but that it did not go very deep or very wide: it was uneven, localized and

[12] Simon Jenkins, *England's Thousand Best Churches* (London: Allen Lane, 1999). He also admires two 'Arts & Crafts interiors': St Osmund, Poole, Dorset (E S Prior and Arthur Grove, 1911-27) and St Peter, Ayot St Peter, Herts (J P Seddon, 1874); and notes 'Arts & Crafts furnishings' at St Cuthbert, Philbeach Gardens, Kensington; All Saints, Holbeton, Devon; St Mary, Stamford, Lincs; and St Mary, Norton sub Hamdon, Somerset; as well as an 'Arts & Crafts restoration' at St Michael, Lydbury North, Shropshire. At St Mary, Wreay he suggests of its architect, Sara[h] Losh, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement took half a century to catch up with her.' (p. 103).

various; and it did not last. Nonetheless there were churches built after 1884 which differed from what had gone before, and not just in liturgical purpose or decorative detail, nor even in the way they were built. As will be argued, they often expressed different shades and nuances of spirituality from what had gone before – some can even perhaps better be understood as spiritual without being religious; even secular.

Meanwhile there were churches built in the period which were *very* like what had gone before, consciously developing the language of Gothic, and expressing concern for liturgical correctness, as if the Ecclesiologists still held sway.[13] Some new churches looked as if they were *not* influenced by the Arts & Crafts, but were. Others 'look' Arts & Crafts, but reflect no spirit other than a wish to appear modern: Arts & Crafts ideas were at first exciting and eye-catching, but swiftly became a fashion, even a fad, then a style, then slowly died away in a faint diminuendo of mannerisms and devices.

There are then, as a result of these observations, three strands to this thesis: 1) by examining the churches themselves, an attempt to identify what was 'Arts & Crafts' about them; 2) by examining the commissioning and building process, an attempt to say how Arts & Crafts ideas interfaced with ideas about church (whether influencing or being influenced by them); and 3) a conclusion that suggests these churches' character and appearance reflected something deeper: a shift in thinking and attitudes which might be simplistically expressed as away from monolithic Victorian certainties towards modern diversity and diffusion. To some extent, this reflects and is reflected in the changing relationship between architect and client: cultured aesthetic sensibilities were not the exclusive province of the architect-artist. Besides, while churches were central to the

[13] See Anthony Symondson, 'Theology, Worship and the Late Victorian Church' in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 192-222. This covers the period 1870-1927 without mentioning Lethaby, Prior, Henry Wilson, Charles Spooner, or any NC church.

practice of the leading architects of the 1850s, by 1884 they no longer were so important. Nor did they occupy a focal point of British culture. And by 1918 churches had been pushed to the sidelines – where they remain. Their irrelevance – and that there was no great resistance to their becoming irrelevant – is part of their interest, and an important part of this study. After seven decades of church building and 'restoration' since the Commissioners' Churches of 1818, there might by 1884 be assumed to be more than enough churches to meet, even exceed, all needs. In some areas – famously Bethnal Green, for one – there was indeed over-provision. What was it then that made some people in Britain go on building churches? This thesis proposes that the answer largely lies in personal will, a certain amount of conspicuous consumption, and the coming together of two sets of artistic inclinations – those of the architects, and those of the clients. But these inclinations did not mesh together. Ideas of church and ideas of architecture were no longer in accord, as they had been for Scott and Street (and Pugin). These churches were not so much expressions of public piety, liturgical perfectibility and ecclesiological correctness, as of spiritual, political and artistic adventure.

Problems

The toolkit with which the churches can be analyzed is problematic. The phrase 'Arts & Crafts' itself for example. Despite its wide currency, and its specific application to, and coining for, the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society (ACES), it was then, and remains, contested. What was it?; was it a 'Movement', as suggested by Walter Crane;[14]

[14] *Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New,* (London: George Bell, 1896), p 242. And in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society:* 'The movement…towards a revival of design and handicraft…has been growing and gathering force for some time…The movement, indeed, represents…a revolt against the hard mechanical, conventional life.' (London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1893; William Morris Library reprint, 1996) pp. 11 and 12. Crane used the word again – this time capitalized – in 'Of the Arts and Crafts Movement: its general tendency and possible outcome' in *Ideals in the Art of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: George Bell, 1905), pp. 1-34.

C R Ashbee;[15] and T J Cobden-Sanderson?;[16] or something less coherent?[17] What were its core beliefs?; did it have any?; who subscribed to them?; was there consensus? There were certainly shared ideas, but they were never codified. Though Ruskin and Morris were respected, the architects in this study tended not to see themselves as followers: admirers, perhaps – it is difficult to follow unswervingly anyone who writes and says so very much. The influence of both men was as commanding spokesmen for things felt more than reasoned. Who best and most coherently articulated the ideas, then? There were a great many essays and lectures and articles. Some adherents were assertively articulate – C R Ashbee, Baillie Scott, C F A Voysey – while some barely wrote or spoke a word – Charles Spooner, Arthur Keen, Charles Ponting, Laurence Turner, Percy Currey. Besides, Arts & Crafts meant different things to different people, and its meaning changed over time. Was it genuinely new, even revolutionary? Or more to do with rebellion against received wisdom? In the light of these uncertainties, it is perhaps not difficult to see why the term has not gained much academic traction, still less respectability. Nonetheless, the terms 'Arts & Crafts' and 'the Arts & Crafts' will be used here: explanations of what they are intended to mean, follow below.

A subsidiary problem is the notion of 'Arts & Crafts architecture'. Whilst Peter Davey's 1980 book has that as its title, it is arguable whether such a phenomenon ever existed.[18] At its simplest – and most practical – level, 'Arts & Crafts architects' were simply architect members of the Art Workers' Guild (AWG, founded 1884) – architects

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[15] C R Ashbee, in a note in his typewritten autobiography, 'The Ashbee Memoirs', Vol. 1, p. 125, undated, but, from its position in the typescript, after August 1899. (NAL: MSL/1959/2168-2173). He uses the phrase again in a Guild of Handicraft pamphlet (1902), p. 8. In 1908 he wrote of 'the Arts and Crafts movement' (lower case m) in *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (Chipping Campden: Essex House, 1908). ('Movement' is capitalized in the Contents.)

[16] T Cobden-Sanderson, *Arts & Crafts Movement* (Hammersmith: Hammersmith Publishing Society, 1905).

[17] It was regarded as a 'Movement' more readily, and more widely perhaps, by those Americans who adopted the phrase 'Arts & Crafts': for example, in the title of Oscar Lovell Triggs, *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Chicago: Bohemia Guild of the Industrial Art League, 1902).

[18] Peter Davey, *Arts & Crafts Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1980; subsequently heavily revised, London: Phaidon, 1995).

interested in 'Art-work': they liked to see themselves as both artists and workers – indeed, early on, in 1885, fine artists outnumbered architects in the AWG by almost two to one. Many practitioners would have been baffled by the idea of 'Arts & Crafts architect'. And assuming they accepted the term, most would have been rather hard pressed to say whether they 'were' or 'were not' Arts & Crafts architects. In the 1903 ACES exhibition was a section of photographs 'to give some illustration of the works of architects who were largely influential, by their teaching and practice, in bringing about and enforcing that view of the Arts & Crafts upon which the Exhibition Society has based itself.'[19] The names include F W Troup, Harrison Townsend, Walter Cave, Guy Dawber, Robert Lorimer, Ernest Gimson and Robert Weir Schultz.

A better title for Davey's book might have been 'Art Workers' Architecture' or – in the medievalizing spirit of the age, perhaps – 'Art Workers' Building-Craft.' Lethaby used the term 'Mason-craft'.[20] To add to the difficulty, 'Arts & Crafts architecture' compounds a confusion between the clubby, almost sacerdotal mysteries of the AWG (whose meetings are still private, and proceedings unpublished) and the public, more democratic excitements of the ACES. Many AWG members were also members of the later ACES (founded 1887-8) – but that was a campaigning body interested in exhibitions and objects, initiated by an illustrator, Walter Crane, and not especially interested in architecture, at least at first. Some architects in the 1880s – of course – were from an earlier generation, but were in broad sympathy with the Arts & Crafts: Sedding, Shaw and Bodley practised before, during and after the 1880s. They were conscious of the new ideas, and in different ways inspired and reflected them – Sedding was an early reviver of

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[19] *ACES 7th Exhibition catalogue*, 1903, p. 200.

[20] 'the misleading and indeed meaningless phrase 'Gothic architecture' should give way to such terms as Mason-craft and Gild-work.' W R Lethaby, 'Beautiful Cities' in *Art and Life and the Building and Decoration of Cities: a series of lectures by members of the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society, delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896* (London: Rivington, Perceval, 1897), pp. 45-110; p. 92.

'medieval' building practices; and it was from Norman Shaw's relaxed and encouraging office that the founders of the AWG sprang. But just as Shaw and Sedding were un-prescriptive and various in their approach to design, so the architects of the AWG who found themselves building churches 1884-1918 were various too. They largely shared an instinct to reject the methods of capitalist production, and a broad sympathy with social democratic principles. But despite their espousal of the virtues of co-operation and comradeship, they also wanted to be original, and to copy no-one, including each other. One might admire one's colleagues, but did not wish to emulate them. Even his champions concede Gilbert Scott's churches were rarely radically different from each other.[21] Sheer quantity made individuality, perhaps, hard to achieve. Most of the architects in this study built very few churches: yet even when they built several, there is seldom very much in common between them. Besides, the Arts & Crafts interested itself most in houses: churches by now were optional.

Architectural historians of a classifying disposition notice that *something* happened in church architecture towards the end of the 19th century, qualitatively different from Victorian Gothic, and they feel the need to call it something - 'Late Gothic Revival', 'Free Gothic', 'Free Style', even 'Edwardian' (though this last, being more general, also embraces buildings in Neo-Baroque, Beaux Arts and other early 20th century styles). Mordaunt Crook goes so far as to distinguish seven distinct styles.[22] From the disparity they exhibit it might be better to consider them as simply 'Post-Victorian' (though many

[21] Gavin Stamp, 'Sir Gilbert Scott: Eminent Victorian' in P S Barnwell, Geoffrey Tyack and William Whyte (eds), *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811-1878* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2015), p. 7: 'many of these churches are frankly pedestrian.' Bridget Cherry called him 'unexciting' and Nikolaus Pevsner calls him 'dull': quoted by Geoff Brandwood in 'Scott as a London church builder', in Barnwell, Tyack and Whyte, op cit, p. 68.

[22] 'It was Gothic vernacular with Sedding, Temple Moore, Nicholson and Comper. It was Georgian vernacular with Ernest Newton and Mervyn Macartney. It was Cotswold Vernacular with Guy Dawber and the Barnsleys. It was Byzantine vernacular with Pite, Wilson and Bentley. It was eclectic vernacular with Voysey and Lethaby. It was Picturesque vernacular with Lutyens. And sometimes it was all of these: Leonard Stokes's Minterne House, Minterne Magna, Dorset (1903-7) combines Perpendicular Gothic, English Baroque and West Country vernacular in a way which is perhaps best described as Free Style.' J Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style* (London: John Murray, 1989), pp. 226-7.

were built before Victoria's death), or 'Post-Gothic-Revival' (though many have pointed arches). Perhaps simply '*Not*-Victorian' would make the point. Or it might be better to run counter to architectural history habit, and eschew all categorization. One might be safest of all to discuss 'churches built around 1900', and tease out the Arts & Crafts elements from that broad category.

Another problem has already been mentioned: almost as soon as the term was coined, Arts & Crafts came to mean a 'look'. It is thus much easier to 'recognize' Arts & Crafts by its appearance than by its principles. And, even though it is the underlying ideas that form the buildings, what first attracted this researcher – and clearly attracts others – is undeniably something in their appearance. This thesis argues that Arts & Crafts is *not* about appearance, but about ideas, ideals and ways of working and living. Nonetheless, at a visceral level, it is the way a church looks that first attracts, and only then prompts analysis. Besides, clearly the look of a building – if only in what it *didn't* look like – was important to the Arts & Crafts, albeit tacitly. The question is not, then, 'What is it about this building that makes it 'Arts & Crafts'?', but 'What did its authors have in mind that made them build something different in discernible ways from what they might have built twenty years earlier?' It goes further. While 'Arts & Crafts' looks are interesting in themselves, this thesis will suggest it is their very 'Arts & Crafts-looking-ness' that signifies deeper change: and that the architectural change was cultural too.

While the original impetus for this research was an amateur desire to distinguish between Arts & Crafts church sheep and non-Arts & Crafts church goats – in the hope that scholarly analysis would set satisfyingly clear boundaries around the type – such an order-imposing approach misses an essential point. While most architects of the generation of Scott, Carpenter and Butterfield were intent on producing churches that

expressed orthodoxy, strove for perfection (even if only of archaeological accuracy), and were suitable for a church by law established, many architects of the next generation were interested in other things, and not especially or necessarily in religion. Scott and Butterfield were committed churchmen, and seen to be so: Lethaby, Lutyens and Weir Schultz, to take three examples, were not. 'Church' in 1850 strongly suggested an Anglican church of the Middle Pointed style (and not a chapel): by 1890 'church' could mean the conventicle of any number of denominations, sects, even of new religions; and the architects were just as likely to be of no clear religion, or even agnostic, as they were to be churchmen. Few of the architects in this study troubled to state their view of what form a church should take[23] – they rather tended to explore in building it what kind of things a church *might* be: which is what their clients mostly asked of them. For clients were also unorthodox: only occasionally interested in churchmanship and liturgy, and often only insofar as they wanted to be seen to be 'doing the right thing'.

Definitions

This section sets out clear definitions of terms used, starting with and leading on from 'Arts & Crafts' and 'church'. There is no detailed history here of the genesis of Arts & Crafts.[24] Nor is there an attempt to give a comprehensive overview of religion in Britain in 1884.[25] Both these subjects are touched on in Chapter 2.

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[23] But see Anon (but probably Mervyn Macartney, ed) *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture,* (Caxton Technical Manuals, 1911), in which Charles Spooner and Charles Nicholson set out their views on what makes a good church building. See also Nicholson and Corlette, *Modern Church Building* (London: RIBA, 1907). Nicholson addressed the AA on 'Church Design', 6 November 1903 (*British Architect,* 13 November 1903, pp. 350-360 and 20 November 1903, pp. 368-379.) Also Temple Moore, 'Arrangement and design of Modern English Churches', *British Architect*, 18 January 1907, pp. 52-53 and 25 January 1907, pp. 67-68.

[24] See Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the world: William Morris, the 1880s and the Arts and Crafts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). The clearest brief general account is in Linda Parry, *Textiles of the Arts & Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988, revised 2005), pp. 9-15.

[25] For religion in the 1880s see S J D Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2nd edition 2009); Robin Gill, *The Myth of the Empty Church* (London: SPCK, 1993), and a number of now rather old regional surveys

‘Arts & Crafts’

1. People

It is a commonplace of Arts & Crafts studies that accounts start with the ‘founding fathers’ – Ruskin and Morris – often also with reference to Pugin, and farther back to Thomas Carlyle and Robert Owen. These men – and especially the first two – wrote and lectured copiously, but they varied their focus and interests over time, and never rigorously stated their views in repeated formulae. They coined any number of apophthegms: in these there is a sense of something fresh, provocative, clever, different from what went before:

> I believe the right question to ask, respecting all ornament, is simply this: was it done with enjoyment - was the carver happy while he was about it?
>
> Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849)
>
> Have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful.
>
> Morris ‘The Beauty of Life’ (1880)
>
> Art is man’s expression of his joy in labour.
>
> Morris ‘Art under Plutocracy’ (1883)

Such statements may have excited their first audiences, but they are visions, not definitions. This study will therefore prefer instead what those who were influenced by Ruskin and Morris (in particular) *did* – what they tended to coalesce into.

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including Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London: Croom Helm, 1974); Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1978); Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Jeremy Morris, *Religion and Urban Change: Croydon 1840-1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992).

2. Clubs

'Arts & Crafts' 'starts' with the founding of the ACES in 1887. The phrase 'Arts and Crafts' was famously coined by T J Cobden-Sanderson during a meeting to discuss the subject, in preference to a number of other suggestions.[26] The phrase was never intended to be anything more than a memorable name for publicizing a new exhibition: those who agreed to it had no intention of using it to define their work or their lives, still less had any idea the phrase would ultimately come to mean a period and a style. The difficulty they had in coming up with an acceptable 'catch-all' title for their exhibition reveals how very different they were from each other – illustrators, fine art painters, sculptors. ACES sprang out of the AWG, which in turn grew out of the St George's Art Society (SGAS) and its merging with The Fifteen.[27] Those 'on the inside' saw no reason to set down rules. For the purpose of this thesis, anyone who was a member of the AWG or ACES, or exhibited with them, 'is' Arts & Crafts. And, for the avoidance of doubt, members of the later Northern Art Workers' Guild and the earlier Century Guild are also included. (There are comparatively few churches built by members of either.) This group will be called 'the Arts & Crafts'. But, since the ACES deliberately set out to spread their values to the wider public, attitudes that seem in accord with the Arts & Crafts when expressed by architect non-members, or clients, or private individuals will also be allowed to 'be' Arts & Crafts. It is not an exact science.

Both the AWG and ACES elected members: it was not possible to join by subscription - if you were the 'right stuff', you were invited in. Some AWG members took a rather less Arts & Crafts line as their careers blossomed: W D Caröe and Lutyens,

[26] Walter Crane proposed in a letter (February 1887) to W A S Benson that the exhibition be called 'Exhibition of Decorative Arts.' (ACES papers in the V&A archives: AAD1/8). Crane also proposed 'Applied Arts' and 'The Combined Arts'. Nikolaus Pevsner discusses the genesis of 'Decorative Art' as separate from Art, under the influence of William Morris in 'Art Furniture of the 1870s', *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Victorian and After* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 119-130.
[27] For the names of the founders of these bodies, see Appendix 2.

for example. Some seemed to dip in and out: Charles Nicholson and J F Bentley. Some were perhaps 'more' 'Arts & Crafts' – Sidney Barnsley; some 'less' – Basil Champneys. Despite membership of the AWG, some seem hardly to 'belong' at all – J T Micklethwaite, perhaps. And some were 'of' the Arts & Crafts through the way they worked and behaved, without being members of any guild or club – Godfrey Pinkerton, for example, Charles Ponting and H A Prothero. As the period progressed, Arts & Crafts looks influenced designers who were broadly sympathetic without being in any way committed to the ideals – for example, the Scottish architects W D MacLennan, Archibald Macpherson and Sydney Mitchell. And it was easily possible to emulate the look without subscribing to the ideals: the prime examples perhaps the Non-conformist (NC) architects George Baines and Son. At the start, Arts & Crafts ideas were revolutionary and dynamic, but they swiftly became accepted, and even normative: the language of 'today's' architecture. Nonetheless, the attempt will be made to distinguish between 'the real thing' and mere lip-service. As a further complication, it should be noted that Arts & Crafts ideas were in the air before the ACES or AWG were founded, even if un-formed, or amorphous: in churches, Sara Losh at St Mary, Wreay, Cumbria in 1842 seems to pre-figure many of them.[28] And 'cottage crafts' and the revival of peasant industries in Scotland and Ireland by aristocratic female landowners is contemporary with, even a little ahead of, the rediscovery and annexation of the *echt* rural craftsman Philip Clissett by James MacLaren: the Home Arts and Industries Association (HAIA) was, like the AWG, founded in 1884. It is even arguable that Burges was Arts & Crafts in spirit – and that Gilbert Scott respected his craftsmen every bit as much as did Lethaby. A debate that attempts to draw clear demarcations seems fruitless. Quite simply, anything before 1884 is here considered as a 'pre-cursor': many of the churches from theses earlier

[28] Other candidates as 'pre-cursor churches' are listed in Appendix 3.

decades are interesting in what they foreshadow. Discussion of some is included for this reason.

3. Attitudes

Certain phrases crop up as touchstones among Arts & Crafts adherents (one might almost call them 'believers'). There are shibboleths and taboos which, while never subject to an oath, could not well be broken. Peter Davey suggests that 'Arts & Crafts people … shared Morris's affection for

simplicity,

truth-to-materials,

and the unity of handicraft and design.'[29]

To which might be added: Distrust of the machine-made: preference for the hand-made.

Trust in the maker.

Preference for local materials and skills.

Dislike of the bought-in or off-the-shelf.

A desire for closeness between designer and maker: ideally, one should be both.

A distrust of the contract building system.

A dislike of Clerks of Works.

One job at a time.

Belief in the dignity of labour.

A co-operative spirit.

A disdain for 'copying'.

[29] Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, p. 10. They are here set out as a list (which Davey did not do) for clarity.

> And: a professional ethic of diffidence… espoused by many (not all) Arts & Crafts architects, artists and designers;…[who had] no wish to be regarded as a major artistic figure in any conventional sense.[30]

There also seems to be present an instinctive revulsion from the environments in which architects had once been taught: large offices; ubiquitous principals; the suppression of individual initiative; high pressure working at speed; repetition of tasks and motifs; a sort of design slavery. All that was anathema – more or less – to the Arts & Crafts. The lack of coherence, and modern discomfort with porous parameters, is epitomized in the phrase, 'Arts & Crafts *Movement*'. Whilst a few of its adherents saw it as a 'movement', either political or aesthetic, not all did; and some did so only in retrospect.[31] 'Movement' suggests a commonality of purpose and direction which belies the reality of diffuseness and individuality.

4. <u>The way it looks</u>

Though the ACES set out to have craft work and two-dimensional design accepted by the Artworld,[32] its inclination to accept works democratically from all comers, with or without provenance or training, meant it seemed to observers that objects had to 'look the part' in order to be exhibited. Whether this was deliberate, unconscious, or a natural outcome of political strictures is hard to say – but certainly by 1900, in church architecture, it is easy to see a sort of 'Arts & Crafts façadism' arise: in particular, it became a visual shorthand by which NC churches could say, 'we are modern, fashionable, interesting: we have arrived.' Thus Arts & Crafts moved rather quickly from being an attitude of mind (and even a political stance), to a style,

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[30] Andrew Saint, personal comment, August 2009.
[31] See footnotes 14-17.
[32] The word coined by the American philosopher Arthur Danto to describe artists, galleries, critics, buyers, and connoisseurs: 'The Artworld', *Journal of Philosophy,* Vol. 61, issue 19, October 1964, pp. 571-584. However, the idea appeared earlier, in Thomas Hardy, *A Laodicean* (1881), Chapter IX, as 'art-world'.

fashionable because rare and therefore expensive, and appealing therefore to 'early adopters' amongst clients because of its counter-orthodox character. In contrast to the elaborations of High Victorian Gothic, Arts & Crafts – being interested in simplicity – had simple mannerisms and devices, which commercial firms like Liberty, Heal's and Gordon Russell could easily and cheaply copy.

5. What it isn't

Taken simply as architecture, and despite earlier comments above, churches built by Arts & Crafts men do tend to differ physically from Gothic Revival churches in a number of ways. Their architects did not look to emulate or elaborate on Middle Pointed or any other era; they did not wish to be historicist or drily scholarly – but they did want to know what they were doing, and to be seen to know. Their churches tend not to have Gothic stylistic tics like crockets and ogees, nor elaborate external stone decoration: their outsides tend to be comparatively unadorned – there is a preference for restraint, in many cases because of economy. Restraint, however, does not always extend to the interior, where elaborated detail and exuberance are frequently encountered – the work of craftsmen is often fore-grounded, so such a church can seem to be more a collection of objects than a coherent whole. Interestingly, the balance between inside and outside increasingly seemed to reverse as 'Arts & Crafts' became fashionable: churches by 1910 (for example W H Bidlake's St Agatha, Sparkbrook) tend to be elaborate and eye-catching externally, but plain and unadorned internally.

A very common feature is smallness: churches often have an intimate, enclosing quality, almost domestic – perhaps not surprising since the Arts & Crafts was interested in houses. The churches thus sometimes seem positively miniaturised: W D Caröe delighted in 'toy' churches that somehow look smaller than they are: for example, St

Barnabas, Stamford Hill (1903-4). (There is a slight corollary sense that large churches like Roker and Holy Trinity, Sloane Street are too big to be 'really' Arts & Crafts: hence the recourse to the seemingly explanatory 'Cathedral of the Arts & Crafts', perhaps.)[33] There was something of a taste for the Byzantine (especially in Birmingham), and for the



Fig 1.1. St Barnabas, Stamford Hill, London (W D Caröe, 1903-4: AWG)



Fig 1.2 St Basil, Deritend, Birmingham (A S Dixon, 1910-11: AWG)

[33] The one CofE 'Arts & Crafts cathedral' in Britain – designed by Henry Wilson, Lethaby and others, for the 1902 Liverpool Cathedral competition – was never built. Westminster and Leeds Cathedral (both RC) are touched on below. The scope of this study does not embrace overseas examples: Weir Schultz's Khartoum Cathedral, for example.

medieval Italian, though the language was adopted in an impressionistic rather than copyist manner. The churches are most often found in the country or outer suburbs – because that is where the rich middle classes (who tended to be the clients) could now live. Thus these churches often have the air of escape to the country: people deliberately and visibly swimming against the tide, and doing it, to some extent, out of the spotlight of convention and consensus, and Out of Town. Some are, indeed, deep in the country – Brockhampton, Brithdir, Great Warley. Some are in holiday resorts – Teignmouth, Lynton, Boscombe – though not always in holiday mood.

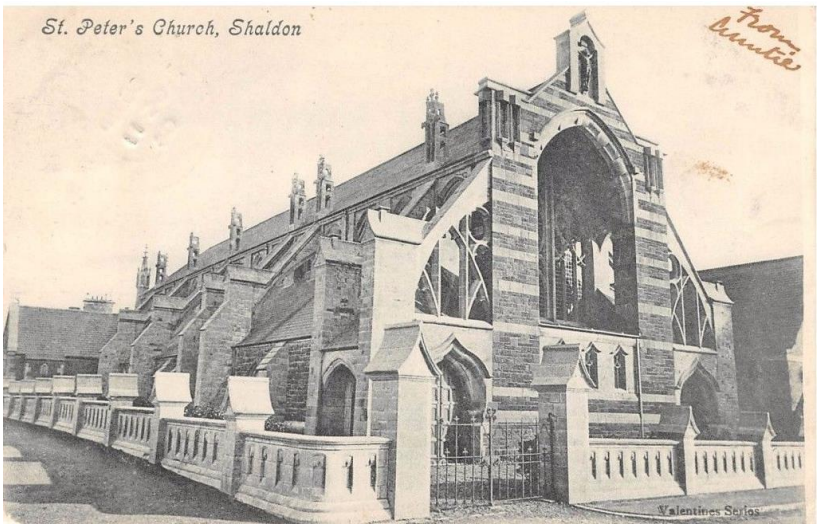


Fig 1.3 St Peter's, Shaldon, Teignmouth, Devon (E H Sedding, 1893-1902)
1904 postcard



Fig 1.4 Cong (now URC) Church, Lynton, Devon (unknown architect, 1904)

Is a meaningful definition of 'Arts & Crafts' possible?

Arts & Crafts has only lately emerged as an academic field. From 1971 books appeared which dealt with 'Arts & Crafts' subjects, though not always using the phrase.[34] Collectors and curators have been most interested in the objects: academics and architects more in the ideas - the way Arts & Crafts combined art and building; its place as perhaps the only internationally significant design 'style' born in Britain since the Middle Ages. Arts & Crafts especially appealed to the 1970s – the era of hippies, Biba and Sanderson.[35] Like the Bloomsbury Group, Arts & Crafts has a rich mythology of Bohemians and egoists, though with less gossip, and perhaps less taste for self-publicity. (The two major self-publicists in the pages of *The Studio*, Baillie Scott and Voysey, built no churches.) We must not assume the Arts & Crafts was seen as clearly then as it is now. Peter Davey pointed out that Arts & Crafts is 'ill-defined… never produced a manifesto to which all subscribed, nor a very recognizable style, nor a clear ideology.'[36] Alan Crawford, currently writing what is hoped to be a definitive book on Arts & Crafts, shies away from a sharp definition, confining himself to twelve biographical chapters: revealing the attitudes through the people and their actions, perhaps. Alan Powers has argued it is of the very essence of Arts & Crafts that its protean nature defies

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[34] A chronology of key texts might be:
1971 Gillian Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: a study of its sources, ideals and influence on design theory* (London: Trefoil; re-published London: Studio Vista, 1980).
1972 James D Kornwolf, *M H Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University).
1973 Nikolaus Pevsner, James Richards, Dennis Sharp (eds), *The Anti-Rationalists* (London: Architectural Press; re-published, 2000, with *The Rationalists* (1978) as *Anti-rationalists and Rationalists*).
1973 B F L Clarke, 'Some notable architects of the early 20th Century: Ecclesiastical Architecture', *Royal Society of Arts Journal,* vol. 121, March 1973, pp. 222-237.
1975 Alistair Service (ed), *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins* (London: Architectural Press).
1976 John Summerson, 'The turn of the century: architecture in Britain around 1900: The W A Cargill Memorial Lecture in Fine Art' (Glasgow: University of Glasgow).
1976 Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).

[35] Biba moved from its Kensington Church Street shop (founded 1964) to take over the Derry and Toms department store in Kensington in 1974. The 'Very Sanderson' advertising campaign, featuring Morris fabrics, ran 1974-6.

[36] Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture,* p. 7.

conventional analysis.[37] Peter Cormack, whose book on Arts & Crafts stained glass was published in June 2015, has written this:

> the Arts & Crafts spirit was a subtle and pervasive force that penetrated deep into the way architects and designer-craftsmen worked throughout the first half of the 20th century. ... And though it might have been more 'radical' when it started in the 1880s and 90s, it really had achieved a very considerable level of acceptance by the 1900s. In so doing it became all about good craftsmanship that wasn't formulaic or too historicist, that reminded you of the past without trying to reconstruct it.[38]

Cormack's useful notion of 'reminding without reconstructing' emphasises the contrast between Arts & Crafts' trust in instincts, and the rather different focus of those of the preceding generation of church architects who wanted to be 'correct'. If Pugin's notion that architecture reflected, even embodied, morality held good, then, if that morality were static and monolithic, churches would tend to stay the same. But if – as seems to be happening by the 1880s – morality is no longer fixed, nor necessarily flowing from the Church (see Chapter 2), it is hardly surprising that churches should become various, and deliberately, unorthodoxly 'not-Gothic'. Besides, 'reminding' can include anything from knowing reference to physical elements in an admired old church, to a generalised appeal to an unfocused nostalgia – the Good Old Days. Where they might perhaps have considered their Gothic Revival masters and predecessors as stern and dogmatic, the Arts & Crafts were more venturesome, playful and free, and rather less 'pi'. (Sometimes their clients were quite the reverse: a source of friction which was often creative.)

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[37] Alan Powers, 'A Movement of the Mind', *Crafts* 166, September/October 2000, pp. 40-43.
[38] Personal communication in an e-mail to the author, 20 September 2011.

Dates: *when* was 'Arts & Crafts'?

The phrase 'Arts and Crafts' first appears in the discussions leading to the ACES, so 1887 could be taken as the starting point. However, 1884, the date of the AWG, which first and best embodied the ethos, makes a more logical one. An earlier date would also be instructive: in 1878 four churches were being built suggestive of a change of direction: St Margaret, Ilkley, Yorks (Norman Shaw), St Martin, Brampton, Cumbria (Philip Webb), St Catherine, Hoarwithy, Herefordshire (John Pollard Seddon) and St Michael, Altcar, Lancs (John Douglas). These will be considered, though not all in detail.[39]

The end point of the Arts & Crafts is even harder to establish: Gavin Stamp has put the case for Coventry Cathedral (1956-62) being Arts & Crafts.[40] Yet in 1933 Betjeman identified that 'by 1912 … 'Arty-craftiness' became an expensive joke.'[41] A slightly later moment feels more significant: Henry Wilson's 1916 ACES exhibition at the Royal Academy – the ACES's high-point, a recognition at last by the Artworld that crafts could be allowed into hallowed halls. For some scholars the 1920s is the end.[42] But Alan Crawford has pointed out that many with Arts & Crafts sympathies went on working right through the 1920s.[43] Modernism perhaps snuffed the ideas out in architecture in the 1930s, though faint echoes of Arts & Crafts homeliness continued to appear in the details of some post-War housing. Another tempting end point for this study might be

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[39] For other 'pre-cursor' churches, see Appendix 3.
[40] In his 2005 lecture (unpublished), op cit.
[41] John Betjeman, 'There and back AD 1851 to AD 1933. A History of the Revival of Good Craftsmanship', *AR* 74, July-December 1933, pp. 4-8: p. 8.
[42] For example, Monica Obniski: 'By the 1920s machine-age modernity and the pursuit of a national identity had captured the attention of designers and consumers, bringing an end to the handcrafted nature of the Arts and Crafts movement in America.' Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/acam/hd_acam.htm [accessed 30 October 2011]).
[43] In a talk to the Victorian Society, 'Pevsner and the Arts & Crafts Movement', 29 October 2011.

1928, when the revised Prayer Book was rejected by Parliament, forever loosening the relationship between government and the established church: but 1928 is not so important elsewhere – in Scotland 1929 is more significant. And 1928 means little to any NC. In the end 1918, the end of the Great War, seems an appropriate end point: the moment when the basis on which churches might be built changed utterly – how could they not now be memorial (or defiant)? And the manpower and money to build them in the old ways was greatly reduced. As was, perhaps, the will.

'Church'

By 'church' this study means any building built by a religious organisation for the purpose of conducting whatever rites and ceremonies constitute its liturgy. This then includes Church of England (CofE) churches, Roman Catholic (RC) churches and chapels, Church of Scotland (CoS) churches; NC churches and chapels, Friends Meeting Houses (even though Quakers lack a formal liturgy), Salvation Army citadels (again, with no formal liturgy), Kingdom Halls, synagogues, mosques and gudwaras amongst others. But it does not include church halls, vicarages, parsonages, RC presbyteries; nor monasteries (except their chapels); nor schools (except their chapels). Private chapels are included, at least partly because some of the key examples, while ostensibly parish churches, are really the product of a single purse, whose owner remained proprietorial. Also included are buildings which were churches, but are now closed, used for other purposes or demolished.

‘Church-building’

Originally the research for this thesis was only interested in new churches. But church visits increasingly suggested two important strands which would be excluded by this: complete and substantial interiors in ancient churches by a member of the AWG or ACES, or by men with Arts & Crafts sympathies (for example Christ Church, Chalford, Glos or St Mary, Llanfair Kilgeddin, Mon); and craft work in churches by individuals

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Fig 1.5 St Mary, Llanfair Kilgeddin, Mon: sgrafitti by Heywood Sumner (AWG), 1887-8
Ray Edgar

who, whilst not themselves architects, or even members of the AWG or ACES, were encouraged by the Arts & Crafts spirit and influenced by Arts & Crafts ideas – ‘earnest amateurs’: a number of examples of both will be discussed, especially in Chapter 6.

Of the 4800 or so religious buildings erected in England, Scotland and Wales 1884-1918, perhaps only 350 can in any sense be understood as 'Arts & Crafts'.[44] Many branches of British Christianity were hardly touched by Arts & Crafts ideas, whether in the building or the design: the Congregationalists of Ashton-under-Lyne competed with the Anglicans, not through modish Arts & Crafts décor, but by deliberately using the Anglican architectural language of earlier decades. Some denominations in the period – The Salvation Army and English Methodists, for example – inclined away from church-like buildings altogether, and instead adopted more secular forms. RCs, active in poor areas of cities, looked first for capacity; then, where money allowed, tended towards Classical models, as at Brompton Oratory, South Kensington, London (Herbert Gribble, 1880-4) or St Aloysius, Glasgow (C J Ménart, 1910). In all parts of the country a younger generation of Jews, newly arrived from Europe, tended to re-create the synagogues of their grandfathers.

Numerous NC churches display what look very much like Arts & Crafts sensibilities, as at (see overleaf) Englefield Green, Surrey (William Seth-Smith, 1903) and the Presbyterian church at Egremont, Wallasey, Merseyside (Briggs, Wolstenholme and Thornely, 1907) – but the influence (and this can be difficult to disentangle) can be somewhat superficial. None of these architects belonged to AWG or ACES. However, a number of NC churches where Arts & Crafts influence is present to a much deeper degree are included in this study: Ullet Road, Hutton, Wallasey, Ben Rhydding.

[44] This number has proved hard to determine accurately. Detailed research into church restoration and building in two areas 1874-1928 found the number of new churches built in Herefordshire 1880-1920 for all denominations was 57, and in Birmingham about 80. Extrapolating this for England's 42 counties (in 1900) gives a figure of around 2500 new churches. For Wales, a figure of around 1850 has been estimated (See Chapter 2). Statistics for Scotland are hard to arrive at: an estimate of 450 is perhaps conservative.



Fig 1.6 Methodist church, Englefield Green (W Seth-Smith, 1903)



Fig 1.7 Egremont Presbyterian Church, Wallasey, Merseyside (Briggs, Wolstenholme and Thornely, 1907)

The Arts & Crafts had its most vivid and explicable expression in the design and making of things: pots, plates, jewellery, chairs. This extends to church furnishings too: pulpits, lecterns, fonts, candlesticks – things that members of congregations donate (or make) in the period. These are only noticed where they form part of the overall scheme in a church, not as standalone pieces. Nor does this study deal with stained glass, unless it is part of the original design concept of the church: glass often comes later, and is to the taste or specification of persons other than the architect or his client.

‘Arts and Crafts church’?

In contrast to the substance and confidence of Gothic Revival churches, some of the churches in this study can seem slight and insubstantial – Dockenfield, Stonebroom, Woolmer, Curbridge, Haslemere. And there can be self-indulgence and egotism – since so many were built for egotists: Matlock, Brithdir, Richards Castle, Pamphill, Lower Kingswood, Great Warley. This thesis, noticing these seemingly opposite characteristics, will argue both sorts of church are expressions of a reaction – both conscious and unconscious – against all that was embodied in the imposing churches of the previous generation. Now emerges a free-ranging questioning of old certainties; in some, a spirit of intense personal enquiry, amounting in some cases to a new vision of God; in others a desire to supplant Victorian grandeur with something smaller-scale, intimate, even cosy. At the heart of these buildings is a desire to express new truths: ‘fresh expressions’. As the final title of this thesis implies, it is through the *in*tangible notions of the Arts & Crafts – its ideas, beliefs and influences – that these buildings have to be approached. Alan Powers has called Arts & Crafts ‘a movement of the mind’ – in the case of

churches, it is of the spirit and the emotions too.[45] Unlike the correct churches of the Gothic Revival, the churches in this study strive to be 'other': resisting precedent and the *status quo.* They are not about certainty so much as uncertainty. Architects and clients were questioning the verities, and seeking their own, new ways. In this we can perhaps recognise our own attitudes – modern, not Victorian. The common characteristic is variousness and individuality – in plan, elevation, materials, texture, mood, light, space, even spiritual depth. Among clients it is impossible to detect any desire for consensus in what was now wanted in a church. This spirit of exploratory individualism means many of the churches seem to be monuments to things other than God. Some glory in their unconventionality. The primary evidence is in the buildings themselves, to which correspondence and architectural drawings, where they exist, lend support, but are not wholly trustworthy: what people do reveals more than what they say. But what they say they are doing can reveal yet more – if they bother to try to explain.

Why these churches?

To date 435 churches which could potentially qualify as 'being' Arts & Crafts – whether from their date, architect, fixtures and fittings, or simply reputation – have been visited and considered. From these 35 have been selected to provide the core data (see pp 2 and 3). This section seeks briefly to explain these choices. (Numbers in parentheses in this section are the pages of a detailed account of the church in Appendix 1.)

First, the need to explore what came before 1884 – but without retracing well-worn paths of Gothic Revival church history. In order to explore the pre-figuring of some of the key themes, **Hoarwithy** (378) is included: the first work was undertaken by

[45] Alan Powers, 'A Movement of the Mind', op cit.

Seddon in 1878. Hoarwithy stands here for the 'pre-cursors' (see Appendix 3). It is not chronologically remote (as Wreay might be considered, had it been selected): while work started before our period, and far from metropolitan influence (and the AWG), it continued well into the period, until the death of the client, Revd William Poole, in 1903. Thus it is before and during. Seddon is not usually considered an 'Arts & Crafts architect', and was not a member of the AWG. However, the uncertain balance of power between architect and client here, and the strongly individual nature of the church as an expression of the client's strong artistic and religious views (a socially-conscious priest who came into money in maturity), prefigures what happened later at 'core' churches. Besides, it has been little studied beyond a local history pamphlet.[46] Of the other four 'pre-cursors' mentioned above, Webb's St Martin, Brampton is already too well-studied; Shaw's St Margaret, Ilkley was ousted by his church at Richards Castle, which has a better archive; John Douglas's Altcar has little archive.[47]

Other examples of strong clients, and the uncertain balance of power between client and architect, include **Brithdir** (353), where Eliza Tooth proved a stern task-mistress to Henry Wilson. Her relationship to ritualist controversy also helps locate the church in the liturgical anxieties of the 1890s. The chapels at Welbeck or Wynyard Park would have perhaps proved more vivid examples of Wilson's decorative genius, but they lack the archival underpinning of Brithdir, where correspondence from Wilson to his client highlights their battles – Mrs Tooth is not quite so strong-minded on the physical manifestations of the spiritual as Poole at Hoarwithy, but there is more evidence to go on. **Richards Castle** (401) too has a good resource of correspondence from architect to client – though here Mrs Foster is more worldly than spiritual, and rather ignorant of

[46] Philip Anderson, *The Beautification of Hoarwithy church* (Pink Publication no 13, Ross on Wye & District Civic Society, 2002).
[47] Edward Hubbard, *The Work of John Douglas* (London: Victorian Society, 1991), pp. 126-7.

matters liturgical: its inclusion also allows consideration of the relationship between Norman Shaw and the Arts & Crafts – can the *fons et origo* be himself 'Arts & Crafts'? Is it a question worth asking? Though he was elected AWG, he was never an active participant. It might be argued that his church at Leek should have been preferred, arguably the first church at which Arts & Crafts ideas break through the Gothic, but that church has been well described and researched already. **Charterhouse** (357) is ostensibly the work of W D Caröe, but the elaborate interior woodwork seems to have been at the instigation of the client, a financially independent and socially engaged priest, possibly involving work by the lead-miners for whom it was provided.

Levels of religious commitment and engagement – at its highest perhaps at Hoarwithy – needs to be considered as a factor in how these churches were made and look. Seeking examples of idiosyncratic attitudes to religion which nonetheless expressed themselves in church-building, suggested three examples. **Matlock** (387) is included for its combination of a strong, wealthy, female client and a biddable architect, seemingly indifferent to religion: Guy Dawber built just one other church. The result is a tiny, romantically placed and theatrically detailed building, effectively a private chapel, and memorialising the client's dog, and with a somewhat eclectic attitude to liturgy. It also offers a good example of the Arts & Crafts phenomenon of close co-operative working: glass by Louis Davis, and plasterwork by George Bankart, both AWG. **Lower Kingswood** (385) has been well examined heretofore, but the church is as much ancient temple in spirit as church – the client was an ardent orientalist and antiquarian, and is himself commemorated in a golden mosaic installed in his own lifetime on the chancel arch. It is also a good example of the meeting of wealth – rich materials of marble, and mosaic – and the democratic impulse of the Arts & Crafts: the client's artistic wife was closely involved in the interior design. There is simple practicality too: few churches were

as 'hands-on' in the building: Sidney Barnsley, who built only one other church, is reputed to have lived on-site in a tent throughout the work. Thirdly, **Pixham** (397) is a church which is hardly a church at all – more a social centre and lecture room, the creation of a strong-minded personality (female) who knew exactly what she wanted – memorial, simple, democratic – and able to command her architect: Lutyens did what she wanted. It also exhibits his early enthusiasm for things ecclesiastical. To which might be appended **Brockhampton** (355), about which enough has perhaps been written: the present research engages with the social context of the work as much as its artistic delights or liturgical demerits. And **Pamphill** (395), designed by a provincial architect with Arts & Crafts instincts for a wealthy widow – an awkward hybrid.

To counter these, it is necessary to consider churches built through sincerity and faith (and energetic fund-raising) by committed priests in poor parishes: **Haslemere** (376) built by Charles Spooner for the energetic Revd George Aitken, and **Woolmer** (414) by Weir Schultz for the cultivated and enlightened Revd Arthur Headlam. In both cases, friends who were AWG members contributed furnishings, carving and glass. **Kempley** (383) was funded by a rich client, an artistic and committed High churchman: his hands-on architect, Randall Wells (not AWG) enlisted AWG men and local craftsmen to work democratically alongside each other. It also has the signal advantage of a detailed account written by its architect, which is revealing. **Dockenfield** (366) was paid for by wealthy bourgeois – all from a neighbouring parish, wishing to keep their existing church to themselves: nonetheless Curtis Green (this is one of only two churches by him) orchestrated the co-operative working of AWG members and local amateurs. **Aberlour** (350) (minor) is a modest church by a devout RC architect, far from the AWG, yet whose simplicity and intensity echo motifs found in more sophisticated examples – by happy

chance, or careful purpose? **Gunnerton** (374) (minor) was built by a priest-architect, and therefore stands for a particular kind of sincerity and commitment.

The democratic spirit influenced not only architects, but also some clients. This is explored at two other churches, neither of which 'count' quite as 'Arts & Crafts' – except in the way in which their clients related to their workforce. At **North Cerney** (389) the local squire, and enthusiast for pre-Reformation church furnishings, employed F C Eden (AWG) as an aesthetic guide, and a dozen or more local men to do the craft work – all of whose names and contributions he recorded in scholarly, if condescending, detail. At **Glandford** (370), the wealthy client engaged Newcastle architects Hicks & Charlewood, whom he had seen restoring Norfolk churches, but he too employed a large team of local men to do the hand work, and carefully recorded their names. Finding Arts & Crafts impulses in unregarded places like these, fired further investigation. **Cheltenham** (359), like Hoarwithy, is 'not' Arts & Crafts – its architect, H A Prothero, belonged to no guild, and used 'commercial' church furnishers (H H Martyn and Boultons of Cheltenham) to carry out the interior fittings. But personalities and the personal break through, as the chapel transmuted from its intended celebration of all that is great in England and the English public school into a threnody for the young dead of the Boer and Great Wars, executed by named craftsmen, some of them AWG members. At **West Woodhay** (412) the craft work was executed by the wealthy clients themselves (both women). At **Shefford** (403) the priest was hands-on craftsman too, so the entire church is personal, emotional and hand-made. **Curbridge** (364) is included as a puzzle: Charles Nicholson, in circumstances which are rather unclear, created an unusual, intimate and rather un-English interior, with ironwork by the local blacksmith, and paintwork unlike anything else that came later in his career. Why?

There seemed also to be a need to examine churches which 'look' Arts & Crafts in some way, to see if they 'are'. W D Caröe had an uncertain (sometimes dismissive) relationship with Arts & Crafts. His church at **Colehill** (360) looks rather like a cynical attempt to be 'vernacular'. Yet, despite seeming to be 'fake', the interior is almost entirely the heart-felt work of an AWG member and gifted local amateur craftsmen and women. **Stonebroom** (404) offers the opportunity to consider architects outside the AWG circle who seem to reflect its spirit: Percy Currey is one such. (Archibald Macpherson is another, whose Aberlour allows further exploration of that uncertain ground.) **Great Warley** (372) (minor) has been regarded as 'Art Nouveau' rather than 'Arts & Crafts' – thus giving an opportunity to discuss this apparent conflict (which is nothing of the kind). Arts & Crafts ideas not in new building, but in restoration, extension or alteration, led to the inclusion of three churches: **Onibury** (391) explores Arts & Crafts (more precisely SPAB) attitudes to restoration, but also reveals a disarming secularism in the approach to church furnishings. C C Rolfe's work in the church at **Inkpen** (382) allows exploration of church alterations in an interesting nexus - a dynamic, community-minded priest, with a large artistic family; and a religiously-committed architect with local connections. **Down Ampney** (368) (minor) is included to throw light on the influence of romantic antiquarianism on both client and architect.

There are seven churches allowing consideration of Arts & Crafts in a NC context. **Ullet Road** (408) is the supreme expression of the urban confidence of Liverpool's Unitarian merchant princes, overtly expressed in modern design. By contrast, the sons of these same clients built the Unitarian church across the Mersey at **Wallasey** (410) – a rhapsody to the Italianate, with Liverpool and Birmingham craftsmen-artists. **Cricklewood** (362) is one of the few churches by Arthur Keen, and explores Arts & Crafts in a Baptist context. **Ben Rhydding** (351) is a Methodist church influenced by

Arts & Crafts visual ideas without overtly embracing the ethos – as is, for different reasons, **Hutton** (380). In **Paisley** (393) W G McLennan out-Mackintoshed Mackintosh. Finally, two churches through which to explore the gradual diffusion of energies and ideas. At **Summerstown** (406) Godfrey Pinkerton (not AWG, though his partner was) explores themes echoing Sedding's church at Clerkenwell, using AWG friends as well as an amateur artist. At **Port Seton** (399), an intense, almost High Church east end, with careful craftsmanly fittings, is mischievously undermined by a free-spirited painting scheme in the chancel that seems to be derived from folk motifs with Christian overtones, but is clearly something else entirely.

This thesis will not concern itself with a number of churches already well-known and analyzed in the literature as 'Arts & Crafts churches'. There will be only rare references to Holy Trinity, Sloane Street[48] and to Roker,[49] as well as the following: St Martin, Brampton (Philip Webb, 1877-8);[50] St George, Jesmond, Tyne and Wear (T R Spence, 1887-8);[51] the Mortuary Chapel at Compton (Mary Seton Watts, 1895);[52] Queen's Cross church, Glasgow (C R Mackintosh, 1896-9);[53] St Bartholomew, Brighton, (interior by Henry Wilson (1897-1908);[54] and Holy Trinity, Dodford (Arthur Bartlett and

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48 See Peyton Skipwith, *Holy Trinity, Sloane Street* (London: Trinity Arts & Crafts Guild, 2002) and Paul Snell, 'The Priest of Form: John Dando Sedding (1838-91) and the Languages of Late Victorian Architecture' (PhD thesis, Manchester University, 2006), especially pp. 180-9 and 228-231.

49 Lynne Walker, 'E S Prior 1852-1932' (PhD thesis, London University, 1978), pp. 473-484; and Trevor Garnham, *St Andrew's Church, Roker* (London: Phaidon, 1996).

50 See Arthur Penn, *St Martin's: The Making of a Masterpiece* (self-published, 1993; 2nd edition, 2008) and Sheila Kirk, *Philip Webb: pioneer of Arts & Crafts Architecture* (Chichester: Wiley, 2005), pp. 261-9.

51 Neil Moat, 'A Theatre for the Soul: St. George's Church, Jesmond: The Building and cultural reception of a late Victorian church' (PhD thesis, Newcastle University, 2011).

52 Elisabeth Beazley, 'Watts Chapel', *AR,* vol. 180, Sept 1961, pp. 167-172; J Gleeson White, 'A Mortuary Chapel by Mrs G F Watts', *The Studio*, 14, 1898, pp. 235-240; Veronica F Gould, 'The Symbolic Bas-Relief Designs of Mary Watts', *Journal of the DAS,* 21, 1997, pp. 9-21; and the architect's own *The Word in the Pattern: a key to the symbols of the Chapel at Compton*, (n.p., 1898).

53 A very full bibliography is given at www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/browse/display/?rs=124&xml=bib [accessed 30 July 2014].

54 Cyndy Manton, 'Henry Wilson (1864-1934): His work and influence' (PhD thesis, Brighton Polytechnic, 1985); and *Henry Wilson: Practical Idealist* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2009).

Bromsgrove Guild, 1906-8).[55] However, as outlined above, five 'famous' churches have been included – where possible, they are approached in new ways, and analyzed afresh. Brockhampton is a sort of archetype – and Lethaby was influential as a theorist and inspiration to many of his peers, though in churches was responsible only for one other, the tiny chapel of SS Margaret and Colm at Melsetter, Hoy, Orkney (1899). Kempley,[56] Lower Kingswood,[57] Brithdir,[58] and Great Warley[59] also operate as aesthetic triangulation points. Aside from these 'famous five', most of the other 30 'core' churches have not been discussed in any depth academically before. Three have received close but brief academic attention: Inkpen,[60] Paisley[61] and Wallasey;[62] there has also been local history interest in the latter.[63] Four others receive short notice in substantial monographs: Colehill,[64] Charterhouse,[65] Gunnerton[66] and Woolmer.[67] The only study of Cheltenham is a centenary celebration published by the school.[68] There has been local history interest in Ben Rhydding.[69] Pixham has been discussed in a local history book, but otherwise is

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[55] Dodford is the least-studied of this group: there is no monograph or significant article. Alan Crawford discusses Dodford briefly in Sladen and Saint, op cit, pp. 73-4.
[56] Randall Wells, 'Kempley Church', *The British Architect,* 5 March 1909, pp. 165-6. See also Charles Keighley, 'Randall Wells and the Ruskinian Tradition' (MA dissertation, Royal Holloway College, 1994, revised 1995).
[57] Martin Brandon, 'The Lost Jewel in the Arts & Crafts Crown: The Church of the Wisdom of God' (BA dissertation, Southampton Institute, 2001); and Mary Greensted, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchange between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)' (MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011).
[58] Manton, *Henry Wilson: Practical Idealist*, op cit.
[59] Wendy Hitchmough, 'Studies in the Symbolism and Spirituality of the Arts and Crafts Movement' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2002). Chapter 3 is a very thorough account.
[60] Discussed briefly in Andrew Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia* XXXV 1970, pp. 53-107 and 'Charles Buckeridge and his family', *Oxoniensia* XXXVIII 1973, pp. 357-372.
[61] Gavin Stamp, 'The Victorian Kirk' in Brooks and Saint (eds) *The Victorian Church*, p. 114.
[62] Alan Crawford, *By Hammer and Hand: the Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham* (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums and Art Galleries, 1984), pp. 71-72.
[63] Jacqueline Bailey, *In what way was the Memorial Church, Manor Road, Liscard, of 1899, influenced in design by the Arts & Crafts Movement?* (Unpublished Open University project, 1982).
[64] Jenny Freeman, *W D Caröe: his architectural achievement* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 47.
[65] Ibid, pp. 64-65.
[66] John Taylor, *Between devotion and design: the architecture of John Cyril Hawes 1876-1956* (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 2000), pp. 7-8.
[67] David Ottewill, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect', *Architectural History,* 22, 1979, pp. 87-115: p. 104. Understandably, it does not figure in Gavin Stamp, *Robert Weir Schultz Architect and his work for the Marquess of Bute* (London: Curwen Press/Mount Stuart, 1981).
[68] Nicholas Lowton, *Cheltenham College Chapel* (Cheltenham: The Cheltonian Society, 1996).
[69] In L J Turner, 'Garside and Pennington: Architects of Castleford and Pontefract', *Journal of the Wesley Historical Society (Yorkshire branch)*, Number 82a, Spring 2003, pp. 2-10; and L J Turner, 'Garside and

largely missing even from Lutyens studies.[70] Port Seton is discussed briefly in Carruthers's recent overview of Scottish Arts & Crafts.[71] North Cerney's early history has received considerable antiquarian attention, and its client wrote about his church in local journals, but it has never been assessed in the context of Arts & Crafts. Of the remainder, apart from listings in their respective *Pevsners*, there is little or no modern scholarly work on Matlock,[72] Glandford,[73] Stonebroom,[74] Aberlour, Onibury, Shefford, Ullet Road, West Woodhay, Summerstown, Curbridge, Pamphill, Cricklewood, Dockenfield and Hutton. An unwanted byproduct of this focus on 35 core churches is that a number of architects are not represented in this study in any detail: most notably J F Bentley, J J Burnet, Robert Lorimer, Leonard Stokes, Edgar Wood and John Douglas, though all are mentioned.

In Chapter 2, churches of the period are set in architectural, religious and cultural context. In Chapter 3 the role of the clients is examined. In Chapters 4 and 5, the architects – their attitudes and their practices. Chapter 6 deals with the dissemination of the ideas in various directions: churches where client and designer coalesced into a single craftsman/client - 'enthusiastic amateurs'; then churches as centres of craft education; and surviving traces of the ideas. Chapter 7 concludes by exploring the role of Arts & Crafts as a concomitant to the decline in religion's cultural centrality, and its replacement by something more sceptical and human.

Pennington's Churches', *Victorian Society, West Yorkshire Group Journal*, 1979, pp. 19-25. There is also a well-researched centenary booklet: K Pinder, *Ben Rhydding Methodist Church 1909-2009* (Ben Rhydding: BRMC, 2009).

[70] Lynn Parnell, 'Pixham Church' in Alexandra Wedgwood (ed), *A History of St Martin's Dorking* (Dorking: Friends of St Martin's, 1990), pp. 126-139.

[71] Annette Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland; a History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 325-6.

[72] There is a pamphlet: John Drackley, *The Chapel of St John the Baptist Matlock* (n.p., 2003).

[73] Apart from three successive church guide booklets (C Linnell, 1956; A Gamble, after 1969; N Batcock, after 2008), there is only P Stone and J Warwick James, *Sir Alfred Jodrell, Philanthropist* (Dereham: Larks Press, 1996, revised 2011).

[74] Curiously there is no monograph on its architect, Percy Heylyn Currey, who built five churches and a school chapel in Derbyshire, nor his later practice Currey and Thompson, which built a further seven churches and another chapel, as well as restoring a further eight churches.

Chapter 2

Context: Architecture, religion, society

> As he walked on, he pondered the Christian story, and tried to make something out of it. Had it any significance for *him*? Perhaps, for he had not consciously discarded the old faith: he had simply let it fall out of his mind.
>
> George Gissing, *Eve's Ransom* (1895), chapter XXIII

What makes this group of churches worthy of discussion? This chapter sets them in context, to clarify what distinguishes their milieu from churches of the previous generation, and what makes that difference significant and interesting. First, the architectural context: the churches in this research occupy and, as will be argued, illuminate, a 'debatable land' between two high points in architectural history – the Gothic Revival (a Gilbert Scott church, say), and the Modern (a Cachemaille-Day church, perhaps). Yet they cannot be fully understood in terms of either. Unlike the former, they looked to the past not for great originals to be perfected, but for echoes and impressions with which to hint and suggest. And yet, despite what Pevsner would have liked, it is hard to argue they prefigure Modernism, for they do not look to the future at all: churches like Brithdir, Dockenfield, Kempley and Glandford at best mark time, or look back with nostalgia, as if their architects and clients knew churches were not the future. Second, the religious context: a Gilbert Scott church expresses the centrality of established religion in its period. But most of the Anglican churches in this study do not trumpet religion's importance or the Church's significance – quite the reverse: they seem to turn away from physical statements of religious power. The statements they make are *sotto voce* – a variety of form and a lightness of manner that reflect growing diffuseness in attitudes to

God. For some NCs it was rather different: statements of religious certainty and social confidence – but, with a few exceptions, on a modest scale. Nonetheless, at heart there *is* a common thread – the third context, the social: a new spirit of egalitarianism which, in the AWG gently wanted to flatten the hierarchy of architect, client and maker, and which, among clients, was reflected in a preference for Jesus as humane friend rather than a God in agony, or Judge. In placing the buildings in these three contexts – architectural, religious and social – a further reason for their significance emerges: that they articulate the inter-twined nature of the three contexts. They are an expression not merely of aesthetics, or even of artistic politics, but of a shift in the status of belief in British culture.

Two parallel drifts from mid-century 'norms' are here in motion: on the one hand, established religion leaving the centre, dispersing into something increasingly personal, even private. On the other, a change in the way some architects behaved, and saw themselves: a decline in deference to the authority of the academy, a certain discontent with the dominance of historical models, and a growing trust in the creative self – architect as artist. These two drifts – which can be interpreted too as different expressions of the same phenomenon – tend to interact: thus, while these churches *can* be understood purely as pieces of architecture (as monographs tend to treat the work of Gothic Revival architects), or as works of art (as their architects often saw them), they are more fully understood as the products of the friction between a seemingly irresistible - perhaps by 1884 even inexplicable - urge on the part of clients to build a church, and a certain detachment and diffidence towards that impulse on the part of the spiritually diverse, sometimes visionary, often fragile architects who designed and built them. A cautionary note – it is in the nature of these buildings that their variety strains generalization: individuality was, by the 1890s, such a powerful engine in both architecture and religion, that 'examples' are as likely to be *sui generis* as characteristic. There are suggestive pointers, nonetheless: their often domestic character reflects not only

that the Arts & Crafts was interested most in houses, but that those who now commissioned churches were themselves more concerned, whether consciously or not, with comfort and companionship - seeking inner spiritual shelter rather than expressing power through outward grandeur and scale. (There are, of course, exceptions – elaborate private chapels for wealthy aristocrats by Henry Wilson at Welbeck Abbey and Wynyard Hall. And Charles Ponting's work for the Bankes family at Pamphill, and the exuberant combination of wealth and social responsibility of Liverpool's Unitarians, discussed below.)

The architectural context

As a group these churches have been largely overlooked, even discounted: they have a name – 'Arts & Crafts church' – but no defining parameters. They are not numerous enough to dominate any biography of their architect, except perhaps W D Caröe,[1] Norman Shaw, [2] or Leonard Stokes.[3] They figure little, as discussed in Chapter 1, in academic histories of the 'movement' to which they belong: there is no chapter in Davey's *Arts & Crafts Architecture* on religious buildings. While some individual churches have been closely examined, it has usually been done in the context of their architects' *oeuvre*: Brockhampton as a stand-alone expression of Lethaby's ideas away from his core perceived role as a theorist and educator – 'Lethaby's Last';[4] Roker critiqued as something greater than Prior's usual work – a 'masterpiece'.[5] The standard monographs on key Arts & Crafts figures such as Lethaby, Prior and even Philip Webb do not treat their churches as central.[6] This thesis,

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[1] Jenny Freeman, *W D Caröe,* op cit.
[2] Andrew Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw*, op cit.
[3] Rory Spence, 'Leonard Aloysius Scott Stokes (1858-1928)' (PhD thesis, Sheffield University, 1970) and Jan Ward, *The Leonard Stokes Directory* (Woldingham: privately published, 2009).
[4] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Lethaby's Last', *AR* 130, 1961, pp. 354-7.
[5] Trevor Garnham, et al, *Arts and Crafts masterpieces: St Andrew's Church, Roker; Glasgow School of Art and First Church of Christ Scientist, Berkeley* (London: Phaidon, 1999).
[6] Godfrey Rubens, *William Richard Lethaby: His Life and Work 1857-1931*(London: Architectural Press, 1986); Lynne Walker, 'E S Prior 1852-1932' (PhD thesis, London University, 1978) and, more recently, Martin Cook,

unsurprisingly, sees churches designed by members of the AWG differently: for they throw fresh light, not only on Arts & Crafts ideas, including its spirituality, hitherto largely unexamined (see Chapter 4); but also on the cultural temperature of a country moving away from religious certainties. Their diffuseness and disparities are taken not as merely inconvenient, but defining and important.

An awkward clue to why these churches have remained unexamined as a group for so long is this: a discrepancy between the way they look to us now and how they appeared at the time.[7] For 'Arts & Crafts church' is a recent coining.[8] At the time, things looked rather different: contemporary churches were just that. In 1911 there was an attempt – in retrospect almost a last-ditch attempt – to draw together the best of church architecture as it then stood in a book, *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* (*REEA*).[9] It came in the wake of the death of Bodley, whose work was held up as the model of excellence. It opens with two prefatory essays which neatly exemplify one of the 'drifts': the preface by Charles Nicholson (an AWG member) – who went on to be architect to seven dioceses – is brusquely secular: 'the British public demands pointed windows one day in the week' and building a church was much the same as building anything else: 'would not an occasional foray into ecclesiastical art be a salutary change for the man whose life is spent in making telephone call-rooms and mayors' parlours?' By contrast, Charles Spooner (AWG) deals primarily in practical minutiae: he sees detail and measurements as matters of real importance, for he is committed to church-

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Edward Prior, Arts and Crafts Architect (Marlborough: Crowood Press, 2015); Sheila Kirk, *Philip Webb* (Chichester: Wiley/Academy, 2005).

[7] A longer and more detailed examination of *REEA* appeared in the author's *Charles Spooner: Arts & Crafts Architect* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2012), Chapter Six. The argument here is developed in a rather different direction.

[8] In his 1973 lecture, 'Edwardian Ecclesiastical Architecture' B F L Clarke describes Great Warley as 'a feast of Arts and Crafts' but does not describe any of the churches discussed, as an 'Arts & Crafts church': Alistair Service (ed), *Edwardian Architecture and its origins* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), p. 291. Peter Davey calls Brockhampton, 'one of the greatest monuments of the Arts and Crafts movement' (*Arts & Crafts Architecture,* p. 69), but only uses the phrase 'Arts & Crafts church' once – to describe the look of Edgar Wood's non-ecclesiastical clock tower at Lindley, Yorks (1902). By contrast, Davey uses 'Arts and Crafts house' often.

[9] Anon (but almost certainly Mervyn Macartney), *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture: a Series of Illustrations of Notable Modern Work*… (London: Technical Journals, 1911?). Macartney was editor of *AR,* and a member of AWG.

building spiritually in a way Nicholson is not. Macartney (AWG), who, if editor, almost certainly chose the churches to be included, does not reveal his religious leanings (though he did design two churches: a chapel at Poundsbridge, Kent, 1888 and St Leonard, Downham, Lancs, 1910). Despite its date *REEA* is not, as might be anticipated, a primer to 'Arts & Crafts churches': the phrase 'Arts & Crafts' appears nowhere in it. The choice of churches is all the more interesting. The longest single article is fourteen pages (including photographs) on Westminster Cathedral, by J F Bentley (AWG) (though without any image of Weir Schultz and Gibson's St Andrew's chapel, now regarded as a seminal Arts & Crafts ecclesiastical interior – they were both AWG – which was not started until 1910). Two other of Bentley's churches are included: Holy Rood, Watford, and the Convent Chapel, Braintree. There are three churches by Temple Moore (not AWG): St Magnus, Bessingby; St Mark, Mansfield; and St Cuthbert, Middlesbrough. No other architect is represented by more than two churches: two each for W H Bidlake (not AWG); E P Warren, Ernest Newton and Leonard Stokes (all AWG). And just one by W D Caröe, Basil Champneys, Gerald Horsley (all AWG) and C H B Quennell and Randall Wells (not). For some of these names – the last four for example – this paucity rather reflects how few churches they had built by 1911: Champneys four, Horsley one, Quennell one, Wells two. But by 1911 Caröe had been building churches for 20 years: it seems strange he is so little represented here. As a guide to what is actually going on in church architecture between 1890 and 1910 (the date of the bulk of the *REEA* churches), it may, of course, have reflected Macartney's tastes and interests, and he may have deliberately chosen churches that reflected the spirit of the admired Bodley. But to a 21st century eye seeking Arts & Crafts, the choice is oddly myopic. If membership of the AWG is a key signifier of 'Arts & Crafts' (as this thesis takes it to be), then only a handful of other 'Arts & Crafts churches' are included, amongst them Holy Trinity, Sloane Street; St Martin, Blackheath, Wonersh (Harrison Townsend, AWG); Dodford; Kempley; St Erkenwald, Southend-on-Sea (Walter Tapper, AWG); the Chapel for the Sanatorium at Midhurst

(Charles Holden, AWG); and Giggleswick School Chapel (T G Jackson, AWG). Of these, perhaps only Sloane Street, Dodford and Kempley seem 'Arts & Crafts' if appearance is the guiding criterion. Most strikingly, many of the churches which would today, for architectural historians, be considered quintessential of 1890-1910 are missing: Brockhampton, Roker, Brithdir, Great Warley, Lower Kingswood; St Agatha, Portsmouth (J H Ball, 1893-5); Queen's Cross, Glasgow (C R Mackintosh, 1896); St Martin, Low Marple (Sedding and Wilson, 1909). There is not a single church by Norman Shaw. Nor any by John Douglas, Austin & Paley or Greenaway & Newberry – all the more remarkable as the last two practices were principally ecclesiastical, and in 1890-1910 Austin & Paley alone built 17 new churches. Did Macartney not judge them worthy? Yet many churches are included which would not have looked out of place in a book of 1870: for example (see overleaf), Christ's Hospital Chapel (Aston Webb and E Ingress Bell) and the Chapel, Holy Cross, Haywards Heath (Walter Tower). These three architects were not AWG.

It is perhaps a little unnerving to find the notion of Arts & Crafts so comprehensively absent from either description or assessment. At the very least it tends to suggest that 'Arts & Crafts' was not considered as to do with architecture, let alone churches; perhaps not even a meaningful term outside its Exhibition Society (Macartney and Spooner were both ACES members in 1910, as were E P Warren, Ernest Newton, Gerald Horsley, Harrison Townsend and T G Jackson). At worst, it is uncomfortable to admit that 'Arts & Crafts' may be in the eye of the modern beholder. The best analysis must be this: *REEA* sets out to portray continuity from the heights of Bodley's work, and therefore takes a conservative view of what is a 'good' church: Macartney is not seeking to set old against new, let alone disentangle cultural drifts. It is left to us to discern what may have been either invisible or difficult at the time – the Arts & Crafts ideas lurking beneath the skin.



Fig 2.1 The chapel at Christ's Hospital, Horsham (Aston Webb, E Ingress Bell, 1897-1902)
REEA, p. 59

Holy Cross Chapel, Haywards Heath.



Photo: Cyril Ellis.

VIEW FROM WEST.

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Fig 2.2 Holy Cross Chapel, Haywards Heath (Walter Tower, 1902)
REEA, p. 74

If being AWG did not necessarily produce a particular kind (or even look) of church, what, then, was the significance of AWG membership? Though they were architects, trained in Norman Shaw's office, and John Dando Sedding's, and thus in descent from the High Victorians, the AWG's first young architect members saw architecture as in some way defective: it had become detached from its roots. The phrase 'Art workers' had resonance. First it suggested that architecture was Art – some regarded it as the highest Art, for it synthesized all others, including painting and sculpture. This view expressed one side in a debate on the cultural status of architecture which culminated in *Architecture: a profession or an art?* (1892) edited by Shaw and Jackson. Its thirteen essays include: 'That an artist is not necessarily unpractical', by Norman Shaw; 'The builder's art and the craftsman', by W R Lethaby; 'The unity of art', by Gerald Horsley (all AWG). Further, 'Art Workers' suggested that Art *was* work; with an implied rebuke to those who merely 'played' at it. Work was something no man should shun, for it had dignity, even nobility – if one chose to do it (or had the means to not mind that it didn't pay). And 'Guild' suggested something ancient, brotherly, democratic, mystical and not – unlike an Academy – scholastic, nor – unlike an Institute – bureaucratic. The ecclesiastical architects of the 50s and 60s had no comparable forum of brotherly discussion, and little such sense of comfortable fellowship. The AWG was an architects' (and fine artists') coterie wholly inaccessible by application or examination: a private club, part social centre, part talking shop, part un-buttoned smoker. Its members were at ease with each other, and enjoyed shared comradeship. Yes, it held to certain artistic and ideas – most prominently that the Arts and the crafts were equal. But when it produced a history of itself in 1935, the initially rebellious impulses were subsumed, in mellow retrospect, in an aura of respectability.[10] The book draws together remarks by early Masters. Walter Crane, Master 1889, emphasizes their place in tradition:

[10] H J L J Massé (ed), *The Art Workers' Guild 1884-1934* (Oxford: Shakespeare's Head, 1935).

> Let us hand on the lamp of good traditions, not only of design and workmanship, but also of good fellowship.[11]

He makes no mention of architecture – he was not an architect, but listed as a Painter. Social qualities are paramount – and design and workmanship are equivalent to them. The AWG was direct and no-nonsense: in 1890 Master John Brett emphasized:

> we do not care so much for set speeches and finished diction as for definite and unrestrained expressions of the workman's own convictions and a simple account of his experiences.[12]

That notion of authenticity, the hands-on personal expression of ideas, looms large. Intuition, knowing through doing, physicality were all valued. The reverencing of the humble country chair-bodger Philip Clissett suggested something akin to the idea of 'Noble Savage' – a simpler man better than us. But what was this quality? The men of the AWG were not even sure how to describe it: different words were used in the reported Masters' addresses (and also in *Arts and Crafts Essays,* 1893): craft, crafts, handcrafts, handicrafts, craftsmanship – and they are not perhaps as interchangeable as their users thought. They were all clear, however, that what *they* did was Art. 'Art-work' is not 'craft' – or else they would have called themselves the 'Craft Guild' or 'Art-craft Guild' perhaps. But they were interested in the process of making. The AWG's talks were about specialist skills, with demonstrations. They did not go in for showing objects (they held just one public exhibition). But they liked discussion, talk; and fun – the 1899 pageant *Beauty's Awakening*, for example, and a series of dinners and outings.[13] They were not very interested in competing against one another. It may even be significant that, while AWG has a Master, his term is – as in the City Liveries – just one year: more a figurehead than a ruler, *primus inter pares*, respected rather than obeyed. The spirit of equality informed the AWG throughout the period. It can be argued there is

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[11] Ibid, p. 2.
[12] Ibid, p. 3
[13] 'We must have a place where we can smoke, and, if possible, get a drink.' (G B Simonds, first Master, quoted in E S Prior, 'The Origins of the Guild,' AWG AGM, 6 December 1895).

even a correlation between qualities of character – being self-effacing, selfless, supportive, friendly, conscientious, careful, steady, fair – and the degree to which a member of the AWG can be seen as 'Arts & Crafts'. And, at least to start with, the spirit was something invigoratingly new. Sedding, writing of 'Design', and in the context of ecclesiastical work (he was old enough to be still an 'ecclesiastical architect', and he was a committed churchman), expressed it thus:

> We must clothe modern ideas in modern dress; adorn our design with living fancy… No more museum-inspired work! No more scruples about styles! No more dry-as-dust stock patterns! No more loathly Persian-tile quilts! No more awful 'Zoomorphic' table-cloths! No more cast-iron-looking altar cloths, or Syon Cope angels, or stumpy Norfolk-screen saints! No more Tudor roses and pumped-out Christian imagery suggesting that Christianity is dead and buried! But, instead, we shall have design by living men for living men - something that expresses fresh realisations of sacred facts, personal broodings, skill, joy in Nature….[14]

The religious context: the dissipation of consensual religion

The Victorian age was religious – 'self-consciously' so, as Obelkevich has observed.[15] At the centre stood the CofE – established, rich, powerful – but by 1884 that centrality was already fading. There were four reasons. First, rancorous internecine battles over 'Ritualism' undermined the authority, and dissipated the energy of the CofE; second, advances in science and textual analysis, from Darwin to the Higher Biblical Criticism, meant religion was no longer unquestionable; third, resulting spiritual enquiry led to new forms of religious

[14] John Dando Sedding, 'Design', *Arts & Crafts essays* (London: Rivington, Perceval, 1903; reprinted London: Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 410.
[15] James Obelkevich, 'Religion', in F M L Thompson (ed), *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, vol. 3, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp. 311-356; p. 328.

expression; fourth, the rise in Nonconformity as a force in public life in provincial cities offered new models of orthodoxy.

The central position of the CofE in mid-19th-century life was proclaimed in its assertive architecture: the CofE was at the heart of culture, and its architecture was the unmistakeable manifestation of religious rectitude. The mandarin arbiters of the Camden Society were able to identify – and condemn – imperfect faith by the height of an altar or the placing of a font. As Yates points out, by 1870 most church interiors in England had been modified to reflect Ecclesiological expectations[16] – but by 1884 this orthodoxy was being challenged. The Public Worship Regulation Act (PWRA) of 1874 had brought to a head festering internal CofE anxieties about the 'threat' of Popery through deviation from liturgical orthodoxy. Where the ecclesiastical courts had once disciplined erring clergy with admonition and reprimand, now they could be – and were – sent to prison. Points of detail in



Fig 2.3 What is the Use ?
Fr. Richard Enraght entering Warwick Prison in chains, handing a bag entitled, 'Paraphernalia of Ritualism' to his curate Revd Warwick Elwin.
The Daily Post (Birmingham) 26th November 1880, n.p.

[16] 'the overall liturgical arrangement…required by the Ecclesiologists…had been achieved almost everywhere by about 1870.' Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 170.

ceremonial or furnishing when argued in court looked increasingly absurd, and the complaints un-Christian, especially as evidence against clergymen was brought by their own parishioners, or people from nearby parishes acting for organised groups of objectors. The PWRA led to a series of vexatious trials, some resulting in imprisonment. In 1881 Archbishop Tait asked cabinet to set up a Royal Commission on ecclesiastical judicature: its report was not unanimous (only nine of its 25 members signed without reservation) - the PWRA remained in force. However, the appetite for prosecuting Ritualists waned: its last spasm was the trial in 1888 of the Bishop of Lincoln, the saintly and mild Edward King (1829-1910), accused of ritualism by two parishioners and a solicitor. After King's acquittal in 1890 there were no more trials, but there was still debate. In 1903 Archbishop Randall Davidson (1848-1930) decided to rectify the PWRA, astonishingly, with new law. He asked for a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. Its 1906 findings were worldly and weary:

> … the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of the Church people including many of her most devoted members, value…[17]

They proposed 'reasonable elasticity' in the law: but 'it is necessary that [the law] should be obeyed.' The Anglo-Catholic W H Frere acknowledged something which had been less frankly admitted in 1874: '… we must recognise that access to God is to a large extent a markedly individual act. The worshipper is throughout the service in an individual relationship to God.'[18] Individualism was breaking through even in the CofE. But the CofE would not let it lie: in 1908 a committee of five bishops presented a Historical Report (120 pages) on Ornaments. Convocation agonised over detail as if it still mattered: in the years before the Great War, 'the critical question was that of Eucharistic vestments.'[19] The war

[17] Quoted in Yates, *Anglican Ritualism,* p. 330.
[18] W H Frere, *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial* (London: Longman, 1906) p. 25.
[19] G K A Bell, *Randall Davidson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935; 2nd edition 1938), p. 1325.

made the matter of vestments increasingly irrelevant. Beyond our period, the 1920s were spent addressing the Prayer Book, and trying to make it – what? – more understandable, more relevant, more true? But once the genie of individualism was out of the bottle, it could not be legislated back in.

While the bishops fretted about details of vestments and ceremonial, Anson argues, few clergy in the parishes around 1900 could claim much knowledge of liturgy.[20] The Anglo-Catholic Alcuin Club was founded in 1897, to encourage the study of ceremonial and to give guidance on the arrangement of church furniture and ornaments, in line with the Ornaments Rubric of the BCP.[21] Their public face was Revd Percy Dearmer (1867-1936), author of *The Parson's Handbook* (1899). He engaged fearlessly with church aesthetics, its 'vulgarity' and 'tawdry stupidity':[22] he declared – perceptively – that 'art is out of touch with religion.' His vigorous style was attractive, and he was happy to opine on matters well beyond the reach of the Ornaments Rubric: the height of pulpits, the use of notice-boards and that 'The service books should be well bound and stamped on the outside *Choristers*.' Dearmer's importance must, however, be treated with caution: no evidence has been found in these researches that any non-cleric client or his/her architect had read a word of *The Parson's Handbook*.

The people were increasingly out of touch with religion too. The historical and moral authority of the Bible was under threat. *The Origin of Species* dealt a blow to the Christian creation myth, and made rational, scientific questioning of unassailable Biblical authority possible. Post-Darwin, it is almost impossible to believe an intelligent man could change his life's course on such tenuous grounds as Leslie Stephen (1832-1904) did: he left holy orders

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[20] Peter Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: Studio Vista, 2nd edn, 1965), p. 303.
[21] Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, p. 336.
[22] Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook* (London: Grant Richards, 1899; 4th edition 1903), pp. 4 and 6; then 4 and 52.

in 1862 on the realisation that the story of Noah's Ark was not literally true.[23] Further blows were struck by the Higher Biblical Criticism of German scholars like David Strauss (1808-74) who portrayed the 'historical Jesus', whose divine nature he denied; Heinrich Julius Holzmann (1832-1910) who worked out the order and structure of the Gospels as historical texts (1863); and Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-92) who produced in 1881 a critical edition of the Greek New Testament. The centrality to public life of religious observance and thought in the mid-19th century is unreachably remote now. But increasingly central too were technology, science and the Gradgrind insistence on facts. There was no reason to except The Bible from precision and scientific enquiry. Analytical thought made religious certainty untenable – and thus drove those who still believed, or wanted to, perhaps, towards a more emotional engagement with the spiritual, concerned with beauty, the short life on earth rather than the possibility of an eternal Heaven; and new, unscientific ideas about Man's inner nature and personal destiny.

New denominations and new religions

The dilution of the CofE's authority was accompanied by a 'boom' in new religious denominations. None was overtly anti-Christian, but each expressed a different new perception, or re-statement of Christian values and ideas. The first stirrings were in the 1850s: the Spiritualist Church (founded 1852); the Seventh Day Adventists, first in America (1863), then Britain (1878). The Salvation Army (founded 1865), adopted uniforms from 1878. The Christadelphians first appeared in 1865, and – as NC denominations often tend to – soon split: the Nazarene Fellowship (1873), Suffolk Street Fellowship (1885), Unamended Fellowship (1898). The first Pentecostal church was founded in the USA in 1901, and their first building was opened in the UK in 1908, in Bournemouth. Other splinters of Christian

[23] Gerald Parsons (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain* (5 vols.) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), IV *Interpretations*, p. 203.

belief active in the period included the Universalists (1870s), the Reformed Episcopal Church (1873) and the Church of the Nazarene (1895, with many splits and reunifications).

Meanwhile the Greek Orthodox Church established its first place of worship in England in 1872, and the first mosque in England was founded in 1889. In 1875 two new quasi-Christian sects appeared, both of which grew steadily and prospered: Christian Science and Jehovah's Witnesses. And two entirely new religions with no direct connection to Christianity: Theosophy in 1875, and the Church of Humanity in 1878. The London Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882 – in tune with the times, more inclined to see itself as a science than a religion. The Fellowship of the New Life (1883) numbered Edward Carpenter amongst its adherents, and wished to transform society through clean living, pacifism and vegetarianism – Christian moral values, without God. Others – independently and individualistically – followed similar lines of thought: Mary Ward (Mrs Humphry Ward), a wealthy novelist, established University Hall in 1890: 'an attempt at Christianity without Christ'[24] based on 'the inspiring memory of a great teacher, rather than a system of dogma.'[25] The energy and variety is bewildering – an expression of something like excitement in spiritual searching. By 1907, the mix, at least in forward-thinking Letchworth Garden City, had become head-spinningly diverse:

> a morris-dance of many-coloured movements – Buddhism, Theosophy, Christian Science, Female Suffrage, several brands of Socialism and who knows how many varieties of Vegetarianism.[26]

There were, here and there, atheist societies too.[27]

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[24] *The Freeman,* 7 March 1890, quoted in Nigel Scotland, *Squires in the Slums: Settlements and Missions in Late Victorian England* (London: I B Tauris, 2007), p. 175.
[25] Circular promoting the settlement, 1890, quoted in Scotland, op cit, p. 178.
[26] Charles Lee, 'From a Letchworth Diary', *Town and Country Planning,* 21, 113, Sept 1953, pp. 435-6. Quoted in Mark Swenarton, *Artisans and Architects: the Ruskinian Tradition in Architectural Thought* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989), p. 152.
[27] '…he made a speech last week at that place in Westminster Bridge Road where the Atheists have their meetings.' George Gissing, *Thyrza* (1887), Chapter 5; 'atheism preached at the street corners.' Chapter 15.

Nonconformity and Roman Catholicism

Meanwhile there were new energies in denominations already well-established. RCism quietly moved from the cultural periphery in England to somewhere near its centre. Where RCs had been forbidden to build churches, in 1850 St Chad's, Birmingham became the first RC cathedral built in England since the Reformation. The number of RCs in England rose from 80,000 in 1800 to 750,000 in 1850;[28] in 1914, the number was over 2 million.[29] At the top end of society a process of RC normalisation in public life took place. In 1886 Lord Llandaff (RC) became Home Secretary; the next year Queen Victoria, fresh from her Jubilee, sent the (RC) Duke of Norfolk to the Vatican to assure the Pope of her 'sincere friendship and unfeigned respect and esteem.'[30] In 1900 Elgar set Cardinal Newman's 1865 *Dream of Gerontius* to music. Newman's hymn *Lead Kindly Light*, a favourite of Archbishop Tait, was said at Victoria's death-bed.[31] RCism was no longer inimical to Anglican culture, but rather its friendly colleague.

For protestant dissenters, there was rather less establishment acceptance, but no less influence and visibility, especially in the mercantile and industrial cities – Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham. Church-building energies in the period almost certainly created larger numbers of NC buildings than CofE or RC: this was certainly true in Birmingham.[32] NCs were independent-minded: disputes and separations, as well as growth

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[28] Gerald Parsons (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain*, IV, p. 150. He cites Walter Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850: a Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism', *Church History* 1974, vol. 43, pp. 242-56; p. 244, corrected by later work by John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1750-1850* (London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1975), p. 298.
[29] Obelkevich, 'Religion', p. 335.
[30] Parliamentary Papers, lxxxi, 761, 775, cited in Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (volume 1) (London: A and C Black, 2nd edn, 1970), p. 407.
[31] Chadwick, *The Victorian Church,* p. 421.
[32] 'In 1800 there were seventeen places of worship representing eight nonconformist denominations in Birmingham. By the end of the century (1892) there were 220 places representing 21denominations': J Dunning, *St Philip's in the Victorian Era* (Birmingham: Provost and Chapter of Birmingham Cathedral, 1985), p. F1. The quotation is cited as 'Local Guide Book 1819'. The total for CofE churches in the period was about 60.

and 'planting', created a constant need for additional places of worship. But NCs were on the whole not so rich as Anglicans: NC churches tended to express sturdy respectable independence and burning meritocratic zeal more than wealth. There were exceptions – Coats Memorial Church, Paisley for the Baptists, Ullet Road for Liverpool's Unitarians, for example, seemed to out-do even the Anglicans in richness of embellishment, and were built on a grand scale, as were the Congregationalist churches of Ashton-under-Lyne.

The largest NC group in England and Wales was the Methodists.[33] The number of Methodist chapels in England in 1818 was 2000; in 1839, 3500; in 1910, 8606. However, although church attendance increased in absolute terms after 1851, relatively it fell behind.[34] Though Methodists were regarded with some suspicion by the CofE for their religious ardour, they were not – unlike the RCs – excluded from public office. They were in Parliament from 1780. But Methodism was essentially lower middle class: Wesleyans were especially strong among the shopkeepers.[35] The Primitive Methodists (Prims), who broke away from the Wesleyans in 1812, were also keen builders: in 1843 there were 1278 Prim Chapels: by 1888 there were 4406.[36] They were, in their own view, responding to the growth of population – the rapid emergence of new towns like Middlesbrough and Barrow-in-Furness, and the growing numbers of people in cities. The Prims had some artistic pretensions, notwithstanding their attachment to moral rectitude: 'our chapels have a poetic, as well as a prosaic side; and to many this side will be the more attractive.'[37] Other Methodist groups were also active in the period, notably the Bible Christians, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and The United Methodist Free Churches: all built chapels, but the

[33] Properly, Methodists are not NC – they only broke from the CofE in 1791. Figures on the Methodists in this paragraph derived principally from 'Extracts from the *Report of the Census of Religious Worship, 1851* (House of Commons, 1852-3), lxxxix, pp cxliii-cxlvi, cxlviii, clvi-clviii, clxiv-clxv in David M Thompson, *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 147-155.
[34] Thompson, *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 180.
[35] Ibid, p. 13.
[36] H B Kendall, *History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion* (1888), p 32 at North Staffordshire Methodist Heritage website, www.rewlach.org.uk/books/kendall/index.htm [accessed 3 April 2010].
[37] Ibid, Chapter VI (n.p.) [accessed 5 January 2016].

numbers were comparatively small. One important characteristic of Methodists in towns and cities was this: by 1900 they were concerned that buildings that looked like churches were driving away potential worshippers, and they tended then towards meeting places that looked distinctly secular. These re-statements of Christian centrality (many were called 'Central Hall') were as confident and ambitious as any church by Gilbert Scott – but now, in the 20th century, God's majesty had to be disguised under municipal robes.

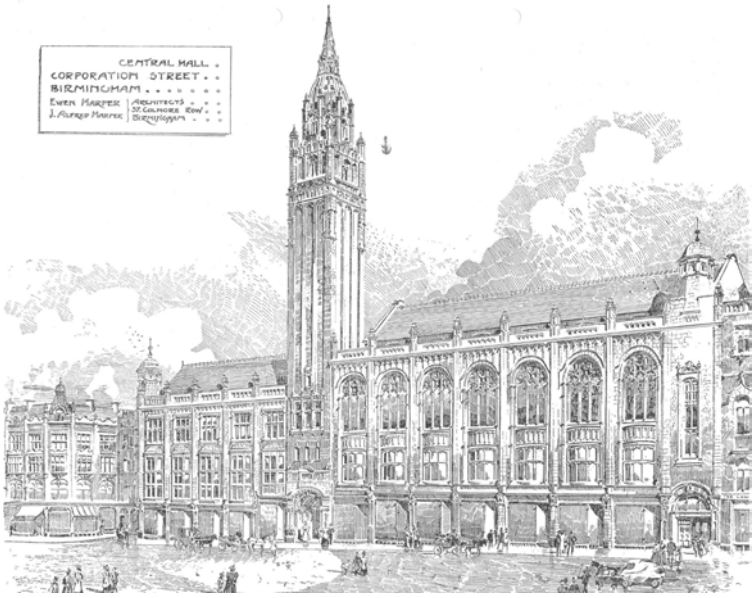


Fig 2.4 Methodist Central Hall, Birmingham (Ewan Harper, 1903-4)
Souvenir of the 25th Anniversary of Birmingham Central Hall *(1928), p. 6*

Congregationalists (Cong), also known as 'Independents', were also energetic. The scale and confidence of many Cong churches expressed their strength and civic power: in Lancashire alone, in one decade (1890s), 15 new Cong churches were built. In some Northern towns the Cong church remains the largest ecclesiastical building: Ashton-under-Lyne's Albion Chapel, the second largest Cong church in England (now URC), far exceeds the town's medieval CofE parish church in scale: there were three Cong churches in the town in 1911.[38] In 1875 there were 2980 Cong churches in England; in 1880, 3176; in 1900, 3433.[39] Cong churches were bustling, full of activities; there was a dedication to hymn-singing; and 'a

[38] William Farrer and J Brownbill, *VCH, Lancashire* vol. 4 (1911), pp. 347-52.
[39] Robert Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England 1662-1962* (London: Independent Press, 1962), p. 319.

simpler, warmer, more direct style' of preaching.[40] Between 1850 and the end of the century there was a great deal of chapel-restoring and chapel-building.[41] Moody and Sankey's Mission to Birmingham in 1875 gave rise to the 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' movement of the 1890s – 'Brief, Bright, Brotherly but still evangelistic.'[42] It was a far cry from both Low and High Anglicanism. The most interesting NCs of the period are perhaps the Unitarians, tiny but influential, and important beyond their size, partly because of their civic role, especially in Manchester and Liverpool, and partly because of their interest in expressions of their ideas through the churches they built. The Unitarian Historical Society lists records for 398 Unitarian congregations in England; of these 77 built new churches in the period.

Thus, by 1884, England was indeed full of churches. But, in the CofE at least, conventional (and consensual) sermon-enjoying, Sabbath-observing CofE piety was passing away and being replaced by something more personal and elusive: Jose Harris describes this new relationship with God as 'incarnational theology': the notion that God is immanent in the material and secular world.[43] It is not, as she points out, that religion was in retreat: but regular church-going was in decline, and by 1880 Anglican church membership had sunk to its lowest point in the 19th century. Harris argues that the sheer plurality of denominations and beliefs in England was so great that government found itself in the role, not of the legal guardian of established religion, but 'impartial umpire' between contending ideas. A centrally-provided church was being out-flanked by energies that had nothing to do with establishment: chapels as the physical expression of proselytizing 'mission' – the hope that congregations would come. Yet several reasons for church-building remained among Anglicans: first, and strongest among the churches in this study, what might be described as

[40] Ibid, p. 302.
[41] Ibid, p. 295.
[42] Ibid, p. 317.
[43] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: a Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 173.

the 'memorial impulse': a church to commemorate a dead relative – often not so much a modest act of piety as a demonstration of personal conspicuous consumption, and more about the patron of the church than the person commemorated: indeed sometimes it was the self being commemorated; second, sometimes allied to the first, the desire to 'mop up' those parish churches which still provided inadequate or unseemly accommodation for their parishes (though this was no longer being done in a conscious effort to build a church as it 'should' have been); third, the desire to proclaim a personal, triumphalist view of religion. In most cases – CofE and NC – provision exceeded demand, optimism outran reality. New buildings were usually justified by the needs of a spiritually impoverished public, but, as Jeffrey Cox points out, many urban working class people never attended church.[44] Obelkevich suggests that doctrine of any distinctive denominational kind was seen as a waste of time.[45] For some, even the remains of old superstitious beliefs had been replaced by 'luck'.[46] By 1914, many soldiers believed only in fate.[47] In the shires, there were other forces – in Dockenfield, a popular local Bible Christian preacher, and in Haslemere and Stonebroom, the competing attractions of new NC chapels, were factors in galvanising Anglican church-building sentiment.

The picture outside England was a little different – competition was the key driving force. In Scotland the three mainstream Protestant strands – Church of Scotland (CoS), Free Church of Scotland (FC) and United Presbyterian Church (UPC) – all to some extent regarded themselves as the 'true' church. The rivalry between them meant the number of churches was always greater than demand – which was falling. A CoS survey in 1874

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[44] 'The people of Lambeth thought of themselves as Christians, but insisted upon defining their own religious beliefs rather than taking them from the clergymen.' Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth 1870-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 92.
[45] Obelkevich, 'Religion', p. 340.
[46] Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, p. 95.
[47] Obelkevich, 'Religion', p. 349.

suggested there were 679,488 CoS members and adherents.[48] In 1880 there were 172,982 UPC communicants. (The population of Scotland in 1881 was 3,753,573.) There were perhaps 300,000 FCs. There were many other protestant churches in Scotland: the small Scottish Episcopal Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Evangelical Union, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists and the United Original Secession, as well as mission halls of the Brethren in mining and fishing villages, and tiny fragments left over from previous and subsequent secessions, such as the Associate Presbytery of Original Seceders, whose governance in 1842 amounted to just two ministers and an elder. Numbers of adherents, communicants or members did not relate to new churches built. FC enthusiasm for church-building following the Disruption of 1843 continued into the last decades of the century, especially in the Highlands, even as populations there shrank as crofters made their way to the cities. In 1892 the Free Presbyterians broke from the FCs: church-building in the Highlands became even more hectic. In Duirnish, for example, there were 5 churches for 4,319 people in 1881: in 1901 there were 10 churches, but only 3,074 people.

In Scottish cities the dynamics were more muted: the three main protestant denominations were somewhat averse to new-church-building. There was a preference in the CoS in favour of large central churches with extra clergy: in Govan, Revd John Macleod wanted his new 1884 parish church to be

> a great church, free to all and open always… the glowing focus and the perennial fountain of active Christian life and manifold good works… with evangelical and fervent preaching.[49]

The FCs erected some 200 chapels both in town and country – though the courts decided that, notwithstanding the Disruption, the buildings still belonged to the CoS; which

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[48] Figures on Scotland in this section are from Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900* (Edinburgh: St Andrew Press, 1978), p. 167; p. 144, p. 139; p. 159 (FC numbers extrapolated from their figures for East Lothian) and p. 153 (Duirnish).
[49] Quoted in Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900*, p. 207.

stimulated further the FC's determination to build its own churches. And since the government was not willing to grant them funds for new churches, the CoS set about, in what looked like retaliation, raising its own money for '*quoad sacra*' parishes: by the end of the nineteenth century more than 400 *quoad sacra* parishes had been created.[50] Despite all this, by 1885 it was the RCs who were by far the largest Christian body in Scotland with 342,500 baptized persons in 183 'missions' (Scotland was still officially regarded as a mission country by the Vatican until 1878).[51] And RCs were the most inclined to build churches in poor areas. The RC priest lived in a house next to his church – protestant ministers were in the manse, often in a separate residential district. Indeed, at first glance, in our period much CoS and FC church building seems to have been either in the suburbs, or in holiday resorts. It had almost become a habit. And it was so ingrained, it ignored demographic and social reality – more churches, fewer attendees, and a growing impression, therefore, among the faithful, of decline.

In Wales again it was competition between NC denominations that stoked the fires. By 1890 'to be a Welshman and a Christian meant more or less the same thing.'[52] There was a sort of theological consensus: apart from the Unitarians, all NCs were moderate Calvinists, even the Methodists.[53] Though people shared the same Protestant, evangelical and moral convictions, there were nonetheless small points on which they could not agree.[54] 'Denominational sectarianism' meant there was a decision to be made about which chapel one should attend.[55] Numbers of chapels grew – for example in 1831, there were 230 Baptist

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[50] A specifically Scottish device: the 'quoad sacra' parish was not a civil parish, but a sub-parish within an existing ecclesiastical parish. J Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Hope Trust, 1983), p 377.
[51] Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Late Victorian Scotland 1874-1900*, p. 146.
[52] Robert Tudur Jones, *Faith and the Crisis of a Nation: Wales 1890-1914* (Cardiff: University of Wales 1981-2; in English 2004), p. 4.
[53] Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, *Explorations and Explanations: Essays in the Social History of Victorian Wales* (Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer, 1981), p. 229.
[54] Tudur Jones, *Faith and Crisis…,* p. 46.
[55] Ibid, p. 41.

churches and 87 branches; in 1861, 576 chapels; in 1881, 742; in 1891, 845; 1902, 896.[56] The Anglicans (CofW) were simply outnumbered. The Royal Commission on the Church of England and Other Religious Bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire published its results in 1910. The year most fully reported in the statistics was 1905.[57] It measured startling growth in church and chapel building:

	Number of buildings		Church members
	1851	*1905*	*1905*
CofW	1,180	1,546[58]	193,081
Independent/Cong	1,340	1,078[59]	175,147
Calvinistic Methodists	807	1,411[60]	170,617
Wesleyan Methodists	499	661	40,811
Primitive Methodists	not given	147	8,306
Baptists	567 *(in 1860)*	1,755[61]	143,835
RC	21	71	19,870

One other Welsh factor is that in some places the coming of the railways brought English tourists, and the tendency was for each denomination to build an English-speaking chapel to go alongside the existing Welsh one.[62] The 20th century presented other challenges to Welsh culture: the expansion of the secular state; education no longer in the hands of the chapels; civic buildings, public institutes, and working men's halls built in open competition with them.[63] For the working class in Wales church and chapel as the source of entertainment and social cohesion were being supplemented and perhaps supplanted by trades unions and

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[56] T M Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists* (Swansea: Ilston House, 1977), p. 242.
[57] Tudur Jones, *Faith and Crisis…,* p. 10.
[58] Frances Knight, '1850-1920' (Chapters 12-14) in Glanmor Williams, William Jacob et al, *The Welsh Church from Reformation to Disestablishment 1603-1920* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2009), pp. 309-398; p. 358: 'Between 1851 and 1910, 347 new [CofW] churches were built in Wales, and almost all the old churches, nearly 1,000 of them, were renovated or rebuilt.' (quoting John Davies, *History of Wales* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993), p. 435.)
[59] This figure is for churches only: the 1851 figure is 'gathered churches (640) and chapels (700)'.
[60] Anthony Jones, *Welsh Chapels* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1984; reprinted Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), p. 49, gives the figure for 1895 as 2,794.
[61] This figure includes Particular (854) and all others (901). Jones gives the figure (1902) as 896.
[62] Julian Orbach, in his lecture, 'Later Welsh Chapels' (to The Victorian Society, 17 October 2006) stated the situation in Aberystwyth thus: in 1864 there were 4 NC churches in the town (Baptist, Independent, Calvinistic Methodist, Welsh Methodist). Following the arrival of the railway that year, the three main NC denominations built English-language churches (Baptist, Congregationalist and 'Welsh Methodist'), and a [English] Presbyterian church was also built. The Anglicans meanwhile built three further churches in the town.
[63] D Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1815-1906* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1989), p. 242.

social clubs.[64] The 1904-5 Revival produced a groundswell of NC enthusiasm: an extra 80,000 members joined denominations in Wales. But by 1912, three quarters of these new people had drifted away.[65] Baptists, Methodists and Congs all reported a drop in attendance numbers.[66] The taste for moral rectitude and self-restraint which characterised the chapel culture of the early 1800s was now old-fashioned, and no fun. Meanwhile, through films and popular music, Wales was succumbing to English-language culture that was materialistic, immediate and worldly. Through Socialism, even atheism became a possible worldview. Meanwhile, both before and after the Great War, the growing, comfortable Welsh middle class tended to express their sense of arrival by attending church rather than chapel.[67] Between 1900 and 1908 nearly a third of the children born in Wales were baptized as Anglicans.[68] The hold of chapel was breaking. Welsh disestablishment was swiftly implemented in 1920. It seemed by then almost beside the point.

The social context: God's decline

Intellectual debate, philosophical agonising and theological dispute engaged only the few. The sermon had dominated publishing until the mid-nineteenth century.[69] Now, throughout Britain, new and entertaining sources of information and instruction arose. By 1860 the serial publication of fiction was beginning to change reading habits: illustrated weeklies such as *Once a Week* (1859) and *The Cornhill* (1860) grew in popularity at the expense of the worthier non-illustrated magazines such as Dickens's *All the Year Round*. There was a new taste for – and ability to obtain and enjoy – secular reading matter, through circulating

[64] Orbach, 'Later Welsh Chapels', op cit.
[65] Powys Digital History Project at http://history.powys.org.uk/history/common/church8.html [accessed 2 February 2010].
[66] Knight, '1850-1920', p. 319.
[67] Anthony Jones, *Welsh Chapels*, p. 120, quoting T M Bassett, *The Welsh Baptists*, op cit (n.p.).
[68] Knight, '1850-1920', p. 319.
[69] Keith Francis, William Gibson, et al (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

libraries, newspapers and journals. Greater literacy led to a rapid growth of 'low' culture somewhat antipathetic to religion – music halls and pubs, and lowbrow journals like *Tit-bits* (1880). The middle classes had their own new forms of 'high' culture, not in opposition to, but outwith the Church: for example, the Royal College of Music (founded 1883). The CofE set up new, would-be popular organisations, to stand alongside it as buttresses to its role in social cohesion, for example The Boys' Brigade (1883). Other organisations sprang from church origins - football clubs like Everton (originally St Domingo's) in 1878, and Celtic (founded by a Marist RC priest in 1888): they soon changed their names to conceal their church origins. Such bodies' existence tended subtly to reinforce the sense of the Church's social shortcomings.

For all the intellectual frisson and ferment aroused in academic and 'chattering' circles by the Higher Biblical Criticism, not everyone at once turned atheist – not even all the intellectuals. God was still around – he had just taken a less certain shape. Around 1900 emerges what Obelkevich identifies as 'the divine right of self-development.'[70] There was a clash between the pleasures (sinful?) of growing prosperity and the church's virtues of self-denial: as one American bishop put it, 'a certain distrust on the part of our people as to the effect of material prosperity on their morality.'[71] And, towards the end of the period, what Jeffrey Cox has described as the churches' growing perception that they were 'irrelevant to the 'real' needs of society' and that something else was needed.[72] A monolithic institution, dominating both streetscape and culture, was no longer credible: something approachable, more friendly, less *de haut en bas* was called for. The social history term for the weakening of Victorian ecclesiarchy is 'the secularization of society' - a phrase sometimes taken to equate with 'paganization', which was, as will be demonstrated, far from the case. One commentator

[70] Obelkevich, 'Religion', p. 347.
[71] William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts 1893-1927, quoted in L Ziff, *Introduction* to Theodore Dreiser, *The Financier* (New York: A L Burt, 1912), (London: Penguin, 2008).
[72] Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, p. 273.

has used phrases that highlight how what had once been the province of the Church was now separating from it: 'The Gospel of Fun', 'The Sacrament of Sexuality', 'The Social Gospel', 'The Undivided Self'.[73] The CofE was still there, but what it was for was no longer clear, nor unquestioned. However, even if there were a decline in personal and regular commitment to attendance at (or even adherence to) the Church, people remained interested in the spiritual. Though the working class may have remained indifferent, the middle classes were energetically engaged in matters spiritual. They simply found them elsewhere. Gissing put it thus in 1903:

> The triumph of Darwin was signalized by the invention of the happy word Agnostic, which had great vogue. But agnosticism, as a fashion, was far too reasonable to endure. There came a rumour of Oriental magic (how the word repeats itself!), and presently everyone who had nothing better to do gossiped about 'esoteric Buddhism' – the saving adjective sounded well in a drawing-room. It did not hold very long, even with the novelists; for the English taste, this esotericism was too exotic. Somebody suggested that the old table-turning and spirit-rapping, which had homely associations, might be reconsidered in a scientific light, and the idea was seized upon. Superstition pranked in the professor's spectacles, it set up a laboratory, and printed grave reports. Day by day its sphere widened. Hypnotism brought matter for the marvel-mongers, and there followed a long procession of words in limping Greek – a little difficult till practice had made perfect. Another fortunate terminologist hit upon the word 'psychical' – the *p* might be sounded or not,

[73] Chapter headings from Jonathan Rose, *The Edwardian Temperament 1895-1919* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1986).

> according to the taste and fancy of the pronouncer – and the fashionable children of the scientific age were thoroughly at ease.[74]

C F G Masterman's *The Condition of England* (1909) examined new currents in contemporary culture: 'Life, for the general, has become more tolerable than ever before.'[75] The national confidence was tangible: 'England has shaken man's authority and found freedom.'[76] And, patrician though Masterman's tone is, a similar vein of affirmative affluence can be found in middle class experience too – in Max Beerbohm's Oxbridge *Zuleika Dobson* (1911), in children's books like E Nesbit's *Railway Children* and Barrie's *Peter Pan* (both 1906), even in Wells's lower middle-class *Kipps* (1905). In the CofE those who were building new churches were rarely engaged in theological or liturgical debates: at Richards Castle, in all the correspondence between Norman Shaw and his client Mrs Foster there is not a single mention of anything remotely theological; at Brithdir there are differences in points of furnishing between the client and Henry Wilson, but it tends to be her personal ecclesiological prejudices that are at issue, not theology, on which Wilson is also silent. Individuality was important even in the kind of clergymen appointed: at St Bartholomew, Ipswich (Charles Spooner, 1895) the domineering client – a member of the local brewing dynasty, and the architect's aunt – appointed an obliging High Church nephew as the first incumbent: he was pelted with tomatoes by the unrepentantly Low townsfolk.

In 1876 Revd C Maurice Davies wrote about a remarkable new phenomenon – the energetic young Ritualist priest who was distinctly democratic in thinking. His encounter with Fr Stanton of St Alban's, Holborn, was a revelation: at the Eucharist, 'the celebrant had a huge gold cross on the back of his cope, and the acolytes were gorgeous in scarlet cassocks

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[74] George Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (London: Constable & Co, 1903), pp. 159-160.
[75] C F G Masterman, *The Condition of England* (London: Methuen, 1909), p. 2.
[76] George Peel, *The Future of England* (London: Macmillan, 1912), p. 29, quoted in Roger Lloyd, *Church of England in the Twentieth Century* (2 vols. London: Longman, 1946, 1950); vol. 1, p. 39.

and white surplices.'[77] But Fr Stanton also ran a Working Man's Club, where he smiled indulgently on their 'glass of grog' and games of cards. Here was a man who combined the very Highest Church Anglicanism with a down-to-earth practicality that endeared him to his flock. Dedication to working class neighbourhoods was not exclusive to young High Church priests: the publication of Andrew Mearns's 1d pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883) showed that the concern of clerics for the perfect interpretation of rubrics and doctrine was embarrassingly redundant when

> The Churches are making the discovery that seething in the very centre of our great cities, concealed by the thinnest crust of civilisation and decency, is a vast mass of moral corruption, of heart-breaking misery and absolute godlessness.[78]

Revd Brooke Lambert, vicar of Greenwich, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* (1883) anatomised the causes of poverty, attributing at least some of it to capitalism's need to cut costs to meet competitive pressures: cut costs meant cut wages. Lambert championed trades unions, favoured workers' co-operatives, and commended the ideas of Christian Socialism first set out by Charles Kingsley and F D Maurice.[79] In 1890, William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, published a brutal exposé: *In Darkest England and The Way Out.* In 1884 Canon Samuel Barnett founded Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel as an educational and cultural centre for working men. Barnett declared his debt to the Christian Socialism of Maurice.[80] In 1894 he published an essay in *Practical Socialism* commending the idea – first mooted by a radical workman, Frederick Rogers – of bringing the resources of educated men to bear on the lives of the poor, through 'settlements'.[81] His engine to re-connect church and masses

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[77] C Maurice Davies, 'Father Stanton at St Alban's' in his (ed) *Orthodox London; or Phases of Religious Life in the Metropolis* (London: Tinsley Bros, 1876), pp. 267, 271-8; reproduced in James Moore, (ed), *Religion in Victorian Britain* vol. III (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 271.
[78] Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor* (London: James Clark, 1883), quoted in Scotland, *Squires in the Slums*, p. 6.
[79] Scotland, *Squires in the Slums*, pp. 10-11.
[80] Ibid, p. 15.
[81] Ibid, p. 13.

was the intellectual world of the old Universities. The Barnetts' work (Samuel's wife Henrietta was as influential as he) exemplifies the pouring of spiritual energy, intellectual engagement and practical idealism into the slums, especially in London, in the last decades of the century: liberal, even socialist; spiritual, but humanely Christian without being assertively religious.

The contexts inter-twined

Here and now, Arts & Crafts and religion encounter each other. C R Ashbee stayed at Toynbee Hall for a time; and his close friend, the church architect Charles Spooner, and another mutual friend, Walter Crane, both worked with the Barnetts, in particular at the Whitechapel Gallery: here, in the 1880s, spiritually curious young Turks of the Arts & Crafts were intermingling with non-liturgical Christians with the same hunger for honesty and glorious simplicity. Nigel Scotland's account of the Settlement Movement explores the inter-relationship of liberal politics and religion: to many young men in the University Settlements, they were the same thing. The most exceptional of this breed of radical, intellectual priests was perhaps Stewart Headlam, "the most bohemian priest' in the history of his church.'[82] He founded the Guild of St Matthew in 1877;[83] was a member of the LCC; served for a decade on the council of the Fabian Society; was a friend of Charles Bradlaugh, the notoriously atheist MP, and provided bail for Oscar Wilde. Headlam insisted that true socialism was not only 'distinctly Christian' but also involved 'the greatest economic change with the least

[82] Walter Arnstein, review of John R Orens, *Stewart Headlam's Radical Anglicanism: The Mass, the Masses, and the Music Hall* (Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003) in *Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 90, no 3, July 2004, pp. 559-560.

[83] 'The Guild of Saint Matthew has been referred to as the 'shock troops' of Christian Socialism in the 1880s and 90s. The guild, under Stewart Headlam's influence, more than made up for its smallness in number by the militancy of its tactics and the audacity with which it expressed its … convictions on everything from the centrality of the Mass … to the delights of the ballet and music hall. It hated Puritanism…' www.anglocatholicsocialism.org/matthew.html [accessed 1 February 2010].

possible interference with private life and liberty.'[84] The Christian Social Union (CSU), founded in 1889, in sympathy with Headlam's socialist ideas but not his radical methods, published *Lux Mundi,* essays edited by Charles Gore, later Bishop of Birmingham (1905-11). They emphasised Christianity as the key to practical solutions of social problems: 'To present Christ in practical life.'[85]

Though church-building was not central to the Settlement Movement, mission halls of varying degrees of simplicity were designed. Pembroke College Mission, Newington (founded 1885) had a multi-purpose room that served as a games club when not being used for worship. In 1892 a new building was built in Barlow Street, Southwark (now St Christopher, Walworth): the architect was E S Prior. The overlap between social space and church will also be seen at churches in this study: Pixham, Charterhouse and Hutton.

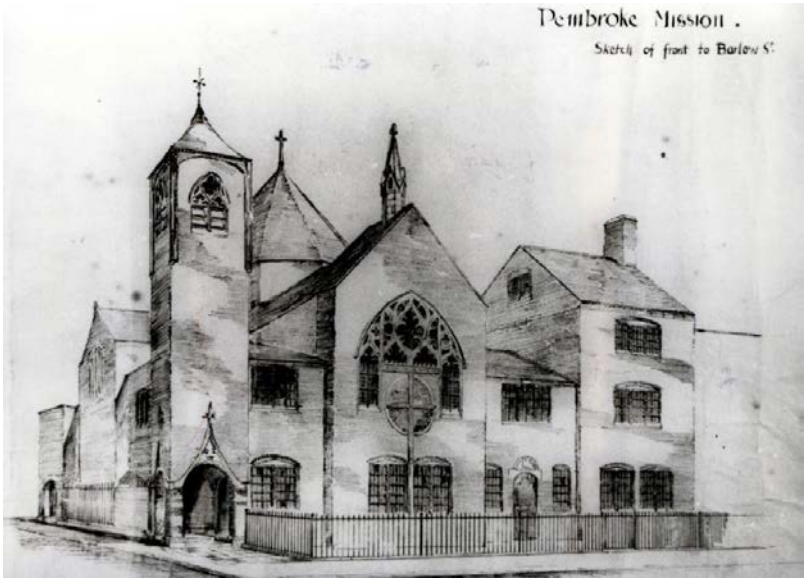


Fig 2.5 Design for Pembroke College Mission, Walworth (E S Prior)
Lynne Walker, 'E S Prior 1852-1932', PhD thesis, London University, 1978: illustration 76

Perhaps the most 'Arts & Crafts' of all the settlements (in its architects, appearance and politics) was Mary Ward's 1890 University Hall, with its 'system of practical conduct,

[84] Arnstein, review, op cit, p. 560.
[85] B G Worrall, *The Making of the Modern Church: Christianity in England since 1800* (London: SPCK, 1988), p. 59.

based on faith in God.'[86] The settlement was 'multi-faith', concerned with 'social mission'. Mrs Ward's most successful book was *Robert Elsmere* (1888), the story of a clergyman who loses his faith when he realises he cannot believe in miracles. Mrs Ward herself had had a similar experience, and drew into her circle others like her, including the Liberal peer Lord Carlisle, an enthusiastic supporter of Unitarianism. In 1895 the settlement moved into new premises: the architects were Arnold Smith and Cecil Brewer (both AWG). They were unable to be wholly atheist: the main meeting room includes a curious structure which seems very much like a chancel screen (see overleaf), and, over a side doorway, what appears to be a huge newspaper cutting declares a creed that expresses a spiritual version of *mutatis mutandis* Arts & Crafts ideas, thought to be Ward's own text:

> <u>The idea of the Settlement</u>
>
> A settlement is a colony of members of the upper classes formed in a poor neighbourhood with the double purpose of getting to know the local conditions of life from personal observation, and of helping where help is needed. The settler gives up the comfort of a West End home, and becomes a friend of the poor. He sacrifices to them his hours of leisure, and fills his imagination with pictures of misery and crime, instead of with impressions of beauty and happiness. For a shorter or a longer time the slum becomes his home. Only seldom does he show himself at his Club, at the theatre, in Society. This means the loosening of social and personal ties, in many cases the forgoing of the prospect of an early marriage, and neglect of favourite pursuits. It means a sacrifice of life. It means that love of mankind has thrown existence off its accustomed lines, that habitual forms of conventional thought have been burnt up in the fire of a great passion…..

[86] Circular promoting the settlement, 1890, quoted in Scotland, *Squires in the Slums*, p. 178.



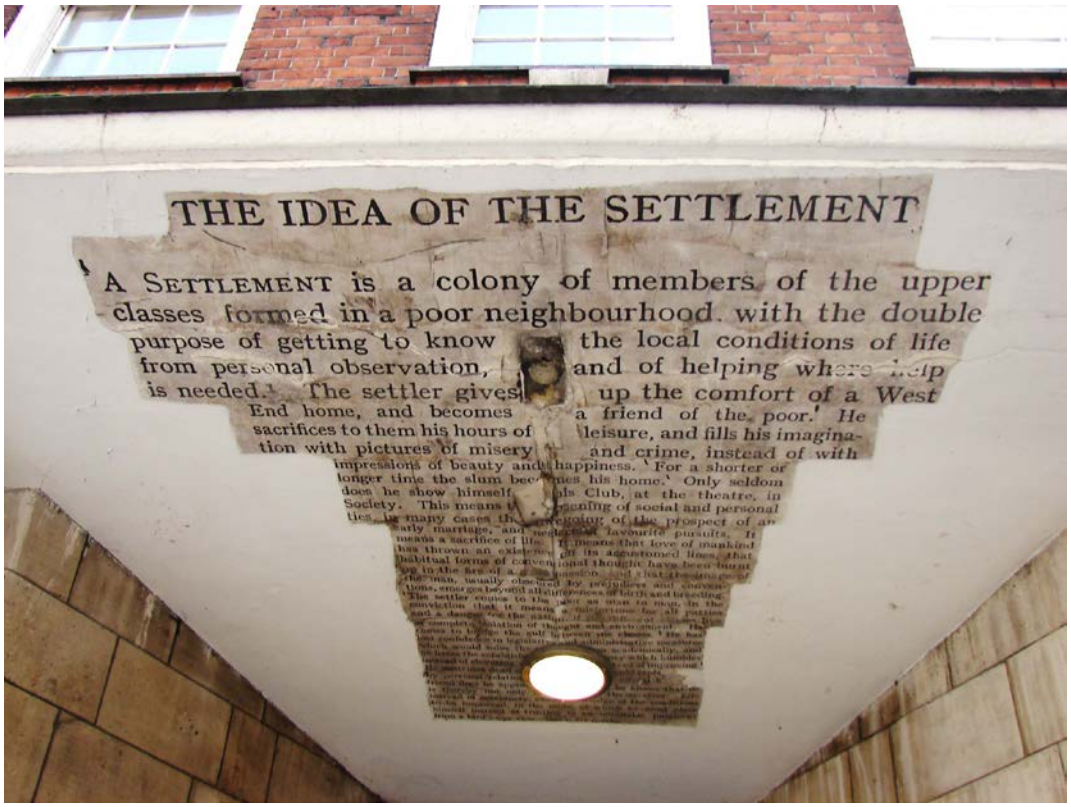


Fig 2.6 Mary Ward House, Tavistock Place, London: originally founded as University Hall
Top: main meeting room. *Lower*: text over side entrance

This was a vision of an Oxbridge undergraduate as a modern Christ - self-sacrificing and humble in the service of his fellow man. But Christ is not mentioned – only the idea that self-sacrifice was intrinsically worthwhile: 'noble', in the word George Gissing constantly uses of good actions going against his expected 20th century grain of self-interest and cynicism. (Ruskin uses it too.)[87] By 1900 the 'vagueness and indeterminacy' that Jose Harris detects in religious belief was able to take many forms: there was a 'mystical revival', a 'spiritual renaissance', an 'experimental and adventurous generation'.[88] Indeterminacy led to variousness: in Manchester Edgar Wood built churches with equal engagement for optimistically expansive NC groups – the Baptists (1889), Unitarians (1892), Wesleyans (1899), and the Christian Scientists (1903-7). New religious expressions might even take the form of an entirely new belief system. And here religion and Arts & Crafts could overtly intertwine: in 1908 Godfrey Blount launched The Country Church of the New Crusade.

> The purpose of this church is to interpret Christianity in a Spiritual and Symbolical manner….the New Crusade seeks to make worship beautiful and uplifting, by devoting to its use what is noblest and most imaginative in our Art; and on the material side it seeks to restore real country life, that life of agriculture and handicraft, which it believes alone can save our land, and restore it to true welfare and happiness.[89]

The local newspaper's notice of Blount's funeral records that he had 'inherited from Ruskin and Morris strong social principles, and his art may be truly described as a religious art expressive of a new and modern spirit.'[90] Religion was eliding into social justice, and even, for some, Art.

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[87] 'L[ecturer]: 'The self-sacrifice of a human being is not a lovely, thing, Violet. It is often a necessary and a noble thing.' *Of Queen's Gardens,* in *Sesame and Lilies* (E T Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, *Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin* (London: Allen, 1903-12) Vol. 18, p. 283).
[88] Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit*, p. 174.
[89] Undated cutting in a bound collection of newspaper cuttings at Haslemere Museum, gathered by a local early 20th century journalist, W A Sillick.
[90] *Farnham, Haslemere and Hindhead Herald* n.d., n.p. (but 1937) in the Sillick cuttings collection.

Chapter 3

The clients

> …our churches are filled with sceptics,
> endeavouring to believe in spite of themselves.
>
> George Gissing, *Born in Exile* (1892), part V, chapter 1.

Whether a house has its staircase to the side or in the middle is a matter of convenience and practicality; whether a church has a baldachino is a matter of liturgical commitment – though it might be a sincere one or a mere gesture. Clients' beliefs, and their whims, demands, expectations, ideals and character all shaped outcomes. They rarely brought Arts & Crafts influence to bear, but in many cases they were attuned, whether consciously or unconsciously, to the sensibilities their architects brought: some led, some followed; others were indifferent to their architect's aesthetics or politics, as long as their desires were met. This chapter, then, considers not only the clients themselves, but the balance of power between architect and client: art and money were not always reconciled – a negotiation many of the architects found stressful. The various methods of funding are therefore significant, and discussed. The chapter concludes with an examination of client motivations – insofar as they can be judged – under four broad headings: self-commemoration; dynastic commemoration; active beneficence; community self-assertion.

Clients and architects

Which came first – the Arts & Crafts or Arts & Crafts-like notions? Teasing out the strands is problematic: none of the clients for the 35 core churches in this study was a member of the AWG, nor, so far as has been found, exhibited with the ACES (though they may have submitted work unsuccessfully); and there is no rich literature of letters from clients applauding Ruskinian idealism or Morris's utopian vision. If it emanates from a client, can it even properly be called 'Arts & Crafts'? None of them would have called it that, or even necessarily recognised it as such. But Arts & Crafts ideas were not the sole preserve of the AWG: the writings of Ruskin were abroad amongst the reading classes before they built their churches. Some shared a Morris taste for the romance of old ways: Alice Foster at Brockhampton (daughter of an American retailer) and Herbert Allcroft at Onibury (son of a glove manufacturer), for example, harked back, in their houses as well as churches, to an aristocratic way of life their forebears had, in reality, never known. Their backgrounds were commercial, and they were newly-arrived in, and culturally detached from, 'their' villages. Elsewhere, notions of social justice and a fairer society struck deeper chords with some *nouveaux riches* self-made men, cultured professionals and merchant princes – at Colehill, Dockenfield, Pixham and Hutton, for example. It is difficult to demonstrate a direct, overt connection, but ideas about church and religion were, *mutatis mutandis*, sometimes analogous to Arts & Crafts ideas about how to live, and about art.

For all the clients in this study the church they built (and they generally built only one) was, if not their life's work, then an important part, even the culmination of it. This was true not only for rich laypersons like Sophia Harris at Matlock, Louisa Tooth at Brithdir or Sir Alfred Jodrell at Glandford, or for communities whose church expressed

their group's self-awareness and confidence, as at Ullet Road, Cricklewood, Hutton and Ben Rhydding; but also for committed priests who built a church in their parish without personal fortune: Arthur Headlam at Woolmer or George Aitken at Haslemere. Wanting to build a church, one must find an architect (or design it oneself – as Lord Beauchamp attempted at Kempley). If pockets were deep one could hire the best: Lethaby for Brockhampton, Norman Shaw for Richards Castle. But that did not mean he would give you exactly what you wanted – even if you knew what that was. One could hire someone young and untried, and therefore, perhaps biddable and cheap – Sidney Barnsley at Lower Kingswood, Curtis Green at Dockenfield, Wells at Kempley, even Lutyens at Pixham. Ideally the client found an architect who was a twin soul – shared beliefs and vision, and knew how to get the right results: Will Croome had Eden at North Cerney, Arthur Burns had Hayne at Hutton, William Poole had Seddon at Hoarwithy. One might employ the 'obvious' candidate – local, established, reliable – Ponting for Pamphill, or Currey for Stonebroom: here the sympathies and aesthetics the architect brought were not paramount. In inner city parishes there might be a benevolent architect who would share in the sense of mission – for example, T F Proud at St Aidan, Small Heath (see pp 85-86). Failing that, an architect who at least understood what the client was aiming at, and – tactfully and discreetly – went about achieving it: Dawber at Matlock, Weir Schultz at Woolmer. But there might be friction, and especially when the architect had strong and unorthodox ideas – Wilson at Brithdir, Mitchell at Port Seton. The era of parishes deferring to a Gilbert Scott, or trusting to the experience of a Street, was rather passing. And a partnership like that between a church patron and his like-minded architect – John Talbot, 16th Earl of Shrewsbury and A W N Pugin for example – was increasingly rare (and perhaps could only exist when both were, as in that instance, newly-ambitious RCs with an agenda that went beyond individual churches). Partnerships between aristocratic clients and their architects tended, by the 1890s, to be more that of employer and

employee: Hugh Grosvenor, 1st Duke of Westminster and John Douglas; the Marquesses of Bute and Robert Weir Schultz. Here there was deference and compliance on one side and dignified hauteur on the other: when it came to build a memorial church for himself, St Mary, Eccleston (1899), the Duke of Westminster commissioned not his 'in-house' architect Douglas, but the more eminent and widely-known G F Bodley.

For the middle classes the balance was different: the two parties were increasingly equals, even with the consciousness in some cases that the architect was the superior in status, despite having less money. Business-like, correct church architects of the 1850s were now replaced by men self-consciously and self-proclaimed artists, civilised and sensitive: Mrs Foster at Richards Castle tried her best to have her way, but Norman Shaw gently 'tends and spares' her, to give her not what she wants, but what she needs; Henry Wilson did not find his client at Brithdir quite so yielding, but he was usually able to flatter her into submission; Sydney Mitchell at Port Seton was equally capable of being accommodating in adapting plans to changing client needs, or springing unpleasant surprises. There was often this element of tussle. There was another factor. Many of the great names of the Gothic Revival were by now dead, or very old. Gilbert Scott died in 1878; Street in 1881; Woodyer (aged 80) 1896; J L Pearson (aged 80) 1897; William Butterfield (aged 86) 1900. And the generation that formed the bridge between the Goths and the Arts & Crafts was aging too: John Dando Sedding died in 1891; in 1900 J P Seddon was 73 (died 1906); G F Bodley also 73 (died 1907); Richard Norman Shaw 69 (died 1912); even T G Jackson was 65, though he lived on until 1924. Clients could only choose from among the architects available. Besides which, given the choice, only a minority of the architects who figure in this study would have built a church at all – Spooner, Ponting, Caröe, Lutyens, Currey, Macpherson. Many would not have rushed to

build churches – Lethaby, Prior, Sidney Barnsley, Curtis Green, Guy Dawber built few.[1] (In these researches, no record has been encountered of a client approaching an AWG architect to build a church, and being rebuffed, but it must surely have happened.) However, architects cannot, especially at the start of their careers, afford to be choosy: churches built by Barnsley at Lower Kingswood, Nicholson at Curbridge or Dawber at Matlock are not typical of their later life's work.

The choice of architect in itself could be significant – leading figures known to be expensive or 'hard to get' had cachet: one might even be able to suggest the architect had become effectively one's *personal* man. There was something rather dashing about having a famous free-thinker as your architect. At Brampton (Philip Webb), Sloane Street (J D Sedding) and Brockhampton (Lethaby) the choice subtly reflected the attitude of the client to religion. George Howard at Brampton was rather more interested in getting Morris's friend for his artistic connections than in Webb's socialism – Howard was an amateur painter of some ability. At Sloane Street Earl Cadogan wanted the best of everything, and had the money to secure it: Sedding was given a free hand to execute a thoroughly 1890s church, more showroom than temple. At Brockhampton, Alice Foster landed the lion Lethaby (Professor at the Royal College of Art *and* Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts) without too much concern for his religious views: it is

[1] Lethaby built Brockhampton and the chapel at Melsetter, Orkney. Prior built Roker; and St Christopher, Walworth, Southwark (1892), Holy Trinity Bothenhampton (1887-9), part of St Mary, Burton Bradstock, Dorset (1897), and most of St Osmund, Parkstone, Dorset (1913-6). Sidney Barnsley built Lower Kingswood and Rodborough chapel (1925). Apart from Dockenfield, Curtis Green built four other churches: St Christopher, Cove, Farnborough, Hants (1934); St George, Waddon, Croydon (1932); St Francis, Meir Green, Stoke-on-Trent (1940); All Saints', Shirley, Croydon (1955-6). He also designed a church for Carrington, Notts, not built. Apart from Matlock, Guy Dawber only built one other religious building, the chapels at Enfield Crematorium (Guy Dawber, Wilson and Fox, 1938), besides a few modest church alterations and repairs. Of other 'Arts & Crafts architects', C R Mackintosh designed several churches, but only one was built; Ernest Gimson built none, though he furnished several; C R Ashbee built the chapel at Wodehouse, Wombourne, Staffordshire, and designed a church at Wolverhampton, not built. Harrison Townsend built three churches; Philip Webb designed five, but only one church and one chapel were built; Weir Schultz built six, including three private chapels; Edgar Wood designed five NC chapels; Henry Wilson completed many of Sedding's churches, but built only one church of his own – Brithdir – and the private chapel at Walmsgate, Lincs.

doubtful she had read his challenging book *Architecture Mysticism and Myth*. These, and many other examples – Matlock, Port Seton, Summerstown; Roker; St George, Jesmond (T R Spence, 1887-8); The Gardner Memorial church, Brechin (J J Burnet, 1897) – were rich people's churches, expressing not only belief, but money.

Clients and God

To the clients who built churches in this period God was still a reality. But for many educated people that reality was decreasingly unquestioned. The 'restoration' of parish churches by local grandees from the 1830s onward can be interpreted as acts of practical piety, of political anxiety, fashionable conformity, liturgical correctness, demonstrations of power and wealth, or a mixture of all these. By 1890, though, for an *individual* to build a new church was unusual - some CofE churches were thus built where none was really wanted: sometimes rich people want their own way and get it. Louisa Tooth built a CofE church in memory of her High Church priest husband in a tiny Welsh village with two NC chapels: it is not clear that even she ever worshipped there. At Matlock Sophia Harris built what was effectively a private chapel – though local people were not prevented from attending. Mrs Foster at Richards Castle wanted to pull down the parish church, and replace it with her own – thanks to Norman Shaw the medieval church survives. For other clients their church – and 'ownership' was often central to these projects – was a visible demonstration that the verities were indeed eternal, whatever the world might say. There was even the additional piquancy of a 'rearguard action' against a world seen as increasingly irreligious: at Hoarwithy William Poole re-built a humble preaching box to express his own singular views of architecture as an expression of faith; the High Church accoutrements at Kempley – rood screen and baldachino – were Lord Beauchamp's personal predilections, neither of which met with

the approval of his Bishop. At the same time, there were those for whom God *had* slipped below the horizon: Edwardian country houses tend to have billiard rooms or ballrooms rather than chapels. We may suspect Mrs Bankes of Kingston Lacy (at Pamphill) and the Heseltines of Great Warley, for example, to be as interested in display as in God. Churches are not built in a vacuum. Clients were in the world, alert to art and the currents of fashion, and they knew what else they might spend their money on. Building a new church could not help but be a statement – even if it was not merely about God, but, in some cases despite themselves, also about themselves.

In 2016 we tend to see Brockhampton as 'W R Lethaby's Brockhampton' – but it was at the time, and still to those who live near it, remains as much, perhaps more, the church of its benefactors, Alice and Arthur Foster. They had the village's medieval parish church closed, for it stood hard by Brockhampton Court, the country house Alice's

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Fig 3.1 Alice Madeline Foster (signed J J Shannon (n.d.)) **Arthur Wellesley Foster in 1897** artist unknown
Paintings in the ownership of their great-grandson, at Fawley Court, Herefordshire

parents gave their daughter and her new husband as a wedding present. Their new church was a statement of power, and also of connoisseurship: there is little evidence Alice Foster was in the least interested in worship or liturgy. Her husband, who was in holy orders when they met, and had had Paley and Austin build him a church, resigned his benefice on their marriage, and from then on lived a leisured life as a country squire.[2]

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Fig 3.2 Church of the Good Shepherd, Lowgill, Tatham Fells, Lancs (1888)
built for Revd Arthur Foster by Paley and Austin
www.tathamfells.me.uk

For some clients the artistic content of their church was an essential part of the project: client 'arty-ness' shines through at Brithdir, Kempley and Wallasey. The sense of wanting something fresh, expressed so vividly by Sedding (p 49) was shared – even if superficially – by clients as different as Tooth, Mayo, Heseltine and Headlam. For others, art was subsumed in ego: the line between religious commitment and aesthetic affectation is a slender one, and show lies near the surface of much Arts & Crafts-influenced church architecture. Artistic instincts and a taste for the best quality in materials and craftsmanship tend to lead to results which are expensive. For some clients this was itself desirable: demonstrating their exquisite taste. Others were so committed to

[2] 'He was a vicar at the time of their marriage – somewhere near Hornby Castle. But he gave it up.' Jeremy Clay, the Fosters' great-grandson, in a personal interview with the author, 30 December 2011.

quality that they themselves became practitioners of craft in the service of God – their craft was an expression of faith (see Chapter 6). Clients and architects had this perhaps in common – the sensuous allure of indulgent self-expression.

Clients and money

Many of these churches were funded from a single purse. Brockhampton, Hoarwithy, Brithdir, Glandford, Matlock, Pixham, Great Warley, Kempley, Pamphill and probably Curbridge, were all paid for by one individual. Lower Kingswood was funded by two local grandees; Dockenfield by a committee of 14 comfortably-off locals, three of whom, twenty years on, were photographed together (Massie was not a contributor):

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Fig 3.3 Morton Latham, E Massie, Charlotte Logan-Elmslie, George Marindin
from a 1931 photograph at the Marindin Hall website: www.marindinhall.org.uk (accessed 22 January 2013)

Sometimes it needed a little more than money. The interplay of spiritual motives and financial resources is instructive at five churches. Colehill was the product not of personal wealth, but of comfortable money coupled with evangelical energy. The prime instigator was a retired military man, new to the area, Colonel Leopold Paget.[3] A former resident had occasionally gathered people together on Sundays in a schoolroom, and Paget sought the approval of local clergy and the Bishop of Salisbury to continue the meetings.[4] In 1881 he funded a 'tin tabernacle'. He then started an endowment fund to pay for a permanent church: by 1891 it stood at £2000. Paget did not have enough money to finance the church himself, so he invited friends to join him as Trustees and Guarantors on a business-like 'Managing Committee'. Just as plans were taking shape, he died. It was decided the new church should be his memorial. Walter Bankes of Kingston Lacy (see pp 91-96) gave land for the new building: Paget's widow turned the first turf. The Pagets embodied Anglican rectitude, church-going and church-supporting: Mrs Paget served as first Vicar's Churchwarden - comparatively unusual for a woman in the early 20th century - from the founding of the parish in 1902 until aged 90, in 1911.

Money and faith could come together even more potently. At Stonebroom the church was funded by two Derbyshire industrialists: the land given by William Gladwin Turbutt, JP (1853-1932) of Ogston Hall, 'by nature a reserved, austere and deeply spiritual man who would have been well suited to the church.'[5] The funds were raised with the substantial support of John Jackson, JP (1844-1899) of Stubben Edge, Ashover, the principal partner in the Clay Cross Coal and Iron Company, who had purchased his

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[3] George Sadler, *Village on the Hill: the story of Colehill in Dorset* (Wincanton: Dorset Publishing Company, 1992), p. 69.
[4] John Spatchet, 'Some of St Michael's Finer Details' in *St Michael and All Angels Church, Colehill: The Building of the Church* (Colehill: Colehill PCC, n.d. but 2005), p. 7.
[5] Gladwyn Turbutt, *A History of Shirland and Higham* (Ogston Estates, 1978; Alfreton: Higham Press, 1997), p. 89.

estate in 1874. No sooner had the fund-raising efforts begun, than he died: it was decided to dedicate the church to his memory:[6]

> He has on more than one occasion been described by the leaders of the Miners' Association for the county as a model employer… All the many employees of the company held Mr Jackson in high esteem… he was of a quiet, kindly disposition.[7]

It would be hard to prove 'all' did: it is wise to speak well of the village's main employer.

The motives of clergymen could not be impugned, perhaps. But, even if not rich, like Poole at Hoarwithy, it helped if they were well connected. At Woolmer, the Rector of Welwyn, Arthur Cayley Headlam (1862-1947), just a year after he arrived in the parish, wrote in his 1897 Easter parish message:

> The needs of Woolmer Green are really greater than those probably of any other part of the Parish… a district church is clearly required there.[8]

He estimated the likely cost between £1000 and £2000. An appeal leaflet of 1898 gives a list of subscribers (just five) and shows the building fund then standing at £519-11-2d. £100 of this was given by Headlam himself, £200 by A M Blake, £100 by G E Dering – two of the four principal landowners in Welwyn; and £25 each by the two spinster daughters of the previous incumbent. Lord Lytton (1876-1947), owner of the largest nearby estate, Knebworth, gave no money until towards the end of the campaign, but he gave the land. In April 1899 the fund stood at £957 (including two donations from two ex-colleagues of Headlam, now Fellows of All Souls). The £2000 mark was passed in May 1900 – Lord Salisbury, the richest man in Hertfordshire, gave £100; the workers at

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[6] Sally Mason, *A brief history of St Peter's Church* (1995): OU project ring-binder in her possession, p. 39.
[7] 'Death of Mr Jno Jackson of Ashover', cutting in a book of cuttings in Derby City Archives, *Derbyshire Biography* D, Vol. XVII (dated 28/2/99), pp. 97-98.
[8] Copies of Headlam's Easter addresses are in *Headlam's Scrapbook*, a collection of ecclesiastical ephemera collated by Headlam in Hertfordshire Archives HALS DP/119/3/10.

Knebworth laundry £1-3-6d. The regular lists of subscribers largely consist of these two kinds of donation – handsome round figures from the rich of £5 or more (e.g. £50 from Lord Cowper in January 1900), or in guineas; and modest amounts in shillings and pence, often collected by village children. There were sales of work and 'Collecting Cards', though names of adult villagers are not much in evidence. Gifts continued to arrive after the consecration, and were put towards nominated fixtures and fittings: the 1901 accounts show a 'special donation' of £107 for the chancel screen; another (£150) for the pavement in the Sanctuary; another (£10), the lectern. The children of the school



Fig 3.4 Woolmer: the chancel screen (detail); lectern; font

raised £36-4-3d towards the font. Whether they, or any of the other donors apart from Headlam himself, had any say in the aesthetics of the church seems unlikely. But this was a co-operative effort, involving everyone. Two of the largest donors were singled out by Headlam in his 1901 List of Subscriptions 'for assistance in carting and preparing the ground.' Localness and a sleeves-rolled-up, hands-on approach were valued. Headlam and Weir Schultz were on such close terms that the description of the church in the local paper seems to have been drafted by them in concert:

> …the object of the designer has been to build a simple village church, which shall have nothing in it out of harmony with the very unpretentious character of the surroundings, which shall be simple and strong in its main lines, which shall have no unmeaning ornament but a certain amount of rich chasteness in the more important parts.[9]

'Rich chasteness' was the result of the chaste application of riches, perhaps.

Money could be an emollient – there are no records of disputes at Glandford, Pamphill, Hoarwithy, Matlock or Great Warley, and Lower Kingswood appears to have been singularly pleasurable to both sides. But this may be an impression formed through the lack of evidence: for the surviving correspondences at Brithdir and Richards Castle record constant skirmishes – at Brithdir, Wilson was less able to cope with his termagant client than was Shaw, who urbanely patronised his. These were all churches of the country or outermost suburbs. City churches like Roker, Jesmond and Holy Trinity, Sloane Street were also the product of individual deep pockets: but city churches for poor parishes were rarely funded by a single plutocrat. At St Aidan, Small Heath, money was raised in penny pieces: 'We have done our utmost not to be in debt, but working-

[9] 'Woolmer Green Church', cutting from an unidentified local newspaper, n.d., n.p., in *Headlam's Scrapbook*.



Fig 3.5 St Aidan, Small Heath, now All Saints (T F Proud, 1896-8)

men as we all are here, cannot afford much.'[10] Vestry minutes in 1893 show £2616 had been raised 'representing offerings from 800 persons.'[11] The Bishop praised 'the spirit of comradeship and co-operation which the founder infused into the work.'[12] Comradeship and co-operation are AWG values too. A short distance from Small Heath, at Bordesley Green, St Paul was licensed as a mission church of St Margaret's, Ward End in 1912: 'a small and simple red brick building.'[13] The energetic incumbent was Revd J A Morgan, previously at Kippington, Sevenoaks: he brought with him £100 in donations from his Kent parishioners. 'He began by making an appeal to the Evangelicals of England, bringing in something like £900.'[14] 'A district with 3000 inhabitants and no church building of any description - surely we might be in a heathen country.'[15] A list of

[10] Letter to the Bishop of Truro signed by N Siner and N Baugh, churchwardens, 1896 at Birmingham City Library Archives (BCLA): EP 101/7/5/1.
[11] BCLA: EP 101/5/2/1.
[12] The 1907 Parish Year Book. Also recorded are activities including The Coral League, Girls Friendly Society, Guild of the Good Shepherd, Band of Perseverance, Sick and Dividend Society, and Boys Club.
[13] *VCH*, Warwickshire, vol. 7 (Birmingham), p. 394.
[14] Revd T Hart, *A Short History of St Paul's church, Bordesley Green,* typescript (n.d. but before 1939) in BCLA: EP 118/17/1.
[15] Parish Magazine, January 1912 quoted by Hart, *A Short History*…, op cit.

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Fig 3.6 St Paul's, Bordesley Green, Birmingham (unknown architect, 1912)
Mikejee, Birmingham Forum

contributors survives - money came from as far afield as Great Yarmouth, Norwich and Shetland. Sir Douglas Fox gave £5; Lady Rawlinson (of The Boltons) gave 10/- at least four times. Between July 1911 and October 1918, £3070 1s 9d was raised by over 600 individual contributors. Morgan himself provided a loan of £200. Plans for a larger church were frustrated by the two World Wars.

Client motives: i) self-commemoration

What of the clients themselves: what were their attitudes and motivations? Each case differs, but the following five explore a key reason – commemoration. Some of those who had their own church built to their own specifications were perhaps as much glorying in themselves as in God: sometimes their wilfulness outdid liturgical reality. Ignorance, indifference, or defiance? At Matlock Mrs Harris had in her tiny church a cramped set of Stations of the Cross – rather in the manner of an art gallery, and without aisles for a procession. At Brithdir, Mrs Tooth insisted on a processional way, even though the church was barely big enough to include a vestry.



Fig 3.7 'St John's Church Interior, Matlock'
Stations of the Cross as originally installed (north wall)
Ivanhoe Series postcard published by J. Crowther Cox, Rotherham, in the collection of Kenneth Smith.
Scanned for the Andrews website by Ann Andrews: www.andrewsgen.com/matlock/pix/ks/matbathdale_05.jpg



Fig 3.8 Lower Kingswood: west end and bell tower

Lower Kingswood is self-memorial in a yet more overt way. On the face of it this is a scholarly *hommage* to the earliest Christian traditions of religious building design, and sedulously correct: the ground plan is based on the 4th century church of St Eirene at Constantinople; mosaic in the apse is derived from a monastery near Corinth.[16] The exterior is a display of chequer-board, zigzag and diaper brickwork: there are Byzantine precedents from four different churches.[17] On the south side of the east end is a

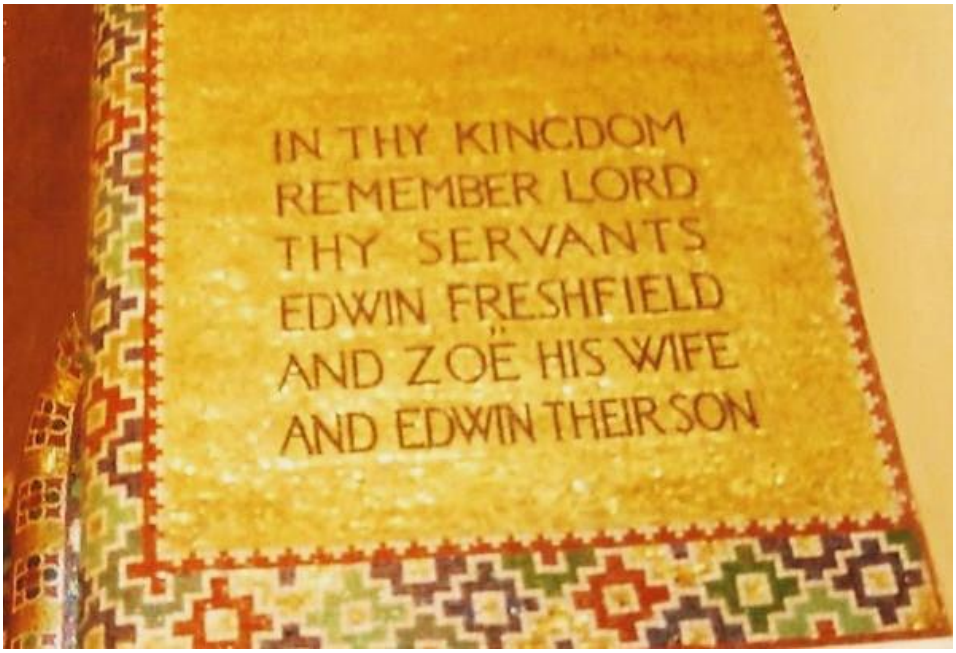


Fig 3.9 Lower Kingswood: east end mosaic (detail)

memorial to the man who paid for it – installed in his own lifetime – Edwin Freshfield. Another local magnate, Sir Henry Cosmo Orme Bonsor, brewer, MP, Director of the Bank of England, and Chairman of the South Eastern Railway, provided the land. But Freshfield was the driver: a lawyer whose clients included the Bank. The public justification for its building was to relieve those inhabitants of Kingswood unable or unwilling to climb the hill to its parish church. But it also expressed the founders' interest in church-going, art and architecture as much as, if not more than the well-being of the

[16] Martin Brandon, 'The Lost Jewel in the Arts & Crafts Crown: The Church of the Wisdom of God' (BA dissertation, Southampton Institute, 2001), p. 33.
[17] Ibid, pp. 41-42.

local people.[18] The two men do not seem to have been outstandingly pious, but they wanted to express their importance in their community, and the importance *of* that community. For Freshfield, the church was a way to articulate his abiding interest in early Christian architecture and liturgiology.[19] He paid for the Greek travels and researches of his young architect, Sidney Barnsley, who spent two years visiting, drawing and measuring often remote early Greek churches with Weir Schultz.[20] Freshfield spent at least two months of every year abroad, looking at, and where he could, acquiring ancient objects. He amassed a large collection of stone capitals from Ephesus, Mesopotamia and elsewhere, which he arranged artistically in his garden. In 1902 his wife died. '… it seemed good to me and my son to find [the capitals] a permanent home in the Church at Lower Kingswood. With the permission of the Vicar…I have placed them there….'[21] Thus the building is a highly personal and complex public statement of wealth, culture, leisure, academic endeavour, travel, piety and grief. In some respects, it springs from the same motives as Hoarwithy - correct religious demonstration, intellectual display. But Poole at Hoarwithy was a clergyman, and Seddon his knowledgeable and experienced ecclesiastical architect: Freshfield was worldly and Barnsley a novice. While both churches have the uncomfortable Arts & Crafts quality of being almost too much a collection of lovely things, Hoarwithy seems spiritually felt in a way Lower Kingswood is not. Poole is reaching up towards God, not backwards to Ephesus. Freshfield 'was very proprietorial about 'his' church.'[22] After services he would stand alongside the curate, shaking congregation members' hands.

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[18] J O'Connor, *A History of the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood* (privately published, 2001), p. 1.4.
[19] Freshfield's works include 'On Byzantine Churches and the Modifications made in their Arrangements owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual', *Archaeologia*, 44, 1873 and 'Notes on the Church now called Mosque of the Kalenders at Constantinople' *Archaeologia,* 55, 1897.
[20] See Mary Greensted, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchange between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)' (MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011), pp. 71-76.
[21] Edwin Freshfield, *A memorandum giving a short account of the Byzantine Capitals in the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood* (privately published, 1903), p. 1.
[22] O'Connor, *A History*…, p. 1.7

It was all too easy for Arts & Crafts ideas as consumed (even if not as produced) to amount to little more than smart interior decoration, 'art' furniture and 'art' appreciation. The result can be churches that feel spiritually questionable: Lower Kingswood is rather too full of Edwin Freshfield; Great Warley too rich in materials; Brithdir too theatrically romantic, perhaps. Could it be that the key influence of the Arts & Crafts on churches was its ability, as Morris feared in his own work, to minister to the swinish luxury of the rich? One must not be entirely cynical about motives: despite what may look like pretensions and show, many clients were people for whom high aesthetic values were an important component of their spirituality: handsome fittings and costly textiles do not automatically indicate hollowness of motive. If God has a less secure place in your heart or life, devotion may better be expressed through outward signs. Freshfield's mourning for his wife may have been deeply felt. And Louisa Harris at Matlock may have felt religious most when surrounded by her Stations of the Cross. For some the exquisite is a real means of rising out of the routine and mundane world to a higher spiritual plane: for others it could simply seem so.

Client motives ii) dynastic commemoration

Another form of commemoration is to re-write history, even to mythologize. Pamphill is another ostensibly 'village church' – its village had lacked one for 30 years. It is rather an estate church with feudal overtones. It was built – like Brockhampton – a good distance from the family house: a door on the north side allowed private access for the family (the Bankeses of Kingston Lacy), who came to the church via their private drive. Walter Bankes inherited the estates in 1869, at the age of 16. In 1897, at the age of



Fig 3.10 Pamphill

44 (to local surprise) he married Henriette Jenny Fraser, a beauty of obscure and perhaps even questionable colonial origins.[23] He died in 1904, leaving, in the will he made the previous year, £5000 for building and endowing a Church at Pamphill.[24] There was a church on the site in the 18th century, but by 1906 it had vanished completely. The lack of a church does not seem to have bothered Bankes: the family went by carriage to worship at Wimborne Minster, 1½ miles away – a journey impossible for the villagers. His late change of heart was probably because in 1902 his third child, a longed-for son, arrived, Mrs Bankes being then 40: apart from the giving of dinners to almshouse tenants, and Christmas teas at the house (on one occasion for 280 children) there is little evidence that Bankes took any interest whatever in the spiritual life of Pamphill's villagers. His charitable interests were national: he left £2000 in his will to the Little Sisters of the Poor, and £1000 to the Church Lads' Brigade. His widow carried out his wish. There is a local tradition that Mrs Bankes wanted to have a chapel in the house, but 'the family would not let her: she had to wait for her husband to die.'[25] There is also the

[23] She is Henriette in the census, on the church foundation stone and in her will, but Henrietta in the announcements of her marriage. The family seem to have called her Jennie.
[24] Will of Walter Ralph Bankes, 6 April 1903.
[25] Personal telephone conversation with Councillor Vera Ricketts of Pamphill, 10 December 2013.

suggestion that Bankes was a womaniser.[26] Mrs Bankes was energetic and artistic – an accomplished pastel portrait by her survives at the house. Until her son gained his majority in 1923, she was in charge, 'responsible for many improvements including … numerous estate cottages.'[27]

Two copyright images removed

Fig 3.11 Henriette Jenny Fraser, Mrs Walter Ralph Bankes: Joan Guy, ca 1897
Fig 3.12 Henriette Jenny Fraser, Mrs Bankes with her elder daughter Daphne: Mary Gow, 1902
Kingston Lacy Estate, National Trust

[26] He left £40,000 in his will to his supposed mistress, Elizabeth Marshall of Stockwell, his largest pecuniary bequest, as well as two houses at Studland.
[27] English Heritage (now Historic England) listing for Kingston Lacy at list.english-heritage.org.uk… [accessed 9 December 2013].

Her portraits suggest an intriguing transformation. In 1897, a rather starchy, if comely blonde, conventionally painted in miniature. Five years later an altogether more worldly woman, dazzlingly engulfed in a sea of rich silk, rather in the style of Giovanni Boldini, 'The Master of Swish': Henriette was swankily fashionable. But she was not patrician: a pernickety, penny-pinching letter to her new daughter-in-law, Hilary Margaret Strickland-Constable, who married Ralph Bankes in 1935, advised:

> Please little Hilary, don't think me an old fuss pot, but when you have visitors staying, try to get them to rub their shoes well and not wear any with studs or nails in them as it is so injurious to the marble floors, and gravel makes such a mess - it takes two housemaids a week or more to do the marble stairs - this is such a delicate marble.[28]

Pamphill is an expression – rather as Richards Castle or Brockhampton – of ostentatious family piety: an expression of correct taste, and the observation of traditional rites. For Mrs Bankes was dynastic rather than spiritual. By contrast, her architect, Charles Ponting, was spiritual in the extreme. It was not the reason she appointed him – he was simply the best available local architect for churches in Dorset. Happily, she did not stand in his way. He created a church that is old-fashioned, pious, deferential, an exquisite jewel-box. At the rear of the church are the Bankes family pews – eight grand seats like Cathedral canons' stalls. The bench-ends are carved with the Bankes fleur-de-lys. Above them the west window contains armorial bearings of Bankes family members from 1618 – ten of them reportedly brought from Wimborne Minster: Mrs Bankes cared more for genealogy perhaps than she need have. The woodwork inside – including the roof – is reportedly all oak, grown on the estate. *Academy Architecture* published Ponting's perspective drawings for the church in 1906, with a caption, 'Oak lectern and Stone Font: Herbert Reed,

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[28] Quoted in Ed Perkins, 'Last but not Least', *Bournemouth Echo,* 5 September 2006, reviewing Geoffrey Brown, *To Partake of Tea: The Last Ladies of Kingston Lacy* (East Knoyle: Hobnob Press, 2006).

Exeter.'[29] On a visit to the church (5 August 2011) a church-minder, Mrs Vera Ricketts (née Conway), from the village, passed on to the author her family tradition that some of the carving was by her grandfather Conway and a man called Pullman, both of whom worked on the estate. She added that many of the estate workers were expected, after they finished their day's work, to go to the church to apply their skills for no extra payment. It caused understandable resentment: exploitation of employees a long way from the appreciative acknowledgement of his workmen by Croome at North Cerney or Jodrell at Glandford.



Fig 3.13 Pamphill: Bankes family pews

Pamphill is a country church, and self-consciously so – cosy and arty all at the same time. It is a half-way house: half grand, half familiar; half welcoming, half distant. The little children Christ suffers to come to him in the east window are the Lady of the Manor's children; and tradition has it the benefactress used to leave the service before the end, and by her private door, so as not to encounter the congregation, her workers.

[29] *Academy Architecture*, 1906II, p. 7.

Mrs Bankes looked to the past. At Richards Castle Hannah Foster's dynastic interests lay with the future. She wrote to Shaw:

> I am glad that you feel you will be able to work out the plans so as to meet our requirements & yet give us a church such as we shall look upon with pride & pleasure, & our descendants, for many generations…[30]
>
> We are anxious to have the [Foundation] stone laid [at] the end of March or beginning of April as we propose going to town on 15 April for a couple of months.[31]

God must not take up too much time. The church was dedicated by Mrs Foster as a memorial to her late husband, and her elder daughter, who died during the building. But there is no pretence of any beneficence to the parish, nor to the CofE. Shaw's initial letters to Mrs Foster are very concerned with her plan to have the medieval church in the heart of the village demolished in order to build her new church:

> I arrived at the conclusion – at once – that to pull down any portion of the old church would be a <u>fatal</u> mistake. We should raise all about us a storm of indignation - & I fear I must add, rightly so, for we should be destroying a most interesting monument, really for no just reason.[32]

Shaw won the point. Thirty years earlier she might have had her way without him to temper her ambitions. Her church is large, chilly and unloved – soon after it was completed, the Fosters moved away.

Sir Alfred Jodrell was an antiquarian first and a churchman second. He too had a dynasty to consider: he had pride in his pedigree. Church-building was in his blood. As well as the new church at Glandford, he 'arranged for the complete restoration' of St

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[30] Mrs Foster to Shaw (marked 'Copy') 6 February 1890. (Also in M M Voss, 'An Architect and his Clients', Presidential Address, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club,* XLIV, 1982, pp. 13-30: p. 19.)
[31] Voss, 'An Architect and his Clients', p. 22.
[32] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 8 June 1889.

Margaret, Saxlingham, Norfolk in 1898.[33] In 1910-12 he paid for the restoration of the north transept of the enormous SS Peter and Paul, Salle, Norfolk, and gave three stained glass windows.[34] He gave the oak for the re-roofing of the north and south aisles at St Nicholas, Salthouse, Norfolk (1922); donated £100 towards renewing windows; and gave a set of new oak doors (1924).[35] His church at Glandford stands alongside the Museum he had built for his collection of seashells. The church too is a collectors' item: an *objet de vertu*. It is ostensibly a memorial to his mother, but Jodrell's private pew is emblazoned with a touching scene of his faithful dog pining on Jodrell's coffin – executed by local carvers when Jodrell was still alive. (In the event, he outlived his dog.)



Fig 3.14 Glandford: Jodrell's pew

[33] Binham Priory website: www.binhampriory.org/Parishes/Saxlingham... [accessed 28 November 2013].
[34] *Discovering Broadlands Churches* at www.broadland.gov.uk [accessed 28 November 2013].
[35] www.salthousehistory.co.uk/from-old-notebooks.html [accessed 27 November 2013].

iii) active beneficence

Great Warley is also memorial church – in memory of the brother of the client, Evelyn Heseltine. Its interior is so decorative it is perhaps more distracting than spiritual:

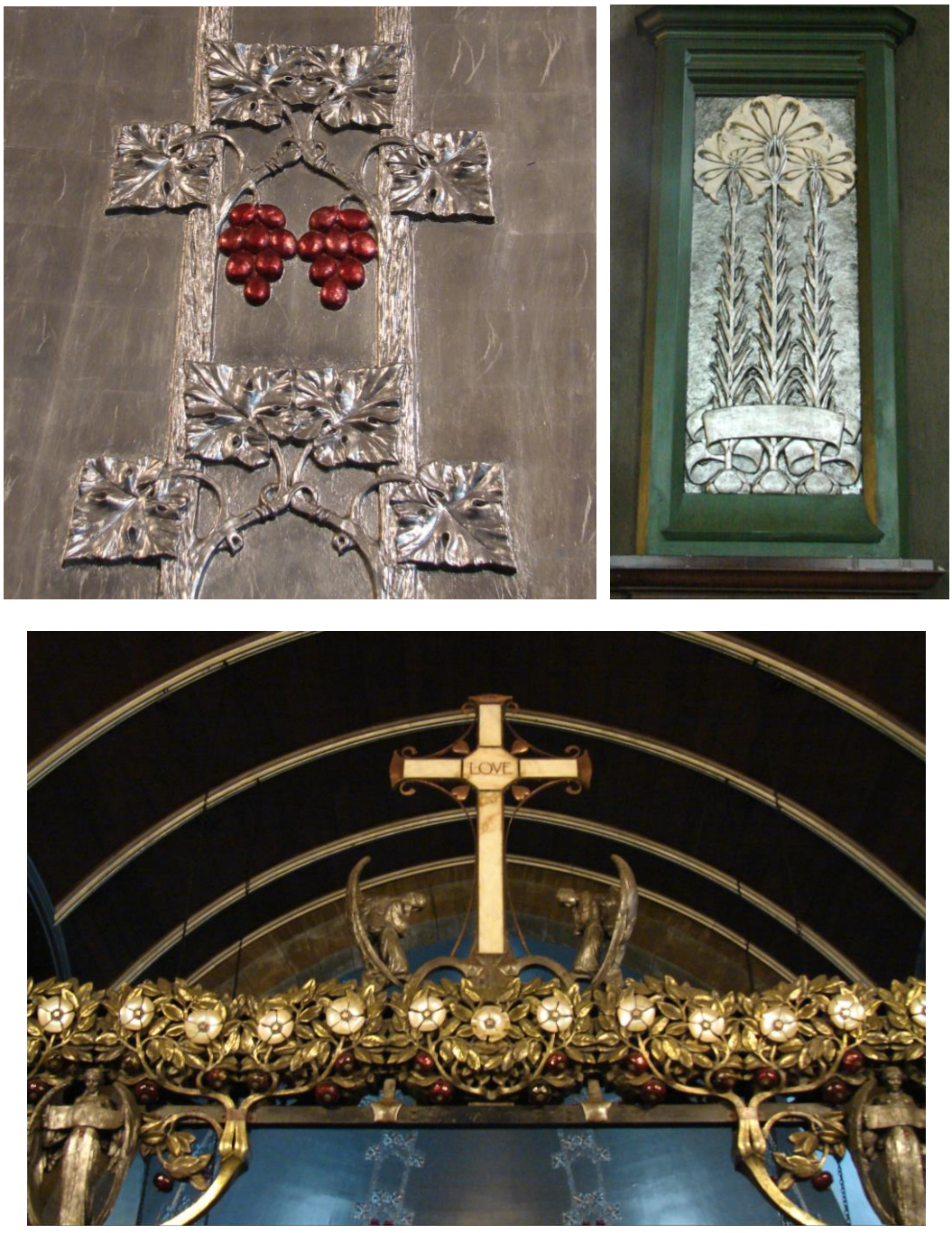


Fig 3.15 Great Warley: details
Aluminium foil in the apse; motif from base of chancel arch in ceiling; top of rood screen

But its depiction of Christ is significant: not in agony on the Cross, but benevolent. Amongst the churches in this study there are few visions of Hell and sin, and much more evidence of the triumph of a sweet and approachable, humanistic Jesus. None of the 35 core churches in this study has a dominant pulpit – even the Methodists at Ben Rhydding set theirs off to the side; and few contain crucifixions. The emblematic figure is Christ as our friend, his blessing at Great Warley a cheerful wave; at Haslemere he is surrounded by reverent, child-like friends. It disturbed some traditionalists: 'Creeds and definite principles are out of fashion. Our feelings take their place…'[36]



Fig 3.16 Great Warley: reredos

[36] William Butterfield, letter to Henry Liddon, January 1873 (Keble College archives), quoted in Geoffrey Tyack, *William Butterfield and Keble College* (Oxford: Warden and Fellows of Keble College, 2002), n.p.



Fig 3.17 Haslemere: reredos

Benevolence, and beneficence towards one's fellow men was a powerful force, especially among the clergy. Around 1900 the phenomenon of the priest working himself to the bone in his parish is recurrent. The energetic, Liberal-minded, Toynbee Hall-inspired vicar of Haslemere, George Aitken, devoted himself to his parish to an extraordinary degree.[37] At St Aidan's, Small Heath, Revd John Agar-Ellis, with his sister, who cuts an appealing and playful figure in the parish history, purchased in 1891 a site for their church – a gardener's cottage – for £1925 (possibly their own money), and erected an iron church in the garden. The cottage was used as a vestry and committee room: there was a sewing class, men's club with speakers and 'on winter evenings the

[37] Aitken rebuilt the parish schools, established a cottage hospital and instituted a District Nurse; organised Sunday Schools, and clubs for girls and boys; outings, fetes, parades, concerts, amateur theatricals, meetings, lectures, and overseas missionary work; and the re-drawing of the parish boundaries. He joined the civil Parish Council in 1894, and sat on the Urban District Council 1913-17. He was an active Liberal from his days at Oxford, and had been a visitor to Toynbee Hall. In 1899 he was criticised by a correspondent in the local paper for being 'hardly convincing' in refuting 'socialistic propaganda'. (*Farnborough, Hindhead and Haslemere Herald*, 4 March 1899, p. 5.)

founder might be seen playing his violin as his sister taught the steps of the waltz, polka and quadrille to young Sunday School teachers.'[38] This unconventional pair attracted affectionate devotion: 'he worked like a merry lad at a cricket match.' In 1893 there were accusations of Ritualism – and this is reflected in Agar-Ellis's attitude to his new brick church, built in 1894-6: one step up from the nave to the chancel, but nine from chancel to Altar: 'Our people shall see God's altar above the head of the tallest



Fig 3.18 St Aidan, Small Heath: the High Altar, 1900
Parish of St Aidan, Small Heath, Birmingham, 1896-1956 Diamond Jubilee Souvenir (n.d.)

choirman.' There was a Rood Beam (1912) and a Lady Chapel (called the Guild Chapel). The architect paid for the furnishing of a chapel, and he and his wife were active members of the congregation. Local craftsmen did much of the work – the oak pulpit was made by a member of the choir; Agar-Ellis himself carved the panels, as well as the oak altar, reredos and gradine.

Benevolence coupled with ego could be rather dictatorial. At Pixham Mary Mayo (1834-1933) used her money to create a somewhat secular ecclesiastical place for a

[38] Quotes in this paragraph from George L Loasby, *The Story of St Aidan's Mission, Small Heath* (Birmingham: St Aidan's Church Council, 1921), pp. 2 and 14.

working-class village. Though designed by Lutyens, it was very much hers – a larger-than-life figure who acted as the unchallenged village chatelaine. She arrived in 1862: in 1866 she was asked by the vicar of nearby Dorking to be a visitor to the poor of Pixham. The arrival of the railway (the line to Horsham opened in 1867) brought a new population of workers. Miss Mayo rented a house as a religious centre: lodgings for single men, and bible and confirmation classes.[39] By 1881 an area was being developed with small, cheap houses: 'It suddenly struck me that this meant a village.'[40] She bought three of the building plots for an iron church, where an evening service, morning service for children, and a Sunday School were held.[41] Activities proliferated: Mothers' Meeting, night school, reading, writing and arithmetic, and chess. In 1890 an altar was installed.

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Fig 3.19 'Old Iron Room, Pixham, Interior'
Mary Mayo, Pixham 1862-1912, *p 9*

[39] Lynn Parnell, 'Pixham Church' in Alexandra Wedgwood (ed), *A History of St Martin's Dorking* (Dorking: Friends of St Martin's, 1990), p. 126. This section relies heavily on Parnell's research.
[40] Mary Mayo, *Pixham 1862-1912* (London: Chiswick Press, 1912), p. 9.
[41] Parnell, 'Pixham Church', p. 127.

Dorking Parish Magazine contains occasional references to Pixham, but 'The town knows very little about Pixham (the District Council will have nothing to do with it).'[42] The 1891 census shows a 'preponderance of agricultural labourers' living in the vicinity, 'together with a cow-boy, a shepherd and two bricklayers… a number of railway workers (engine-drivers, signalmen, platelayer, stoker and porter), a fish-hawker, a coal-heaver, a painter and paper-hanger.'[43] At Christmas, there were treats for the children: Miss Mayo 'kindly consented to unload the [Christmas] Tree' – there were buns and oranges.[44] In the summer, 'swinging boats and games' and tea under the beech tree at Miss Mayo's house, a scramble for sweets and the National Anthem.[45] By 1902 the 'iron room' was deemed 'not of a durable character' and 'Miss Mayo is desirous of erecting a more permanent building… and of furnishing the same in a manner suitable… as a memorial to her late brother.'[46] The new church was to be erected 'in accordance with the designs of an Architect of repute to be selected by the said Mary Mayo.' Before a single drawing was prepared, strict rules on the use of the church were laid down: it could be used for divine service, as 'a class or lecture or Meeting Room for confirmation or communicants' classes or other religious instruction, or for secular instruction of members of the Church of England'; a meeting place for clergy; for 'entertainments and concerts to be called or held in aid of or for the benefit' of societies connected with the CofE; 'for any other meeting or for any other purposes having in view the spiritual intellectual moral or social wants of members of the Church of England' in the parish; and there was to be no

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[42] 'Pixham Choir Fund', *Dorking Parish Magazine*, January 1895, n.p.
[43] Patricia Bennett, *The Living Stream: Pixham and its People* (Dorking: Dorking Local History Group, 1994), p. 28.
[44] 'Pixham', *Dorking Parish Magazine*, February 1895, n.p.
[45] *Dorking Parish Magazine*, June 1897, n.p.
[46] Quotes in this paragraph are from the Agreement between Miss Mary Mayo and the Revd E A Chichester and others, 12 December 1902. (Surrey History Centre 1867/11/1/1/1: 1867/box 9). C R Mayo, her nephew, a lawyer, verified the deed in 1907. It is not clear why only one brother is specified, as by 1902 both were dead.

smoking or dancing 'in the larger room'. (Nonetheless, Miss Mayo gave a piano in 1906.)[47]

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Fig 3.20 'Miss Mary Mayo, towards the end of her life, in the late 1920s'
Patricia Bennett, The Living Stream *(Dorking Local History Group, 1994), p 25*

Mary Mayo was devout: a frequent visitor to the nunnery at St Mary the Virgin, Wantage, where she took exterior vows. She studied needlework there - Wantage was a centre of church needlework - and worked a number of textiles for Pixham, including red, purple, and green frontals, a panel for a white frontal and a stole. She was part of a High Church circle led by three priests from St John the Divine, Kennington: Canon Charles Edward Brooke, 'my dear friend of many years';[48] and his colleagues Canon Arthur Gordon Deedes and Revd E A Down, both of whom 'often preached at Pixham,

[47] 'Pixham', *Dorking Parish Magazine,* September 1906, n.p.
[48] Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 12.

and are well known here.'[49] The Bishop of Rochester noted 'Brooke does everything that is illegal, and is everything that is excellent.'[50] He was clearly the type of energetic, clever, compassionate yet practical priest on which Anglo-Catholicism thrived in working class East London, and, as we have seen, Birmingham. 'He loved adorning his church with fresh and ever more costly gifts, for nothing but the very best could be used in the service of the sanctuary.'[51]

In 1903 Lutyens was 34 – not yet established as a great man, but on his way. He had already built more than 40 houses, including Munstead Wood (1893-4) for Gertrude Jekyll; Les Bois des Moutiers (1898); Goddards (*c* 1900) and Homewood (1901). He had done some church work, but very little of any significance.[52] He once wrote, '*au fond* I am horribly religious, but cannot speak it and this saves my work.'[53] He described the work at Pixham in unexpectedly reverent tones:

> At the East end of the Hall has been built a Sanctuary, 16 feet square, covered by a low dome, built in chalk, tiles, and stone carried upon pendentives… The conception of the building is that it should be made of local and simple materials, and by their use alone it should give evidence of the care, love and reverence of its object.[54]

In August 1894 Lutyens wrote a note to his wife: 'Have been working all day at the Dorking altar, altar cross, candlesticks and vases.'[55] He attached a sketch, with notes

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[49] Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 12.
[50] A G Deedes (ed), *Charles Edward Brooke: A Memoir* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1912) p. 44.
[51] Ibid, p. 64.
[52] Rebuilding of east end of Plaxtol church, Kent (1891); an altar cross for Hampton Court chapel (before 1897); chancel screen at St John, Busbridge, Surrey (1897); Overstrand Chapel, Norfolk (1898); the lych gate at St Peter and St Paul, Kilmersdown, Somerset (1900); the lych gate at Shere church, Surrey (1900).
[53] Quoted in Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens by his daughter* (London: John Murray, 1980), p 282; and in J Drew and A Dempsey (eds), *Lutyens: the work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)* (London: Arts Council, 1981), p. 157.
[54] Reported in Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 11.

of the materials to be used: 'carved oak, lacquered gold over silver leaf.'[56] Alas, the Lutyens candlesticks and cross have long since disappeared. Miss Mayo described the furnishings:

> The altar is of English oak and elm; all the mouldings being worked on the solid oak by hand. The Cross, Candlesticks and Vases are of wood, covered with silver leaf and lacquered. The Altar and other hangings were provided by the Wantage Sisters.[57]

The nature of the building was from the first, and specifically, dual-purpose – Hall and church: 'The building … shall contain two rooms from the larger of which an apse or small chancel shall be shut off for the sanctuary…'[58] Rather prosaically Miss Mayo wrote, 'The Sanctuary is divided from the Hall by a curtain, except at the time of Divine Service.'[59] While this arrangement may seem makeshift, it was both effective and cheap.

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Fig 3.21 'St Martin's Church Room, Pixham, Interior'
Mayo, Pixham 1862-1912*, opposite p 12*

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[55] Quoted in Bennett, *The Living Stream…,* p. 26.
[56] 'Dedication of St Martins' Church Room, Pixham', *Dorking Parish Newsletter,* January 1904, n.p.
[57] Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 12.
[58] Agreement, 1902.
[59] Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 12.

It meant that the room was primarily a Hall – and could look like one – and only a church when needed. Lutyens labels it simply 'Big Room' on the surviving plan. The building was so much dual-purpose, even the commemorative inscription on the Hall fireplace reveals ambiguity: though it is dedicated 'To the Church of Christ', it is nonetheless simply 'this building' (not 'church'). The non-liturgical, yet still CofE uses to which it was to be put, were clearly uppermost in Miss Mayo's mind from the outset. The dedication to St Mary the Virgin was not applied until 1990.



Fig 3.22 Pixham: fireplace overmantel on the north side

It was not Lutyens, perhaps, but Mary Mayo who was the more 'Arts & Crafts' in instinct here: benevolent and civic-minded as Aitken at Haslemere, and as energetic on behalf of the poor. The charitable work of good Christians is evident - but secular, social, realistic practicalities were perhaps more powerful drivers for Miss Mayo. The church remains the village hall – self-effacing, practical, pleasing to the eye without being pushy.

Priests tended to express their social concerns with more emphasis on Christ: the altar, usually behind a curtain at Pixham, glows forth at Haslemere and Woolmer. At Hoarwithy Poole used Seddon to articulate his singular vision of what a church should be – and it was intended to impress the village not with the glory of Poole, but of God. That it involved costly materials was to show that God was worthy of the best – not that Poole was intent on parading his wealth or his learning: he was a conscientious leader of his flock. At Haslemere we have Aitken's own word that his objective was to provide only the best for God's house:

> Helped by Mr Spooner, the Committee resolved from the first that they would not be content to put into our little House of Prayer anything cheap or ordinary. Each piece of furniture as it has come has been specially designed and made, and, with hardly a single exception, all those machine-made articles, which may be seen by the dozen in the catalogues of Church Shops, have been excluded. 'Only the best', we have said, 'for the Service of God's House.'[60]

North Cerney expresses the beauty of holiness in an intense, scholarly way – the religious commitment provided by Will Croome, the aesthetics and practical execution by his fastidious architect, Eden. At Woolmer, Headlam sought to charm his parishioners with the simple beauty of the best craftsmanship – unthreatening, homely, undistracting: had further money appeared in due course, it was his intention that the chancel should have been greatly enriched with further decoration and richer materials. Meanwhile, as at Small Heath, in the inner city the need for bigger churches led to simple, uncomplicated spaces – as large as possible – but the eye drawn to a dazzling altar, golden against a dark, plain background: the focus on devotion and worship.

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[60] *Haslemere Parish Magazine* October 1904, p. 4.

iv) community self-assertion

While there are examples of NC churches funded entirely by a single person or family, the tendency among NCs is more often to work communally. Three examples demonstrate the 'client' role among NCs. All were intent – in different ways – on demonstrating their importance, success, confidence and status. But also that they were first and foremost a community, sharing and with mutual interests which extended beyond their own denomination. The three examples are Unitarian; Baptist; and a Congregational/Baptist joint venture.

The robustly red-brick bulk of Ullet Road is a muscular manifestation of urban wealth, independence of mind, and municipal pride. This was (and is) no mere church, but a community centre, educational institute; with, at its centre, a shrine to the great men of Liverpool trade, and a library, school room, meeting rooms and hall still used for amateur drama and toddler group. This was from the first a high-powered Liverpool congregation: between 1774 and 1779 the congregation provided four of the city's mayors. In 1810 they were at a new chapel in Renshaw Street in the city centre, registered as a 'Presbyterian Chapel'. At the opening of Renshaw Street, Revd John Grundy 'dedicated the new building to the worship of the One and only true God the Father, and boldly pronounced it to be a Unitarian Chapel.'[61] By 1894 Renshaw Street was inadequate and inconvenient: the Church Council's minutes in 1894 record that 'it is desirable in the interests of the Congregation that the Chapel should be removed into a more residential neighbourhood.'[62] It helped that a member of the Rathbone ship-owning dynasty was

[61] *A few reminiscences of the Old Benn's Garden Presbyterian Chapel and the Renshaw Street Unitarian Chapel, and the Congregations assembling therein, by an Old Member of the Renshaw Street Congregation* (Liverpool: Ellerbeck, 1868), p. 8.
[62] Minute Book of the Council and Annual Meeting of Congregation, 16 April 1894 (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 3/7/4).

offering a piece of land for the new church next door to his Sefton Park mansion.[63] C W Jones, Treasurer of the church Council, and George Holt promoted the move: both men were partners in the powerful ship-owners Lamport & Holt, just two representatives of the wealthy families associated with the new church, and interlinked by business and marriage.[64] The *Daily Post,* at the opening of the new church in May 1899, listed the families: 'Brunner, Tate, Rathbone, Thornely [sic], Holt, Jevons, Roscoe, Gair, Melly and Bright.' John Brunner founded Mond & Co in 1874 – which became ICI. Henry Tate made his fortune from West Indies sugar, and the invention of the sugar cube. Thomas Jevons came from a family of academics, scientists and successful merchants.[65] Charles Melly 'introduced drinking-fountains at his own expense.'[66] The Renshaw Street congregation had always been as sociable as it was religious. In the mid-19th century the Committee of the Congregation met monthly, 'and after transacting any necessary routine business, the rest of the evening was devoted to social conversation… This plan contributed to the friendly sociability of the Congregation.'[67] Renshaw Street had 'always been conspicuous by its … numerous practical organisations connected with the congregation, such as the library, the day schools, the Sunday school, the home mission' and it played an active part in 'The Liverpool Unitarian Fellowship Fund Society, the North-end Domestic Mission, and the Hospital Sunday Fund.'[68] Now the philanthropic work of its members' work could go forward on a more ample scale. In 1900 Brunner and Tate jointly funded a group of new ancillary buildings (all designed by Percy Worthington), including a Church Hall, library, school room, meeting rooms and,

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[63] Ibid.
[64] www.bluestarline.org/lamports/lamport_history.html [accessed 2 July 2011].
[65] Summary of Jevons family papers at John Rylands Library, archives.li.man.ac.uk [accessed 2 July 2011].
[66] *The New Unitarian Church, Sefton Park, Liverpool: a new departure. Reminiscences of Renshaw Street Chapel.* Extracted from *The Daily Post*, 27 and 29 May 1899, p. 13 (Liverpool Archives).
[67] *A few reminiscences…,* p. 11
[68] *The New Unitarian Church…,* p. 12.

importantly, a cloister passage in which tablets commemorating leading members of the congregation could be displayed. It has the air of a reverential shrine.



Fig 3.23 Ullet Road Church: the cloister memorials – William Roscoe, centre

In June 1899 there was a debate about the name of the new church: 'Ullet Road *Chapel*' was rejected in favour of 'Ullet Road *Church*', though only by 17 to 13. In 1903 it was even proposed that the 'minister be authorized to provide himself with a curate.'[69] There were 'footstools' and kneeling at prayers.[70] In short, respectability expressed itself in increasingly CofE manifestations – though the migration from Presbyterian to Anglican was never quite completed. In the light of this trend, it is perhaps not so surprising that Ullet Road looks more Anglican than NC, and is more self-consciously beautiful than any NC church need be: 'it is now certain when the building is completed, the congregation will possess one of the most beautiful churches in Liverpool.'[71] At the opening service in 1899, the *Daily Post* described a 'fashionable and crowded assembly.'[72]

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[69] Minute Book of the Council and Annual Meeting of Congregation, 25 October 1903 (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 3/7/4).
[70] Anne Holt, *Walking Together: a study in Liverpool Nonconformity 1688-1938* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938), p. 232.
[71] Minute Book: Report of the Building Committee, 1898.
[72] Monday 19 June 1899, n.p. (cutting in an envelope pasted into Minute Book at 18 June 1899).

'All seats being full and many people standing.'[73] The historian of Unitarianism in Liverpool, Anne Holt, from the vantage point of 1938, put it this way: '.. .. these Dissenters… had at last been able to lay the bogey of idolatry, and could see in beautiful surroundings influences which could lead to greater awe and reverence.'[74] The new church was built to accommodate 440 people. The materials were of the best, and though the exterior was scarlet Ruabon brick, the inside – reputedly at the suggestion of Anne Holt as a very young girl, to her father – was lined in Runcorn warm pinky-purple sandstone.[75] It was intended there should be a competition for the design: a draft survives of the brief to be sent out to Architects.[76] The artistic parameters are rather strict: 'The new Building to be consistent [sic] as a place of worship, yet without an excess of ornament.' Quite what these proud and powerful men meant by 'excess' is unclear – there are even choir stalls with elaborate neo-Gothic architectural niches on a

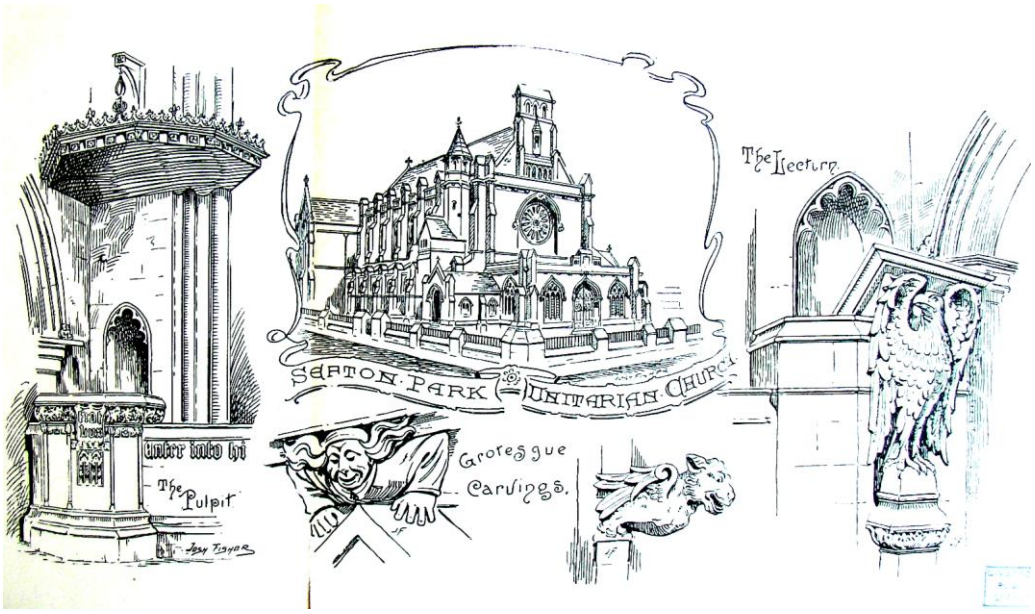


Fig 3.24 'The New Unitarian Church, Sefton Park, Liverpool…'
Foldout drawing from The Daily Post, 27 and 29 May 1899

[73] Minute Book, 18 June 1899.
[74] Holt, *Walking Together,* p. 231.
[75] Story recounted by George Craig, current historian of Ullet Road, in personal conversation 24 June 2011.
[76] Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/12/2 (n.d.) It is not clear whether this was ever sent out, as no fair copy or final version has been found. Indeed, it is not clear that Worthington won any competition for the work. The Minute Book simply records the Building Committee recommending 'to employ Messrs Worthington & Son as architects', 26 February 1895. Plans were submitted by 28 August 1895.

cathedral scale. 'Critically speaking, every hinge and handle, every bit of tracery and carving, is pleasing to the artistic eye, and in every branch work has been accomplished of the highest quality…'[77] The artist-craftsmen who worked on Ullet Road were Arts & Crafts: R Ll B Rathbone, who designed memorial plaques at the church, and made the massive copper-clad doors to the north, west and south of the lobby to the church, was a member of the AWG from 1892. 'The effective works by Mr Rathbone in beaten copper are particularly worthy of examination, not only because of the beauty in design, but by the perfect workmanship.'[78]



Fig 3.25 Ullet Road: copper-clad doors by R Ll B Rathbone

In 1900 Gerald Moira (1867-1959) (AWG 1898) was commissioned to decorate the new library which adjoins the church. The work occupied him for two years. The figures on the ceiling were selected with great catholicity: Moses, Milton, Aristotle,

[77] *The New Unitarian Church…,* p. 15.
[78] Ibid, p. 1.

Galileo, Shakespeare, Plato, Homer, St Paul, Gutenberg and Leonardo.[79] The donor, Sir John Brunner, is also depicted.



Fig 3.26 Ullet Road church: library ceiling by Gerald Moira (AWG), 1900

In 1906 a movable font was given by its designer Ronald Potter Jones (fl 1900-30) (AWG 1909), a member of the Century Guild. He later became 'the leading Unitarian architect of the early 20th century.'[80] As if to demonstrate the Arts & Crafts credentials of the font, Jones was concerned about Fordham, the maker of the panels on the font: 'Like all these artistic workers (e.g. Harold Rathbone) he is always very short of money.'[81] Jones was less worried about money: he was a scion of one of Liverpool's most powerful shipping families, and his father was Ullet Road's (late) Treasurer.

[79] It has been suggested this work led to Moira being appointed Professor of Mural and Decorative Painting at the RCA. (Harold Watkins, *The Art of Gerald Moira* (London: E W Dickens, 1922), p. 18).
[80] Graham Hague, *The Unitarian Heritage* (Sheffield: Unitarian Heritage, 1986), p 79. Jones designed Unitarian churches at West Kirby and Cambridge (both 1928) and wrote *Nonconformist Church Architecture* (1914).
[81] Letter from R P Jones to Mrs Holt, 27 December 1905 (?). (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/13/1).

copyright image removed



Fig 3.27 Ullet Road: movable font by R P Jones (AWG), 1905
Drawing: Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/13/3

In 1957 Jones wrote the only detailed eye-witness account of the process of the building of Ullet Road, which he observed as a student at the University, living with his parents, with whom the architect Percy Worthington often stayed while working on the church.[82] In it he gives this insight: 'In the decoration, equipment and fittings of the church it was determined that every object should be an example of the best artistic craftsmanship of the time.'[83] The two forces at work in Ullet Road neatly encapsulate the confluence of ideas at the turn of the century. On the one hand a vigorous nonconformity in religion, freethinking outside the established church, bolstered by

[82] R P Jones, 'Memories of the origin and building of Ullet Road Church, Liverpool (1896-1899)', *Transactions of the Unitarian Society,* Vol. 11:3 (1957), pp. 78-82.
[83] Ibid, p. 79 and 82.

money (Percy Worthington was given no upper limit to his budget for the 1900-2 Halls), and civic ambition. On the other hand, a revulsion amongst the generation of sons and grandsons of the Victorian magnates (and their architects) who had filled England with enormous Gothic fortress churches, in favour of something if not necessarily purer, simpler, more honest, then at least different. Arts & Crafts influence lends a touch of youthful light-heartedness and egalitarianism to the serious intent of its highly respectable and grandly philanthropic congregation. It seems neither quite city munificence, nor yet suburban comfort. The children of the Ullet Road magnificos were themselves artists, and built the Unitarian church across the river at Wallasey – a far simpler building, where the art is applied, overtly hand-made, un-Anglican and exotic.[84]



Fig 3.28 Wallasey: bench end; light fitting

[84] Wallasey was designed by Edmund Ware (1852-1934) and Edmund Rathbone (1863-1924), with fittings by the Bromsgrove Guild. It has a reredos designed by Edmund's brother Harold Rathbone (1858-1929) who founded the Birkenhead Della Robbia pottery (1893). R Ll[ewelyn] B Rathbone (1864-1938) was their second cousin.

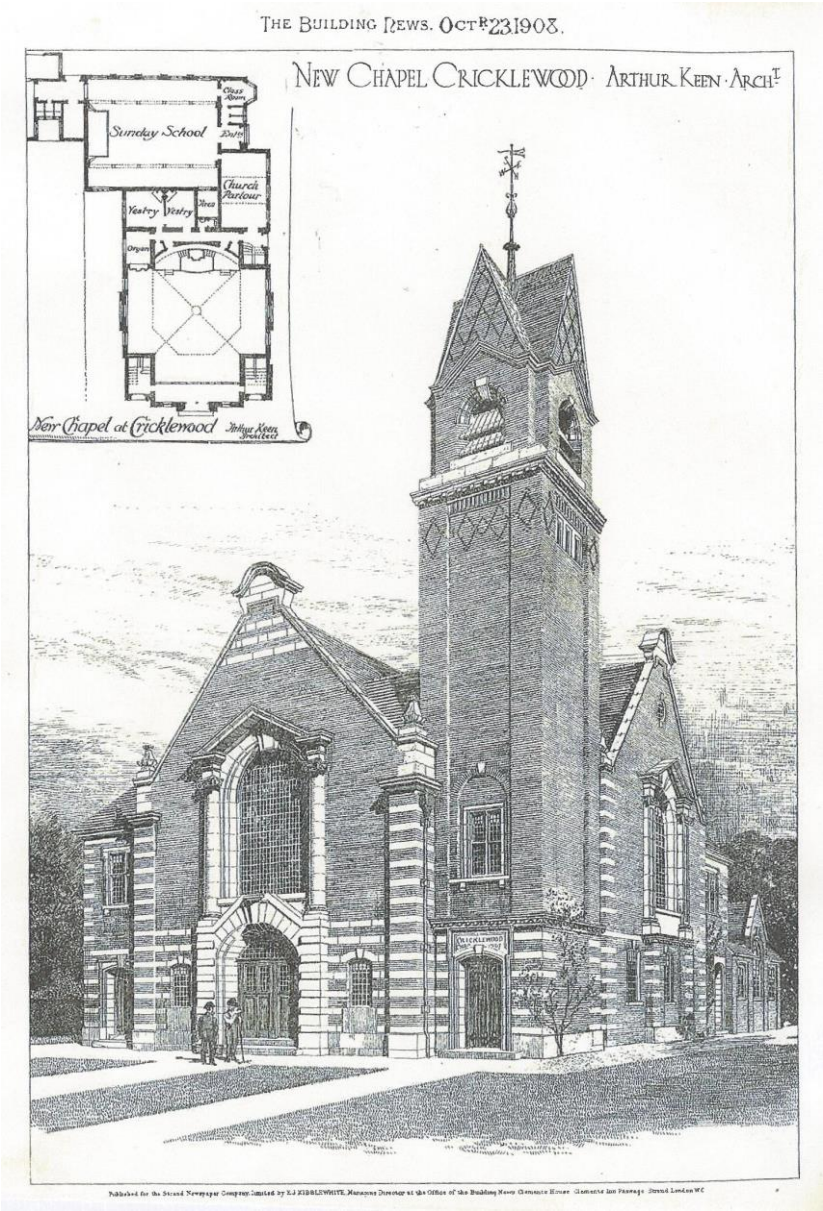


Fig 3.29 'New Chapel, Cricklewood: Arthur Keen, Arch[t]'
Building News, *23 October 1908*

In contrast to Ullet Road, Cricklewood strikes a sober, aldermanic note. Visually, the influence of Norman Shaw is present – not so much his CofE churches, perhaps, as his stately town houses. A stronger visual parallel might be the Carnegie Libraries that began to appear in England from 1893. Was Cricklewood Baptist Chapel to be read, then, as a demonstration of liberal enlightenment? Not really to be taken as a church at all? As well as a space for liturgy, there was a parlour, Sunday School, class rooms and

vestries: it was to be a social centre. From the street it had something of the assertive solidity of a bank: take away its tower, and it would pass for a modest town hall. But money seems never to have been a problem, and the tower was built – the chapel thus a landmark spiritual beacon with the lively worldly confidence of a place of business. Nothing survives of the brief given to their architect, Arthur Keen (not AWG but a founder member of its predecessor body, the St George's Art Society, and a pupil of Norman Shaw).[85] What they were trying to achieve externally must be surmise. Indeed, we know very little about the process of building: all we have is the chance and happy survival of some material at the church itself - some drawings, photographs, cuttings and a few record books, as well as copies and one original of some of Keen's drawings.

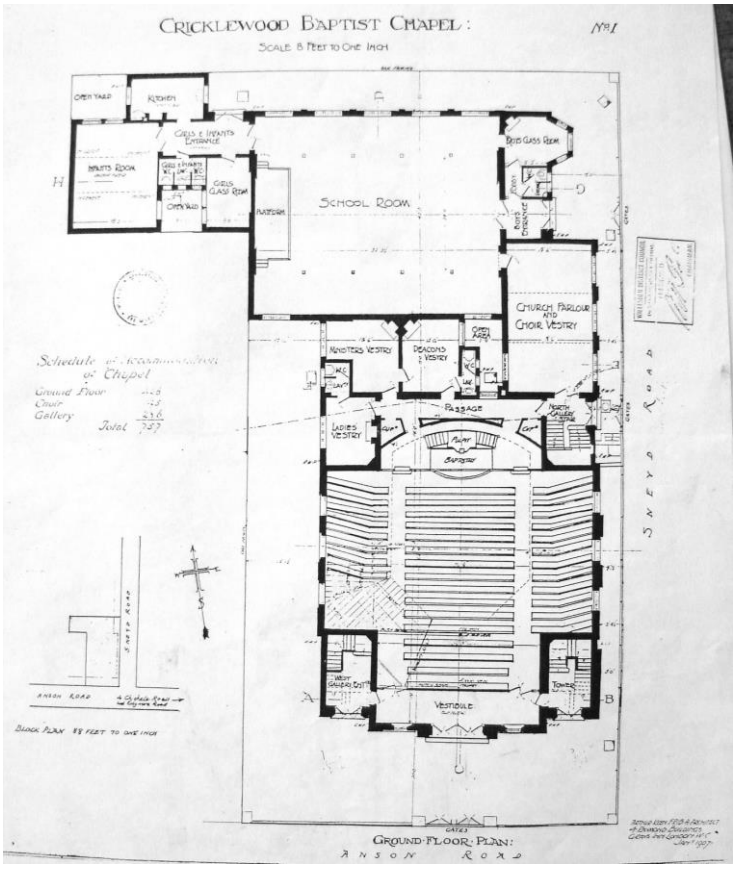


Fig 3.30 Cricklewood Baptist Chapel Ground Floor Plan (Arthur Keen, Jan 1907)
Cricklewood Baptist Archive: copy photograph by author

[85] Keen (1861-1938) was elected to the St George's Art Society in June 1883, along with Gerald Horsley. His best-known building is Baptist Church House, Southampton Row (1901-3).

Cricklewood Baptists' first church (a 'tin tabernacle' of 1885) was sold to the Congregationalists a few years later.[86] In 1906 William Richard Rickett gave £2000 towards building a new chapel. He was rich: the 1881 census shows William R Rickett, 47, born in Northamptonshire, coal merchant and ship owner, with his family (wife and six children) at 'The Limes', Clapton. Mrs Rickett was active in Baptist social work: President of the Baptist Home Leaders 1894-1900.[87] Rickett was a committed and active Baptist: a Deacon at the rather smart Heath Street Baptist Chapel, Hampstead (1861);[88] a Trustee of the Baptist Building Fund from 1890; and 'His chief love was the [Baptist] Missionary Society [(BMS)] of which he was Treasurer for 17 years [from 1893].' He was also Chairman of its Centenary Committee.[89] He donated an enormous £6000 to the BMS 'thanksgiving fund' in 1893. In 1880 he was one of four benefactors to Stepney Orphanage, laying the foundation stone for one of the four houses of the Girls' Orphanage, 'to be called The Limes in tender memory of five beloved children.'[90] (Despite the implication, all five were alive and well.) Rickett promised £1000 towards the work.[91] One of the other Orphanage foundation stones was laid by Mrs Spurgeon, wife of the great 'Prince of Preachers'.

The land for Cricklewood church was acquired (for £870) by the London Baptist Property Board Ltd from All Souls College, Oxford. 'Responsibility for building the

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[86] This section derives from two documents found in the church archive: L Malpas, *Cricklewood Baptist Church: a concise history* (single A4 sheet, n.d. but after 1960), and 'W T', 'The Story of the beginning' in the church's Jubilee Services leaflet, 13-17 September, 1958.
[87] *Jubilee, 1867-1917: fifty years work among women in the Far East* (Women's Missionary Association of the Baptist Missionary Society, Baptists Zenana Mission, 1917) at archive.org/stream/MN41453ucmf_0/MN41453ucmf_0_djvu.txt [accessed 24 November 2013].
[88] This section derives from S J Price, *Popular History of the Baptist Building Fund* (London: Kingsgate Press, 1927), p. 259.
[89] *The centenary celebration of the Baptist Missionary Society 1892-3: reports of the commemoration services held at Nottingham, Leicester, Kettering, London and Northampton, and list of contributions to thanksgiving fund* (London: BMS, 1893) at archive.org/stream/centenarycelebra00bapt/centenarycelebra00bapt_djvu.txt [accessed 24 November 2013].
[90] Henry D Northrop, *The Life and Works of Charles Haddon Spurgeon* (Murfreesboro, TN: Sword of the Lord, 2004), p. 110.
[91] Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *The Sword and the Trowel* (1880): www.godrules.net/library/spurgeon/NEW9spurgeon_f6.htm [accessed 24 November 2013].

church was in the hands of the London Baptist Association, who formed a building committee, chose an architect, and accepted a tender for the erection of the building.'[92] We do not know whether Rickett was on the committee, but his involvement was clearly financial more than aesthetic: it was a thoroughly business-like process. The foundation stone was laid on 28 September 1907; the completed building opened on 7 April 1908; the church 'founded' on 10 September 1908 - Baptists churches are their members not their buildings. Early numbers were modest: 51 at the first service; the first membership was just 20. By 1925 there were 93 members, and an active social programme: Young Peoples' Bible Class, Girls' Brigade, Boy Scouts and Women's Own group: 'The Life Boys and the Girls' Life Brigade were to follow.' By 1918 there was also a Young Abstainers' Union. The Baptists were commercially-minded. Keen's best-known building is Baptist Church House in Southampton Row (1901-3). It was not only 'a home for the Denomination in a central position…' but there was a worldly purpose too – it had shops on the ground floor, and offices for rent: 'the expenditure… will prove a profitable investment, bringing in rents...'[93]

Hutton was, if anything, even more pragmatic. Two strands of the NC came together – neither believed they had enough members to go it alone. They were determined to keep everything simple: not just the building, which was to be as user-friendly as possible, but the cultural milieu. While it may not vividly express Arts & Crafts ideas in its architecture (though there is perhaps some superficial resemblance to the sort of Arts & Crafts houses that had been built at experimental Gidea Park in 1910-11), there is much 'Arts & Crafts' in the attitudes of Hutton's founders, both to their

[92] *Cricklewood Baptist Church 70th Anniversary* booklet.
[93] 'A Church House', *Baptist Times,* 5 January 1900, n.p.



Fig 3.31 Hutton: perspective by William Hayne from Appeal booklet (n.d.)
Hutton archive

community and their religion. It is *possibly* the first 'union' church in the country – a church purposely built to be shared by two denominations, in this case Baptists and Congregationalists, and to this day each succeeding minister is by turns Baptist or URC. The sense of co-operativeness is apparent in the written record. The inspiration and energetic leading light was Arthur Burns (1865-1943), an insurance broker and member of Lloyds, whose father had been a minister in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion.[94] 'The waters of his life…moved quietly in fulfilment of their task, fed and quickened by the inner fountain of faith which did not fail.' He kept a diary for 57 years. He saw 'making money [as] the means of help and new opportunity for others.'[95] He was a chorister, Lay Preacher, and Deacon at Brentwood Free Church, where he was active in the Temperance movement.

[94] Burns's life is recalled in Nelson Bitton, *A Tribute to Arthur Burns: a Good Life* (Malvern: Priory Press, n.d. but probably 1946).
[95] Ibid, p. 32.



Fig 3.32 Arthur Burns
Hutton archive

The Hutton archive includes a typed manuscript from 1912 by Burns (though unsigned), which summarises the story of the development of Hutton over the previous ten years:

> some ten years ago [i.e. 1902] the question was periodically raised… as to the possibility of a somewhat more dignified building being erected.[96]

The Baptists were hoping to form a church – but there were simply not enough of them. And 'Rev McDougall Mundle [Secretary of Essex Congregational Union] stated publicly that he should consider it a calamity if separate Congregational and Baptist Churches were started in a neighbourhood with such a small population.'[97] Burns, as a Cong himself, fretted about joining up with the Baptists – but

> I felt that for myself or any of my colleagues… to have opposed the new scheme, or given it the cold shoulder would have been to miss a great opportunity… of founding a strong Nonconformist church.

A committee was formed: we have the names of its fourteen members. A copy of a Declaration of Trust in the Hutton archives (dated 1906) gives the professions of some

[96] Anon (but Arthur Burns) Typescript MS in Hutton archive, n.d. but 1912.
[97] Burns's Typescript MS, p. 5.

of the 'founding fathers'. These are not aristocrats or landowners – not even ship-owners. Burns is an Underwriter, but the others are of humbler rank - Hosier and Outfitter, Railway Company Clerk, Wheelwright, Market Gardener, Fruit and Flower Grower, Hairdresser, Grocer, Commercial Traveller, Merchant. These worthies were serious equally about their work and their church. At the first meeting of the Provisional Committee in 1912 – admittedly a different list of attendees by then, and without the roll-call of their professions – they raised £835 towards the building fund. Land was given by the developer of the Hutton Mount estate, Ernest Wood, JP ('a magnificent and stimulating gift') – an entrepreneur, not a peer.[98]



Fig 3.33 Hutton: the committee at or near the opening, 1914
Hutton archive

It was proposed '… that a building of a permanent character and capable of extension be erected' to incorporate Vestries for Minister and Deacons, Church Parlour, Class Rooms and Kitchen, with seating for 324. It was planned to add transepts and galleries at a future date, to provide an additional 190 seats – this did not happen. Nor did a separate Sunday School, though a hall was added in 1937. The process of the choice of architect is not recorded, nor the circumstances: 'The design, which is by Mr W Hayne, Frinton-on-Sea, has been accepted':

[98] Appeal booklet, *The Hutton and Shenfield Union Church, Hutton Mount, Essex* (Hutton archive, n.d.).

> a plan has been jointly approved which will if carried out be a credit to Nonconformity and an ornament to the district as well as being adaptable to the needs of our people.[99]

Creditable, ornamental and adaptable. The men of Hutton were no-nonsense – they had no doubt about Christianity, and no better purpose than its work. Hutton is a rational church for business-like men - no mention of ritual, of vestments, of history or precedent:

> The fellowship shall be open to those who desire to live a life inspired by the spirit and teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose deity is accepted. [So no Unitarians.] While general agreement in religious aims and ideals is desired, no assent is required to any written or recited creed.[100]

An unconscious echo of the free-thinking of the AWG.

> It is to be an association of Christian men and women whose aim is to secure helpfulness in worship, community in service, independence in character and moral integrity rather than uniformity of belief.[101]

There was no shortage of money: 'I have no doubt whatever that such pecuniary assistance as the needs of this work may require from time to time will be forthcoming.'[102] But nor was there any desire to spend money on anything but the most necessary – a good big space, with plenty of light, plenty of seating, and clear sight lines to the pulpit. The seating – in the end, for 333 – is set out in a curve, with no central aisle and narrow side aisles. There is a pronounced rake to the floor, so all can see and be seen: democratic, equable – and, the ultimate in egoless spirituality, there are no memorials of any kind.

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[99] Burns's Typescript, p. 8.
[100] Appeal booklet, op cit.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Burns's Typescript, pp. 10-11.

The clients – as their churches – are somewhat resistant to generalisation. The common factors appear to be these: a pressing vision, which could be religious, but might equally well be personal – or an irrefrangible mixture of the two – in some cases (Richards Castle, Brithdir, Hoarwithy, Glandford, North Cerney) amounting almost to mania; great energy and commitment, whether to a higher cause – the well-being of the poor – or to personal or community egotism (Ullet Road, Pamphill, Down Ampney); and a strong, if uninformed aesthetic sense – even in surprising places like Pixham, where a mundane secular space might just as well have been provided as the picturesque, tender, homely room Mayo drew out of Lutyens, or Matlock where a rather wilful young woman devised a sort of fantasy private chapel, but allowed – perhaps encouraged – her young architect, Dawber, to bring in and use AWG men with imagination as well as skill: men who were happy to explore her somewhat personal, even unorthodox, take on Christianity. They all wanted 'the best' – in some cases (Lower Kingswood, Brockhampton) because that was how they lived, and their church was an extension of their leisured and luxurious lives; in other cases (Woolmer, Haslemere, Small Heath, Summerstown) because that was what priests earnestly believed their congregations, be they never so humble, deserved. The hand-made, the not-shop-bought was a demonstration of the 'specialness' of the provision of a church, and therefore of the special place each person holds in the eyes of God. The person might be the wealthy benefactor, or the (idealised) working class parishioner. In some cases (Hoarwithy, Cheltenham, Inkpen, Woolmer, Hutton, North Cerney), architect and client worked in happy partnership, almost co-operation; in others (Brockhampton, Onibury, Paisley, Dockenfield) the client seemed happy to let the architect have his aesthetic way. In a few, there were tensions – and the contested balance of power, while perhaps wearisome to the architect, produced something of which the client was proud and pleased – Brithdir, Kempley, Richards Castle. Nothing was done for form's sake, or as a matter of course:

these churches are deliberate and purposeful acts, not thoughtless, but meant. The purpose might not be as conventional as it might have been forty years earlier, nor as devout as in pre-Reformation England (and the question of how 'meant' any church built by a rich man, woman or community can be hangs in the air), but there was nothing run-of-the-mill or casual in the making of these churches. There is little sense of a job that needed doing – and much of a job that was a struggle or a personal triumph or achievement. That the men of the AWG were available to elaborate desires and visions was a happy chance – had Pugin or Burges been available, perhaps the clients would have been as happy employing them instead. But the approach of AWG men to building and furnishing a church was in concert with clients' ideas of what a church should be – happiest when small, idiosyncratic, jewel-like for the Anglicans; but equally able, for the NCs, to express pride in the well-made, and artistic ambition – reflecting high social purpose. The attitudes of AWG men now need to be examined, to explore the specific ways in which an Arts & Crafts mind-set allowed the various visions of the clients to flower.

Chapter 4

The architects: attitudes and interests

> … for a young man just beginning practice, the opportunity of playing with another person's money… would afford an exceptionally handsome opening, not so much from the commission it represented, as from the attention that would be bestowed by the art-world…
>
> Thomas Hardy, *A Laodicean* (1881), Book 1, chapter IX

Having considered the motivations and attitudes of clients, can the same be done for architects? There is this difference: for an architect a church – any building – is a 'job'. The urge to build is not his – nor the resources (though there are examples where this is not wholly true: Chapter 6). He may be chosen, but he may not know the reason (and neither may we); or he may win a competition (though these are very much rarer for churches in the period than for other public buildings). He may engage with, even share, the spiritual leanings of his client, or he may not – that may or may not matter. Or he may dissemble them in order to flatter, persuade, make his work easier. Or he may be indifferent, or even so agnostic or atheist that pretending otherwise causes him no qualms. With very few exceptions, he will not tell anything of these matters: this research has not uncovered any great revelations by any architect of how he felt about achieving a commission for a church. However, what does exist are many expressions of attitudes towards religion and churches in general, and these will be considered. What *is* particular to architects is how they address and answer a brief. This can be seen, after the event, in the buildings themselves – though there is the quality of autopsy in looking at those: they are cadavers (Brithdir, Richards Castle, Pixham, North Cerney are exceptions) of a

moment rarely recorded in full, where client and architect interact and debate, preserved only in glimpses of different aspects which survive by chance. As with the clients, what informs the work is the architect's attitude – his motivations may be entirely financial, or ambitious (in which case he may be too discreet to mention them). But they may also be artistic, religious or social – and these deserve discussion, since they are different from what went before, inform the buildings that remain, and offer either a complement or contrast to clients' attitudes – the creative friction from which comes interesting buildings. In the light of the specificity of this thesis, then, are there 'Arts & Crafts habits of mind' to be identified in the building of churches around 1900? Did architects' ways of thinking – and these will, of course, be various – inform their approach to church design, and, if so, how? How was it different from what had gone before? Clients' main focuses have already been examined – religion, memorialising, display. Clients' attitudes inform their taste for decoration, even liturgy; their resources dictate scale and richness of ornament, and their taste may prefer one material over another; but whether they race horses or collect stamps is not likely to be expressed in, or germane to, their churches. With architects, it is different. The answer to the question, 'Why is that church like that?' must take into account not only how the architect thought, but what else was in his mind. Thus what Denis Healey described, in another context, as their 'hinterland' demands exploration: where, beyond art and crafts, did their interests lie?

None of these questions yields to scientific analysis – frustratingly few of the architects recorded their thoughts on these specific matters. Discussions at AWG meetings are not recorded, and talks not published beyond their titles. There was lively published debate about the status of the architect,[1] and many articles and manuals were

[1] Richard Norman Shaw and Thomas Graham Jackson (eds), *Architecture, a profession or an art?: thirteen essays on the qualifications and training of architects* (London: John Murray, 1892).

published, but largely about craft skills.[2] The most prolific architect authors in journals were Voysey and Baillie Scott, neither of whom built any churches: almost all of their published articles are about houses.[3] Henry Wilson, when editor of *Architectural Review,* wrote a number of short articles, many of which set out Art & Crafts attitudes with great clarity, and he touches on churches often – as one might expect from John Dando Sedding's architectural heir.[4] But while there survive some archives of letters between client and architect, intimate, reflective correspondence between architects is scant: they met up often, they sometimes worked together – what need of letters? Few diaries survive: it is not clear that many existed.[5] Besides, these men were busy architects, not theoreticians, apart from Lethaby. Morris also theorised copiously, but by 1884 his output was increasingly political, and hardly at all about the theory or practice of architecture: his attitude to churches was expressed in the anti-clericalism of the SPAB, and his personal atheism.[6]

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[2] Notably, *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (London: Rivington, Percival, 1893) contains 35 articles, none of which relates directly to church work. Subsequent ACES catalogues carried articles on the same lines. *The Artistic Crafts series of Technical Handbooks* edited by W R Lethaby, eventually ran to nine volumes including *Wood-block printing; Book-binding and the Care of Books; Writing and Illuminating; Hand-loom weaving; Embroidery and tapestry-weaving; Dress design; Silverwork and Jewellery; Heraldry; Stained Glass Work*. Later, *The Arts connected with Building* (London: B T Batsford, 1909) contained similar subjects, and also somewhat philosophical and theoretical articles by Voysey, Baillie Scott and Weir Schultz. Books dealing with church architecture in the period include Thomas Graham Jackson, *Modern Gothic Architecture* (London: Henry S King, 1873) and John Thomas Micklethwaite, *Modern Parish Churches* (London: Henry S King, 1874).

[3] For a complete Voysey bibliography see www.voyseysociety.org/voysey/bibliography/vpapers.html In 1930 Voysey reviewed the English Mediaeval Art exhibition at the V&A and the Modern Church Art exhibition at Caxton Hall: 'English church art', *Journal of the RIBA,* vol. 37, p. 644. For Baillie Scott's bibliography, see James Kornwolf, *M H Baillie Scott and the Arts and Crafts Movement*, pp. 562-8.

[4] In particular, 'Art and Religion', *AR*, vol. 6, June-Dec 1899, pp. 276-278.

[5] C R Ashbee's *Memoirs* were published in 1938. Neither Gimson nor the Barnsleys left diaries, but we have Norman Jewson, *By Chance did I Rove* (Cirencester: private, 1951). A diary by Sydney Mitchell survives from 1930. Lethaby kept no diary, though he is frequently mentioned in Edward Johnston's. No known diary survives for W D Caröe, Percy Currey, Guy Dawber, F C Eden, Curtis Green, William Hayne, Archibald Macpherson, Charles Nicholson, Godfrey Pinkerton, Charles Ponting, H A Prothero, Charles Spooner, Robert Weir Schultz, Randall Wells, or Edgar Wood. Nor for William Weir, though there are numerous reports and letters by him at SPAB. Alec Miller, of the Guild of Handicraft, and not an architect, left a substantial correspondence: see Graham Peel, *Alec Miller: Carver Guildsman Sculptor* (Tenbury Wells: self-published, 2016).

[6] See Stephen Williams, 'Morris, Christianity and Socialism: an episode', *Journal of William Morris Studies,* XXI No 3, 2015, pp. 38-45.

Those who shared their eagerness for discovery, instruction and something like idealism, first in the SGAS, then the AWG, saw no reason to impose aesthetic rules (early minutes of the AWG are almost entirely concerned with subscriptions, fines, and electoral procedure, and hardly at all with art).[7] But – and perhaps the most significant difference from what had gone before – they met, and were sociable. SGAS, the first 'club', reflected the 'common room' experience of artistic young men working together in an office: Norman Shaw's assistants' informal after-hours evening class, as it were – self-improvement, sharing knowledge, looking beyond brickwork and drains, even having fun. Thus sharing, community, friendship and friendliness were important to them – for mutual support, introductions and opportunities, as well as the pleasure of it. That continued into the AWG, though that body was more purposeful, more wide-ranging, and more conscious of its significance. Its distaste for publicity suggests it was inward-looking, even cliquish: a bastion against public misunderstanding, perhaps. This might suggest something defensive about the AWG: a sense of 'us against the world'. The concurrent sense in fine art of the importance of *salon des refusés* suggests that being outsiders, going against the flow, was attractive.[8] They were not only interested in crafts, but in architecture, which some put as the supreme art: so they were interested in each other's work (and their own); and they were alert to the changing status of architecture - if an art, *could* it also be a profession, and, if so, what sort? They wanted to act responsibly and be taken seriously, with professional standards of building quality: as artists they inclined towards innovation and experiment. Nuances of engagement in these ideas among the architects are as significant as shades of spirituality among the

[7] At the two meetings of the predecessor committee in January and February 1884, immediately prior to the founding of the AWG, motions were tabled that the proposed society 'not meet more than once in every month'; 'shall meet once a month except during the months of August and September'; and to secure and agree the price for a meeting room. The February meeting was almost entirely devoted to procedural and regulatory matters, including a constitution, elections and sanctions on defaulting members (Minute books at AWG: AWG 1/3/2).

[8] The first Salon des Refusés was in 1863, the second in 1880. By 1884 the Société des Artistes Indépendants had been founded. It held exhibitions which accepted the work of any artist who wished to participate: the first show included works by Cézanne, Gauguin, Toulouse-Lautrec, Seurat and van Gogh.

clients. This chapter will examine the strands of Arts & Crafts attitudes as systematically as the inevitably diffuse evidence permits. One characteristic seems to especially distinguish many AWG men from their predecessors. Contrary to the eagerness of George Somerset, the young architect in Hardy's *A Laodicean,* there existed a diffidence towards fame and material ambition almost amounting to indifference (there were exceptions – Lutyens and Nicholson, for example). A few were even content to become 'in-house' architects (in their different ways, Weir Schultz and Arthur Keen). Commitment to fairness and equality, both artistic and social, went with self-effacement amounting to selflessness. This cast of mind (and, as ever with the AWG, it does not apply to all) in turn suggests it worthwhile, and, in the case of churches, significant, to consider these architects' spirituality – which must be of interest in the building of a church, even in those for whom doing so was just another 'job': this chapter will close by discussing architects and religion. First, we will consider attitudes, then interests.

Attitudes 1) Architects as artists…

In 1904 William Macdonald Sinclair, Archdeacon of London, visited the new church at Great Warley, designed by Harrison Townsend with decoration and fittings by William Reynolds-Stephens. He saw in it intelligent movement:

> Of late years there has been amongst some of our architects, sculptors, painters and workers in metals a more intelligent movement than the crude generalities of the mid-Victorian age.[9]

Nineteenth-century restorations had swept away ancient adornments indiscriminately, and replaced them with furnishings 'all of one pattern, turned out by machinery by thousands and by miles, in which there was no art at all.' These actions were now seen

[9] W M Sinclair, 'New Church Work at Great Warley', *Art Journal,* March 1905, pp. 69-77: p. 72.

by this senior churchman – unusually a clergyman writing in the *Art Journal*[10] – not as commendable 'restorations' of a church defective, but repetitive, mechanical and therefore un-artistic. He equated Art with originality: and in a church both were commended. It is doubtful that the men of the AWG were 'more intelligent' than their predecessors, but they did eschew 'generalities', things 'all of one pattern'. All this Sinclair applauded: architects should not be mindlessly mechanical. They should be intelligent: for they were artists. The AWG agreed. Architects were artists: their relationship with religion was no longer that of servant to master, but an arena for accommodation and negotiation.

Three of the founders of the AWG – Macartney, Lethaby and Prior – had contributed to *Architecture: a profession or an art?* pugnaciously setting out the case for treating architects as artists, 'absolutely free, unfettered save by the canons of truth and nature…' The phrase 'Arts & Crafts' tends to remind of the growing status of craft – but Art was as important to architects who dreaded subordination to a style, orthodoxy, or prescriptive models: which is why so many fine artists were invited to join the AWG. Art was not, in reality, the equal of craft. It was not a mere task, and it could not be hurried: Henry Wilson referred to himself as a 'building artist', and at Brithdir, when the client chafed at slow progress on her copper altar frontal, he unblinkingly compared himself to Rodin, whom he knew, who 'shewed me the model for his statue of Balzac. He has been at work on it for seven years…'[11] The rebuke was not only name-dropping, whether to impress Mrs Tooth or subdue her, but suggested that impatience – something only a client would indulge in – was inimical to art. R P Jones, making furnishings for Ullet Road, took a similar line on behalf of one of his makers:

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[10] Sinclair (1850-1917) was editor of *The Churchman* 1892-1901.
[11] Ian Allan (ed.) 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society,* vol. VIII (1977-80), pp. 277-302 and 409-443; p. 436: 15 March 1898.

> The time is really dependent on [Messrs Hatch of Lancaster's] sculptor who will have nine cherubs to do: he does all the figure carving himself & delayed my own font for many weeks.[12]

There is even a note of pride in Jones's sense of enlightened tolerance of the artist. Being an artist was not simply something the architects preened themselves on: at Haslemere the client recognised the importance of the architect's artistic instincts:

> in Mr Spooner we have had an architect who has shown himself all through, if I may say so, an artist, a Christian, and a Churchman, and who has built all those qualities into our Church.[13]

And beyond the church, by the 1880s 'art' journals were noticing buildings aesthetically as much as architecturally: *The Studio* approved Lower Kingswood as 'emphatically the work of an artist rather than of a professional man.'[14] A few AWG architects also practised as fine artists themselves - Charles Nicholson exhibited as a watercolourist.

Where Art differed from architecture was in the supremacy of the personal: the building must somehow come from within – and a job may be work, but it was not primarily about doing what is approved of. Wilson thought 'the chief merit of Brithdir is that it is *personal*… I have no hesitation in saying that what is done at Brithdir must live, because it has come out of my own life.'[15] The personal was also valued in employed artists – Gerald Moira at Ullet Road, Charles Buckeridge at Richards Castle, Harry Dean at Cheltenham, and Croome's village craftsmen at North Cerney. The sense of the personal in art is most vividly seen in 'gifted amateurs' who worked on church furnishings – Canon Gildea at Colehill, A C Burmester at Shefford, Jessie Cole at West

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[12] Letter from R P Jones to his client, Mr Holt, 18 Jan 1906 (?) (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/13/2).
[13] Revd G H Aitken, in *Haslemere Parish Magazine*, October 1903, pp. 3-4.
[14] Horace Townsend, 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society at the New Gallery, 1893', *The Studio,* II, No 7, 1893, pp. 3-27; p. 15.
[15] Wilson to Mrs Tooth, 15 March 1898 (Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 436).

Woodhay (Chapter 6). All carved as much in worship as in craft. This had not applied in quite the same way to the architecture of Street and Scott, still less to commercial church 'art' furnishers. Personal engagement reflected the clients' – and more widely church-goers' – increasingly personal engagement with God: some churches are doubly personal.

Another similarity between clients and artists: both valued their independence. In clients, religious foibles are a matter for them: in an architect artistic attitudes can lead to trouble – engineering cannot be approximate. At Brockhampton Lethaby employed original artistic ideas, like the six stone doves and star-surrounded cross over the south door. There was no contractor: the architect, in the process of supervising the work, was to be free to experiment.[16] Lethaby had intended to be on site himself, but was so busy with educational work in London, he delegated the work to his Clerk, Randall Wells, 'a bright though rather arrogant young man.'[17] Wells was independent of mind: experimenting with mortars, he allowed an arch to collapse; he decided to make the tower 10 feet taller than specified: disaster was narrowly averted. There seemingly was no rebuke from the clients. Could the drama of it all have been in itself proof of artistic merit, and their own soigné sophistication?



Fig 4.1 Brockhampton: south porch

[16] Godfrey Rubens, *William Richard Lethaby: His Life and Work 1857-1931*, p. 156.
[17] Ibid, p. 159.

At Port Seton Sydney Mitchell produced an exterior thoroughly approved of – there was much thoughtful and amicable practical modification to plans along the way. Mitchell was a well-known neighbour to the congregation, and lived at the next village, Gullane. The Kirk Elders were almost all fishermen, and spent the fishing season off far-away Yarmouth, while Mitchell completed the interior decoration: he was trusted totally.

> The designers were left with a free hand and, on the return of the fishermen, there was an outcry from many over the perceived irreverence of the work, to the extent that the decoration was nearly painted over![18]



Fig 4.2 Port Seton: painted ceiling

Was Mitchell deliberately irreverent? Was he overstepping the mark to make a point? Or simply bound up in his own idea of creativity? The decoration was 'nearly' painted over, but in the event, not. The reasons are not revealed – but may include respect for the artist, a dislike of extra expense, a reconciliation with something unexpected but singular, distinctive and beautiful, or even a sense of something special with which to compete with other churches in the village – competition counts for a lot in Scotland (Chapter 2).

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[18] A note (probably by Tom Donaldson, Fabric Convenor to the Kirk Session) in the church's Listed Buildings listing: www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/sc-23027-edinburgh-road-chalmers-memorial-church-c [accessed 17 February 2013].

There is in Art an attitude which runs dangerously counter to architecture – delight in happy accident: using 'mistakes' to create afresh. The mathematical aspect of architecture, if not despised, was not exalted. Lethaby did not like having things drawn out first: 'I do not think a builder could or should foresee the exact expressional results of his work: it should be a growth, not a creation.'[19] He despised 'paper architects';[20] others were also suspicious of paper architecture.[21] Sedding thought it a fallacy that 'adequate working designs can be expressed on paper.' He inclined, as Ruskin had, towards the imperfection that comes from the human touch: 'there is hope in honest error, none in the icy perfection of the mere stylist.'[22] For 'style' read repetition, template, convention, diktat. Randall Wells seems to have produced no detailed drawings for Kempley: he prepared only a preliminary sketch, now seemingly lost, and 'did not propose to hamper the building with pre-arranged drawings of details.'[23] Wilson wanted men to work 'not from cartoons only.'[24] Spontaneity, something deeper than book-learning and precision, was assumed in the craftsman. Eric Gill thought it

> hateful to be employed drawing carvings and mouldings and ironwork for other people to make – other people who ought in the nature of things to be able to do it much better without our drawings.[25]

At Cheltenham H A Prothero

> sometimes gave only a fairly vague idea as to the precise details of what he wanted… leaving the actual portrayal to the mason.[26]

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[19] W R Lethaby, *The Builder,* 2 November 1895, p. 312.
[20] W R Lethaby, 'The Builder's Art and the Craftsman' in Shawe and Jackson (eds), *Architecture: a profession or an art?*, p. 153.
[21] R Phené Spiers seems to have coined the phrase, May 1887, at the Eighth General Conference of Architects in London: quoted by Wheeler, K, University of Miami in ''Ceci tuera cela': Victorian Debates on Architectural Drawing' at sah.conference-services.net/reports [accessed 27 April 2014].
[22] John Dando Sedding, 'Design', in *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society* (1893: facsimile reprint, London: Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 412.
[23] Randall Wells, 'Kempley Church', *British Architect*, 5 March 1909, pp. 165-6; p. 165.
[24] Henry Wilson, 'Nineteenth Century Church Building', *AR*, vol. 3, 1897-8, pp. 49-50; p. 50.
[25] Eric Gill, *Autobiography* (Jonathan Cape, 1947), quoted in Jenny Freeman, *W D Caröe,* p. 31.
[26] Nicholas Lowton, *Cheltenham College Chapel* (Cheltenham: The Cheltonian Society, 1996), p. 54.

Even Shaw could be relaxed: 'Let the carver simply carve two heads – really good heads, without troubling whether one is a King & the other a monk – I don't take to the 'Church & State' view.'[27] A final indication of the artistic will in these architects may be this: artists do not do what they don't want to do. Sidney Barnsley, F C Eden and Arthur Keen all followed the lead of Philip Webb and Norman Shaw in declining to do work which did not interest them. No example has been found in this research of a church built against the wishes or instincts of the architect – there was no acquiescence: if building churches was not their first desire, they nonetheless found it interesting and a challenge. It even gave an opportunity to explore their own spiritual ideas – at Pixham, Lower Kingswood, and perhaps Brithdir and Wallasey.

The notion that an architect is an artist – and an artist in the wake of the PRB, and contemporary with French Impressionism – does tend to make churches after 1884 into works of art in a way earlier churches were not. They are expressions of art not as the handmaid of religion, but as – for at least some of the architects – objects which merely happen to draw on religious originals: Lower Kingswood, Brithdir, Kempley, Dockenfield, for example. Or they can be interpreted as an interpretation of ecclesiastical architecture by men who looked as much to their contemporaries Walter Crane, Edward Poynter, Frank Dicksee, Herbert Bone, John Swan and Solomon J Solomon as they did to their architectural forebears Street, Scott and Butterfield.[28]

Attitudes 2) …yet also practical craftsmen…

Even the most Bunthorne architect has to produce a building – with no CAD to turn a scribble into a set of construction drawings. The practical was valued not for its

[27] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 9 June 1892.
[28] All the painters listed were elected to the AWG by 1888.

mechanical accuracy, but, again, its expression of the personal: the unconscious art in the making of a thing by craftsmen who hold their skills in calm, modest but firm regard. There was pride in practicality – sleeves-rolled-up, do-it-yourself know-how and expertise: many architects were both designer and maker, or aspired to be. Ruskin's notion of the equal importance of chisel and pencil was understood, even if not always practised.[29] At Kempley,

> So that [the Rood] could be painted by a village painter, assisted by my brother I [Randall Wells] cut the pattern in it with gouges and V tools, then we painted the whole thing black thinly…[30]

Wilson himself made the copper altar frontal at Brithdir. Spooner made the altarpiece at St Leonard's, Bridgnorth. He drew out joinery work in painstaking detail, demonstrating his craft credentials: the joints here are the point more than the bookcases.

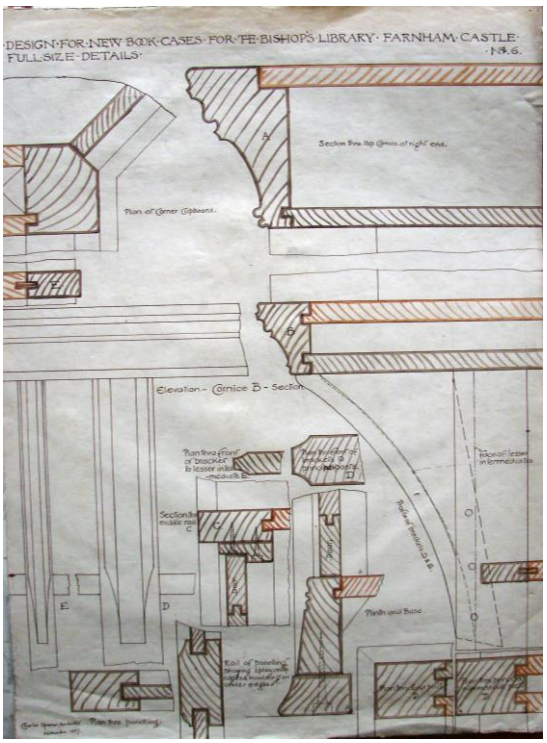


Fig 4.3 Bishop's Palace, Farnham Castle:
Library bookcases, specification drawing (detail) by Charles Spooner
Collection of Peter Hoare

[29] 'If you would be a real architect, you must always have either pencil or chisel in hand' E T Cook and A Wedderburn (eds), *The Works of John Ruskin,* (London: George Allen, 1903-12), vol. 37, p. 199.
[30] Randall Wells, 'Kempley Church', p. 166.

> There was delight in this sort of labour, and, again, in its being personal.
>
> I am drawing all the fine details…myself, and so it takes me some time - but I would rather make time and do them myself.[31]

Was this any different from the painstaking draughtsmanship of Street, for example? Perhaps the difference was in the pleasure of drawing as a good in itself.

Where an AWG architect was not also the craftsman, he worked in harmony with a colleague who was, and who was also a friend – Weir Schultz and Gimson at Woolmer, Randall Wells and Laurence Turner at Kempley, Curtis Green and Turner (again) at Dockenfield, Guy Dawber and Louis Davis at Matlock. Harmonious co-operation was part of it: Wilson championed 'a certain amount of unselfishness.'[32] The spirit could go further – at Glandford, Sir Alfred Jodrell encouraged his wood carvers to express themselves through their craft, without the involvement of his more pedestrian architects, Hicks and Charlewood. At Charterhouse-on-Mendip, though the archival record has vanished, and much of the carving seems to have been done professionally, it is possible that some may also have been carried out by the congregation themselves (were they 'gifted amateurs'? Not if there was carpentry at the mines. The point is moot. See p 219). At Stonebroom there is something similar – the fittings made by local worker/craftsmen permitted the freedom of artists: Currey seems not to have made drawings for any fittings. Among the architects, there was even a certain proud scepticism about the word 'architect'. Lethaby preferred to be thought of as a builder – he wrote on 'The Builder's Art and the Craftsman' for *Architecture – Art or Profession?* Charles Ponting was very un-grand about his architectural credentials: the son of a

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[31] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 24 October 1890. 'Street, a rapid designer, would never let his staff even design a keyhole.' Andrew Saint, 'Shaw, Richard Norman (1831–1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/36050 [accessed 8 July 2016].

[32] Henry Wilson, 'Nineteenth Century Church Building', p. 50.

forester on the Savernake Estate, he trained in the office of the Estate's in-house architect, spending time in the masons' yard and the joinery shop: an ideal of Arts & Crafts grounding. Artistry and craftsmanship could even combine in a sort of idyll of simplicity: at Lower Kingswood, 'Mr Barnsley, the architect…personally superintended the work in every detail.'[33] And 'painted the roof with his own hands.'[34]

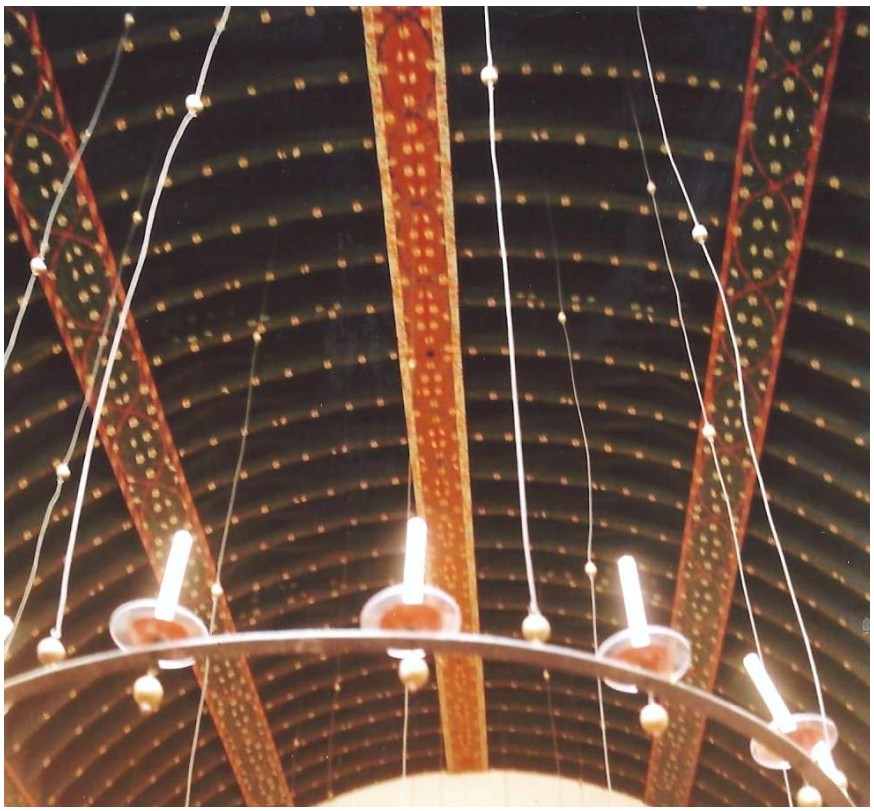


Fig 4.4 Lower Kingswood: roof painted by Barnsley

In 1909 Barnsley's co-researcher of Byzantine churches, Weir Schultz, cited Lower Kingswood as an example of buildings

> which have been designed by architects who feel very strongly the shortcomings of the present state of things, and who in a small measure have attempted in the method of carrying out their work, to get more in touch with the craftsmen who actually executed it….[35]

[33] Robert Weir Schultz, R, 'Reason in Building' in Davison, T. R. (ed.) *The Arts connected with Building…,* p. 37, fn.
[34] W R Lethaby, Obituary of Mr Sidney Barnsley, *Times* 30 September 1926, p. 7.
[35] Weir Schultz, 'Reason in Building, p. 37.

Attitudes 3)…but *not* tradesmen



Fig 4.5 ACES device

The conjoining of art and craft – as the ACES's device suggests – put on an equal footing the artist in his pumps and the craftsman in boots and Phrygian cap, shaking hands. But there was in this conjoining a spectre at the feast: class. Between them stood not so much a burgeoning Tree of Knowledge, but an unwelcome third party: the vulgar tradesman. The snobbery of the AWG, uncomfortable but real, was expressed vividly in *Beauty's Awakening,* the AWG 1899 pageant: a light-hearted but powerful public statement of AWG's position on class, acted out by the Brothers not as polemic, but Gilbertian satire. They mocked especially the vulgarity of the surveyor, with his tape measure and notebook – no better than the developer he worked for:

> By everything holy, commercial and cunning,
>
> Philistinus, the British, comes first in the running.
>
> Shuffle, and soft soap, and slipshod, and sham;
>
> Culture and cram; cant in the jam;
>
> Press-puff and persiflage, humbug and flam…[36]

[36] 'Beauty's Awakening', *The Studio,* Summer Number 1899, p. 26.

Salesmanship, pretence, artifice: the AWG loathed them all. Class made them uncomfortable about clients too – the swinish rich – even (perhaps especially) when taking their money:

> His immaculate togs, and his silk top hat,
> His fortune in pills, and the affable chat,
> Of his puff in the press, for he pays for that
> As he pays for his complaisant aristocrat. [37]

It was seemingly the rich's bourgeois and 'nouveau' qualities that were so disagreeable. (Weir Schultz was happy to work for the Marquesses of Bute, and Detmar Blow for the Duke of Westminster, so complaisant aristocrats were, it seems, acceptable as clients.) By contrast to these mere tradesmen, the architect was something quite distinct: a man of taste, with developed sensibilities, whose concern for the beautiful amounted almost to a higher morality: 'Beauty's spirit – soul of life's sweet rose.'[38] Few declared it quite so directly now as Pugin had: but though we may with hindsight discern in *Beauty's Awakening* the spirit of Oscar Wilde, the pageant's sentiments were as seriously meant as Pugin's in *Contrasts*. Being neither proletarian nor patrician, the middle class architect was anxious to stake out his territory as distinctive and elevated by superior knowledge and understanding.

Attitudes 4) Originality, the extraordinary and modernity

At Brithdir Wilson was keen to be seen to be original: 'avoiding the idea of something seen before… and not immediately derived from some existing original.'[39] He had an instinct towards the non-ordinary, and against being accepted: 'if I had done the

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid, p. 18.
[39] Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 436: 15 March 1898.

ordinary thing everybody would have accepted it…'[40] Yet more original and extraordinary was Randall Wells's Kempley (which followed on from his venturesome work as Clerk of Works at Brockhampton): 'perhaps the most startling modern note… is given by the straight-lined tracery of the western light….a notable variant on older Gothic practice.'[41] The client did not want an east window, so the west 'had to be as wide and as high as possible…this suggested to me the idea of building the west end as a



Fig 4.6 Kempley: west end

piece of stone trellis work, and then glazing it.'[42] Modern? Or ancient? The debt (if debt it be) to the only medieval precedent (at Barsham, Suffolk), may be deliberate or coincidental. There was even greater originality in Wells's commandeering of Nature into his design – the original, even of flowers, could be improved upon by an artist.

> The churchyard was to have walls covered with crimson ramblers and wild briars… The grass is to be allowed to grow like a meadow, and to be filled with daffodils, forget-me-nots... and many other flowers that can be seen in Gloucestershire hedgerows….[43]

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Laurence Weaver, 'Kempley New Church, Gloucestershire, designed by Mr Randall Wells', *Country Life,* 19 August 1916, supplement pp. 2-3; p. 3.
[42] Wells, 'Kempley Church', p. 166.
[43] Ibid.

This goes well beyond the remit of any Scott design, and beyond the requirement, surely of Wells's client, Lord Beauchamp. Originality was equated with modernity:

> The new church…bears its date on its face, instead of following a common example in being merely a replica of some historical model…. The spirit of the Gothic tradition is followed faithfully, but with differences which give a convincing modern personality to old forms.[44]

Not everyone was as original as Wilson or modern as Wells – Newton's instincts were conservative, and Prior's early taste for novelty dwindled with age and reputation. But the quality of invention expressed at Brithdir and Kempley, and their architects' interest in not merely perfecting the Gothic, but going beyond it, even leaving it behind, reflects a deeper force of adventure, shared most vividly by AWG Brothers like Harrison Townsend and Weir Schultz. Lethaby wrote about adventure, but he counselled caution on originality:

> the living central stem of architecture has always been rooted in the spirit of active experiment and adventure…[45] True originality is to be found by those, who standing on the limits of the sphere of the known, reach out naturally to some apprehension and understanding of what is beyond.[46]

Can originality and modernity be further teased out? An example of what might be original, or assumed to be an attempt to be, might be nothing of the kind. Architects tend not to be explicit about sources, and unconscious 'copying' is as likely as conscious. How is every model to be identified: how new is new? Five of the 'Founders' of the AWG (see Appendix 2) – W R Lethaby, Ernest Newton, Mervyn Macartney, E S Prior,

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[44] Weaver, 'Kempley New Church…', p. 2.
[45] Lethaby, 'The Adventure of Architecture', *Form in Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 89.
[46] Ibid, p. 90.

Gerald Horsley and Arthur Keen – built churches, but few.[47] All five had worked in Shaw's office, and formed the core of the SGAS. By 1884 Shaw had built nine churches, so from his acolytes one might expect reference to his examples.[48] If it is there, it is hard to discern. Something different seems to be at work. But what? Three churches provide examples of these early Brothers' work: Prior's at Bothenhampton, Newton's at Hither Green and Horsley's at Longsdon.

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Fig 4.7 Holy Trinity, Bothenhampton (E S Prior, 1887-90)
Upper: Dorset churches: www.bath.ac.uk Lower: puddleshark at livejournal.com

[47] Macartney's only church was the chapel at Poundsbridge, Penshurst, Kent (1888). Keen built only Cricklewood, and the Chapel at Baptist Church House, Southampton Row London (1901-2). Horsley, as well as St Chad, Longsdon, built All Saints, Hanley, Stoke (1911); he also rebuilt the chancel of St Leonard, Ipstones (1902-3). Lethaby built Brockhampton and made the chapel at Melsetter, Orkney, from a cow shed (1899). As well as Hither Green, Newton built The Good Shepherd, Lee, Lewisham (1881) (destroyed in the Blitz) and SS Gregory & Augustine (RC), Wolvercote, Oxon (1912). Prior built Bothenhampton; St Christopher, Walworth (1892); Roker (1906-7); and a good deal of St Osmund, Parkstone, Bournemouth, Dorset (1913-16).

[48] St Matthew, Meerbrook, Staffs (1868, 1873), St Michael, Bournemouth (1872-83), St Margaret, Ilkley (1875-9), St Swithun, Bournemouth (1875-92), Epiphany Chapel, Peplow, Salop (1877-9), St Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park (1879-87), Harrow School Mission, Acton (1883), St Thomas, Groombridge, East Sussex (1883-4).



Fig 4.8 St Swithun, Hither Green (Ernest Newton, 1892-1902)





Fig 4.9 St Chad, Longsdon (Gerald Horsley, 1903-5)

These churches do not exhibit any great similarity to each other either in treatment or appearance, as one would expect were their architects a 'school'. The men were *simpatico* enough to have clubbed together, but similar direction of artistic and political travel, fired by youthful enthusiasm (in 1884 the oldest of them was 27) did not result in uniformity: neither in materials, spatial arrangement or fenestration, for example. There are hardly even visual clues to link the practitioners with *themselves*! Lethaby is thought to have designed the reredos at Newton's St Swithun's (p 146). But his learned, rather fussy Medieval assemblage is a far cry from his later self-effacing, contemplative chapel at Melsetter, or the theatrical vernacular of Brockhampton (which does, however, echo Bothenhampton in its nave arches).

What can be discerned is a taste for variations on architectural language that perhaps had not been seen before: an inclination not to follow the conventional – sometimes simplified, sometimes elaborated, if not in vocabulary, perhaps in syntax. Modest innovation was preferred above adherence to convention. Prior's nave, with arches like whale jaw-bones in stone (Lethaby's yet more angular version appeared at Brockhampton in 1901); Newton's combination of conventionally pretty traceried windows (the stone set into brick) alongside tiny rectangular ones, seemingly placed at random; Horsley's chancel gates, something between rural hurdle and gilded portcullis – all have some sense of muted originality. Such inclination towards novelty may simply be boyish high spirits: being a little different from what had gone before, albeit within conventional forms and plans, was exciting – what has been described as 'a spurt of enterprise in churches about 1900.'[49] Arguably novelty is characteristic of *all* 20th century architecture: if so, perhaps seen here first. Breaking with the past was problematic: for there was also reverence and admiration for it (Chapter 5).

[49] John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Dorset* (London: Penguin, Buildings of England, 1972), p. 262.

A second trio of architects, all of whom joined the AWG later than the first group, display yet wider individuality, and perhaps rather greater originality: Sidney Barnsley (AWG 1892) at Lower Kingswood, Henry Wilson (AWG 1892) at Brithdir, and Charles Spooner (AWG 1887) at Haslemere. Between them, these three built a dozen churches.[50] Only ten years separates the three, so it is perhaps rather surprising the similarities between them are yet fewer than with the first trio. Lower Kingswood is a young man's church (Barnsley was 25): the design based on the Byzantine monasteries he had studied in Greece. It is both learnedly faithful – the ground plan an exact copy of a Byzantine monastery – and impressionistic – its exterior echoing four different churches. Brithdir was the first church Wilson designed away from the guiding hand of Sedding: he was 31 at Brithdir. Haslemere was Spooner's fifth church, coming at the mid-point of his career. Barnsley worked close-to, with intense attention to small details, creating a reminiscence rather than re-creation of the exotic; Wilson was yet more impressionistic, seeking for something of the Italian Alps, yet with a Celtic accent, and an interior colour scheme that is bold and unsettling (even if carried out with red and blue reversed from his original idea); Spooner tried hard to be homely and modest, mixing Surrey vernacular with the honest economy of a village hall barrel roof. The three treatments confirm that each could and did take his own original line. As long as there was no 'copying', and little or no use of machines, originality and inventiveness were applauded.

[50] Barnsley later turned a coach house into a chapel at Rodmarton, Glos (1925). Wilson completed several of John Dando Sedding's churches, but built just this one church of his own, and the interiors of three private chapels: Welbeck Abbey, Notts (1889-97); Douglas Castle, Lanarkshire (1894-6) (dem. 1956) and Wynyard Hall, Co Durham (1903-5), as well as the chapel at Walmsgate Hall (1901), now re-assembled as St Hugh, Langworth, Lincs. He was also responsible for significant contributions to church interiors at St Martin, Low Marple, Cheshire; St Mary, Lynton, Devon; St Bartholomew, Brighton; Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell; and probably did all the work at St Peter, Ealing. Spooner built seven churches, and extended some others. See Alec Hamilton, *Charles Spooner: Arts & Crafts architect* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2012).

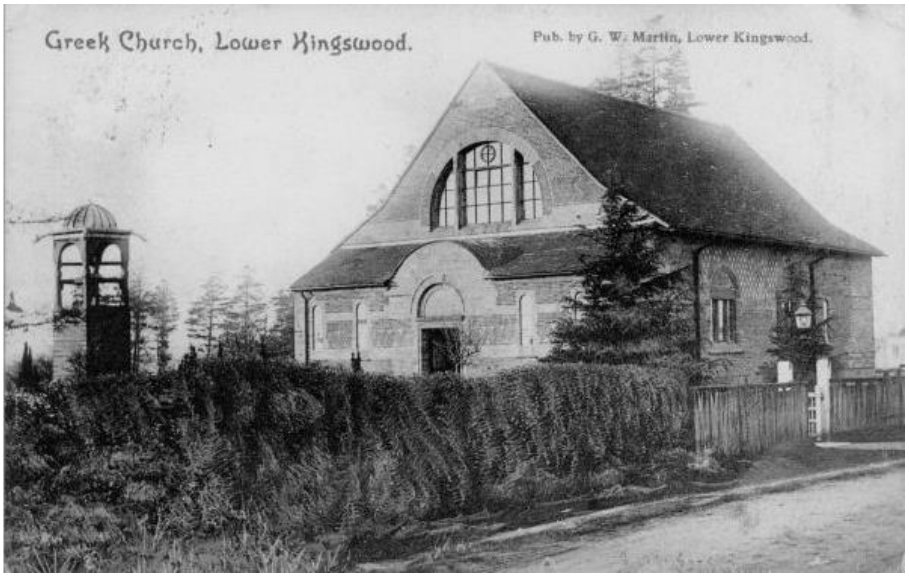


Fig 4.10 'Greek Church, Lower Kingswood':
Postcard of unknown date (probably about 1905) by G W Martin, in the possession of R Albert at www.oldreigate.com



Fig 4.11 Lower Kingswood: brickwork

Two copyright photographs removed

Fig 4.12 Brithdir (Henry Wilson, 1895-8)
Upper: Martin Crampin Lower: Friends of Friendless Churches



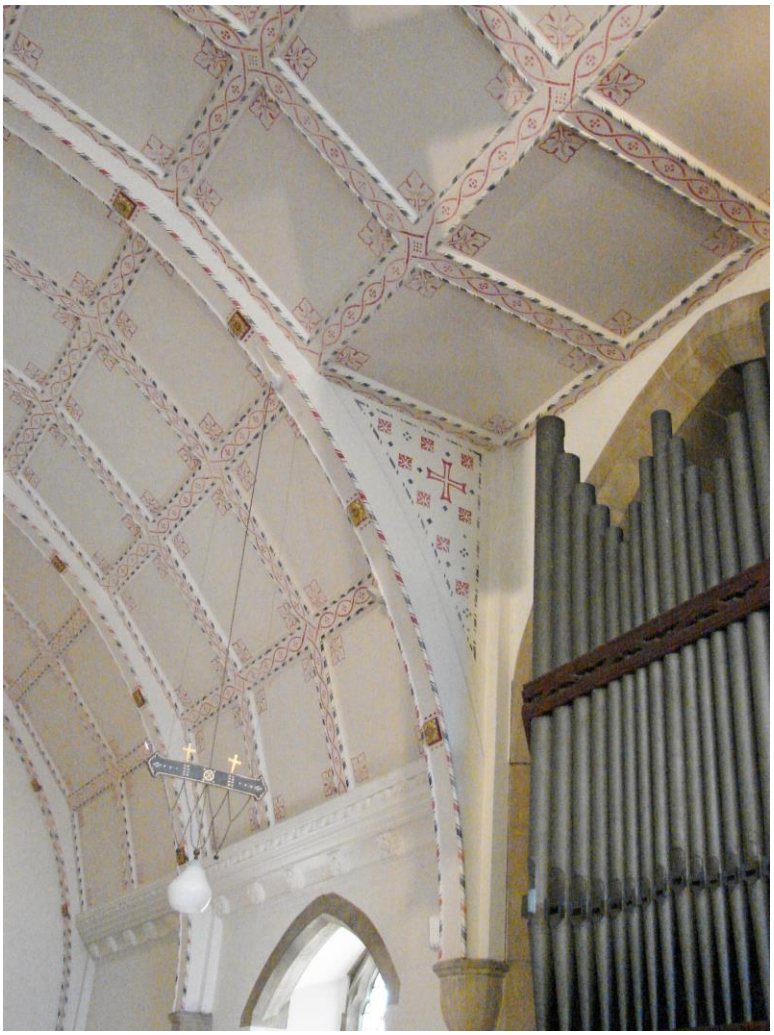


Fig 4.13 Haslemere (Charles Spooner, 1902-4)

Attitudes 5) Steadfastness and commitment

Underlying this variousness is an awkward conundrum: though connections to the AWG (certainly among these six architects) were important to them, their connections differed from close to loose – giving rise to the notion that some architects were 'more' Arts & Crafts than others. Nobody placed themselves on a spectrum from 'hardcore' to 'periphery', but the variation of engagement needs to be acknowledged and understood. Why should artistic independence of mind not include independence from the centre? One could rigidly take membership of committees of AWG and ACES as indicative of commitment – but this would be misleading in those, like Spooner, who sat on them but hardly participated, or Morris, who disliked them. It is tempting, perhaps, to try to argue any architect's degree of 'Arts & Crafts-ness' from the evidence of their buildings: but that would be a circular argument, and fruitless. On the other hand, the arc of their careers, and development in the way they approached jobs might be indicative. There would be little point in trying to draw a Venn diagram for each. It is probably best to summarise along these lines: those who came early in their lives to the AWG, tended to stay with Arts & Crafts ideas throughout their career – except where they continued as architects after 1918, from which time onward it became more difficult to sustain the enthusiasm and thrust. For some of the architects, success and longevity meant that Arts & Crafts 'look' was no longer what their clients wanted, nor what they themselves wanted to produce.

Of the earliest members Lethaby never deviated – but he built less and less, and became an educator and sitter on committees instead. Sidney Barnsley held fast to the Simple Life, hand-made tables and hay-rake stretchers: his second church, built as late as 1925, seems almost self-consciously an Arts & Crafts pastiche – like something from

Tolkien's Shire, a lovely toy. Prior continued to innovate and explore, but his career steadily declined as fashions changed, and his last jobs ended in disappointment and defeat: no fellow architect came to his funeral. By the 1930s Spooner had moved towards something more stripped-down and simplified – he seemed ever more drawn to his hero Bodley in later years. Meanwhile Wilson forsook architecture altogether; Wells took to designing skyscrapers; Weir Schultz could not survive in the new hard-hearted business world, sent all his papers to salvage, and stopped work for good in 1939.[51]

Thus the peak of Arts & Crafts influence is early, right at the start, and sustains while its initiators are young. By 1900 it is the norm – and easily aped. The Great War inevitably brings change. Between the Wars, the ideas live on but much less confidently, dwindling down to nothing by WW2. And, although profoundly English in origin, and even rather 'Little Englander' in tone initially, Arts & Crafts had not only ambition and big ideas, but international resonance. The architects, while sometimes – like Wilson – anti-'foreign' in their writings, could also be international in grasp, though that tended only to extend to the English-speaking world, especially the USA and the larger outposts of Empire.

The grid overleaf is an attempt to systematize some of this. It shows the key architects whose buildings are considered in the thesis; their relations to the AWG and ACES; and some of their inter-relations, as well as some suggestions of other connections. Where the members of the AWG joined at a young age, it is marked in red. These seem to be the ones who cleave longest to the ideas, and in whom they are most forcibly – though variously – expressed. The influence of the Arts & Crafts is fugitive, uncertain, capricious, captious and uneven: the more so in churches.

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[51] David Ottewill, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect', pp. 88-115 and 161-172.

Affiliations and memberships of selected 'Arts &Crafts architects'

Name	Born	Died	Joined AWG	Age at joining AWG	Resigned from AWG?	AWG posts	ACES	RA? RIBA? AA?
Philip Webb	1831	1915	No	-	-	-	Elected 1889	-
Norman Shaw	1831	1912	1897	66	'Hon' 1898-1901	-	Did not exhibit	RA 1877; *ARIBA 60s (rsgnd)
John Dando Sedding	1838	1891	1884	46	-	Master 1886, 1887	Committee 1888	-
J F Bentley	1839	1902	1889	60	-	-	Images of church work (?)	RIBA Gold Medal 1902
Ernest Newton	1856	1922	1883	27	-	Founder	Seemingly did not exhibit	FRIBA; ARA 1919
W R Lethaby	1857	1931	1883	26	'Hon' 1917-1931	Founder; Master 1911	President 1924	RIBA Δ education
E S Prior	1857	1932	1883	26	-	Founder; Master 1905	Elected 1890	ARA 1914
W D Caröe	1857	1938	1890	33	Resigned1910 Rejoined 1933	†	Seemingly no connection	President AA 1895-6
C F A Voysey	1857	1941	1884	27	'Hon' from 1922	Master 1924	Exhibited	RIBA Gold Medal 1940
Leonard Stokes	1858	1925	1886	28	1914	-	No known exhibit	Prsdnt AA 1889-92
R Weir Schultz	1860	1951	1891	31	-	Master 1920	Exhibited	-
Gerald Horsley	1862	1917	1883	21	-	Founder	Elected 1890	Prsdnt AA 1911-13
Charles Spooner	1862	1938	1887	25	-	-	Elected 1890; regular exhibitor	FRIBA 1907
Henry Wilson	1864	1934	1892	28	-	Master 1917	Elected 1890; President 1915-22	-
Sidney Barnsley	1865	1926	1892	27	-	-	Frequent exhibitor	-
M H Baillie Scott	1865	1945	No	-	-	-	Exhibited in 1896 only	-
E L Lutyens	1869	1944	1903	24	-	Master 1933	No known exhibit	RA 1920
Randall Wells	1877	1942	No	-	-	-	No known exhibit	-

* The story of Norman Shaw's relations with the RIBA is complicated.
† It is not clear why Caröe resigned, then rejoined.
Δ Lethaby was never FRIBA, but 'as one of the AWG's representatives on the RIBA's Board of Architectural Education, played a major part in drafting the first RIBA syllabus in 1907.' John Kay, 'W R Lethaby and the Central School', *Journal of William Morris Society*, 1985, pp. 26-30: p. 26.

Attitudes 6) The importance of being earnest

The architects of the AWG wore their talents lightly. Yes, they were capable of plodding diligence – in which they had something in common with their predecessors – but they were rarely bustling and self-assured (though Lutyens and Nicholson became increasingly so): they tended to be tentative, reflective, self-effacing and cautious. Their exemplars were, perhaps, Webb and Sedding, both reserved men. F C Eden, as curator of the ecclesiastical furnishings display at the British Empire Exhibition (1924), exhibited none of his own designs.[52] Sidney Barnsley's disinclination for a bustling life expressed itself clearest when he immersed himself in furniture-making in Sapperton. Something similar happened with Wilson, who turned away from architecture and towards jewellery, having found co-operation and compromise so uncongenial. Many were shy of publication. Percy Currey's writings, such as they are, are on Derbyshire archaeology, not his own architecture.[53] Charles Ponting seems to have published nothing at all, nor did W D MacLennan; Godfrey Pinkerton just two articles.[54] C C Rolfe wrote extensively, knowledgeably and occasionally impenetrably on liturgy, but scarcely about architecture.[55] Spooner was not averse to publicity – all his churches were published, and he provided presentation drawings for publication: the surviving portfolio of his drawings includes six copies of an offprint from *The Architect and Builder's Journal*. But he was a reluctant public speaker, and rarely committed himself to paper: he seemed happiest when working on rather trivial rural work in Westmill, a Hertfordshire village, for his friend T T Greg. He immersed himself in committee work, behind the scenes,

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[52] E Hagger, 'Eden, Frederick Charles (1864–1944)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (OUP, 2011) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70414, accessed 10 May 2014].
[53] Nine articles in *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* from 1893 to 1931.
[54] Godfrey Pinkerton, 'Some Dublin Buildings', *AR* 1906, pp 209-220; 'The Parish Church of St. Paul, Deptford: Thomas Archer, Architect,' *AR*, 52, July-December 1922, pp. 76-83.
[55] *Chancel Screens and Roods* (Reading, 1877); *The Ancient Use of Liturgical Colours* (Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1879); *Ecclesiastical Dilapidation* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1883); *The Liturgical Use of Incense, an Eirenicon*… (London, 1900).

serving unobtrusively on the ICBS committee for 30 years. Commitment and self-effacement may also be seen in W D Caröe, architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from 1895 until his death in 1938; and Arthur Keen who dedicated himself almost entirely to the Baptist Union and, latterly, traffic management.[56] For many, age moved them from fiery originals to revered eminence: Professor Lethaby as Surveyor of Westminster Abbey in 1906; Beresford Pite and E S Prior as Professors.[57] Some who started out very 'Arts & Crafts' – low-key, socially conscious – became less diffident, reticent and patient as success fed their ambition: Dawber and Curtis Green.

Earnestness and unworldiness go hand-in-hand, perhaps – the absent-minded professor. No businessman would admit:

> Unfortunately I left my case with several letters including yours, and I have only now recovered it…I find I have not a note of the arrangement of the chairs...I have kept you waiting for the revised plans too long… I have not been able to finish the set of drawings.[58]

But the Arts & Crafts did not want to be business-like: 'We altogether refuse to acknowledge the *par excellence* business man, who is declared to be an architect, though he hardly pretends to know anything about architecture.'[59] Even those who were perhaps more inclined to display and society were often, in a church context, disposed to be low-key and unflashy: Shaw, whose surviving correspondence shows a combative, energetic mind, wanted his work to be simple and restful – at Richards Castle at least:

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[56] Arthur Keen, *Charing Cross Bridge* (London: Ernest Benn, 1930). He wrote a torrent of letters to the *Times* on the need for better London river crossings in the 1920s. He wrote only one article on architecture: 'The Craftsman's Part in the Classic Revival', *AR,* XLIX Jan-June 1921, pp. 98-9.
[57] Prior published *A History of Gothic Art in England* (London: G Bell & Sons,1900); *Cathedral Builders in England* (London: Seeley & Co., 1905); (with Arthur Gardner) *An Account of English Medieval Figure-Sculpture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912). He was appointed Slade Professor at Cambridge in 1905.
[58] Letters in 1925 from Charles Spooner to Rev K W Sibley at East Ham: 8 July, 5 October, 6 November, 11 November (St Paul, East Ham church archives).
[59] R Norman Shaw, 'The Fallacy that the Architect who makes Design his first Consideration, must be unpractical' in Shaw and Jackson (eds), *Architecture: a profession or an art?,* p. 10.

> We have alas! all grown so fidgety and restless – that simplicity and quietness does not appeal to us as it ought…. of course it would be easy to smarten [the north wall] up, but when smartened it would lack that nice flatness and repose….Let us throw this marble floor to the winds – or keep it for Restaurants and Theatre entrances where smartness seems to be more appreciated – and where it is perhaps more appropriate.[60]

There was a sense of diligent application. Henry Wilson took pains to get the detail of the figures on the copper altar frontal at Brithdir just right, despite the fretting of his client. Similar attentiveness in evident in Eden at North Cerney, Dawber at Matlock and Weir Schultz at Woolmer Green.

Their earnestness could be expressed in scholarliness, even to the point of pedantry: Seddon's practical knowledge of Byzantine exemplars is shown in the capitals of the claustral walk at Hoarwithy; Eden had extensive knowledge of renaissance Italy – he wrote on 'Varallo and its Imitators' and was an expert on the 16th century Sacred Mounts of the Italian Piedmont.[61] (Curtis Green thought Eden had 'one of the most interesting minds in architecture.'[62]) Weir Schultz, building on his early researchers in Byzantine Greece, became an authority on the subject.[63] Shaw demonstrated knowledge of the profiles and cross-sections of medieval piers in a letter to his client at Richards Castle:

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[60] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 4 November 1891.
[61] 'Architectural Notes in Piedmont', lecture delivered at AA, 24 November 1913, reported in *The Builder*, 29 November 1913, p. 572 and 5 December 1913, p. 607; 'Varallo and its Imitators,' lecture at RIBA, 18 January 1915, reported in *JRIBA* XXII, No 7. He also lectured on 'Ecclesiastical Paintings in Northern Italy' (1915). He was an expert on Processional Crosses, and contributed designs to the Wayside Cross Society. He published 'On Font Covers' (*The Builder*, 30 August 1902); and on organs (*The Organ,* ICBS, n.d. but probably 1910s).
[62] From the discussion following the Varallo lecture, reported in *JRIBA* op cit.
[63] R Weir Schultz, 'Byzantine Art', *AR* I (1897), pp. 192-99 and 248-55.

Fig 4.14 Enclosure in letter from Shaw to Mrs Foster, 22 October 1890
Shaw/Foster papers

Yet, compared to the Gothic Revival church architects, they were light-hearted. Even when a church was memorial in character (Great Warley, Brockhampton, Glandford, Pixham) the language was upbeat: these churches speak of celebration, not sadness. (Wilson's private chapels and the reredos at Cheltenham remain exceptions). This was perhaps a pose: it seems associated more with relaxation than with work – though there is something puckish in Sedding's enquiry to Christopher Whall of his work at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street: 'Is it too naughty?'[64]

[64] Christopher Whall, 'An Appreciation of J D Sedding', *AR*, Vol. 4 (London, Jun-Nov. 1898), pp. 34-8; p. 36.

Attitudes 7) Conviction

Above all, they were committed – they held to ideas because they believed in them, not because they were convenient, fashionable, or lucrative. It is most apparent in their work ethic, meticulousness and frugality. In some cases (Shaw and Curtis Green) they went so far as to make donations of money to fund-raising efforts for the churches on which they were working. But commitment was not merely to artistic ideals but to deeper social causes, and often sprang from underlying spiritual motivation. The most striking examples of architects with instincts for social justice with religious conviction – though by no means all – are seen in NC contexts: these inform their churches – they are public-spirited.

Thomas Worthington and his son Percy – architects of Ullet Road – came from a strong Unitarian background in Salford:

> [Thomas] actively participated in voluntary societies promoting reform. Foremost was the Manchester Statistical Society… Worthington … published two papers in its annual transactions… His first was on 'Homes for the poor' (1860–61).[65]

He was architect to a company providing public laundries, baths, and swimming pools in Manchester and Salford, 1855-60. He designed hospitals at Withington, Prestwich, Ardwick, Carlisle, Wigan, Halifax and Harrogate. And he built Unitarian churches at Gorton, Eccles, Hyde and Altrincham.[66] Percy, his partner from 1891, gave generous support to many Manchester institutions, and was instrumental in the creation of the university school of architecture.

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[65] Details of the Worthingtons' works are from John H G Archer, 'Worthington family (*per.* 1849–1963)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007. [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/65161, accessed 10 March 2016].
[66] Clare Hartwell, *Manchester* (London: Penguin, 2001).

At Wallasey – again Unitarian – the connection between the architects and their denomination is close and strong: Edmund Ware (1852-1934) and Edmund Rathbone (1863-1924) were both committed Unitarians (the Rathbone family were also patrons of Ullet Road). Employing the Bromsgrove Guild, in particular Bernard Sleigh and Walter Gilbert, to decorate the interior, expressed not only forward-thinking tastes and awareness of European artistic ideas, but a commitment to liberal values.



Fig 4.15 Wallasey: painted bench end by Bernard Sleigh (1899)

Rathbone's uncle was a Liberal MP, who determined 'at an early age to devote an ever-increasing proportion of his income to public objects'. Rathbone's father knew both Ruskin and Morris: he was responsible for Liverpool's Walker gallery buying a number of works by the PRB.[67] Rathbone himself was more ethereal: he wrote a booklet on

[67] Jacqueline Bailey, 'In what way was the Memorial Church, Manor Road, Liscard, of 1899, influenced in design by the Arts and Crafts Movement?' (Open University Course A305 project, 1982).

Humanity and Art;[68] and ran a café which acted as a meeting place for Liverpool's artistic elite. In 1907 he wrote

> …Friends hold up my hands,
>
> And let me make pretence, however small,
>
> Humanity to serve, and citizen to be![69]

Public service went hand in hand with art. Rathbone's brother founded the Della Robbia pottery company in Birkenhead (some of their work is in the church); his cousin, Richard Llewelyn Rathbone made the doors at Ullet Road.

At Ben Rhydding, both architects were active Methodists. George Pennington, son of a Wesleyan minister, was deeply involved in local Wesleyan churches: a Sunday School teacher, Trustee of a church in Castleford, and Circuit Steward from 1902. The main focus of his architectural career was churches (he never called them 'chapels'): he built 22. His partner, Howard Garside was a more political animal: Town Councillor in Pontefract, a School Governor, hospital trustee, and founder of the Pontefract Co-operative Society.[70] Their practice was community-minded: they offered their services free of charge for the design and building of the Carnegie Free Library in Pontefract (1903) (now Museum).

At St Cuthbert, Philbeach Gardens, designed by Hugh Roumieu Gough, the vicar, Father Henry Westall, embellished the interior from its consecration, notably with the overwhelming reredos (1899), which entirely fills the east end, designed by Ernest

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[68] Theodore Rathbone papers, Liverpool Records Office: 920 MD/358 (23 December 1911).
[69] 'John Finnie's Burial: what was it? Was it art?', quoted in Bailey, 'In what way…?', (n.p.).
[70] L J Turner, 'Garside and Pennington: architects of Castleford and Pontefract', *Wesley Historical Society (Yorkshire Branch) Journal,* 82a, Spring 2003, pp. 2-10: p. 3.

Geldart and executed by Nathaniel Hitch and Co.[71] Geldart trained as an architect with Alfred Waterhouse before taking orders: he undertook 163 architectural projects as a priest.[72] W Bainbridge Reynolds (AWG 1888), who had trained with Sedding, and latterly partnered Starkie Gardner, was a member of the congregation, and his extraordinary lectern (1897) dominates the south aisle. He also designed the chancel and baptistry

copyright image removed

Fig 4.16 St Cuthbert, Philbeach Gardens: lectern
(W Bainbridge Reynolds, 1897, 1910-11)
Stiffleaf on Flickr at www.flickr.com/photos/stiffleaf/6865279601/in/set-72157622648207148/

screens, altar rails, candle standards, paschal candlestick, the front of the high altar, the pulpit (1887), sedilia, piscina, a clock, and an imposing Royal Arms high on the South aisle arcade, as well as some of the stained glass windows and the hanging light fittings.[73]

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[71] Nathaniel Hitch (1845-1938) was also used by Pearson at Truro; by Greenslade for the carving of the reredos at Leeds RC Cathedral; and in several churches by W D Caröe.
[72] Review of James Bettley, 'Ernest Geldart: Priest-Architect', *Ecclesiology Today* 27, January 2002, pp. 15-17. Sere also James Bettley, 'The Reverend Ernest Geldart (1848-1929) and Late Nineteenth Century Church Decoration' (PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, 1999) and John Booker, *Godly and Gifted: The Victorian Geldart family and its Contribution to Religion, Learning and the Fine Arts* (Little Braxted: privately published, 2008).
[73] 'Churches and chapels: Church of England', in *Survey of London: Volume 42, Kensington Square To Earl's Court*, ed. Hermione Hobhouse (London, 1986), pp. 368-386. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol42/pp368-386 [accessed 16 August 2016].

He was a High Church man with 'a profound reverence for ceremonial and symbolism'.[74] 'In St Cuthbert's his devotion to the church and to his craft found a united expression.'[75]

When it came to churches – as it so seldom did – the men of the AWG were a new breed: their desire to be seen as artists, and as craftsmen; their sense of personal commitment to it; their urge to be original and to think for themselves: all this was new. But to understand how the ways they thought influenced their work, they need to be seen alongside the other part of their intellectual activity – their 'hinterland'. What interested them?

Interests 1) Learning: what they talked about

Peter Stansky has analyzed the AWG's objectives, interests and shibboleths.[76] They may be summarised as talk, debate, sharing ideas; discontent with the Academy; the artistic rather than professional stance (though not excluding 'professional' in its sense of 'conscientious'); slightly Left, though ostensibly apolitical; comradeship. The AWG was not The Athenaeum: more unbuttoned; nor the New English Arts Club: more serious. An easy-going air, and fellowship in a gathering of liked-minded souls were important.[77] (Morris had set the tone: 'Fellowship is heaven'.)[78] Informed talks on historic and technical subjects were followed by questions from the floor, discussion, and light-hearted banter. The same kind of enthusiasm, as well as a starry-eyed hero-worship of

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[74] C F A Voysey, Obituary of Bainbridge Reynolds, 11 April 1935, quoted in R Hill, 'Reynolds, William Bainbridge (1855–1935)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, OUP, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75303, accessed 13 May 2014].
[75] Ibid.
[76] Peter Stansky, *Redesigning the World*…, pp. 119-170.
[77] John Summerson, *The Turn of the Century* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1976), p. 19.
[78] William Morris, *A Dream of John Ball*, chapter IV (Collected Works, vol. 16, p. 230).

Morris and admiration of Webb, was expressed by men like Detmar Blow, Henry Wilson and Lethaby at dinners in the 1890s:

> Amongst the good talk and the jokes, a current of admiration ran fruitfully between the generations… 'Supper afterwards at Gatti's… great talk on art, steam engines, 19th century ineptitude etc…'[79]

They were not academics. They wanted to talk about decoration and materials. The 'Subjects Discussed' at the first five AWG meetings, in 1884, set the tone: 'Processes of Modelling', 'Sculpture, from the different Craftsmen's points of view', 'Painted glass', 'Processes of Etching' and 'Architecture, from the different Craftsmen's points of view'. Where there was no element of craft instruction or explanation, talks were historical more than theoretical: 'History of English Pottery' (15 January 1886); 'Holbein' (2 April 1886); 'Book Ornamentation before Printing' (6 January 1888). There were very few subjects related to church work, and that little, historical: the first overtly ecclesiastical subject was not until the AWG's 57th talk, 'Mural Monuments and Effigies' (7 June 1889), then nothing till 'The Sistine Chapel' (8 November 1889 – their 62nd); three years later, 'Westminster Abbey' (17 June 1892); then another gap before 'Byzantine Art' (16 March 1894), and 'Memorial brasses' (18 October 1895). The only *practical* church-related talk in the first 7 years was probably 'Modern Stained-glass making' (6 July 1894), although problems specific to contemporary church-building may well have come up in discussions on 'Intarsia' and 'Tiles', and possibly in 'Pedestals and Canopies' and 'Organ Cases'. They discussed 'Nineteenth-century Church-building' in 1897, but that title suggests looking back on the phenomenon rather than being part of it. Only in 1898 did 'Art in the Church' directly address the interface between art and religion.[80] One title may

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[79] Alan Crawford, 'Supper at Gatti's: the SPAB and the Arts and Crafts Movement', in Chris Miele (ed), *From William Morris: Building Conservation and the Arts and Crafts Cult of Authenticity 1877-1939* (Yale, 2005), pp. 101-127: p. 111-112. The internal quote is from Sydney Cockerell's diary.

[80] While there were talks on the more elevated crafts – 'Mezzotint', 'Terra-cotta', 'Goldsmiths' Work' – there was little on the less glamorous aspects of building such a stone-masonry or roofing, or on brick-

serve to point up the slightly effete nature of the AWG's interest in craft: 'Artistic Use of Constructive Iron-work' (5 December 1890). The subject matter for talks moved steadily from the raw practicalities of craft towards the further reaches of art: by 1919, of the 22 subjects discussed, only one was about architectural crafts, and that historical - 'Survival of Old Methods in Building' - whereas ten were about painting and sculpture (the remainder were on education and training, and printing.) This perhaps underlines how 'arty' the AWG was at heart.

Interests 2) Travel

Nineteenth century architects devoted time to travelling and sketching: by the end of the century foreign travel was increasingly possible. Travelling scholarships meant young men could go far. Norman Shaw's RIBA Travelling Studentship (1857) allowed him to visit France, Italy, Germany, and Belgium. Lethaby's (1881) took him to France; in 1893 he was in Constantinople. In 1887 Weir Schultz won the Studentship, and on the advice of Lethaby visited Greece and the Near East, stopping in Italy to sketch Venice, Padua, Florence, Perugia and Rome. On an AA Travelling Scholarship (1888) Detmar Blow went to France and met Ruskin, with whom he travelled for six months. Charles Nicholson was in Rouen 1887, Antwerp 1892, Genoa and Verona 1893, Florence 1895. Norman Jewson travelled to Italy as often as he could; Guy Dawber sketched in Tuscany; Henry Wilson lived in Venice for two years, and visited Bayreuth. Caröe was an inveterate traveller: France, the Low Countries, Germany, Scandinavia (whence his family came), Italy, Germany, Spain, and as far as Egypt, Palestine, Syria and The Sudan. (Had he seen the stave churches of Norway? Might they have influenced Colehill?) The Goths might have seen France, Italy, Germany – but travel loomed larger for a

making or plumbing (though 'Lead-Work' was discussed in 1903), and nothing at all on drains, foundations, heating, or damp courses.

generation who could get about by reliable steamer and railway. For clients, travel was a mark of wealth, and the knowledge (and perhaps photographs) gained was a source not only of inspiration but display. The Brockhampton Fosters summered in Europe and in America. Will Croome (North Cerney) visited Italy regularly with Eden and Walter Tapper. Perhaps the most striking example is Edwin Freshfield at Lower Kingswood, whose travels had found him a wife (at Smyrna), and fostered an interest in Byzantine architecture: 'Mrs Freshfield and I, during the 41 years of our married life, made frequent visits to Constantinople and Asia Minor.'[81] The Byzantine in various mutations crops up surprisingly often elsewhere. Unexpectedly it had one of its earliest manifestations in Scotland, where Rowand Anderson built a church (assisted by Weir Schultz) for the Marquess of Bute.[82] Around Birmingham there are several examples, seemingly feeding off each other (see also p 20).[83]



Fig 4.17 St Sophia, Galston, Kilmarnock (R Rowand Anderson, 1885-6)

[81] Edwin Freshfield, *A memorandum giving a short account of the Byzantine capitals placed in the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood* (privately published, 1903), p. 1.
[82] See Rosemary Hannah, 'St Sophia's Church, Galston: 'The Vast Space of the Interior'', *Architectural History*, Vol. 46 (2003), pp. 255-268.
[83] The origins of Birmingham Byzantine may stem from friendly connections – J S Ball knew Lethaby, and J F Bentley was an influential figure. (Personal communication from Andy Foster, author of the Pevsner Birmingham guide, 8 November 2014.)



Fig 4.18 St Benedict, Bordesley, Birmingham (Nicol and Nicol, 1905-09)



Fig 4.19 St Gregory the Great, Small Heath, Birmingham (J L Ball, 1911-12)

Whether all these were the result of travel, or 'armchair travel' - reading journals and sharing ideas - is unclear: it is doubtful whether the architects themselves could have said. Trying to distil Edgar Wood's (NAWG) ideas, for example, knowing only that he had a fondness for Italy, would be difficult on the basis of his churches. To add to the richness, there was also influence from foreign parts: Axel Haig (AWG) from Gotland, Sweden, for example, architect of All Saints, Grayswood, Surrey (where he lived).



Fig 4.20 Middleton Methodist Church, Lancs (Edgar Wood, 1899-1901)



Fig 4.21 All Saints, Grayswood, Surrey (Axel Haig, 1901): decoration in chancel

Interests 3) The 'folk'

In seeking categories of interest, one is readily seduced into a semantic swamp of proliferating headings: 'quaint', for example – a word freighted with knowing hindsight now, but used as a positive in advertisements by American furniture maker Stickley & Co in the 1900s. For purveyors of 'Art Furniture' in the 1890s eccentricity was no bad thing: an easy shorthand to signal a break with the past. Another possible category might be 'the exotic', even 'the strange' – a quality Spooner saw in Lutyens: he approved his 'gracious touch of strangeness'. Spooner himself tended towards 'mystery': 'a fine rich effect, somewhat mysterious' was promised for the east window at Haslemere. All these terms could be applied to all the churches in this study: it depends what one decides is normative. But adjectives don't really illumine: and the difficulty is that, for some churches, the aesthetic intentions are not now clear – if they ever were. To our 2016 eye, what may have seemed odd and even transgressive then, can be transformed through changes of taste and time into beauty – and *vice versa*. All these might be subsumed into a single category which 'reminded you of the past without trying to reconstruct it' – 'the folk'. Neither Nicholson or Mitchell produced anything quite like these churches again.



Fig 4.22 Curbridge (Charles Nicholson, 1904-6)

The nature of Curbridge, in particular its interior, is so unlike anything else in England – even by Nicholson – it begs the question, 'How did it come about?' In 1904 Nicholson was not long established in his career; he went into partnership with Hubert Corlette in 1895. Curbridge was Nicholson's third new church commission. The



Fig 4.23 Curbridge: interior

partnership had so far built St Alban, Westcliff-on-Sea (1898-1901) and St Matthew, Chelston, Devon (1896). They had also enlarged St Matthew, Yiewsley (1896-8) by adding a new nave to an existing small church by Gilbert Scott. Here appeared an elaborately painted ceiling – the kind of tactful, restrained naturalistic treatment of a



Fig 4.24 St Matthew, Yiewsley: chancel ceiling

formal decorative scheme which was something of a fashion in England in the mid-19th century: at Leek, Jesmond, and St Thomas, Douglas, Isle of Man (Ewan Christian, 1849) for example. But the application of this decoration to the ceiling (reputedly painted by a narrow-boat decorator) does not quite prepare one for the surprise of the interior of Curbridge, a radical composition of furniture and furnishings in rich carmine and holly green with silver highlights, with an altar and reredos *seemingly* constructed from recycled



Fig 4.25 Curbridge: paint detail

panelling, a naively simple altar rail, and candelabra on the end of several congregational benches at once elegant and simple. It all *looks* very 'Arts & Crafts' – even down to the Guild of Handicraft 'pink' painted on the front of the pulpit (Fig 4.23). The furniture draws the eye – strong and bold. Red and green are colours from medieval chancel screen panels, though here the tints seem more muted, darker. Green on furniture has provenance: it was used for a table by Morris in 1856; for church benches by Shaw at Bedford Park (1879-87), Spooner at Exton, Hants (1891-2) and Revd John Hawes at

Gunnerton (1899-1901) - but in all these cases it was as a stain, not, as here, paint, which it appears to have been from the first. The effect is deeply un-English. But where are we? Rural Denmark? Germany? Painted congregational seating in warm, domestic colours is to be found in rural churches across northern Europe. But why employ this device in Oxfordshire? If the scheme was Nicholson's alone, what did he have in mind? He travelled widely in Europe in the 1890s – but, so far as is known, not to Scandinavia.

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Fig 4.26 Ousted church, Denmark
Grethe Bachmann at thyrashm.blogspot.co.uk

A perspective and plan of Curbridge was shown at the RA in 1906. Seven Nicholson and Corlette drawings were published in 1907 in *Academy Architecture.*

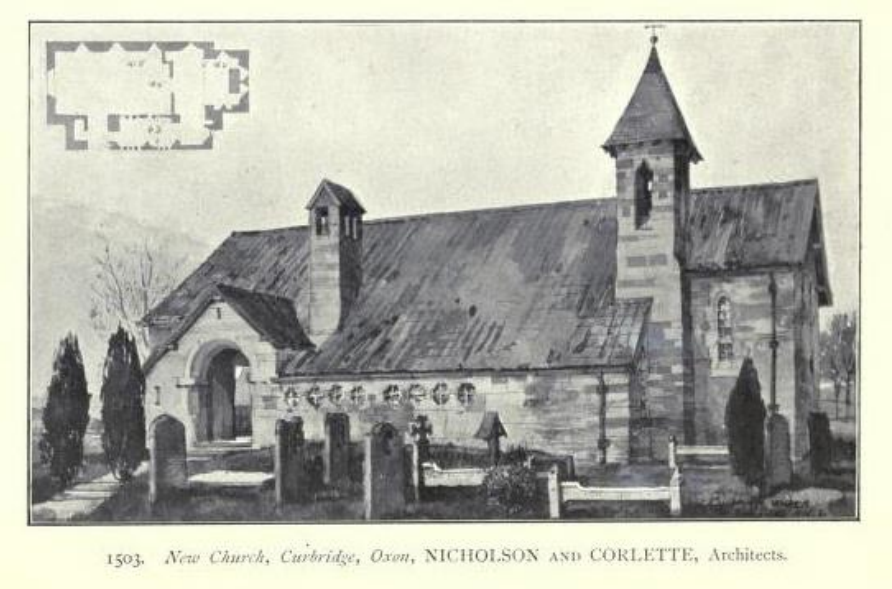


Fig 4.27 'New church, Curbridge, Oxon'
Academy Architecture*, 1906, p. 6*

No design seems to survive for the interior of Curbridge – frustratingly. But it is interesting to note what Nicholson had in mind for a chapel in France (not built).

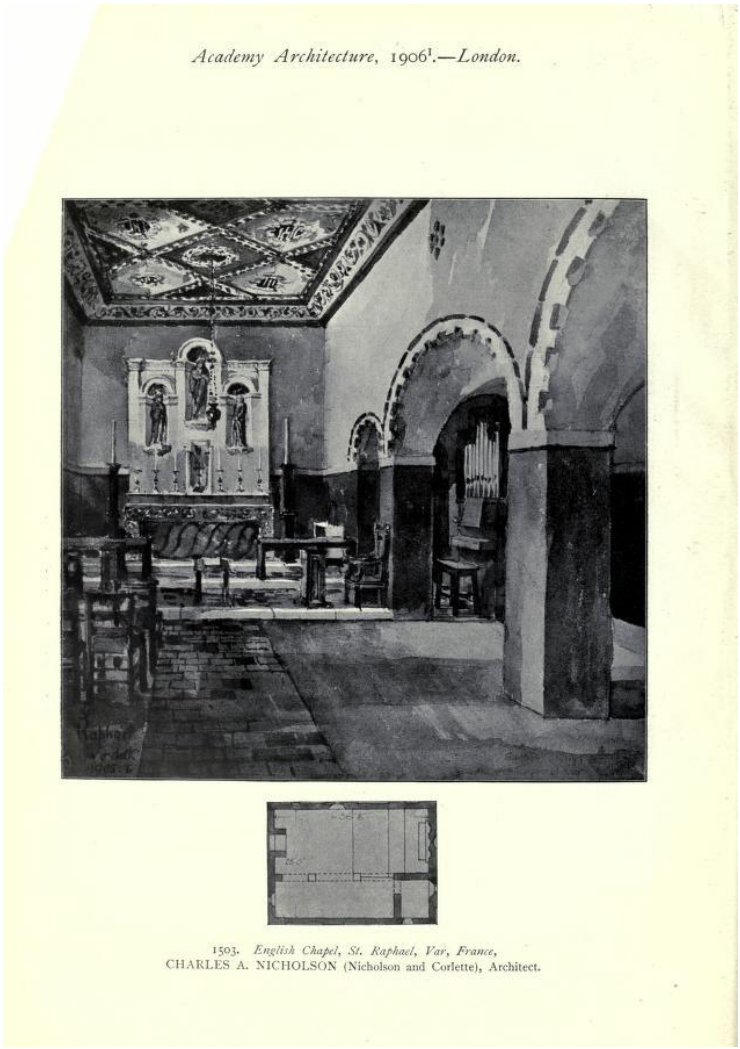


Fig 4.28 'English Chapel, St Raphael, Var, France'
Academy Architecture*, 1906, p. 6*

The English church these most echo is Harrison Townsend's St Martin's Blackheath (1892-3). It has the same crouching quality; a large round-headed doorway at the west end (as at St Raphael) and similar low-sweeping eaves; tiled roof; and a bellcote – though Townsend's is perhaps more Italian and monastic in flavour. The primary impression of all these churches is of rather self-conscious attempts at the picturesque: miniature and a little mysterious. But Curbridge is singular in having a 'folk' interior.



Fig 4.29 St Martin's, Blackheath (Harrison Townsend, 1892-3)

As to the makers of Curbridge's benches, altar rails, pulpit, lectern, altar, reredos and candelabra, history is mute. Nicholson made only one other church approaching this cosy domestic idiom – St George Minworth (1909). His next church, St Augustine of Hippo, Grimsby (1910-11), though it too has painted benches, demonstrates greater

gestures of grandeur. The next, St Paul, Yelverton (1911), is conventional, somewhat grim: Nicholson was on his way to success and fame, and to be architect to seven cathedrals. His 'folk' fling did not last beyond the Great War.



Fig 4.30 St George, Minworth (Charles Nicholson, 1909)

Something yet more extraordinary was happening in the same year as Curbridge at Port Seton, on the Firth of Forth. What folk is this? Sydney Mitchell had been articled



Fig 4.31 Port Seton: looking west

to Robert Rowand Anderson in 1878, and then travelled extensively in Europe. He practised, with an older architect as assistant, as Sydney Mitchell & Wilson from 1887. He was well connected – his father Chairman of the Scottish Life Assurance Company, and a Director of the Commercial Bank of Scotland: much of his work was for banks. He had the commercial architect's pragmatic flexibility: vernacular domestic at the Commercial Bank, Aberfeldy (1883); French Renaissance for Galashiels (1884); Flemish Gothic for Aberdeen (1887).[84] He was never a member of the AWG nor exhibited at the ACES: Scotland had its own focus and fellowships. He nonetheless came under the spell of Norman Shaw: his Commercial Bank at the North Bridge, Edinburgh (1898) is almost as much New Scotland Yard as Scots baronial. By 1904 he had designed eleven Free Church and UFC churches. The exterior of Chalmers Memorial Church, Port Seton is both rustic and sophisticated. It exhibits Arts & Crafts qualities of modesty, simplicity, honesty. But its large dormers have a faintly whimsical air – a French farmhouse,



Fig 4.32 Port Seton: south side

perhaps; its buttresses seem unnecessarily bulky. It has interestingly placed small windows; and 'flush-pointed rubble masonry, beautifully variegated.'[85] In short, it is a

[84] D C McDowell, 'Scottish Assets: the commercial architecture of A G Sydney Mitchell', *Architectural Heritage,* Vol. 14, No 1, pp. 45-66.
[85] Colin McWilliam, 'Cockenzie and Port Seton'*, Lothian except Edinburgh* (Buildings of Scotland, Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 137-139: p. 138.

building to meet the humble station of a fishing community, but in a style that will delight the artistic eyes of the benevolent grandees who supervise and manage it. Unlike at Brockhampton or even Kempley, there is no attempt in the exterior to catch the eye or impress with modernity: all is suitably plain and unfussy. But the interior woodwork strikes a note more exotic than Brockhampton's civilized restraint or Kempley's jocular bonhomie. One can see why some have thought it the vernacular work of local fishermen, drawing on traditions of boat-building. Is this the 'real thing' – or what Alan Crawford has called 'mock humility'?[86] Probably neither: the local tradition is that it is by 'two brothers from Edinburgh':[87] which suggests William and Alexander Clow.



Fig 4.33 Port Seton: carving on the pulpit stair newel posts

What draws the eye is the mass of painted stencilling. Blue fish, gulls, waves and stylised foliage riot and cluster on the ceiling. And in the 'chancel', its higher status reflected in rich reds and gold, a scarlet 'dossal' emphasizes the east end behind the Elders' chairs.

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[86] Alan Crawford, 'Arts and Crafts churches', *Churches 1870-1914* (London: Victorian Society, 2011), p. 74.
[87] The church's retired Fabric Convenor, Tom Donaldson ARIBA, ARIAS, in personal conversation with the author, 4 May 2011.



Fig 4.34 Port Seton: chancel ceiling

At Colinton Parish Church, Edinburgh Mitchell employed some of the same richness in the chancel, but with more suavity and rather less bravura. His other church work is calmer – originality can be hard to sustain.



Fig 4.35 Colinton parish Church (Sydney Mitchell, 1907-8)

The 'folk' – if eclectic design ideas and naïve (or *faux naif*) execution can amount to that – seems present elsewhere: in the entwined terra cotta of Compton Mortuary Chapel (Mary Watts, 1895); the humble painted woodwork of St Peter and Paul, Exton (Charles Spooner, 1891-2), and Eastbank, Shettleston (W G Rowan 1901-4).



Fig 4.36 Mortuary Chapel, Compton: terra cotta details on the door surround



Fig 4.37 St Peter and St Paul, Exton: painting on pulpit



Fig 4.38 Eastbank church, Shettleston: decoration in aisle roof (detail)

At Curbridge Nicholson was engaging with the past in an impressionistic way, perhaps – trying to evoke something traditional, without specific reference to anything familiar to an Oxfordshire congregation. The church is simple, yet exalted by the glory of the colour and the application of silver to everyday furniture. There is something of the nostalgic – a past that is unspecific; the homely – not least because of the scale of the tiny church: had it been furnished in more conventional colours and materials, it might have seemed mean and bare. And it is personal and artistic – not like any church the worshipper would have encountered in Witney, whether CofE, RC or NC. At Port Seton Mitchell's motives may be the same – or may be tinged, as has been suggested, with caprice amounting to insolence. The simple made pretty can seem patronising or disingenuous – as at Kempley, Brockhampton or Matlock. Or it can express something heartfelt and genuine – as at Haslemere, Colehill or Woolmer.

A third example of what might tentatively be called 'folk' is at Aberlour. Archibald Macpherson had already built Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Glenlivet

(1897-1908) (Fig 4.42). But that was a statement of the spectacular. Aberlour was humbler: 'built to serve the Catholic population … as a mission station…'[88] So – folk? Or merely simple? If it had not been for Freshfields's money and strong personality might Lower Kingswood have looked much like this?



Fig 4.39 Aberlour from the northwest



Fig 4.40 Aberlour: looking east

[88] Anon, *Church of the Sacred Heart, Aberlour* (leaflet in the church). Also at www.scalan.co.uk/aberlour.htm [accessed 24 April 2011].



Fig 4.41 Aberlour: ceiling detail



Fig 4.42 Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Glenlivet (Archibald Macpherson, 1897-1908)

Macpherson was Robert Rowand Anderson's assistant (1873-6)[89] and had his own practice from 1877. He was another traveller – study tours to Ireland, Normandy and northern Italy, later extending his travels to Spain and Germany. 'Few…. possessed his encyclopaedic knowledge of the ecclesiology of the middle ages.'[90] He was an accomplished musician, and linguist, 'Equally at home in Italian, Spanish and French… In his last years Dante and Cervantes were the favourites to whom he turned for comfort. His own personal courtesy and charm of manner were in keeping with his artistic ideals.' His apprentices included William Weir (1882-86), who became his Assistant till 1888 (and went from Macpherson to Philip Webb, 1889-97). His attitude of mind was such that 'finished drawings were rare, details being redrawn and altered many times over, and often a set of working drawings being ruthlessly scrapped and begun again. He never grudged time spent thus.' All perfectly Arts & Crafts – without AWG membership. So is this 'folk' 'honest' – or what? We do not know how this job was managed, and we do not have the names of any of the craftsmen – but the care, discretion and self-effacement of the work, coupled with its devotional intensity, richness of treatment, and light-hearted optimism seems very like the best of Spooner, Nicholson or Caröe, to which is added a churchmanship expressed even more poignantly than perhaps even by other RCs, J F Bentley or Leonard Stokes.

Interests 4) Nature

Interests now shade back into tendencies, habits and devices. Yes, there are birds and animals in Victorian Gothic churches – and medieval too – but the Arts & Crafts rather disdained the rectitude of the former and the tendency towards the grotesque of

[89] Macpherson biography in DSA. Anderson's later apprentices and assistants included Weir Schultz (1876-81), Sydney Mitchell (1878-81) and Frederic Berkeley-Miller (1877-89) who went on to Norman Shaw.
[90] Ebenezer Macrae, Macpherson's assistant 1903-07, quoted at DSA.

the latter: they preferred nature to be natural, or – better – a little anthropomorphic. Naturalism is evident in Harry Beck's woodland wildlife for Prothero at Cheltenham, and also in the work of Trasks for Wilson at Brithdir and Wynyard Park, where the



Fig 4.43 Wynyard Hall (Henry Wilson, 1903-5): west screen detail

animals hover between the realistic and the allegorical. A delight in the natural world was nothing new – medieval carpenters had always made misericords with lively creatures, imaginary and real; and William Burges revelled in naturalistic animals at Cardiff and in Worcester College Chapel, Oxford. The difference was perhaps only this – that where Burges's animals are either eccentric or stiffly formal, Wilson's are by comparison not only naturalistic, but endowed with a slight, knowing look: they are sharing the joke with us. At Buxton, the birds seem cast from the life – fledgling starlings waiting to be fed.



Fig 4.44 St Mary, Buxton, Derbyshire (Currey and Thompson, 1914-6): organ case detail

At Llanfair Kilgeddin, Monmouthshire, Heywood Sumner's sgraffiti panels include modern figures, and images from the local landscape (though Sumner transposed the Sugar Loaf and Skirrid Fawr for the sake of the composition). The Arts & Crafts seem to have felt more at ease with Nature than with Jesus, which may explain why the Benedicite was a favourite theme. It is found not only the walls at Llanfair Kilgeddin, but on the choir stalls at Welbeck Abbey and the organ case at Great Warley.



Fig 4.45 Welbeck Abbey: choir stalls (Henry Wilson, 1899-1907)

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Fig 4.46 Llanfair Kilgeddin: sgraffiti panel by Heywood Sumner (1888)
Friends of Friendless Churches

Interests 5) Past masters and tradition

Somewhere between 'the folk' and breaking with the past, was a deep love of tradition – not only the vernacular trades and crafts the architects saw and admired in 'old work', or in less predictable predecessors (Spooner revered Sheraton) – but amongst themselves. The figure of Philip Clissett epitomises the atavistic longing in the Arts & Crafts for the past – a recent past, which has nearly slipped through our fingers: a link with the Good Old Days, before factories and sweated labour. Clissett – or an idealized version of him – is the model for the type of life lived by Sidney Barnsley, say: a happy man, making chairs on the front step of his country cottage, with hollyhocks and cider apples, knowing neither wages, slum nor railway. It is an alluring image which mistily hovers in the background of Haslemere, Kempley and Dockenfield. The reality was different. While there were certainly local blacksmiths to make door hinges and perhaps candle-sticks, carving and stonework to the quality expected by the architects, and demanded, perhaps, by their clients, was simply not to be had locally, except at Glandford and North Cerney, where it was the client who decided who to use, not the architect. (Besides, where, as at Pamphill, estate workers were expected to work unpaid at the church after their day's labour, the will to do good work was scarcely there.)

Thus a small coterie of professional craftsmen stood in for the unattainable ideal. They crop up again and again in this study alongside the architects who favoured them – Trasks of Norton-sub-Hamdon (Wilson and Sedding), Harry Hems (at Inkpen, West Woodhay, Hoarwithy, Dockenfield, Pamphill, and, at one remove, Down Ampney, where Hems's ex-employee Herbert Reed worked), and the Cheltenham firms of H H Martyn and Boultons. There are AWG colleagues too constantly on hand too - Laurence Turner (Dockenfield, Matlock, Kempley, North Cerney, Summerstown), Christopher

Whall, Louis Davis, Ernest Gimson (Woolmer Green, Kempley – and he worked for Spooner on at least two chancel screen commissions), George Jack, H W Palliser. They could be trusted to design in the right spirit – Jack and Turner seem always to have been given a free hand – but it is impossible to be sure what relationships were like on individual jobs, since correspondence is lacking: discussions were face to face if at all.

Then there were the simple, unworldly, unaffected men who appealed to the sentimental supportiveness in kindly architects – Charles Buckeridge at Richards Castle, whom Shaw regarded almost as a hopeless case; Harold Rathbone at Ullet Road, always short of money, and R P Jones's unnamed sculptor in the employ of Hatch's (p 133); the circumstances of the employment of the young and sickly Edward Athelston Harper to paint the ceiling at Nicholson's St Matthew, Yiewsley are unknown – he died soon thereafter. Lethaby took it one step further, lauding, as Ruskin had, the workman:

> These rough tired men… are after all the true artists in building…I never go on a building which I call my own but I want to beg their pardon for my vulgarity, pretentiousness and ignorance. It is they and only they who sufficiently know what stones are sound.[91]

Is there a note of regret here over Brockhampton, and the meddling of Wells? It seems unlikely Professor Lethaby truly felt himself ignorant or vulgar. When Gimson died, his foreman Peter Waals set up a workshop in nearby Chalford, and, from 1926, he, Norman Jewson, William Simmonds and others furnished the church there in a manner his old employer would have recognised – Waals's lectern at Chalford (1933), to a design by Jewson, is very close in spirit to one designed 25 years earlier by Gimson:

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[91] Lethaby, 'Education in Building', *RIBA Journal,* 3rd series, 8, 22 June 1901, p. 391. Quoted in Mark Swenarton, *Artisans and Architects*, p. 121.

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Fig 4.47 *Left:* **Design for ebony lectern - inlaid with mother of pearl (Gimson, 1908)**
Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum 1941.222.04
Right: **Christ Church, Chalford: lectern designed by Norman Jewson (1933)**

Ruskin and Morris loom large over all – their ideas fuelled the men of the AWG, though by 1884 they had become so much part of the architectural fabric it is doubtful whether any Brother could be specific about their personal impact. It was through them the AWG understood medieval England.

> Morris has done more than the rest of us in the regeneration of the crafts, because he has not stopped at studio designs; but he has had his workshops, has put an apron on, tucked up his sleeves, and set to work.[92]

The precision of Ruskin's eye – both of masonry and mosses – was an object lesson in observation. Lethaby instructed the AWG on the more distant past. Pugin too made an impression, though perhaps most and only on those who saw churches as interesting and important: Sedding put it very high: 'We should have had no Morris, no Street, no

[92] Sedding, *Art and Handicrafts* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893), p. 144. (Paper first read at the Liverpool Art Congress, 1888.)

Burges, no Shaw, no Webb, no Bodley, no Burne-Jones, no Crane, but for Pugin.'[93] (Ruskin famously claimed to never have studied Pugin, and rated him beneath notice.)

Among those who built churches, which master loomed largest? Shaw was a friendly, avuncular figure to the men who founded the SGAS: he gave them work to do on his churches, and passed on commissions to his favoured assistants. He nurtured Lethaby as his Senior Assistant – but it was Philip Webb whom Lethaby most admired. Caröe, Sydney Mitchell, Arthur Keen and Lutyens all admired Shaw too. John Douglas, though he never met Shaw, came under his spell at one remove, through his pupil-master Kirby. For Shaw himself the architectural hero, in churches at least, was Bodley, last of the Goths; as he was for Spooner and Nicholson, and for Eden. And all had a regard for Street – Sedding had been in his office. Some get a less good press: it is hard to find praise on the lips of the AWG for Butterfield, Woodyer, Brooks, still less Teulon, Lamb, Christian or Savage. The Century Guild approved of Wren's City churches – perhaps Wren's classicism made it hard for others, for whom classical meant degraded or plain bad, to openly enthuse, though Spooner and Keen both did.

What they loved about the past was not that its architecture was better, or more correct, or more moral, but that it was a rich source for their artistic inclinations: the emotional impact as much about poetry as architecture, or even religion:

> While probably no detail will be exactly like any Italian [church]
> I know, yet I hope the simplicity and the studious severity that
> I have been aiming at will recall some of the most delightful
> characteristics of early Italian work.[94]

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Henry Wilson on Brithdir: Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 281: 21 June 1895.

Interests 6) Music and laughter

Ruskin's notions of 'happiness in the making' and 'joy in labour' could not now be un-said. Ruskin was not much given to mirth; but Morris was uproarious and loud; Shaw didn't mind horseplay in his office;[95] Lutyens was unremittingly jolly, at least in his letters. *Beauty's Awakening is* a reminder of a certain tendency to boyish larkiness in the Arts & Crafts: it mixed broad farce with a serious, even high-flown message. In an odd side-light Robert Weir Schultz was referred to as 'Weird Schultz' by the sociable Gimson – and their friend F W Troup was known as 'Aunty Troup': both took part in home entertainments at Sapperton, with more than a suggestion of camp.[96] There was an interest in music – May Morris wrote to Emery Walker about advising Charles Spooner on musical entertainment:

> I did not mean to stay at the Spooners; but found them in difficulties over dance-music, and simply had to stay and play for them.[97]

She played the guitar. There were singsongs at Sapperton; and entertainments at Rodmarton, where Mrs Biddulph put on shows for staff and villagers, at the centre of which was William Simmonds and the elaborate puppets he made (he later carved the font at Christ Church, Chalford, 1937). At Chipping Campden there were musical evenings and amateur theatricals for the Guild of Handicraft. More soberly, Century Guild members met regularly at Mackmurdo's house to hear early English music on the viol, lute, and harpsichord.[98] (Sometimes the entertainment had an improving note.)

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[95] Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw,* p. 187.
[96] From a programme of home entertainment at Sapperton (n.d.) in a private collection; a photocopy is at Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum. Information by e-mail from Mary Greensted, 5 October 2005.
[97] May Morris material at William Morris Gallery, item 14. E-mail from Alan Crawford, 16 March 2013.
[98] Pamela Todd, *The Arts and Crafts Companion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 15.

But is there light-heartedness - fun, even - in Arts & Crafts work in churches? A very few tentative examples will suffice to show their slight bent for faint humour. At Church Wilne, Derbyshire, Percy Currey refurbished St Chad's after a fire. His new chancel screen showed figures of the Fruits of the Spirit.[99] Is it coincidence that the last



Fig 4.48 St Chad, Church Wilne: chancel screen (detail) (1923)

of the Fruits, Temperance, is alongside a large date? (Dates are more usually on the lower part of screens.) Prohibition was introduced in the USA on 17 January 1920. It is possible to see Brockhampton as an elaborate academic joke – treating historical precedent with an exuberant energy that might have shocked Scott. (Lethaby would have argued for its eclecticism being based on global sources, but it is far from Herefordshire vernacular, and could look out of place almost anywhere.) At Buxton, Currey and Thompson introduced a domestic note – eyebrow dormers – that give the church's otherwise blockish, severe elevation a good-humoured, Toytown feel.

[99] Galatians 5:22-23: 'But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, Meekness, temperance.'



Fig 4.49 St Mary, Buxton

The abiding impression at most of the churches in this study is their friendly approachability. Colours do not lour – walls, woodwork, floors are pale; windows tend to be large and/or un-coloured, letting in light – there is little Gothic 'gloomth'; furnishings are comparatively unadorned – un-Victorian; there are chairs, not benches or pews – partly an economic measure, but they offer flexibility, and informality. There are exceptions – Henry Wilson at Brighton, and the chancel of Wynyard Hall chapel with its heavy, foreboding colours and materials. There is something similar in St Andrew's chapel at Westminster Cathedral; Pinkerton at Summerstown seems to have been seeking something almost operatic; at Hoarwithy Poole did not intend anything to be amusing, but the panels of the life of St Dubricius are, despite themselves, comic.[100] It was always possible to be serious with a light touch – as at Lower Kingswood, Woolmer Green, Haslemere and Dockenfield. From a liturgical point of view, even though roods and screens appeared more frequently – mainly because clients were High, and there was something of a concomitant vogue for them – there is very little Agony: the Crown of Thorns appears, where it appears at all, not on Christ's head but in stylized, heraldically-

[100] His birth; exorcising a devil in the form of a bat; miraculously producing cider from an empty cask.

treated Instruments of the Passion at Dockenfield, Port Seton and Summerstown. Even the Christ at North Cerney – a medieval Italian sculpture, re-cycled by the passionately High Church client Will Croome – lacks it. When found, it was treated as much as a rare antique as an object of veneration. The fossicking trips to Italy were an enjoyable spree:

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Fig 4.50 Figure of Christ for North Cerney rood loft[101]
GA: P70 CW 3/4

Interests 7) God?

Where then was God? Morris's rejection, while at Oxford, of the Church, and his subsequent Socialism, leading to an un-proselytizing atheism: they not only reflected the *zeitgeist,* but acted as a guiding light to others. It is arguable that an indifference to a Christian God is as important to the Arts & Crafts, in the footsteps of Morris, as a mistrust of machines. The AWG was not very interested in religion, which rather emphasizes the non-centrality of churches. Whether you believe in God or not makes no

[101] A handwritten note, in Croome's hand, on the back of this photograph reads: 'The Christ, now on the Rood, as we found it in Francesco Chiodi's shop at Tirano: 1925. F C Eden, the architect, holding it….'.

difference to the houses you design – you don't have to believe in *lares* and *penates* to design a home. You don't have to be a teacher to design a school, though it helps to know how such buildings work. But a church is different. While you design its altar, chancel arch, even seating, how can you help but consider your place in it? These men were, on the whole, diffident about God, some even rejecting Christianity, though few were outright atheists. The relationship between the men of the AWG and organised religion is perhaps significant, and important.

Alec Miller, one of Ashbee's Guildsmen at Chipping Campden, addressed the problem in the context of war memorials:

> I am much troubled just now over the awful problem of the relation of one's art or work to one's daily life and one's beliefs. A well-known architect who liked some of my work came to the Guild and enquired about carving a big screen with about ten or twelve figures of the saints, 'But', he said, 'I don't think these things can be done in the real spirit except by one who is actually in close touch with the religion of the church and in sympathy with its creeds.' Well, after a bit, it really almost amounted to this – that our chances of getting the work were much better if the management could vouch for my religious beliefs, as I wouldn't for myself! Conceive the position: I would like to get the work – but if it's conditional on subscribing to the Apostles – or any other creed – I can't do it – neither for the Guild nor for the architect. I wonder if it really does affect one's work. I don't believe a coarse minded person can do fine sensitive work, but we know that Rembrandt was a debauchee and a fool, that Leonardo was a scientific agnostic, that a

> painter known as the sodomite was the painter of the greatest
>
> Resurrection picture, that Goethe was a philanderer…[102]

The suspicion seems to be that only a good man can do religious work. Eric Gill's Stations of the Cross at Westminster Cathedral hang suggestively over the question. Others did not commit their thoughts to paper. But Miller's dilemma cannot be atypical. Even if God is not one of his interests, what part does religion play in an Arts & Crafts architect's practice when he is making a church? The presiding spirits set the tone.

Ruskin's mother had intended him, from childhood, to be a Bishop. But he lost his faith in the 1850s, through his interest in and study of geology. He came back to a spiritual life in the 1870s – to some extent because of his obsession with the deceased love of his life, Rose La Touche. His is an emblematic Victorian journey: from unquestioning orthodoxy through rational doubt to resolution a long way from the mainstream, in his case, in spiritualism. At Oxford Morris had it in mind, with his college friend Ned (later Sir Edward Coley Burne-) Jones, to found a monastery. But Morris's interest in the medieval and his developing understanding of himself as a poet, seem to have led him away from organised religion after Oxford. The activities of clergymen restoring and reinventing churches to serve a resurgent Church of England – Tewkesbury Abbey and St Albans being the most egregious examples – led to the founding of SPAB.[103] Here was a respectable institution where clerics were viewed candidly as the enemies of culture: 'Anti-Scrape' tended to be (and sound) anti-Church. Morris's progress towards Socialism continued through the 1880s. It seems an

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[102] Eric Miller in a letter to Eleanor Bishop, August 1907, quoted in Graham Peel, *Alec Miller: Carver, Guildsman, Sculptor* (Tenbury Wells: self-published, 2014), p. 89.

[103] 'My eye just now caught the word 'restoration' in the morning paper, and, on looking closer, I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott. Is it altogether too late to do something to save it - it and whatever else beautiful or historical is still left us on the sites of the ancient buildings we were once so famous for?' William Morris, letter to *Athenaeum*, 10 March 1877 [www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/tewkesby.htm accessed 28 November 2012].

unresolved paradox that glass commissions for churches were an important part of his business. In this environment – and cause and effect may be hard to unravel – a disbelief in the Church, or a scepticism about it, even a mistrust, became rather an Arts & Crafts given. Most of the architects whose churches are considered here were not committed Churchmen. In order to indicate something of the religious context in which their ideas found expression, this section considers eight of the architects. These are set out here, ending with a summary of others' religious attitudes insofar as they can be established.

First, the committed Christians: Spooner was a devout High churchman, who attended Mass every Sunday;[104] Prior was 'a devout low church Anglican.'[105] Wilson is slightly harder to read – ambivalent, as so many seem to be. He started his career working for Sedding, a deeply committed churchman, a churchwarden at St Alban's, Holborn, one of England's most important Anglo-Catholic centres.[106] Once Wilson was working on his own, he seems to have seen religious activity as a picturesque pageant: he watched as an interested bystander rather than a participant. As editor of *Architectural Review* he wrote this account of a continental Catholic church:

> The candle-lighted altar, the rood dimly seen against the gloom like a half-comprehended dream, the frail screen stretched across the sanctuary like a veil of giant woven lace, made a most wonderful picture. The church was crowded with market women - some attending the mass, others disburdening their souls of the weight of ills.[107]

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[104] 'On most Sundays when he was at home, he was in his place at the 10 o'clock Mass.' *St Nicholas, Chiswick, Parish Magazine*, February 1939, n.p. (The eucharist is still referred to as Mass at this church, which remains, as it was in Spooner's day, 'High'.)
[105] Alan Crawford, 'Arts and Crafts churches', p. 75, quoting Lynne Walker, whose PhD thesis was 'E S Prior 1852-1932' (PhD thesis, University of London, 1978).
[106] Anthony Symondson, 'Theology, Worship and the Late Victorian Church', in Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint (eds), *The Victorian Church*, p. 198.
[107] Henry Wilson, 'Art and Religion', *AR,* vol. 6, June-Dec 1899, pp. 276-278: p. 276.

For others, religion was not essentially about Christianity at all. Lethaby's remarkable 1891 *Architecture Mysticism and Myth* suggests an approach which is distinctly eclectic – and not in the least Christ-centred: it contains only two illustrations of Crosses, and contains many more mentions of Buddha than of Christ.[108] It hardly suggests an enthusiastic believer, let alone churchgoer. 'Lethaby liked to present himself as a down-to-earth, practical humanist.'[109] He was 'a romantic puritan';[110] 'a curious mixture of puritan and pantheist';[111] 'a lifelong socialist'.[112] He had an aversion to priests: '...a priesthood… always seemed to be an obstruction…';[113] 'The Church must have spent millions of money turning authentic into Bunkum.'[114] 'My belief … is in the exalting of work, the ideal of brotherhood…'[115]

Sidney Barnsley (in common with his brother Ernest) was brought up in a prosperous Edgbaston Methodist household. It is not really possible to know Sidney's views about religion in 1891: he wrote very little, there is no surviving diary, and few letters. In later life, the milieu at Sapperton seems to have been heartily secular, in the tradition of Gimson's Leicester heritage: one is tempted to interpret such bucolic life as a form of nature worship – it was surely intended to be a communal life, of good human fellowship. Yet, we know one tantalising fact about Barnsley at that period: he 'took his family to the local church on Sundays, sometimes attending twice, and later shocked his

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[108] Christ is mentioned 6 times: Buddha 16.
[109] Peter Fuller, 'Keeping Art ship-shape' in S Backemeyer and T Gronberg (eds), *W R Lethaby 1857-1931: Architecture, Design and Education* (London: Lund Humphries, 1984), p. 36.
[110] J Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style* (London: John Murray, 1987), p. 232.
[111] Trevor Garnham, 'William Lethaby's Chapel of SS Colm and Margaret', *Church Building*, May-June 2000, pp. 61-65: p. 62.
[112] Peter Blundell Jones, 'All Saints Brockhampton', *Architects' Journal*, vol. 192, 15 August 1990, pp. 24-43: p. 26.
[113] W R Lethaby, *Scrips and Scraps,* (Alfred Powell (ed), Cirencester: SPAB, 1956?), p. 30.
[114] Ibid, p. 17.
[115] Ibid, p. 30.

son by telling him that they went to 'set a good example in the village."[116] This is respectability, not religion. One other scintilla: Barnsley made the kneelers, co-designed with his friend Weir Schultz, for the Chapel of St Andrew (1910), Westminster Cathedral.[117] But there is no evidence he ever worshipped at Wisdom of God. A further insight might be this: while he and Weir Schultz were in Greece, they had their photographs taken. Schultz wore the costume of an Orthodox priest – but Mary Greensted has identified that Barnsley wore Greek national dress, the 'fustanella' now associated with Greek ceremonial guardsmen. A refusal through scruples? Or chance? Or a sense of fashion and style?

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Fig 4.51 Robert Weir Schultz (left) and **Sidney Barnsley** (right) **in Greece**
Left: *from AWG archives.* Right: *traced by Mary Greensted in the archive of the British School at Athens*
Figs 17 & 18, Greensted, M, The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchange between Greece and Britain (1876-1930), p 62

[116] Annette Carruthers, *Edward Barnsley and his Workshop: Arts and Crafts in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: White Cockade, 1992), p 26: Edward Barnsley to O Barnsley, 25 November 1968 (Barnsley Educational Trust archive).
[117] 'Having seen the correspondence between Schultz and Gimson about the furnishings for Khartoum Cathedral, I would say that the design for both the kneelers and clergy seats [at Westminster] was a joint process.' Personal communication by e-mail from Mary Greensted, 10 January 2012.

Philip Webb was not a Christian.[118] His only church is seen as seminal (everything about Webb tends to be seen that way), but it comes before our period, so to some extent he stands outside this study. Ultimately he became a convinced revolutionary socialist, possibly even further to the left than Morris.[119] Ernest Newton's first job was a convent – but that was passed to him by the kindly Shaw, his pupilmaster, so perhaps has no deeper meaning.[120] Newton's practice was almost exclusively houses, and mainly in Kent and Surrey, though he designed two churches and added a tower to a third.[121] No mention in his writings has been found of any religious subject – admittedly, he only seems to have written about houses.[122] Gerald Horsley has defeated all attempts to put a window into his soul: no mention of religious views or persuasion has been unearthed. It may be a trivial observation, but he built as many railway stations as churches.[123] This could be a matter of opportunity, but it might also suggest disinclination. However, he designed several windows for churches, and was responsible for some of the textile designs and the entire painting of the chancel at Shaw's All Saints, Leek. He must perhaps be accounted a neutral.

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[118] 'By *c.*1870 he had become an agnostic who followed Christian ethics.' Sheila Kirk, 'Webb, Philip Speakman (1831–1915)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/36801, accessed 27 November 2012].

[119] 'Webb became a socialist in 1883, and worked actively until the late 1890s towards the violent social revolution he believed to be necessary if art were to become again a part of everyday life. He chose not to become a public figure like Morris, but worked loyally as treasurer of the Socialist League.' DNB, op cit.

[120] House of Retreat, Lloyd Square, Clerkenwell (1880–83).

[121] St Swithun's Hither Green (*c.*1890–1895), already mentioned; the tower of St George's, Bickley, Kent (1904–5); the very modest, unassuming RC chapel SS Gregory and Augustine, Oxford (1911).

[122] *A book of houses* (1890) and *A book of country houses* (1903). His *DNB* entry says of his activities outside architecture only this: 'As a man Newton had a facility for making friends in every walk of life and at various time keenly pursued the study of the Dutch language, the violin, acting, French conversation and literature, and the technique of watercolour.' W G Newton, 'Newton, Ernest (1856–1922)', rev. Richard Morrice, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/35222, accessed 27 November 2012].

[123] Amongst Horsley's London railway stations was Hatch End (originally called Pinner). However, although the nearby and contemporary church of St Anselm, Hatch End contains work by Selwyn Image, Charles Spooner and Louis Davis, there is no tradition that Horsley ever so much as stepped inside the church. His other London stations were Bushey and (Harrow &) Wealdstone.

As to the other architects whose church work is discussed, Caröe was a church-goer for most of his life, and, like Spooner, an engaged member of the ICBS architects committee; more to the point, he was Architect to the Church Commissioners. Shaw had a personal commitment to the Tractarian Movement; he often made donations to church building funds.[124] Ponting was a regular churchgoer. Weir Schultz built a small number of chapels for his major clients, the Marquesses of Bute (none of which survives), as well as the private chapel of the RC Archbishop of Edinburgh: this might suggest he was religious, but there seems to be no personal testimony. Wells simply does not say: what writings of his there are do not touch directly on religious subjects – even his detailed description of his work at Kempley mentions religion only tangentially. However, the fact that he himself carved the large relief of Christ over the entrance ('Blessed are the Peacemakers') might imply interest, if not commitment.

Lutyens is fascinatingly slippery: his wife was a keen Theosophist, and he certainly built houses for Theosophists, notably 'Bois des Moutiers' in Normandy – but he also won the commission for the RC cathedral in Liverpool. The impression one forms is that he was rather light-hearted about matters spiritual, and rather successfully kept his religious views to himself. His son's memoir makes no mention of church-going, nor of religious affiliation of any sort – neither on the part of Lutyens himself, or either of his parents. On the other hand, Lutyens wrote, '*au fond* I am horribly religious, but cannot speak it and this saves my work.'[125] One somewhat oblique clue might be this: 'As a young man just started in practice' Lutyens drew, from the dictation of a blind man who had 'built' it in his imagination, a church. The blind man had offered two possible projects for this experiment – the other was an opera house. It may be indicative that

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[124] Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw,* p. 273.
[125] Quoted in Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens by his daughter*, p. 282; and in M Drew, J and A Dempsey (eds), *Lutyens* (London: Arts Council, 1981), p. 157.

Lutyens chose the church, though 'my father has often told me how he wishes he had selected the opera house.'[126] His daughter is much more certain: 'in all the years I knew him he never went to church, even on Christmas Day, except for weddings, funerals and christenings, or unless it was a church of his own designing.'[127] On the other hand 'he believed passionately in the God of beauty.'[128] He wrote to his wife about 'the all being of God.'[129] But he was against 'the tyranny of creeds.'[130] And he reacted fiercely to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on a visit to Jerusalem in 1932: 'How He would have hated and loathed and cried out against it all…It would be pathetic in its childishness if one's blood did not boil at the sacrilege of it.'[131] This mix of spiritual interest in a personal Christ, and disconnection from organised religion seems very much of the period. Perhaps the conflicting influences of an Irish Catholic family on his mother's side, and severe Protestantism on his father's made any overt personal commitment difficult. He sometimes found a safety valve in somewhat ponderous levity: 'every Christmas he would start the day with, 'Have you heard the news? It's a boy.'"[132]

Among the Anglicans, there were architects who to some extent specialised in church work, though without being notable churchmen: Seddon was a member of the Ecclesiological Society, and built a dozen churches in and around Monmouthshire and a handful further afield; John Douglas built around 40 churches, but is silent on his religious sympathies. Two AWG members built important churches but do not feature in this thesis: Walter Tapper (AWG 1907) was 'deeply religious' and believed in divine

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[126] Robert Lutyens, *Sir Edwin Lutyens: an Appreciation in perspective* (London: Country Life, 1942), pp. 22-23.
[127] Mary Lutyens, *Edwin Lutyens by his daughter,* p. 25.
[128] Letter of July 1905, quoted in Mary Lutyens *Edwin Lutyens by his daughter*, p. 94.
[129] Ibid, p. 95.
[130] Ibid, p. 112.
[131] Ibid, p. 295.
[132] Marquess of Anglesey, 'Private view', review of Mary Lutyens, op cit, in an undated cutting (appears to be *Daily Telegraph*), 19 October 1980, found in author's copy of R Lutyens's 1942 memoir of his father.

and human love as the supreme principle in life and art.[133] His churches of The Ascension, Malvern Link (1903), St Mary, Low Harrogate (1913; closed), St Oswald, Lythe, Yorks (1910), The Annunciation, Marble Arch, London (1912), St Michael, Little Coates, Grimsby, Lincs (1915) and St Mark's, Whiteley Village, Surrey (1919), all seem to demonstrate – especially at first, and culminating at Marble Arch – something rather like Arts & Crafts sensibilities. Beresford Pite (AWG 1884) was an active church member: he ran a bible school for young students and a weekly bible class for prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs. His surviving churches are original and experimental, but seem only to reflect Arts & Crafts ideas faintly.[134] He designed a visionary 'tower of healing' (1904), and was part of the team who submitted a design for Liverpool Cathedral under the name of Henry Wilson (1902).



Fig 4.52 The Ascension, Malvern Link (Walter Tapper, 1903):
altar cross, chancel screen

[133] David Dolan and Leigh O'Brien, 'Life and Work of Sir Walter Tapper' at http://sir-walter-tapper-churches.co.uk/TapperBioLifeWork.asp [accessed 27 November 2012].
[134] Notably Christ Church, Brixton (1896-1902).



Fig 4.53 St Mark's, Whiteley Village, Surrey (Walter Tapper, 1919):
congregational seating





Fig 4.54 Annunciation, Marble Arch, London (Walter Tapper, 1912):
clergy stall; lighting

Of the most prominent RC architects, Leonard Stokes was committed, but not, as far as can be found, especially devout; J F Bentley seems to have been both, and was certainly, in a Catholic tradition, obedient to the wishes of Cardinal Vaughan in the building of Westminster Cathedral. Among the NC architects, the Baptist Keen devoted

himself single-mindedly to Baptist causes; Worthington was a conscientious and socially-minded Unitarian, a civic benefactor, though, in the Unitarian tradition, not 'religious'; at Wallasey Rathbone and Ware were a younger sort of Unitarian – idealistic and interested in world peace. Sydney Mitchell was an active member of the United Free Church.

Of the other architects of churches in this study, none was demonstratively religious. Currey seems to have been more interested in archaeology than religion. It is probably fair to say that Dawber and William Weir were at best lukewarm. No declaration of religious commitment has been discovered in H A Prothero, Godfrey Pinkerton, W G MacLennan, William Hayne or Curtis Green. As to the non-church-builders, Voysey was understandably, perhaps, rather anti-Church – his father was de-frocked for heresy. But Voysey was no atheist, and surprisingly cogent on the relationship between religion and architecture:

> This new architecture cannot last. The architects have no religion. They have nothing exalted which they could try to approach; they are like designers who draw flowers and trees without remembering and honouring Him who created them.[135]

Baillie Scott's kept his own counsel: of the many works he executed on the Isle of Man, none is a church.

Arts & Crafts was not a world without spirituality. But something else was abroad. In *Wind in the Willows* it is Pan who presides: there are churches of this period where one can believe the same applies – Brockhampton, Brithdir, Wallasey, Port Seton. It was part Lethaby pseudo-historical mysticism, part nature worship (the Benedicite),

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[135] Comment made by Voysey to Pevsner: Nikolaus Pevsner, 'C F A Voysey' in *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design: Victorian and After* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), first published in *Elseviers Maandschrift*, May 1940.

but, though there were new religions that espoused such ideas, nothing was ever codified or articulated by the architects. And there was humanism: a view of the world as a brotherhood of man, democratic and non-hierarchical, with those who work alongside you as equal partners. Ashbee called it 'Comradeship' (though that embraced his homosexuality too). Arthur Penty thought of it as 'Gild Socialism'. It went furthest, perhaps, at the Mary Ward Settlement – 'Christianity without Christ'.

All of this was in striking contrast to those views held by architects who differed from, and even opposed the Arts & Crafts – and were not members of the AWG. Ninian Comper was a devout High Anglican, and actively antipathetic to Arts & Crafts ideas – though at least one of his churches in Scotland, at Kirriemuir, seems very Arts & Crafts in spirit: mild, ameliorative, full of thoughtful detail, clever to the point of coyness. George Fellowes Prynne was a son of the manse – his father was a supporter of the Oxford Movement: the son was 'a deeply religious man – family prayers were said daily for the whole household.' He was a sidesman at his parish church.[136] The likeliest interpretation of the evidence, is that being a Christian was, to the men of the AWG, neither here nor there: an agnostic could simulate reverence just as well as a churchgoer.

So much for attitudes and interests – the evidence, such as it is, indicates theirs are something different from the generation before, but, individuality being paramount, the picture is confused in its detail: one has to stand back to make the impression come into focus. Architects are changeable, inconsistent, developing, influenced, re-thinking creatures. Perhaps examining their churches can offer more robust demonstrations.

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[136] 'He was totally committed and totally dedicated… to the greater whole that he, through his skills, was striving to express. Particularly in the latter years, he was heavily involved in the life of his parish in Ealing, being on the Ealing Ruri-Decanal Conference, the Parochial Church Council and the Ealing Education Committee.' Ruth Sharville, 'A brief biography' at www.gfp.sharville.org.uk/biography.htm [accessed 28 November 2012].

Chapter 5

The buildings: construction, materials, beauty

> The building of a church is in itself an act of worship, a confession of faith…. About beauty of design, which is, perhaps, the most important thing of all, it is difficult to speak.
>
> Charles Spooner, 'Modern Churches' in
> *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* (1911), pp. 13 and 16

Constantly in the background of this research has been the problematic but irrepressible idea of 'Arts & Crafts church'. Opinions have been expressed by academics (including supervisors), incumbents and laymen that this or that given church 'is' or 'isn't' 'Arts & Crafts'. While there is never a precise definition, the feeling is usually strong: 'I know it when I see it.' This problem must be addressed: the contentious but necessary ground – the 'Arts & Crafts-looking-ness' of churches. What is it, and how does it come about?

While it is impossible (Chapter 1) to set rigid parameters – flying in the face of the very spirit of Arts & Crafts (Chapter 4) – *visual* differences from Gothic Revival churches, discernible in some churches after the 1880s, must be accounted for, subjective though some of the analysis must inevitably be. The best way to ground the discussion is to locate it in the practical: the actions of architects and builders – not what they thought, but what they did – what they built and how: process and materials. How were Arts & Crafts 'principles' applied to the physical building of the churches? The discussion will consider decisions, actions and preferences that, taken as a whole, coalesce into something – not 'an Arts & Crafts church', but distinguishing marks, even

mannerisms, that indicate that Arts & Crafts influence makes it different from what it would have been, even could have been, 30 years earlier.

The churches' aesthetic character derived, at least and crucially for the architects, from the 'touchstones': to reiterate the list in Chapter 1 (pp 17-18), simplicity, truth-to-materials, unity of handicraft and design; distrust of the machine-made and preference for hand-made; trust in the maker; preference for local materials and skills; dislike of the bought-in or off-the-shelf; a desire for closeness between designer and maker; distrust of the contract building system; dislike of Clerks of Works; one job at a time; belief in the dignity of labour; a co-operative spirit; and a disdain for 'copying'. A sedulous point by point exposition would here seem plodding and unhelpful: so the examples given will only be those that best illuminate the differences from Gothic Revival, and which most reflect the cultural shifts that meant a church built around 1900 was called upon to express spiritualities different from and more nuanced than the broad orthodoxies of, say, 1850. That some of the 'principles' are also, or overlap with, the 'attitudes' already discussed in Chapter 4, is acknowledged.

1) Truth: true and false

Truth was valued in all things, especially truth to materials. The corollary was distrust of anything that looked like what it wasn't – the Arts & Crafts' objection to iron-pretending-to-be-wood furniture. Truth in methods too: not merely a preference for hand-made over machine: hand-made-ness tended to be expressed visibly – or else why go to the trouble? Hand-made and thus overtly imperfect objects are a diagnostic element: this thesis tries not to notice objects that did not form part of the original build and fitting-out, but there are exceptions. Truth also extended to what was true locally:

'true' methods were local, which tended to equate with 'rural', the opposite of the corrupting City. 'Local' might be genuine vernacular practice, or, more often perhaps, methods and devices that *seemed* to be local, whilst not specific to a locality. One had to mean well. This was justified by a belief in honesty – that I am honest, my colleagues are honest, that – idealistically – all men are honest, or were once. This embraced an implied criticism of aspects of High Victorian design which now seemed out of date or crass: meaninglessly applied decoration, empty elaboration, curlicues for curlicues' sake – all that Ruskin condemned and the Great Exhibition displayed. Honesty was also valued in personal behaviour and dealings: the desire to be 'hands-on' meant some architects – following the fastidious scruple of Philip Webb – never felt able to take on more than one job at a time. Practices stayed small. Inclination towards flattened hierarchies led to reluctance among AWG architects to employ assistants. The deepest-felt influence, and deep enough to be taken as read, was respect, amounting to love, for good workmanship, which was employed as often as possible. Keats equated Truth with Beauty: the sense that something uncluttered, unsophisticated, natural, was in itself and of itself beautiful, which Morris emphasized, was always present, even to those who – like Morris – were just as enamoured of the complicated and elaborate. It had to be done in the right way; in the right spirit. Meanwhile theological truth, the truth of the gospel, was increasingly questioned. New truths could now be sought both within Christianity and outside it (Chapter 2): understandings which saw the Bible as metaphor and poetic narrative rather than the revealed Word of God might not be articulated by clients, but they could be expressed by the choice of motif, or the treatment of liturgical devices by the architects. Art and the church moved uncertainly along parallel, convoluted tracks – individuality, the personal; that what was felt was what counted, and truth lay in many different places. The new idea was perhaps this: that beauty (in a building) could come from its simplicity, even its utility: the Tithe Barn at Great Coxwell, admired by Morris.

Later came the Modernist notion that buildings that expressed *nothing but* their function were the most beautiful. Arts & Crafts was a half-way house to this revelation, torn between the stern rectitude of hay-rake stretchers and the sensual indulgence of painted cabinets. (The parallel with religion might be between the prescriptive seriousness of the Oxford Movement and sects like free-thinking, uninhibited Agapemonites.)[1]

The first truth was to place, as Wilson wrote of Brithdir:

> the essential condition of real architecture is… that the building shall be formed of materials gathered in the neighbourhood… Building… must be of the place, not imported into it.[2]

He extended this absolutism to Brithdir's roof: 'Tiles…are quite a foreign element in a slate country…': he abhorred 'the hideous commonplaceness of a modern slate roof.'[3] This was an unreasonable stricture – the Corris slate mine was only six miles away, and what was wrong with 'commonplace', or indeed 'modern'? 'Commonplace' worked both ways: Gimson admired Lethaby's 'wonderful furniture of the commonplace kind.'[4] For whether the commonplace was noble or base depended on who executed it. Wilson's sentiments were those of his master, Sedding, poetic and Tolstoyan:

> The old church that lifts its grey head above the cottages and stackyards of the peaceful village… is rooted to the soil, it is *of* the soil… The stone of which it was built was dug from the hillside yonder, while the imagery

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[1] The community of Agapemone (abode of love) was founded *c.*1850 at Spaxton, Somerset, by two clergymen who had left the Church of England after one of them claimed the Holy Ghost had taken up residence in his body. Their chapel at Spaxton was 'furnished incongruously with easy chairs, settees and a billiard table alongside the hassocks and hymn-boards.' In 1896 a huge new church was built at Clapton, North London, dedicated to the Ark of the Covenant. In 1906 a new leader of the Agapemonites was enthroned there as the Saviour of Mankind. www.apologeticsindex.org/453-agapemone and www.utopia-britannica.org.uk/pages/abode%20of%20love.htm [accessed 18 April 2010].

[2] Henry Wilson to Louisa Tooth, 13 July 1895. Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 282.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Unpublished letter from Ernest Gimson to Ernest Barnsley, dated 1 October 1890 (Leicestershire Museums Service) quoted in Mary Comino, *Gimson and the Barnsleys* (London: Evans Brothers, 1980), p. 51.

> which adorns it was quarried out of the homefields of the local craftsman's brains.[5]

Localness of materials was mystically linked to the localness of men, which was in itself full of meaning: Sedding's pronouncement (and Wilson's) expressed also the yearning of upwardly mobile middle class architects for roots, *nostalgie de la boue*. Lutyens went yet further, identifying the use of local materials – and their implicit, meritorious simplicity – directly with spiritual meaning:

> The conception of the building is that it should be made of local and simple materials, and by their use alone it should give evidence of the care, love and reverence of its object.[6]



Fig 5.1 Pixham: gradine; west end exterior

Simplicity was godly – the same sense that emphasized the increasingly human friendliness of gentle Jesus meek and mild (Chapter 3).

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[5] J D Sedding, *Art and Handicraft*, pp. 64-5.
[6] Reported in Mary Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 11.

In 1884 Raymond Unwin, born in Yorkshire, brought up in Oxford (his father a don at Balliol), was apprenticed to the Staveley Iron & Coal Company, Chesterfield, as an engineering draughtsman.[7] He was left-leaning: in 1885 secretary of the Socialist League in Manchester, and part of the Labour Church, the Socialist movement that emerged from the Unitarians. In 1893 Staveleys had him design cottages for their workers at Barrow Hill, Staffs; and a new church, his first, St Andrew's (1895). Local materials were used externally and internally, and local skills employed to reflect the working culture of the area.[8] Local was here political too.

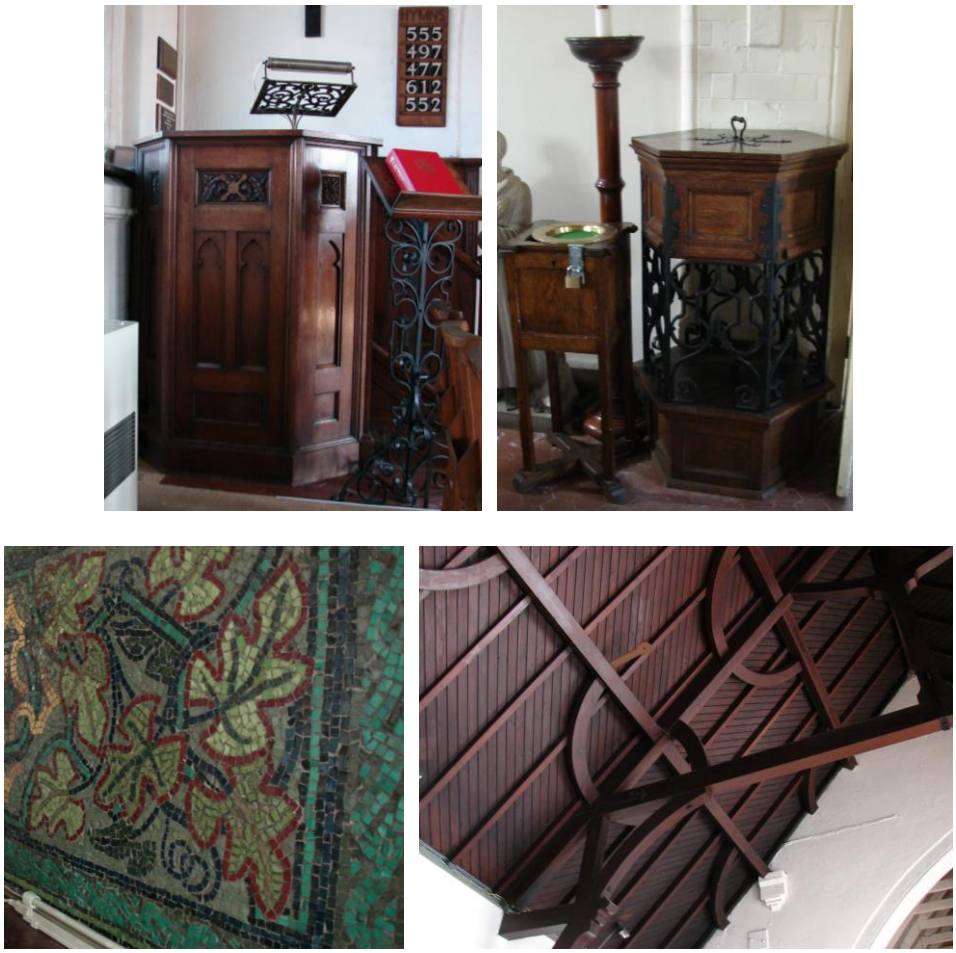


Fig 5.2 St Andrew, Barrow Hill (Raymond Unwin, 1895):
pulpit, lectern; alms box, candlestick, font; mosaic reredos (detail); nave roof

[7] Andrew Saint, 'Unwin, Sir Raymond (1863–1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: OUP, 2004; online edition, 2008) [accessed 9 September 2013]. Also Mark Swenarton, *Artisans and Architects* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989), pp. 126-66.
[8] Paula Elliott, *Pioneering examples of industrial housing in Derbyshire 1832-1925* (1998), p 90, quoted in Ann Pickard, *The Parish Church of Saint Andrew Barrow Hill with Hollingwood: the Parker and Unwin church* (Sheffield: ALD Print, 2010), p. 10.

At Kempley Wells used local materials exclusively. For the walls, sandstone from seven miles away. The roof slabs came 18 miles:

> from a piece of virgin land hired for the purpose…For the roof we cut down oak trees in a neighbouring wood belonging to my client, and shaped them by saw over a pit.[9]

Hands-on honest labour extended to the cutting of the wood – as at Rodmarton Manor, where even the floorboards were sawn by hand, regardless that this Arts & Crafts principle turned men into machines: Romanticism in practice could be heartless as any creed - capitalist or communist. At Glandford, the complex woodwork is all in local oak and cedar, and all timber from the client's estate.[10] The same for the stone at Pamphill; and at Stonebroom, from a new cutting on the Midland Railway;[11] the colliery spoil heaps provided a red burnt clay;[12] and lime came from Skegby, six miles away. Richards Castle stone came from Mrs Foster's quarry, but pragmatically the roof tiles were 'manufactured tiles from the Midlands', Shaw's preferred material.[13] Nonetheless, despite his selectivity in truth to the local, Shaw felt the same as Wilson about the mystic relationship between building and landscape:

> the yew hedge… will (very soon) enclose the whole thing and will draw it all together and all help to make the church itself part of the country – and not (as so many are) like a thing stuck down on a flat deal board.[14]

Localness of labour was also somehow truer: any builder uses local men – but now these working men could be identified, and should be (as makers were identified by

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[9] Randall Wells, 'Kempley Church', p. 166. The slates were replaced with pantiles *c.* 1970.
[10] Revd Arthur Gamble, *St Martin's Church, Glandford* (Clapham: privately published, after 1969), p. 4.
[11] Alan Randle, *Stonebroom: St Peter's Church and the Village: a Hundred Years 1900-2000* (Stonebroom: self-published, 2000), p. 5.
[12] Used in the building of Stonebroom Baths in 1884: Kerry Manuscripts, vol. XV (1881), pp. 289-292, Derby City Records Office.
[13] Saint, *Richard Norman Shaw,* p. 84.
[14] Norman Shaw to Mrs Foster, 4 September 1891.

name in ACES catalogues, alongside designers). They did not even have to be 'craftsmen': all men were equal. At Glandford (where there was no AWG and no socialism) Alfred Jodrell was liberal, even sentimental of instinct, and Conservative in politics. Hicks and Charlewood, experienced church restorers, were not employed for architectural adventurousness, and Jodrell was no liturgical connoisseur. Nonetheless Jodrell recognised all men's contributions – not just the skilled: a tablet inside the vestry door identifies the architects, foreman, carvers, carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons, painters and 'helpers' by name. The two leading carvers – Walter Thompson and Frank McGinnity – have no other known work to their name: self-effacing to a medieval degree. They seem to have carved the rood, screen, bench-ends, choir stalls, frieze, ceilings, reredoses and altars. They worked in harmony: so much so they are reported to have finished their work by carving a portrait of each other in the wainscot frieze. How very alike they seem, and how very Aesthetic. No drawings exist for any of the carving, and no 'designer' was included in Jodrell's list of craftsmen, suggesting they were also the designers – though Hicks and Charlewood may perhaps have suggested a theme, or provided a pattern book.



Fig 5.3 Glandford: Walter Thompson; Frank McGinnity
Oliver Dixon at Geograph (Commons licence)

At North Cerney the client kept a careful record of all 23 men who worked at his church. Not merely a list, but brief biographies, many poignant – numbers 2, 4 and 10,

whose grim history Croome recorded elsewhere. The first was a glazier killed in the Great War; the next five all North Cerney men. In egalitarian spirit, the second page

Fig 5.4 Croome's Note of those who 'wrought the work' at North Cerney, p. 1
Original is GA: P70 CW 3/12. Also exists as a photocopied leaflet in the church

Fig 5.5 Croome's Note of those who 'wrought the work' at North Cerney, p. 2
GA: P70 CW 3/12

leads with Eden's AWG friend Laurence Turner, entrusted with the first and finest wood carving; three men who worked for Eden; then those instructed by Croome. Not all the men were local, but locals took precedence. Three local craftsmen were also churchmen: a sidesman who decorated the rood with colour and gold; a churchwarden who was a carpenter; his father, though not listed, is in a photograph in Croome's papers: 'Henry James Mason. For many years Parish Clerk, latterly Churchwarden. Builder …A devoted Christian and a Churchman.'[15] Croome noted in the margin of page 2, 'he knew them all personally.' Local men were rarely quite as skilled as the Arts & Crafts fantasized they should be. No matter: skills could be imported, and the two harmonized. At Kempley

> The labour was mainly local, assisted by masons who had worked for me before…The building was to be inexpensive; this settled the form of construction – rough walling with quoins as little wrought as present-day mason's training will allow.[16]

In the porch is a panel of the Virgin Mary; at the east end a Crucifixion; and over the entrance a large relief of Christ, the figure cut by Wells himself. Everything else, though designed by Wells, was carved by men – local and imported – working under the direction – as it might be, tuition – of Turner. The seating, prayer desk, rails and altar, also designed by Wells, were made by the rather prosaic-sounding local Gloucester Joinery Company. The ironwork was by local smith, George Smallman.[17] The chancel candelabra and a pair of iron candlesticks in the chapel were 'supplied by Ernest Gimson' – sophisticatedly simple pieces made by one of the artistic gentleman craftsman of Sapperton, already a leading Arts & Crafts figure. And, in his own way, now, local too.

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[15] Gloucestershire Archives: P70 MI 3.
[16] Randall Wells, 'Kempley Church', p. 166.
[17] John Jurica, 'Kempley', *VCH, Gloucestershire XII Newent and May Hill*, 2012, p. 222.



Fig 5.6 Kempley
Christ over the entrance Crucifixion at east end

At Brithdir Wilson also wanted (or was compelled to) use local men – he too made a virtue of their shortcomings: 'In order that the work may be done locally, I have omitted everything like carving or elaborate masonry…'[18] At Stonebroom the chancel screen was probably made by the Stonebroom blacksmith, who was also smith at nearby Morton Pit. The congregational benches must also have been made by local men, possibly a member of the (still resident) Randle family: churchwardens' accounts (December 1902) note 7/6d to 'Randall for oak table'. Local did not necessarily mean second-rate – it is hard now to know what quality of work Lethaby could have extracted from local men at Brockhampton: the standard was set by the artist-architect whose building it would be.

Charterhouse-on-Mendip began life as a mission-hall-cum-social-centre for the lead miners of the Mendips, and over more than a decade, developed into a homely

[18] Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 281: 21 June 1895.

'jewel-box' under the aegis of Revd Menzies Lambrick. Reportedly the designs were all by W D Caröe, but there is almost no surviving archive.[19] The question of who did what, and whether it was by local men is moot. Freeman suggests here 'more than anywhere else Caröe lifts the concept of a simple, hand-crafted interior to new heights of sophistication.'[20] But that assumes he designed everything. Might it even be possible that at least some of this carving – and the church is full of it, whoever conceived it – was carried out by the miners themselves?



Fig 5.7 Charterhouse
Chancel arch; lectern; chancel screen

[19] Nigel Wilkins of NMR, by e-mail, 21 April 2011. 'Regrettably the drawings and site-file (which would have contained correspondence) for St Hugh's were not amongst the W D Caröe material that was sent to the NMR. All we can find for the Church are single-page entries in each of 3 of Caröe's personal note/sketchbooks...each drawing is extremely rough and freehand…'back-of-an-envelope' style.' A three-paragraph reminiscence from 1981 by Alban Caröe is in an information sheet in the church; at that time accounts from the builders, Dart & Francis of Crediton, survived in the Caröe practice archives – for the fleche, a prayer desk, churchyard cross and some figure carving: none of these sources is now to be found.
[20] Freeman, *W D Caröe,* pp. 64-5.

Truth is a dangerously fragile commodity. No matter – it could be fabricated: not in deception or pastiche, but in the guise of the honest spirit of truth to place. At Haslemere and Dockenfield Surrey galletting was employed (small flints pressed into mortar between stones). Lovingly traditional or self-consciously old-fashioned? Galleting was not used by Lutyens at Pixham, nor by Caröe at any of his Surrey churches. Affectation, or affection? The Arts & Crafts found it hard to distinguish.



Fig 5.8 *Upper:* **Haslemere:** buttress showing galleting
Lower: **Dockenfield:** galleting at the west end

At Brockhampton it *looks* as if a local vernacular method of roofing is employed – but thatch on a Herefordshire church by 1901, whatever the county's history and building traditions, is surely only *broadly* 'traditional' in an 'Olde Worlde' way. The straining after the local even extended to pseudo-archaeological pedantry: Wilson's Brithdir ground-plan was contested by the client: she wanted a cruciform plan, but Wilson preferred a *local* plan he called 'long-waisted': 'it is a peculiar[ly] Welsh treatment. There are many

small early churches in North Wales planned in exactly this way.'[21] For in reality, notions of traditional and local were hazy to architects, clients, and locals alike. The authentic could be faked: the wish to 'be' local gave rise to some churches which, while well-meaning, emerge, in hindsight, and to our more conservation-sensitive eyes, as contrived. Is John Douglas's half-timbering at Great Altcar, on the West Lancashire Coastal Plain, as local as it is in Cheshire, at Marton, Lower Peover or St Werburgh, Warburton?[22] At Sandy Lane, thatch and raking buttresses seem eccentric rather than Wiltshire vernacular. And, while timber frames with brick infill are common in Surrey, Limpsfield's alternating panels of yellow and red brick are surely rarer.



Fig 5.9 St Michael, Altcar, Lancs (John Douglas, 1878-9)



Fig 5.10 St Mary the Virgin and St Nicholas, Sandy Lane, Wilts (J M Hopkins, 1892)

[21] Allen, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 282: 13 July 1895.
[22] There is St Lawrence, Denton (1531) in south Lancashire.



Fig 5.11 St Silvan, Staffhurst Wood, Limpsfield, Surrey (W H Harrison, 1898)



Fig 5.12 SS Gilbert and Hugh, Gosberton Clough, Lincs (Bucknall and Comper, 1903-4)

The timber framing at Gosberton Clough, Lincs is seemingly vernacular: but all the other buildings in the tiny Lincolnshire hamlet are brick or rendered. Hunger for honesty led to a taste for the 'rough-hewn': Ruskin's 'savageness'. Unfinishedness served as a marker for authenticity. Is it a genuine preference for the effects of hand-making, or a decision to make things look hand-made (especially when they are) by emphasizing roughness? Spooner leaded some of his glass in a way which looked positively crude. At Hoarwithy Harry Hems was persuaded to make his choir stalls if not rough, then with a sort of chunky naivety he was well capable of avoiding.




Left **Fig 5.13 St Gabriel, Aldersbrook (Charles Spooner, 1912):** glazing detail, north transept
Right **Fig 5.14 Hoarwithy**: choir stalls

2) 'Plain and simple'

At Richards Castle Shaw equated plainness with goodness:

> in no case have I sacrificed goodness to smart showiness. I wonder if I should have done wiser to have built you a more showy thing? No I think not. I am sure it is the good, plain, solid work that pleases most in the long run.[23]

For it needed art as Wilson knew:

> Let us drop tracery and the fifteenth century and mediaeval woodwork, and build a barn. Let the necessary holes for light be plain holes artfully displayed.[24]

And only the artist can assess and approve simplicity.

Plainness carried spiritual meaning, or was assumed to. Curtis Green's Quaker Adult School at Croydon exhibited Quaker *and* Arts & Crafts virtues, and seemed to

[23] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 11 December 1891 (quoted in Saint, *Letters*, p. 72).
[24] Henry Wilson, 'Nineteenth Century Church Building', *AR* III, 1897, pp. 49-50; p. 50.

equate the two, for example, in the frank expression of construction: no 'ostentatious embellishment and extravagant decoration'.[25] But, while his wife and an aunt were Quakers, Green himself was not – his mind simply worked that way, and was therefore appropriate for the 'plain' cultural and spiritual tastes of the Friends. Less than Quakerly ambition led him later in his career to banks and hotels.

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Fig 5.15 Quaker Adult School, Croydon (Curtis Green, 1908)
croydonquakers.org.uk/adschall.html

Fred Rowntree – who was a Quaker – built Friends Meeting Houses at Hampstead (1906) and Hampstead Garden Suburb (1913). They indeed lack frills. They seem so commonplace, as to be scarcely designed at all. That was perhaps the point.



Fig 5.16 Golders Green Friends Meeting House (Fred Rowntree, 1913)

[25] Joseph Mirwitch, in *Twentieth Century Society Newsletter,* Winter 2006/7 at croydonquakers.org.uk/adschall.html [accessed 23 January 2013]. This seems to be derived from the Historic England listing for the Adult School Hall. Information on the Adult School Movement from Ursula Howard, granddaughter of Curtis Green, by e-mail 24 January 2013.

It was possible for the plain to be played with great subtlety. William Hayne, Hutton's architect, nuanced the plain to distinguish between public and private at Frinton Free Church: doors plain and serious on the non-public side, gently exalted to the congregation. At Cricklewood, Keen was studiously plain in his design for the structure, but allowed himself to be slightly fanciful only in restrained details.



Fig 5.17 Frinton Free Church (William Hayne, 1911)

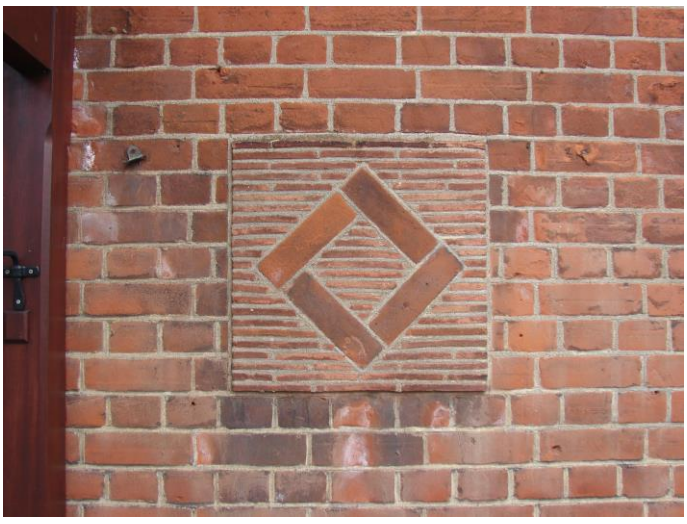


Fig 5.18 Cricklewood: detail of brickwork

Plain is rarely simple. Even among Anglicans, there was anxiety now about 'ornament': at Richards Castle the client accused Shaw of designing an 'ornamental' church. He protested:

> I would just as soon build a plain church as an ornamental and costly one…I don't care much for ornament but I do like thoroughly solid and good work, and it is that that costs the money.[26]

The consideration seems as much commercial as artistic: 'I have seen many a church spoilt by £100 worth of carving!'[27] And an objection intriguingly equated ornament with insincerity:

> I think we put far too many crosses on our church gables. One or two is all right enough – but when we stick them on <u>every</u> gable it is too much of a good thing and that, which ought to be a sign or symbol – becomes a mere ornament.[28]

On ornament the Arts & Crafts never quite made up its mind – there were 'show pieces' (Morris's 'state furniture') of elaborately coloured and carved furniture alongside severe country vernacular at most ACES exhibitions. For it was, contrary to 21st century enthusiasms, not the end but the means that counted with the AWG – Wilson could make diamond tiaras, and still retain his Arts & Crafts persona, because of the way he made them, and the person he was. Nonetheless, the more elaborate a church, the less it seems to 'be' Arts & Crafts: it is easier to see Arts & Crafts in small churches unencumbered by decorative exuberance – Curbridge, Woolmer, Stonebroom – than at showpieces like Great Warley, Cheltenham or Ullet Road.

In furnishings, the Morris dilemma was confronted again and again: hand-made was never cheap. But in churches – although the ICBS wrestled with the need for 'cheap churches' as the 20th century waxed – cheapness was not necessarily an asset. For some

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[26] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 20 January 1890.
[27] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 27 January 1890.
[28] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 24 September 1891.

clients – at Richards Castle, Lower Kingswood, Great Warley, Brockhampton, Pamphill, Ullet Road – the expense was at least part of the point. For others the idea of providing cheap fittings would be an insult to their congregations, be they never so poor – at Haslemere, Pixham, Summerstown. However cheap they were, they must never *look* cheap. At Aberlour there is nothing costly: but the impression, made of dozens of inexpensive details, is of a rich and resonant altar (see also pp 181-4).



Fig 5.19 Aberlour
detail of reredos; roof boss; underside of baldachino

At Woolmer the stripped-down clarity of the woodwork gives authority to an unadorned east end. At Curbridge an intense colour scheme gives the simple woodwork a richness that transcends its folk, even 'home-made' character. At Ravelston, Edinburgh, the RC church is assertively low-cost from the outside – but internally unadorned simplicity gives dignity and even awe.





Fig 5.20 St Andrew (RC), Ravelston, Edinburgh (unknown architect, 1902)

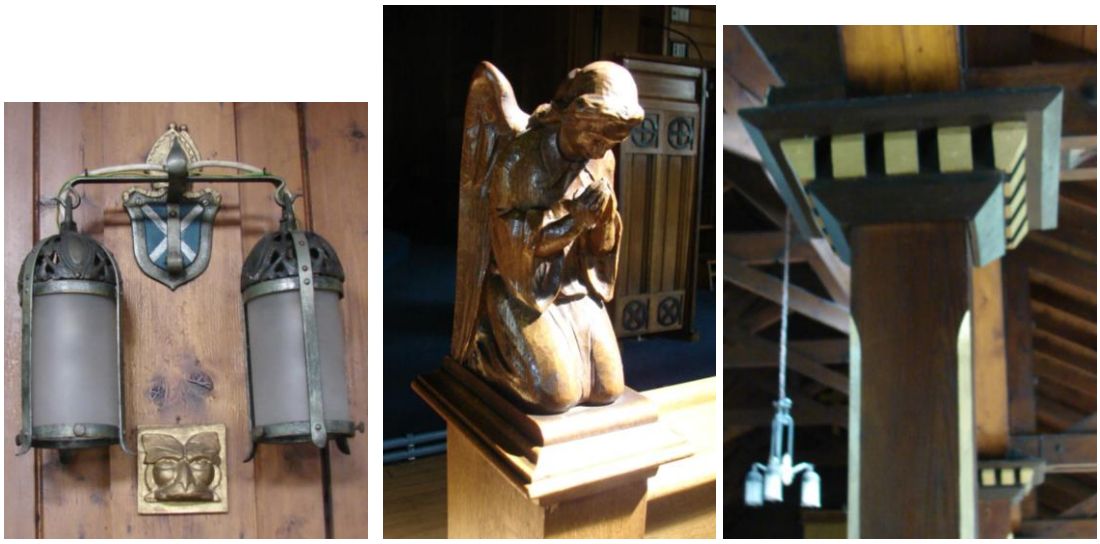


Fig 5.21 St Andrew (RC), Ravelston, Edinburgh: interior and details sconce lamp; angel on dwarf screen; pillar capital

Other ways of being cheerful without looking cheap included making everything specially (Haslemere, Dockenfield, Glandford and West Woodhay); or determinedly not including anything that could be made by machine: the mosaic at Lower Kingswood, woodwork at North Cerney, furniture at Wallasey.

3) Sincerity and insincerity

B F L Clarke accused Arts & Crafts architects of the 'cultivation of a sophisticated simplicity.'[29] He suggested Arts & Crafts design ideas in churches, as expressed at Brockhampton and Kempley, were 'the ecclesiastical equivalent of the ingle-nooks, the shutters and the water-butts of the houses of Voysey.'[30] In 1921 Goodhart-Rendel took a similar line, accusing the architects of 1890 of 'a creed, an attractively simple one, but one a little too simple to be true. Its foremost article was the supreme

[29] B F L Clarke, 'Edwardian Ecclesiastical Architecture', in Alistair Service (ed), *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), p. 291. The article is based on a lecture of 1973.
[30] Ibid.

artistic value of sincerity.'[31] Was Arts & Crafts sincerity insincere?: 'The secret of success is sincerity. Once you can fake that you've got it made.'[32] This is treacherous ground – can someone who serves the wishes of another ever be quite sincere? Does it matter? In building a church, is it possible for an architect to be sincere if he does not believe? The point is that this can only be an issue when insincerity is not only possible (was Scott sincere?) but publicly acknowledgeable. By 1890 everyone knew that many people did not believe in God. By 1920 it was easily possible to look back with a sneer from the high ground of hindsight: was Le Corbusier sincere? More interestingly, perhaps, can an architect be sincere in doubt, and reveal that sincere doubt in the building? Can one be sincere in building but insincere about religion? Here the question of 'Arts & Crafts church' collides again with the matter of what was happening in religion around 1900. When God was in his heaven, church-building could be confident, authoritative, monolithic, orthodox. When his funeral had been rumoured, what was his house for?[33]

Can one take at face value anyone's statements about *their own* sincerity? It is perhaps dangerous to try: most architects' statements are to be found in letters to their clients (likely to be saying the right thing, though not always) or in articles in the professional press (likely to be following the correct line either for or against any position) – but it is all we have, apart from the buildings themselves. One possibility might be this: where a Gothic Revival architect was producing a building to a cultural template, approved in the context of religious observance exercised widely and not publicly questioned, the matter of whether he was 'sincere' or not could not arise, any more than the question of whether the Archbishop of Canterbury was sincere. But once doubt and questioning became, if not a norm, then at least common, where the architect

[31] Harry Goodhart-Rendel, 'A Note on Tendencies in Recent Domestic Architecture' in Ernest and William G Newton (eds), *Modern British Town Planning* (London: Technical Journals, vol. 6) 1921, p. 17.
[32] Variously attributed to Jean Giraudoux, George Burns, Leonard Lyons and Celeste Holm.
[33] Hardy wrote his poem 'God's Funeral' between 1908 and 1910.

stood on the purpose of the building he was making came into play. If he makes a police station it does not make him a policeman – but it would be a surprise to find him an Anarchist.

At Wallasey, Ware and Rathbone were not only architects and artists, but committed Unitarians – it is hard to disentangle now, but possibly at variance with their parents' generation of Unitarians at Ullet Road: younger and more forward-looking. It may seem odd to have 'stunners' for angels painted (by Bernard Sleigh) on pew ends (see pp 116 and 161), but it was not intended to shock, rather to reflect an acceptable view of connections between heaven and earth. It was not simple, but it was sincere. Sleigh's religious affiliations are unclear – he was certainly 'arty', reminiscent of the artist in the ACES's device.[34] 'Art Nouveau' was perfectly capable of expressing faith.

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Fig 5.22 Wallasey
Left: Bernard Sleigh (photograph by Roland Dyer, n.d., but after 1937)
© Court Barn Museum
Right: East end of the church

[34] See p 141. Sleigh illustrated W J Phillips, *Carols, Their Origin, Music and Connection with Mystery-Plays,* (London: Routledge, 1921) and E Renan (ed), *The Song of Songs* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham School of Printing, 1937); but also his own poem *A Faery Pageant*, (Birmingham: Kynoch Press, 1924) and his own book on *Witchcraft* (Berkeley Heights, NJ: Oriole Press, 1934). The V&A holds designs for four Christmas cards by him, all from the 1920s.

Art and religion can be found united and persuasively sincere in at least one church. At the tiny village church of Gunnerton, Northumberland, John Cyril Hawes expressed his sincerity in a particularly committed way: the design and building of the church was a step on his way to priesthood – he ended his career as an RC priest and hermit. The church had its origins in a meeting between Hawes and the vicar of the parish's mother church, who asked him to design and supervise the building of a chapel of ease at Gunnerton, and to visit local farms as lay minister. Hawes subsequently offered himself as a missionary to the Universities Mission to Central Africa. He hoped to found a Franciscan Order, and seems to have worn a Franciscan habit as his normal dress. His life was on two parallel tracks – architecture and devotion: he had attended classes at Central School and the AA, and learned wood-carving, stone-carving and glass making. In 1897 he began in practice as an architect. He submitted his drawings for Gunnerton to an RA exhibition in 1898, where they were noted by the parish priest; the church was built by 1900; the drawings were published in 1901.[35]

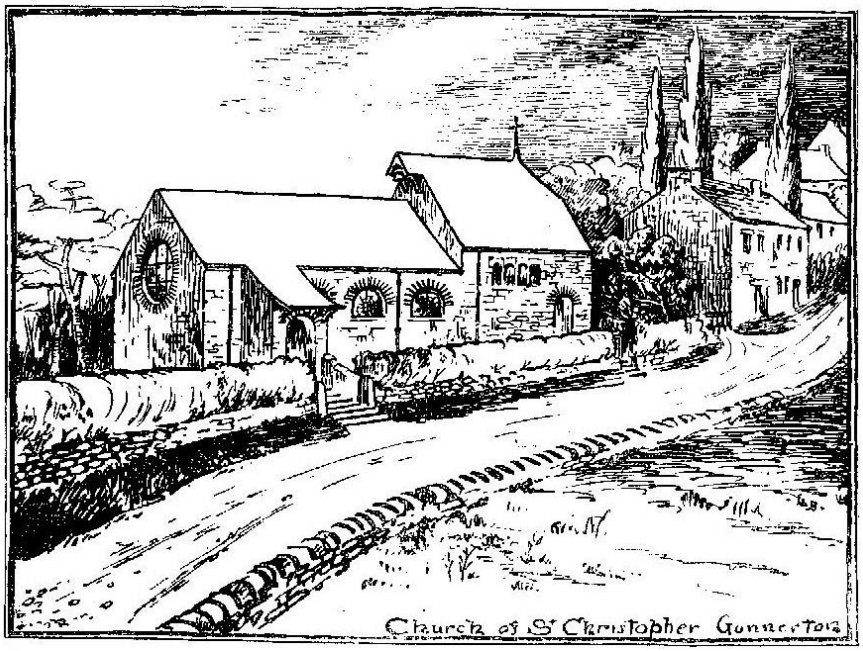


Fig 5.23 'Church of St Christopher, Gunnerton'
British Architect, *15 March 1901, p 183*

[35] *British Architect,* Vol. 55, 15 March 1901, pp. 183-4.



Fig 5.24 Gunnerton: south side



Fig 5.25 Gunnerton: south porch door

Gunnerton is Hawes's only English church – he later became a church architect in Australia and in the Bahamas. Gunnerton is High Church on a pocket scale: both austere and homely. The chancel (recently repainted in the original scheme) has a severe chancel screen and an exuberant canopy over the altar cross.



Fig 5.26 Gunnerton: east end



Fig 5.27 Gunnerton: interior details

There are carved oak panels at the west end, where Hawes put a gallery for the choir: an odd mixture of sophistication and naivety – dancing whales, elephants and a dodo. They were carved by M. B. Baker, presumably a local man.[36] The coincidence of architect and priest makes its sincerity unquestionable. This personal engagement overlaps with some of the 'enthusiastic amateurs' in Chapter 6.

[36] *Newcastle Courant,* 25 August 1900, p. 3.

4) The building process: co-operation not contracts

The 'touchstones' had physical implications. These may be dealt with briefly. Whether through architects' wish to be 'hands-on', or disdain for 'trade', there was an inhibition against Clerks of Works – mere 'middle-men', getting in the way of equality between master and man. Shaw advised Mrs Foster (to whom he delegated the acquiring of tenders) to be careful in the choice of builders:

> above all things please see that they are <u>really</u> good ones – do not let us ask any second rate man – or he will be sure to get it and then not all the architects or Clerks of Works in Christendom will be able to keep him straight.[37]

Shaw knew the successful tenderer, Thompson:

> most excellent man… If you have a really good builder, you save the salary of the C. of Works …We do not want a Clerk of Works – some of the best work I have ever done has been done without a Clerk of Works.[38]

Thompson seems to have scrimped and cut corners all the same. Barnsley had no Clerk of Works at Lower Kingswood. Spooner felt, 'If you have a trustworthy firm of builders, a Clerk of Works will not be necessary.'[39] The notion of the honest artisan ran deep – Spooner was fortunate in having civic-minded builders at Haslemere, Quaker pillars of the community who donated furnishings to the church. Wilson disapproved of contractors – 'absolutely antagonistic to the production of the building art:'[40] Brithdir was built without one:

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[37] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 23 August, 1889.
[38] Shaw to Mrs Foster, 22 October 1889.
[39] Spooner to Rev K W Sibley, St Paul East Ham, 11 November 1925 (St Paul, East Ham archive).
[40] Henry Wilson, 'Some consideration of John Dando Sedding's work', *AR,* vol. 3, 1898, pp. 237-242; p. 237.

> Most men I know delegate all the most important part of their work to others. I have not the conscience to do that and whatever work I undertake, I must do myself.[41]

In reality Wilson kept his distance, visiting the site only a dozen times in three years.[42] He worked through assistants: Herbert Luck North then C H B Quennell.[43] Some architects were disinclined even to employ assistants: at Hutton Hayne worked without one; Godfrey Pinkerton had just one in his career, whom he shared with his partner Henry Martineau Fletcher. Spooner 'could not use assistance readily, for the very good reason that he felt his work so intensely that he could not bear any detail falling short of the high standard he had set himself.'[44] (Though he did have one assistant later in his career.) With the exceptions of Lutyens, Caröe and Charles Nicholson, none of the AWG architects who worked on churches ever developed a large practice: personal involvement meant modest *oeuvres*. Spooner took no more than one job at a time; Percy Currey seems never to have taken on more, even after he went into partnership with Thompson; Keen, after a busy early career designing houses, mainly in Surrey, undertook very few ecclesiastical jobs, and spent most of his later working life on committees. One can never be sure whether it was conviction or necessity, but those who seem to have only taken on one job (or very few) at a time, also include Lethaby, W H Brierley, J F Bentley and Leonard Stokes. That is not to say some of these men necessarily wanted to be thinly employed: but they did not strive to be busy.

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41 Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 432: 1 November 1897.
42 May, July, September 1895; January, February, June, September, October 1896; February, November 1897; August and September 1898.
43 Wilson proposed that North, whose family lived at Llanfairfechan, should superintend the works 'pretty frequently' and stay 'three weeks or a month at a time.' (Allan, p. 283: 1 August 1895.) He later proposed to send two assistants – North for masonry, Quennell for woodwork. (28 August 1895.) Arthur Grove was meanwhile the Assistant in the office, though he also travelled to Wales to get estimates.
44 Arthur Knapp-Fisher, Obituary of Charles Spooner, *JRIBA*, 23 January 1939, pp. 311-2.

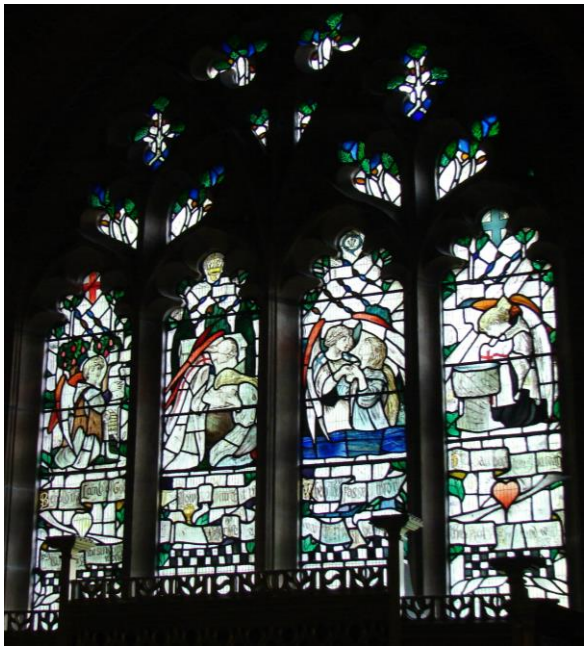
On the other hand, there was comfort in colleagues – men to whom one did not have to explain, and who were answerable only to themselves. Co-operative working was not essential, but many valued it. At Brithdir Wilson designed the font; it was modelled by Arthur Grove (then his assistant) and cast at the Central School by a teaching colleague there, William Dodds, master plumber.[45] The woodwork is by Sedding's preferred woodworkers, Trask & Co of Norton-sub-Hamdon, whom Wilson inherited: Trasks made the altar and pulpit.[46] A letter from Wilson disingenuously claims, 'the chancel seats… are nothing but framed up Spanish chestnut and I have put little or no ornament on them.'[47] At Brockhampton blacksmith-work was produced locally - the door hinges are by the Brockhampton smith, 'full of wolfish life';[48] but most other fittings were made by Lethaby's AWG colleagues from London: Whall for the windows (AWG 1889); George Jack for the choir stalls (AWG 1906). Lethaby designed the font, and designed *and carved* the pulpit.[49]

At Matlock, Dawber engaged AWG colleagues for the detailed work. The *Builder's Journal* gives the names of four:

> The coloured east window is by Mr Louis Davis, the figures round the pulpit by Mr Cecil Fabian, the plaster ceiling by Mr George Bankart, the decorations and painted altar-piece by Mr John Cooke.[50]

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[45] Cyndy Manton, *Henry Wilson – Practical Idealist,* p. 71.
[46] Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 429: 1 September 1897.
[47] Ibid, p. 418: 9 July 1896.
[48] Peter Blundell Jones, 'All Saints Brockhampton', *Architects' Journal*, vol. 192, 15 August 1990, pp. 24-43; p. 40.
[49] John Kay, 'W R Lethaby at the Central School', *William Morris Society Journal* 1985, pp. 26-30; p. 30.
[50] 'Men who build No 63, Guy Dawber', *Builder's Journal and Architectural Record,* 3 April 1901, pp. 148-9, 153 and supplement.



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Fig 5.28 Matlock: east window; ceiling plasterwork
Lower: Arc Conservation

Davis worked closely with Bankart (AWG 1900):[51] 'the ceiling… treated with wide bands of modelled plaster… [is] now being decorated in colour by Mr Louis Davis.'[52] John Cooke, responsible for the decorations and painted altar-piece was probably John Percy Cooke (AWG 1899), boarding at the Temperance Hotel, Matlock in 1901.

[51] Peter Cormack suggests the plasterwork may have been a joint effort: 'I do wonder if the plasterwork in the Chapel might have been a collaboration between Bankart and Davis. The former's work is usually in rather lower relief than at Matlock, and the little birds-in-flight in the sanctuary area look quite like some of Davis's illustrations.' By e-mail to the author, 4 February 2013.
[52] *The Builder,* 29 October 1898, p. 386.

The report of the dedication at Dockenfield gives the names of some of those involved. The Rood figures were painted by Henry Albert Payne RWS, who had trained at Birmingham Art School with Green. (He was amongst those who decorated Madresfield Court (1902-23)). The 'carving in the chancel' was by H W Palliser (AWG 1922),[53] who also made the font.[54] The carving on the altar was by Esmond Burton (AWG 1919).[55] The altar was painted by 'Miss Margaret Thrower', probably Margaret Eliza Thrower of Alton, a 21-year-old art student in 1911, of whom no more is known – if she married, she disappears from view. The Building Fund Statement of 1911 lists payment to another artist: H L Christie for 'Carving Cross on outside of East Wall' as



Fig 5.29 Dockenfield: East end, exterior: Evangelists' Cross (details)

well as 'Stone and inscription' - Christie is best known as a calligrapher who trained under Edward Johnston at Central School, who was briefly in partnership with Eric Gill. He also designed the 'painted altar with its ornaments and ciborium for a Church in Belgium' shown by Charles Spooner at the 1916 ACES.[56]

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[53] Bob Speel, 'Herbert W Palliser', myweb.tiscali.co.uk/speel/sculpt/palliser.htm [accessed 25 January 2013].
[54] 'Our Illustrations', *British Architect,* April 1919, p. 36. However the Building Fund Statement lists, 'By A Chuter for Font and carving on Piscina: £21-0-0.' Chuter and Sons were the builders.
[55] The Building Fund Statement lists £15-10-0d payment for 'Altar and Carving' to A Chuter.
[56] 'H. Lawrence Christie', Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011 [accessed 28 Jan 2013].

A summary of co-operative working at three churches shows the varying levels of engagement. It could be that of intimate friends: Whall and his young family lodged with the Spooners. Weir Schultz at Woolmer led and inspired Gimson and Turner. At Kempley it was a mixture of tried and trusted AWG craftsmen and talented locals, and the same at Colehill (see Chapter 6).

Haslemere

Architect	Charles Spooner	AWG, ACES
Reredos	Minnie Dibdin Spooner	ACES
Statue of St Christopher	Minnie Dibdin Spooner	
East window	Christopher & Veronica Whall	AWG, ACES
Lettering	Eric Gill, 1908	AWG 1905-9
Lectern, wrought iron	Bainbridge Reynolds, 1904	AWG
Textiles	Edmund Hunter	St Edmundsbury Weavers
Holy table, sanctuary chair	Romney Green, 1903-4	
Banner	Lily Bristow advised by Ann Macbeth of Glasgow School of Art, 1904-5	
Parish magazine cover	Heywood Sumner	AWG
North nave window	Mary Lowndes, 1910	
Chancel south window	Martin Travers, 1935	AWG 1921-6

Woolmer

Architect	R Weir Schultz	AWG
Pulpit and reading desk	Ernest Gimson	AWG
Lighting	Ernest Gimson (not executed)	
Choir stalls	Ernest Gimson	
Screen and font	Laurence Turner	AWG
Altar rails	'country smith' (Alfred Bucknell?)	
Carving of St Michael	H W Palliser	AWG
Foundation stone trowel	Henry Wilson	AWG

Colehill

Architect	W D Caröe	AWG
Altar cross, candlesticks	Laurence Turner	AWG
Woodwork design	Ro[w]land Clark	?
Reredos painting	Frederick Beaumont	easel painter
Pulpit, altar	Canon William Gildea	cleric
Carving of saint (exterior)	Joseph Mayer of Oberammergau	
Carving of saint (interior)	G Pucci	?

The way it looks. 1) 'Arts & Crafts-looking-ness'

All of this points to, but does not explain, what is particular about these churches. This section deals with two questions of aesthetics. First, why – and how – does all this amount to a sense that a church can have an Arts & Crafts 'look', even if not 'be' Arts & Crafts? The question matters, because it directly articulates the problem, and answering it illuminates how the churches express something new and important. A church by Pearson (St Stephen's, Bournemouth, say) or Butterfield (Keble College chapel; All Saints, Margaret Street) impresses with scale on the outside and complexity within: massed, and/or coloured and textured elaborately to humble and even silence us, to inspire worship. Detail is accumulated, but subordinated to impact: compounded, not foregrounded. Within churches influenced by the Arts & Crafts, by contrast, individual objects stand out: they are even intended to, because they partake of the personal. The visual importance of these details is one of the diagnostic and most seductive features. Externally the buildings themselves tend to be un-imposing, human and approachable: thus we are comfortable, once inside, in noticing small things – they do not seem irrelevant. When churches are large, the sense of an individual contribution is lost: perhaps why Holy Trinity, Sloane Street seems a collection of disparate exhibits more than a church. The contributions cannot cohere in so much space. In Roker, the scale is so great, the contributions cower in corners. But where churches are small, domestic in scale, the eye is drawn to detail: to human touches.

The ACES's complaint against the Royal Academy was not just that it would not show illustration or design in its exhibitions, privileging easel painting and sculpture above all, but that the artistic content of craftwork was thereby denied. The AWG was intent on understanding craft issues, and this tended to mean craft's status was over-

emphasized. Arts and Crafts were now conjoined as ostensible equals – and even though Arts came first, Crafts tended, after a century in the shadows, to be spotlit. Not that the Victorian ecclesiastical architects despised or dismissed craftsmanship – but they purchased it rather as a trade commodity, and from suppliers who were themselves commercial concerns, operating factory conditions (or could be thought to be so doing by the social-democratic-minded AWG). Powells, Hardmans, Heaton Butler and Bayne, Godwins of Lugwardine were *firms*. While there may have been personal relations between men like Street and Gilbert Scott and those businesses' principals, there was little sense that individual makers were part of the process. Scott exhibited no desire to understand or practise metal-working, let alone be a smith: though there was a difference, perhaps, in his dealings with fine artists – for example, his long and close relationship with the sculptor John Birnie Philip, who exhibited at the RA in 1858. For the AWG, such relationships were not exceptions. And there was something different too in the quality of AWG relationships, for example between Sedding, Wilson and Trasks; between Charles Ponting and Herbert Reed; between Lethaby and George Jack. The sense of fellowship was not dissembled condescension: the men of the AWG wanted to identify with the makers. Finding their skills difficult to win, they admired those who possessed them. And the architects wanted to show they were not only artists, but could be craftsmen too: Henry Wilson chased the figures in the copper frontal at Brithdir; Wells worked in both stone and wood at Kempley; Barnsley painted the ceiling at Lower Kingswood. The privileging of craft was partly egalitarian – as the ACES logo suggested. But it could also be taken as a connoisseur's view: the educated, well-dressed artist engaging with the physical and intellectual complexities of joinery, plasterwork, enamelling, glazing, and seeing in those honest manual processes, art. There was an underlying ideal of renaissance man, a perfect combination of artists and maker: Ashbee described Wilson as 'coming nearer than any Englishman to those Florentine jewellers

who had their little shops on the Ponte Vecchio, and turned to necklaces, frescoes, or cathedrals indiscriminately.'[57] As a corollary, there was a revulsion from anything overblown and flashy. At Hoarwithy, Poole detested brass; at Haslemere, Aitken blenched at 'catalogue' goods. This was the dreaded 'vulgar' – never defined, but epitomised as money in the wrong hands: ill-educated, non-aristocratic people; and the things they might know no better than to like – made to look costly, when nothing of the kind. It could have extended to rejection of things 'foreign' – but it did not: it depended on which 'foreign' was being employed. Some sources (Byzantine monastic at Lower Kingswood; Italian hill churches at Brithdir) were not only accepted, but were admired: rural *and* ancient, simple *and* true; useful *and* beautiful. But what constituted beauty for the AWG – that quality which they saw 'awakening' in 1899? And which had, then, by implication, been heretofore asleep.

2) Beauty

The beauty of Gothic Revival churches is now understood through their connections to and transcendence of medieval models of excellence; their grandeur, their symmetry, their dignity. It is an appreciation which had to be learnt – the first half of the twentieth century was unimpressed by them: 'monstrosities'. That scepticism paralleled revulsion from the narrowness of Victorian values – and a Church which put its priests in prison, and harboured Obadiah Slope. It took Betjeman and the Victorian Society (still, unaccountably, only interested in buildings, and hardly at all in politics, religion or society) to instruct us to understand, appreciate and value Victorian churches, built on a scale and to a certainty we could no longer condone. The inclination to do something different, and personal (and original) to meet God started with Sara Losh at Wreay, in a

[57] C R Ashbee, unpublished notes on the Masters of the Art Workers Guild quoted by Peyton Skipwith at www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/skipwith1.html [accessed 1 May 2012].

way that baffled even the Bishop of Carlisle.[58] Her disinclination to adhere to the received wisdom of an authoritative architecture of a would-be all-powerful church – and to do exactly what she wanted instead – began to gain traction within the church itself. The ideas did not start with the AWG. Hoarwithy's Poole had his own ideas about beauty. Travelling widely, he admired the Byzantine-influenced churches of the south of France, especially Carcassone, reconstructed by Viollet-le-Duc.[59] Poole's notebooks include many pencil drawings of architectural details. He compiled a *History of Archenfield* (his rural deanery) with historical notes on every church in the deanery: the floor plans he drew himself.[60] He commissioned T Raffles Davison to make sketches of them all: a rather romantic view of rural Herefordshire, part San Gimignano, part North Oxford.

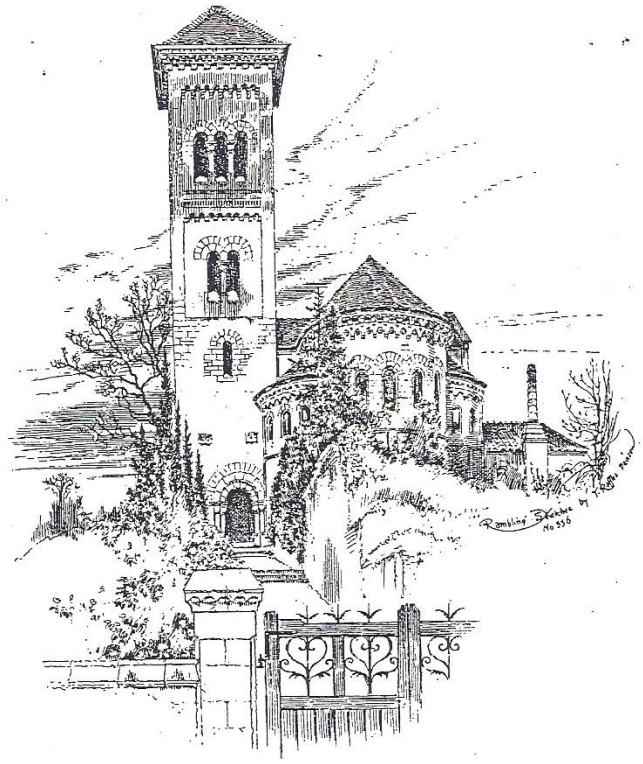


Fig 5.30 'Hoarwithy: Rambling sketches no 336 by T Raffles Davison'
History of Archenfield (1903) reproduced in Anderson, p. 8

[58] H Lonsdale, *The Worthies of Northumberland* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1873), p. 230, cited in J B Bullen, 'Sara Losh: architect, romantic, mythologist', *Burlington magazine*, November 2001, vol. 143, no 1184, p. 684.
[59] Poole travelled to France, Italy and Greece in 1842 and again in France in 1862. His journal for this 2500 mile tour survives: Philip Anderson, *The Beautification of Hoarwithy church*, p. 7.
[60] Poole's notes were edited and published in 1903, after his death, by his successor as Rural Dean, Prebendary D Seaton.

Poole's architect, J P Seddon, was not a member of the AWG, though he was connected – through his brother – with the PRB, and knew Morris. At the Medieval Society he encountered Holman Hunt, Madox Brown, Rossetti – and he knew Ruskin, Coventry Patmore and Bodley.[61] He was not quite an aesthete, but familiar with PRB beauty. Fine art and the folk encountered each other in the choir stalls at Hoarwithy, carved by Harry Hems to designs by Seddon. The figures represent local saints – Weonard, David, Cynog, and Tysilio: the panels on the stall ends depict scenes in the life of Dubricius, patron saint of the mother church at Hentland. The subject drew censure from the morally and aesthetically pernickety *Builder*:

> We give the desk merely as a good piece of work in design and execution, rather inclining to wish that both architect and carver may on another occasion light upon an historical subject better worth treating.
>
> But Whether it is worth while, or even in every sense suitable, to decorate a modern church with these rather foolish legends, to which, it will be observed, no moral whatever attaches, is a question we do not discuss.[62]

The raucous verve of the work was lost to their points-awarding mentality. The intensity of the tiny church, with its bewildering marbles, porphyry, tiger's eye and bright vernacular-seeming woodwork confused them. Now its jewel-box exoticism excites.

At Haslemere, Spooner was scrupulous and sensitive: the revelling in workmanship is subtle. Luther Hooper, textile designer, lived in Haslemere:

> At the first opening of the church the fine oak Holy Table…. and the polished steel altar cross were the only furniture ... Other furnishings followed from time to time. …there is nothing commonplace or ordinary, and at the same time nothing is bizarre or out of harmony….

[61] J Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London: John Murray, 1981), p. 75.
[62] 'Prayer-desk, Hoarwithy church, Herefordshire', *The Builder*, 5 July 1884, p. 12.

> From the first, the [building] committee wisely resolved not only to entrust the design of the fabric to [Spooner], but to take his advice on all matters of detail and furnishing. [63]

The committee relied on Spooner to keep the vulgar at bay, to ensure 'only the best'. He navigated Hooper's dividing line between commonplace and bizarre. It is in this 'debatable land' between extremes that Arts & Crafts beauty lies. Some things seem cumbersome and clumsy; some simply eccentric; some tender and heart-felt. The whole seeks to touch in a way Scott, Street or Butterfield churches did not – nor were meant to.



Fig 5.31 Haslemere: Sanctuary chair; lectern; altar rail; carving on pulpit

[63] Luther Hooper, 'Art of To-day. Fine and Otherwise: Art in the Church', *Art Journal* (London), Feb 1911, pp. 47-52 and March 1911, pp. 83-87.

At Cheltenham, there was a more diffident presiding spirit. H A Prothero, the architect (largely chosen because of his connections with the school), used, as is hardly surprising, both major Cheltenham church furnishing firms, R L Boulton & Sons and H H Martyn and Co. Yet the spirit of the times was unleashed. Out of Martyn's otherwise conventional (and successful) business, were somehow magicked two individual craftsmen of great genius – Harry Breckin and Harry Dean – men so brilliant even their employer's customary suppression of individual personalities in corporate anonymity was defied. They worked on the memorial to Frederic Myers, 'scholar, poet, essayist and undoubtedly the finest intellect to have passed through College by that time.'[64] Myers had been a friend of Prothero's, though Prothero died (in 1906) before the memorial was completed. The dominant feature is a burgeoning Tree of Life: 'a wild rose, beautifully carved in sycamore, with realistic brambles, birds, animals and flowers.'[65] The free-hanging intertwined branch over the door, with small birds fluttering, was made by Breckin, who did carving later in his career for Fellowes Prynne.[66] The rest of the carving was by Dean, who went on to head Martyn's carving department. He reportedly borrowed a book from his employer's daughter for reference. Despite its whimsical title – *Wee Tim'rous Beasties* – it was a book of photographs.[67] Like Beatrix Potter, Dean's work was both mildly whimsical and precisely realistic – which applies to much in the Arts & Crafts. There is a love of the Wild Wood: something too of *Wind in the Willows* (1908).

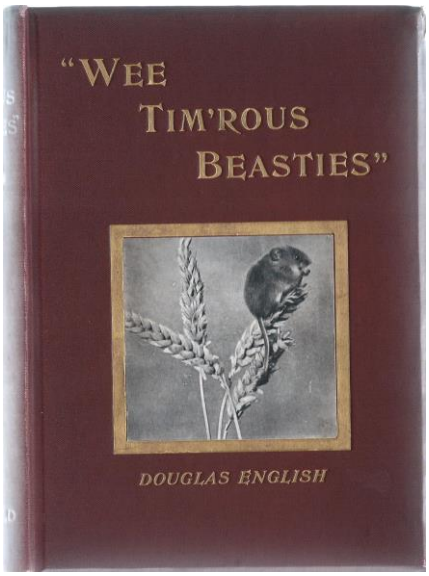
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[64] Nicholas Lowton, *Cheltenham College Chapel*, p. 43. Myers founded (1883) the Society for Psychical Research. After his death a book, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, was compiled from his notes and published in 1903.

[65] Alan Brooks and David Verey, *Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of England, 2002), p. 251.

[66] John Whitaker, *The Best: H H Martyn & Co* (Cheltenham: Promenade Publications, 1998), pp. 47 and 342.

[67] Douglas English, '*Wee tim'rous beasties', studies of animal life and character* (London: S H Bousfield, 1903). '150 illustrations from the author's photographs of living creatures. Chapters include Mus Ridiculus - The Story of a Field Vole, The Apology of the House Sparrow, The Awakening of the Dormouse, The Purple Emperor, The Harvest Mouse, The Trivial Fortunes of Mole, The Passing of the Black Rat'.



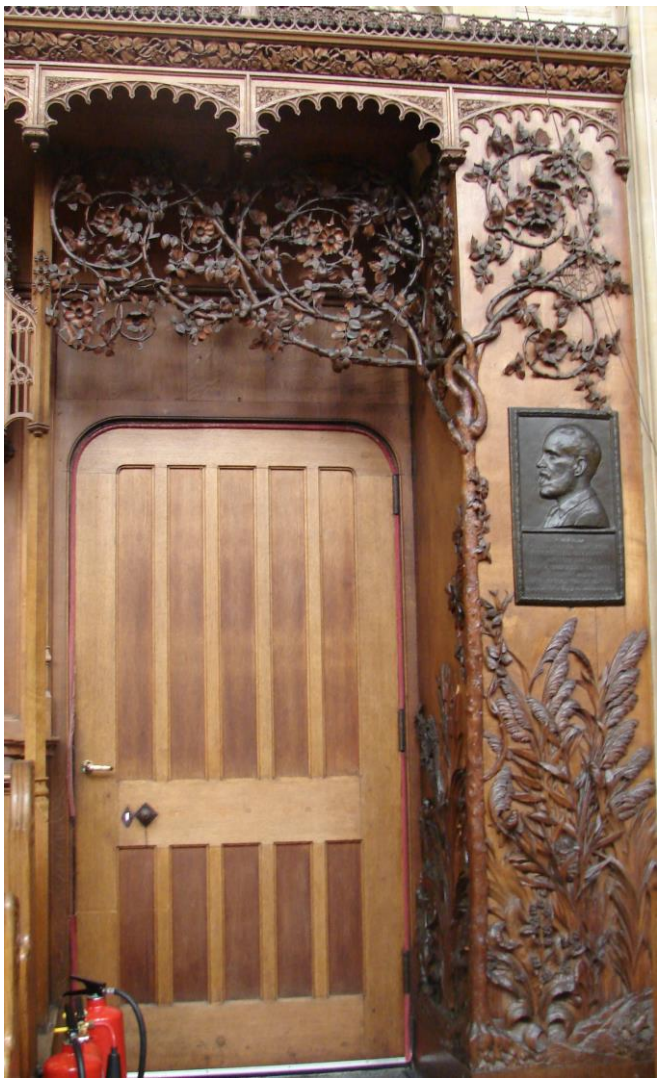


Fig 5.32 Cheltenham: Harry Dean's source book; the Myers memorial, 1902-7



Fig 5.33 Cheltenham: Myers Memorial
Upper: carving by Harry Breckin. Lower: carving by Harry Dean

At Woolmer, we encounter a more familiar 'Arts & Crafts beauty': the simplicity affected at Sapperton. This was not a rich church - seven years after its consecration it still lacked 'bells, organ, choir stalls, altar rails and the marble and oak wainscot which have been designed for the Chancel.'[68] Here, then, the simplicity so important to the Arts & Crafts could be genuine, even if costly.

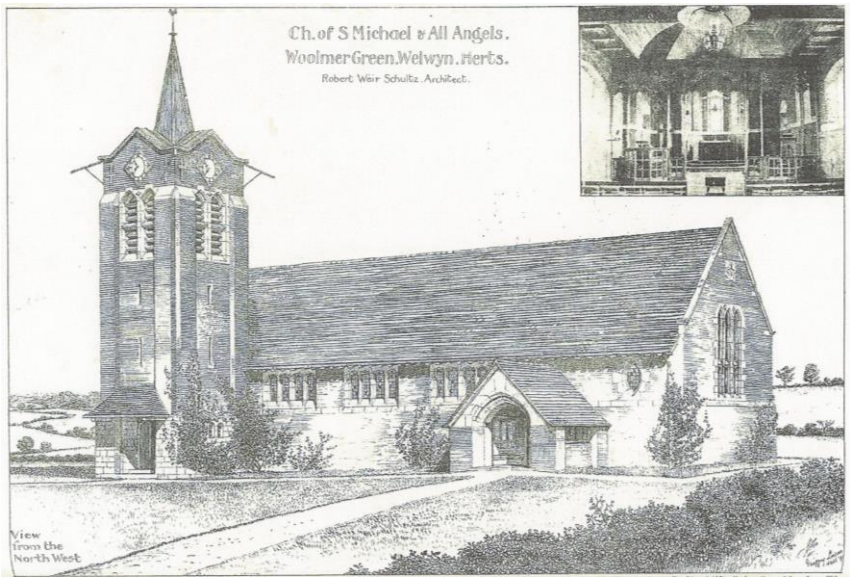


Fig 5.34 'Ch. Of St Michael & All Angels, Woolmer Green, Welwyn, Herts' (Robert Weir Schultz, 1898-9)
Building News, *11 Jan 1907 (Drawing by Geoffry Lucas, 1899)*



Fig 5.35 Woolmer: exterior from southwest

[68] *Welwyn Parish Magazine,* November 1907, quoted in a 2-page typewritten summary of the history of the church by local historian Kate Rook, 9 March 1995.

The choir stalls were eventually installed, paid for (£100) by a beneficent local aristocrat, Colonel Alfred Dyke Acland of Digswell House, Welwyn (later purchased by Ebenezer Howard). The tower never materialised. Weir Schultz (AWG 1891), friend of the incumbent, designed chancel screen, nave seating and Bishop's Chair.[69] The altar rails (1908) were made by 'a country smith' (local?) to designs by Weir Schultz, whose friend Ernest Gimson designed lighting which was deemed too expensive at £10.[70] Gimson also appears to have designed the clergy stalls. Weir Schultz and Gimson were later to furnish St Andrew's Chapel, Westminster Cathedral in a considerably more lavish manner, using expensive woods and inlays.



Fig 5.36 Woolmer: interior, looking east

[69] Drawings at The Wilson Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum: 1941.222 86, 1941.222.87, 1941.222 93.
[70] Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) D/P 119/6/15.



Fig 5.37 Woolmer: pulpit, lectern, altar rails, choir stalls

Woolmer and Haslemere (and Curbridge, Dockenfield, Matlock and Pixham) are beautiful too, if beauty is equated with homeliness – something the Gothic Revival did not seek to suggest. Here is no exaltation: these churches are the opposite of the sublime. Woolmer is like a church hall, slightly elevated. Pixham was intended to be just that. Morris's equivalence of beauty and usefulness is embodied in these domestic-scale spaces, adorned – and this is contentious – with things that are 'pretty': beauty that does not require effort or knowledge to appreciate. They are well-made, and embody the craftsman's artistry and personality, but they do not seek to move the onlooker to anything other than quiet, comfortable contentment. They do not seek to bring us to our knees. Beauty lies in these churches in intimacy, imperfection, reassurance, and an exaltation of things not divine, but here below.

Another way of considering the difference in these churches from what had gone before would be to look at them in the light of recent ideas about 'reception' – that architectural spaces can be about 'performance' and 'display'. Gothic Revival churches, and the way in which medieval churches were 'restored' in the middle of the 19th century, represent statements by a centralised, patriarchal church about orthodoxies: the patron is the local grandee, doing the correct thing for the village (or a newcomer hoping to be considered the grandee), or it is the Bishop establishing his church's presence in the inner city or suburbs. By 1884 that had changed: new churches can be read as personal statements of independence of mind, demonstrations of personal wealth, and/or artistic sophistication. At Lower Kingswood the church ostensibly met the needs of the parish, but it was more a display case for Freshfield's connoisseurship, and his personal space – as demonstrated by his shaking hands with the departing congregation. Late Victorian hotels have been described as 'aspirational venues that facilitated consumption' and

some churches around 1900 can be understood in that way.[71] If 'late Victorians were as much consumers of spectacle as of commodities'… for whom 'visible performance of consumption endowed status,'[72] some of these churches – Brithdir, Brockhampton, Glandford, Great Warley, Hoarwithy, Matlock, North Cerney, Ullet Road, Wallasey, Paisley – clearly provide that function, though it may be subsidiary to other intentions, including genuine religious commitment. The difference from the 1850s is that now display tends towards the small-scale, intricate, intimate, domestic: for some churches – Woolmer, Charterhouse, Kempley, Stonebroom, Pixham, Shefford – the 'performance of consumption' is far from visible, indeed almost hidden. At private chapels like Welbeck and Wynyard Hall, even more so.

3) 'Prettiness': nostalgia and the past, true and fake

Pugin and the Gothic Revivalists looked to the past for models – a golden age of morality and correctness: Middle Pointed perfected. The Arts & Crafts did not look for perfection in the past, but for the familiar and comforting. The past can be revered sentimentally. Perhaps in reaction to muscular High Gothic, there was a tendency towards more un-muscular forms – at first a romantic exoticism (Hoarwithy, Brithdir), then blushing, restrained, chaste charm (Woolmer, Gunnerton, Haslemere), and finally slightly saccharine chocolate-box prettiness (Pamphill, Charterhouse). It may even have been the influence of female clients – at Richards Castle, Brockhampton, Brithdir, Matlock, Pixham; or with women as key players, as at West Woodhay. At the AWG, looking back through rose-coloured spectacles was almost a given. Partly it was a contemporary Medievalising tendency – Morris's facility for Arthurian verse, and

[71] Emma Anderson, 'Publicity, privacy and exclusivity: performance and display in the public rooms of the 'grand hotel' in London at the end of the nineteenth century', in a paper at *Architecture and Experience in the nineteenth century*, conference at St John's College, Oxford, 17-18 March 2016.
[72] Ibid.

furniture painted with medieval scenes; Ruskin's utopian Guild of St George. Partly it was political: an abiding interest in perhaps disappearing crafts (and seemingly skills becoming scarcer), folk song; the country preferred to the city. Capitalism, with its piece-work, production lines and money economy contained the seeds of unhappiness, alienation and ignorance. The Arts & Crafts response was not an argument but a feeling. It exasperated Morris. Nostalgia is not only a yearning for the past, but a disinclination to see it clearly.

At Glandford Jodrell was enthralled by the beauties of Norfolk churches – he was not trying to out-do them. His church is essentially a memorial to his mother, and the work not only created deliberate, vivid echoes of the medieval, but was carried out by men who were not self-consciously turning back the clock, but working as craftsmen always had. At North Cerney the nostalgia was deeply serious: Croome (also sacristan and churchwarden) was re-creating a church he felt should be – and was – both liturgically and physically akin to what it had been before the Reformation. Eden, with the help of Laurence Turner, produced furnishings that were consciously medievalistic. Travels through rural Italy found them fragments of genuine medieval sculpture, and Fitzroy Street housed the émigrés to repair them aptly. One of the last elements to be introduced, the 'rood loft' (1928) was an entirely new installation – a 'marriage' of locally-made woodwork in a consciously medieval style (probably designed by Eden), surmounted by a crucifixion acquired in an antique shop in Italy (see p 194).[73] At Down Ampney Charles Ponting designed woodwork that was not so sensitively medieval – more lumbering and awkward – but its intention was similar: to re-make the church in a soft focus image of its past. Henry Gibbs, the client, had no interest in pre-Reformation

[73] Will Croome, *Notes on William Smith, carver, and his work in the church, and details of other craftsmen concerned with the church 1900-1950*. Typescript in Gloucestershire Archives, P70 CW 3/12. The notes appear to have been published as a Roneoed copy of the typescript in 1950: copies are still available in the church. The 'loft' is really just the façade of a loft: there is very little distance between rood and chancel arch.

religion: he simply wished to make public thanks for the birth of a daughter after five sons. But Ponting was a committed churchman, and diocesan surveyor: he knew medieval forms and local devices. His carver, Herbert Reed, had worked for Harry Hems, so could get the details right, even if the effect was drawing-room Victorian.





Fig 5.38 Down Ampney: looking east; west screen (detail)

When the past was taken as the ideal for the future, the result could be skittish, especially when it was the work of 'outsiders'. At Brockhampton neither client nor architect had any connection with Herefordshire. Lethaby drew on the past in a pick and mix manner: there is vernacular here, but not necessarily Herefordshire - the thatched roof, more Norfolk than Herefordshire, is shorthand rather for 'English cottage' than 'church';[74] the shoulder-height, deep-set windows recall the low roofs and small apertures of cottages. The window tracery is more Celtic than Early English; the carving on the





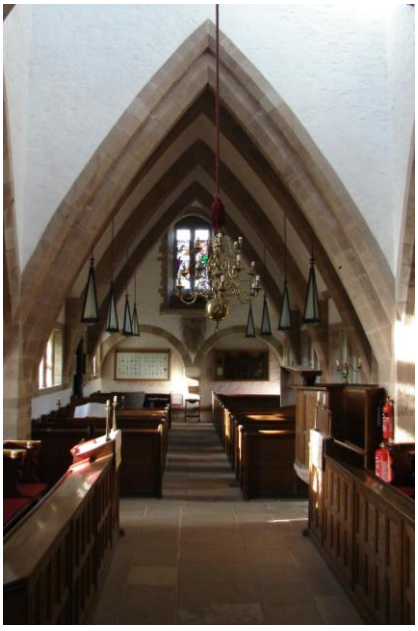
Fig 5.39 Brockhampton: thatch; nave window

[74] The number of thatched churches in England was higher in the past than it is now: there were 270 thatched churches in Norfolk in 1840 (Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 2: North-west and south,* London and New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of Englnad, 2002, p. 29) amounting to perhaps 25% of the total (around 1000 medieval churches). There are now 50. Whether similar figures apply to other counties, such as Herefordshire, is unclear.



Fig 5.40 Brockhampton: north transept window; choir stalls (detail)

choir stalls photographically naturalistic in a way no medieval church would or could have been. The steep, sharp arches of the interior strike a genuinely local note – there are cruck cottages with similar sharply-pointed profiles at Ledbury, Weobley and Hay-on-Wye, and cruck barns at Ledbury and Cholstrey, near Leominster.[75]



copyright image removed

Fig 5.41 *Left:* **Brockhampton:** interior
Right: **St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Glos:** interior
Right: adventureswithbessie.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/dsc06866.jpg?w=225&h=300)

[75] Comparison might also be drawn with the triangular form of the top of the Saxon (?) internal window openings at Deerhurst Chapel, Glos, formed from two stone slabs set against each other at 45 degrees. An interest in this robust, barn-like construction can also be seen in some contemporary meeting halls – the Folk Hall at New Earswick (Raymond Unwin, 1908) and the Quaker Adult School Hall, Croydon (Curtis Green, 1908).

Lethaby knew about Christianity, without being Christian. Alice Foster was not much of a church-goer.[76] The effect is dramatic without being devout. It strikes a powerful note with contemporary visitors, whose attitude to religion is perhaps as idiosyncratic as Lethaby's: spiritual but not Christian, sophisticated without sincerity. Something of the same tension – looking religious while not being especially religious – is in the interior of St Michael, Onibury. The church was sedulously repaired by William Weir (AWG 1917) under the auspices of SPAB. The fabric was honoured – but the





Fig 5.42 Onibury: interior fittings, William Weir, 1902-3: west gallery

[76] 'I couldn't say whether she was a great churchgoer. I expect she had the Rolls[-Royce] drive up to the house to take her.' Jeremy Clay, the Fosters' great-grandson, personal interviews, 30 December 2011 and 13 January 2012.

interior seems to go rather further. Weir's intentions may have been wholly benevolent, and the incongruity of these fittings may not have been apparent or seemed important. The client, Herbert Allcroft of Stokesay Court, was 'only too glad to do what we can for Onibury church' and paid for all Weir's work.[77] Weir was informed and thoughtful, but the result is a church as much a version of its past self as any 'restored' Victorian church. Most of Weir's work is invisible – the SPAB ideal. But the audacity of his visible interventions show that for some in the Arts & Crafts the distant past – any past – was better than the recent past, let alone the present.

The past was drawn on with earnestness and affection, but equally little interest in 'accuracy' by some NC congregations wishing to place themselves in an English tradition that combined liberal religion with conservative architecture. The Methodists of Ben Rhydding had been worshipping in a 'temporary wood & iron structure… for some 25 years' before they had the confidence (and the numbers and money) to build in stone.[78] In cities like Sheffield and Manchester, Methodists were eschewing church-like buildings for fear of driving away potential congregations, but in prosperous commuter-belt Ilkley there was no such fear: this was a church and no mistake – it might even be CofE. It combined nostalgia with homeliness. By 1908 the language of church building was so Arts & Crafts-influenced this church was received as appropriately contemporary: 'a free treatment of late Gothic… most impressive appearance.'[79] George Baines & Son built scores of NC churches using these same visual ideas, but with less restraint. Here the stone ('delph stone' from Guiseley and Apperley) was soberly cut to seem like muted grey-yellow brick, and far from strident.[80] Outside there is a full complement of what by

[77] Letter from Herbert Allcroft to Thackeray Turner, Secretary of SPAB, 3 February 1902.
[78] 'Proposed new Wesleyan church, Ben Rhydding', *Ilkley Gazette,* 20 June 1908 (n.p.) Before it served the Methodists, the same tin tabernacle had been the temporary forerunner of Shaw's St Margaret's, Ilkley.
[79] 'Ben Rhydding Wesleyan Church: Opening ceremony', *Ilkley Gazette,* 12 June 1909, p. 16.
[80] Minutes of the Building Committee, Yorkshire County Archives 2/1/1/15.

1908 had become 'Arts & Crafts' features: a squat, square tower, crenellated (with gargoyles); chunky buttresses, battered; and, while condensed, the roofline is intriguingly complex, with height changed between chancel and nave; transepts, porch and a lean-to south aisle. There is even a niche for a saint. A yet richer harking back takes place inside. It is perhaps a surprise to see angels at the junction of roof and wall-plate. There is a clerestory, and octagonal piers with confident capitals. Yet the west end





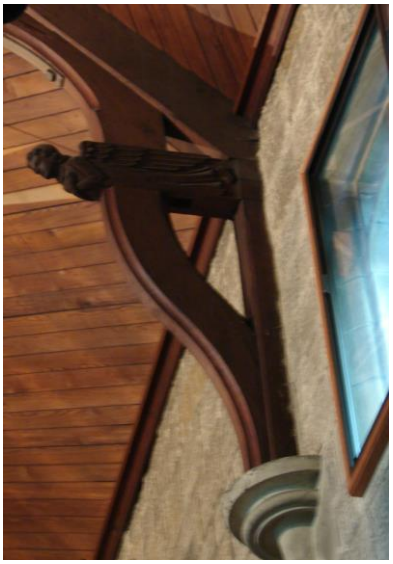


Fig 5.43 Ben Rhydding (Garside and Pennington, 1908-09): details: exterior; gargoyle; angel in roof

is not dominated by its pulpit, which is instead tactfully to one side, with 'chaste ornamentation of grapes, vine leaves and cherubs.'[81] The communion rail is on sinuous supports, 'hand-hammered':

> It is a most picturesque building, calling to mind many quaint old country churches of rustic England, and when time has mellowed its outward appearance it will be hard to recognise in it a twentieth century structure.[82]

Prettiness can easily slip into whimsy. At Hutton there is a holiday air, almost frivolous: dark brick with lighter inter-mixed; half-timbering; and continental-looking dormers (re-glazed in 2011). It seems jolly and naive, looking back to a past that was not so very long ago. It might be an enlightened primary school, had it no tower. It is welcoming: 'mainly social'.[83] The church, and the people who built it (and use it), are determined to be friendly, cheerful and glad. There are tennis courts in the grounds – an Essex version of Betjeman's Home Counties, aspiring to, but not quite achieving, the grandeur of stockbroker-Tudor. The tower is a toy version of a 'proper' tower, with battlements and miniature spire: it contains no bell. The chimney over the east end (where the organ is located) adds a domestic note. There is a rustic lych gate, with 'roses round the door'. The interplay of red and brown, the dormers and the elaborate Edwardian bargeboard (the gable is not a transept, but a widening of the worship space at the liturgical east end) all strive to give solidity and substance, yet light-heartedly. Pevsner calls it 'Domestic Arts and Crafts.'[84] Hutton is a slice of good old Olde England, but upbeat, bright and new, at ease with itself: a useful, simple, uncluttered space as little

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[81] *Ilkley Gazette,* 12 June 1909, op cit.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Shenfield resident Angela Harris, in personal conversation 14 June 2011. She frequently visits the church as a music examiner and accompanist for concerts.
[84] James Bettley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Essex* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of England, 2007), p. 500.

about formal liturgy as possible. Hayne evoked the spirit of an idealised 'English village' with a church as its centre-piece: enlightened, care-free suburban worship, less than a mile from the commuters' railway station. In the windows, heart motifs, chastely inverted.





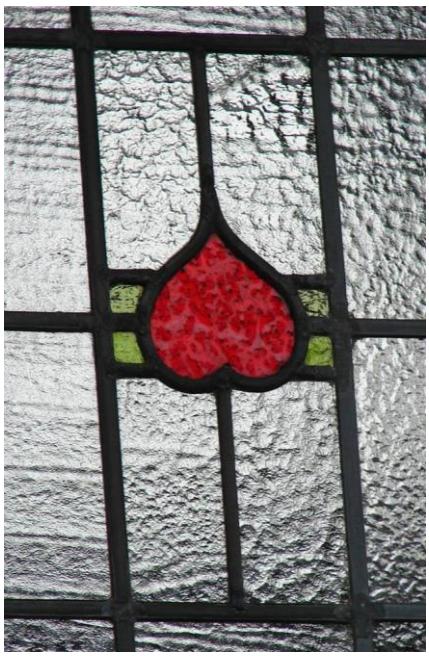


Fig 5.44 Hutton: church from south; lych gate; glazing

A drifting towards prettiness is even to be found in restorations: Spooner rebuilt a derelict wayside chapel at Hadleigh in the picturesque image of what he felt an almshouse chapel *should* have been. And it was instinctive: at Sapcote, local Methodist quarrymen, entitled to stone from the quarry free if they worked it in their own time, built their church with a look both rugged and dainty, under the guidance of Brookes of Broughton Astley (who seems to be otherwise unknown).[85]

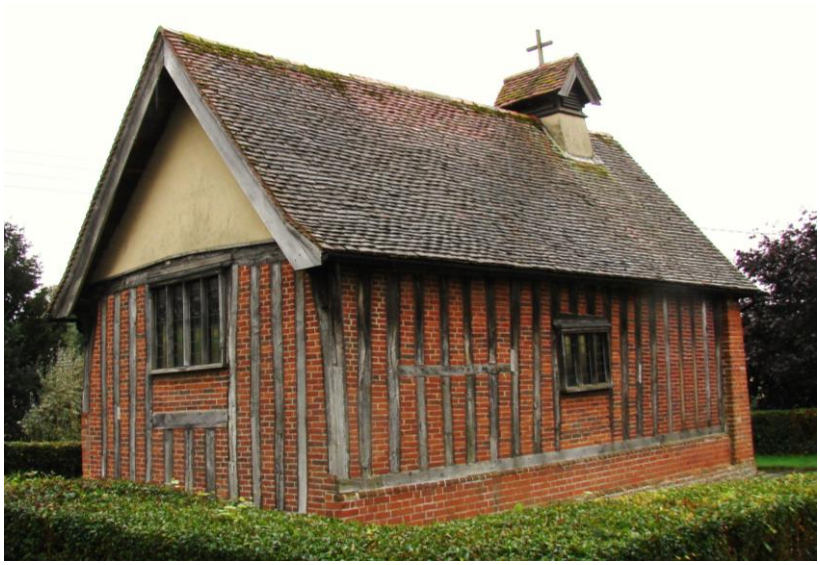


Fig 5.45 Row Chapel, Hadleigh, Suffolk (Charles Spooner, 1892)



Fig 5.46 Sapcote Methodist Church, Leics (? Brookes, 1902-5)

[85] Historic England Listing.

4) Striving for effect

And so beauty can shade into affectation. Along with which comes a desire to make an impact – nothing to do with religion, but appearance. Thus site and placing were important – Victorian Goths liked to dominate the streetscape of smaller houses in surrounding streets, but the Arts & Crafts liked to draw the eye up and away, and, ideally, in an elevated setting (not that this was the desire of the architect – the client was usually the driver: but architects make the most of their opportunities). It was not always possible to find a Caspar David Friedrich vista in Surrey or Paisley, but in the countryside, even on a slight rise, a striking effect could be achieved. At Compton Mary Watts made a mountain out of a Surrey molehill; at Matlock, Mrs Harris had Dawber create a Bavarian mini-schloss clinging to a ravine.



Fig 5.47 *Upper:* **Compton Mortuary Chapel**; *Lower:* **Matlock**



Fig 5.48 St John the Evangelist, Palmers Green, London (John Oldrid Scott, 1903-9)



Fig 5.49 Wesleyan Church, Four Oaks, Sutton Coldfield (Crouch, Butler & Savage, 1904)

Even an only very slightly elevated site could nonetheless be exploited, as at Palmer's Green, London, and Four Oaks, Sutton Coldfield.

Richards Castle stands on a rise between its modest village, ¾ of a mile to the south, and Moor Park, home of Mrs Foster, only a little closer to the north. The site was chosen for its eminence rather than convenience.



Fig 5.50 Richards Castle (Richard Norman Shaw, 1890-2)

Even where there was little real landscape, architects were tempted to inject some, at least in imagination: Ford is certainly in a valley, but it lacks the Alpine plunge of Ponting's drawing.



Fig 5.51 'New church of St John the Divine, Ford, Wilts, Charles E Ponting, FSA, Architect'
Left: Academy Architecture *1898 (II), p. 17.* Right: as built, photographed in 2014.

Which brings us to that most difficult terrain: the employment of the imagination. The arguable qualities of beauty – bizarre, dramatic, strange – are seen yet more vividly in competition drawings by up-and-coming architects around 1900, unfettered by clients, budgets or workmen. Geoffry Lucas (1872-1947, not AWG) practised in Hitchin 1891-1914; was associated with the Garden City movement from about 1903; was in Gretna with Raymond Unwin 1917-19; then partner to H V Lanchester.[86] His twin gables are a cottage motif:

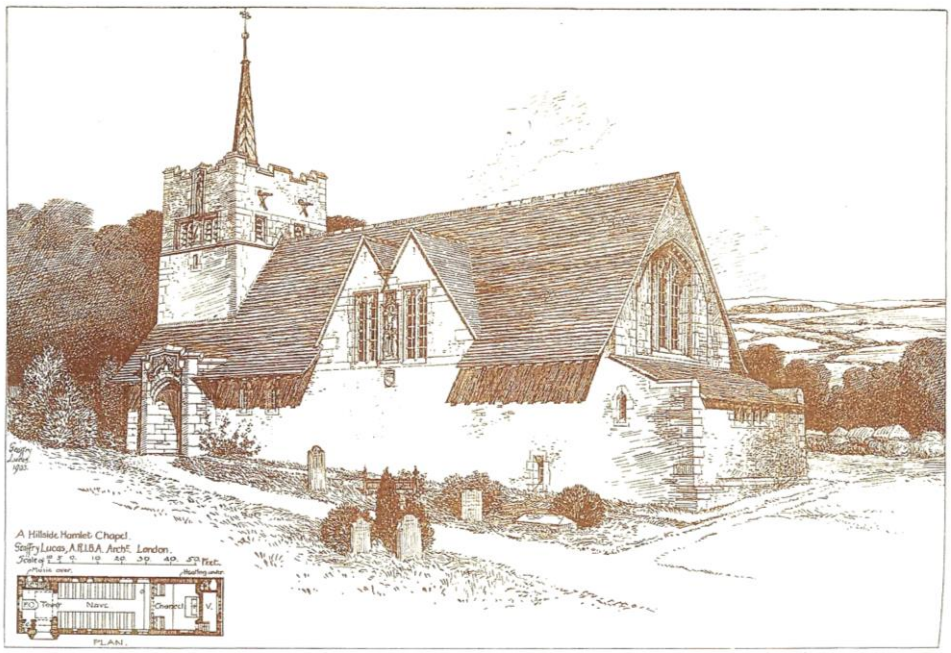


Fig 5.52 'A Hillside Hamlet Chapel. Geoffry Lucas, ARIBA'
Building News,*30 December 1904*

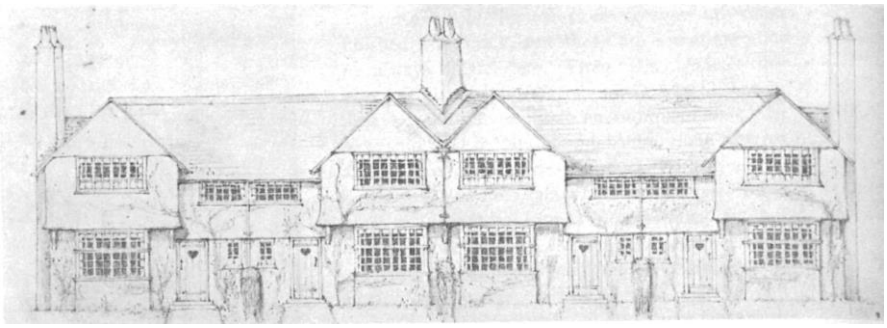


Fig 5.53 'Five-roomed cottages: Charles Spooner, Architect'
The Studio, *xxxvi, 1904, p. 148*

[86] He submitted designs for Woolmer, but was not successful: 'Thomas Geoffry Lucas. *Designs for the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Woolmer Green, Welwyn, Herts: View from the North East*, 1899' Record of sale at www.artnet.com [accessed 10 March 2014].

Wynn Owen (1876-1950, not AWG) in 1900 (aged 24) positioned his Mountain Church's south double entrance-way – people to the left, vestry to the right, with low scooped wall – in such a way as to echo a pair of cottages. As if to emphasize the cosy homeliness, he employed chubby Mabel Lucy Attwell lettering on his drawings. An 1895 design for a Village Church by Herbert F J Cooper (overleaf) is another example of the line Spooner trod at Haslemere between bizarre and commonplace.[87] The four-bay side elevation is plain and unexceptionable, but the double-height porch/bell-tower seems extreme in its bulk. The lettering reminds of Rennie Mackintosh. It seems a long way indeed from the confines of English Gothic tradition. C L Brierley's perspective (Fig 5.56) has a thunderous Alpine air.[88] In Hawes's pine-clad mountain pass one can almost hear the avalanche (Fig 5.57).[89] Edgar Wood's romanticising eye imbued the homely atmosphere of a simple barn with something more Griggsian – peopled by an army of acolytes and angels (Fig 5.58). The churchyard might be by Arthur Rackham.

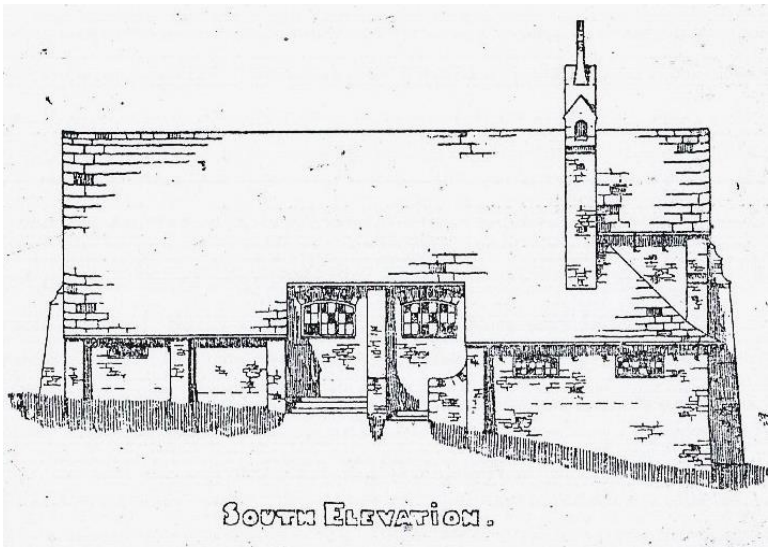


Fig 5.54 'First Prize Design for a Mountain Church, Welsh National Eisteddfod, 1900 by R Wynn Owen (detail)
Builders Journal and Architectural Record, *10 October 1900, p. 190*

[87] 'Herbert F J Cooper' is almost certainly Herbert F T Cooper, of the Fire Brigade Branch of the London County Council Architects' Department, lead designer of the LCC's Euston Road Fire Station (1901-2).
[88] Not the more famous W H Brierley.
[89] J C Hawes (1876-1956) was 21 in 1897. He went on to design St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumbria (1889-91), see above, pp. 232-234.



Fig 5.55 'Design for a Village Church. La Signora dalle Camelie'
(revealed in the text to be Herbert F J Cooper)
Builders Journal, *3 September 1895, between pp. 56 and 57*

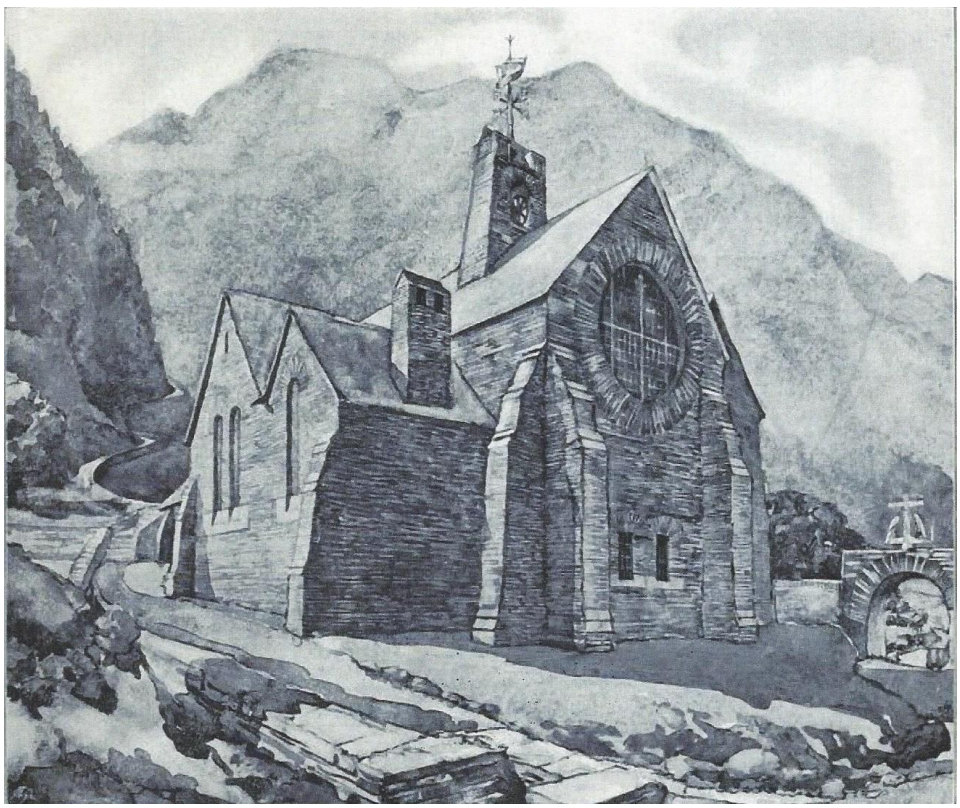


Fig 5.56 '1772. Design for a Hill-Side Church, C L Brierley, Architect'
Academy Architecture *1897 (II), p. 5*

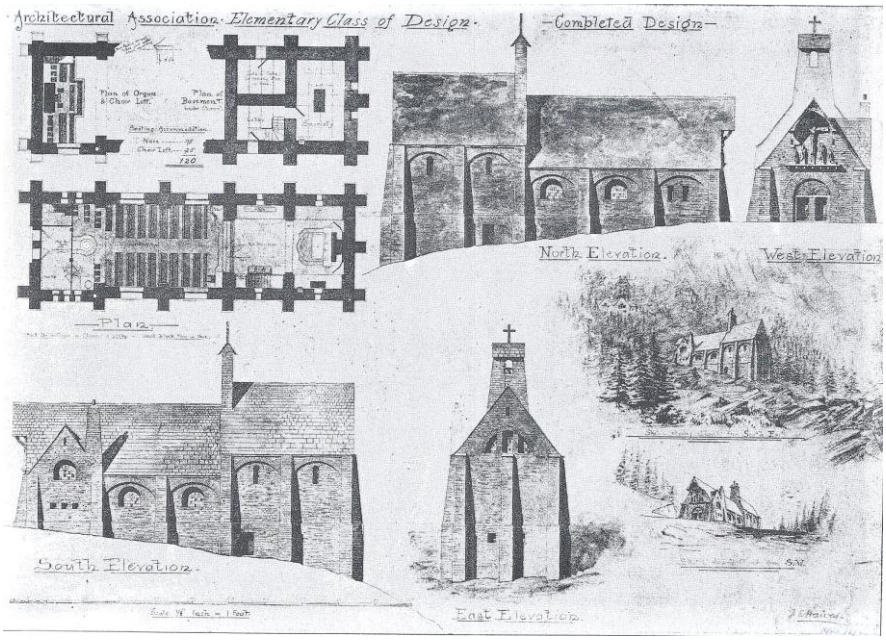
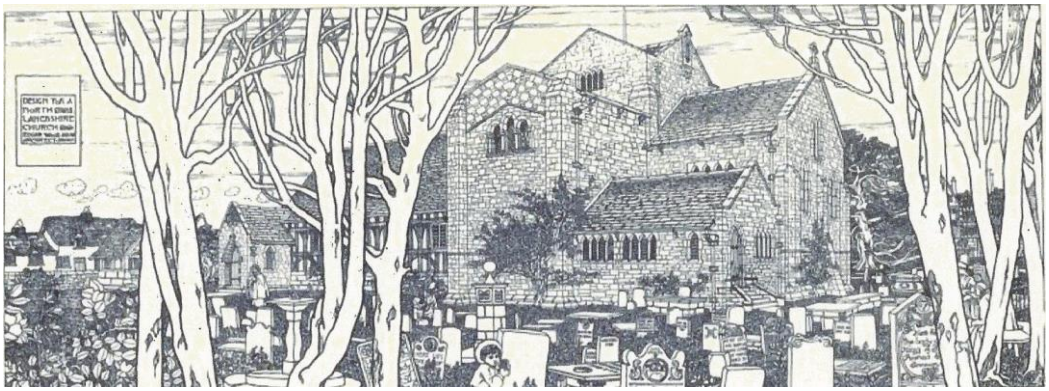


Fig 5.57 'The Architectural Association: A Hillside church by J C Hawes'
British Architect *2 July 1897, vol. 48, p. 8*



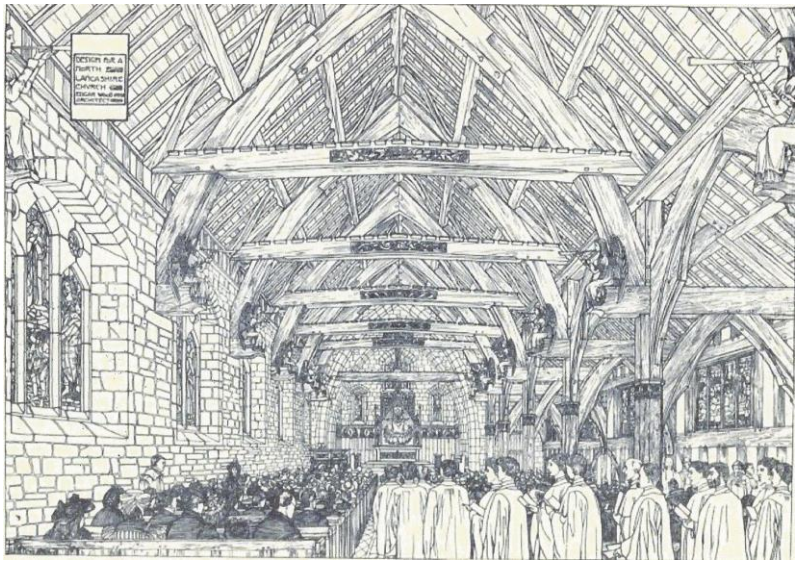


Fig 5.58 'A North Lancashire Church, Edgar Wood, ARIBA, Architect'
Academy Architecture *1896, pp. 26 and 27*

Banister Fletcher (1866-1953; not AWG) in 1893 (aged 27) entered an RA competition to design 'a Moorland Church'. He won with a drawing that included 'Shelter for the horses and carriages of distant parishioners' under a medieval-house-like Sunday School. It is somehow both laboured and whimsical.

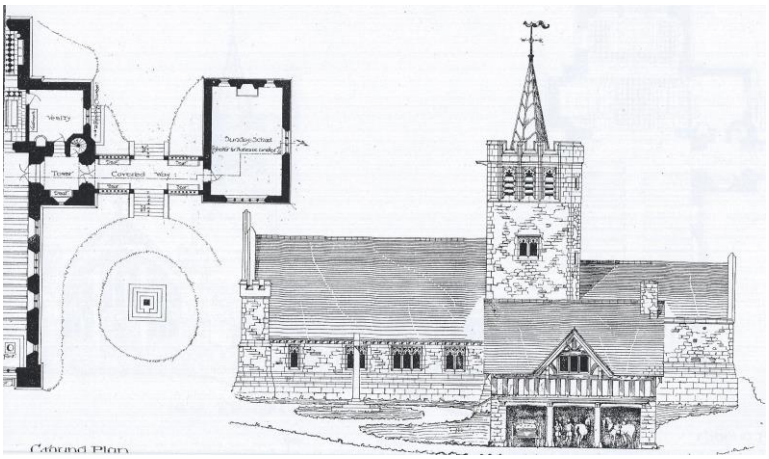


Fig 5.59 'Royal Academy Competition: A Moorland Church. Design by Banister Fletcher, ARIBA winner of the Godwin Bursary' (Detail)
British Architect, *3 Feb 1893, p. 78*

In the right context – and when young – architects not always adventurous could go further than mere prettiness. W D Caröe published a dramatic Cragside-like design for a church in Frimley in 1902: a yet more Brobdignagian village church than Colehill.

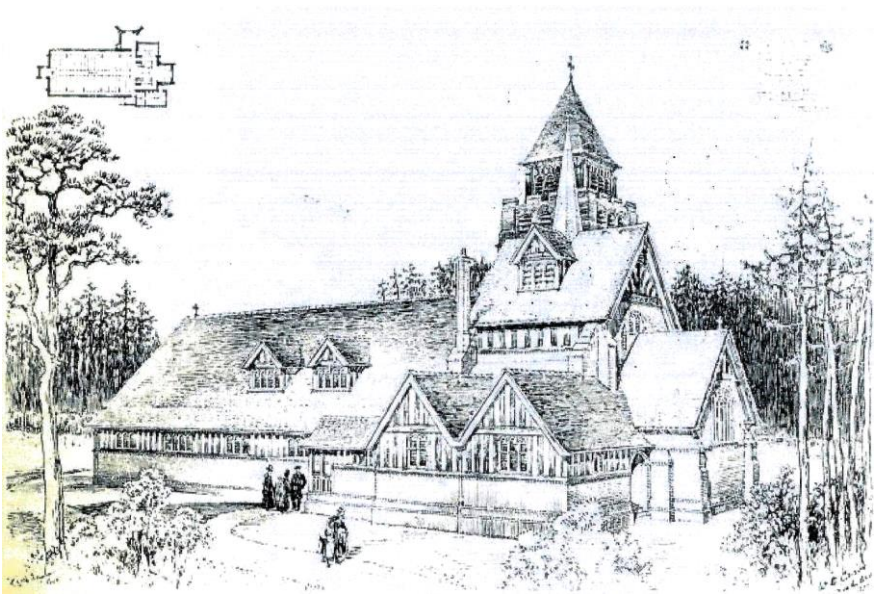


Fig 5.60 'St Paul, Frimley, Surrey, William D Caroe, Architect'
Academy Architecture *1902 (II), p. 96*

Charles Rennie Mackintosh produced a drawing for Queen's Cross church rather more subtle than the building turned out to be: in reality there are no 'Glasgow School' trees, no Wagnerian sky, and no second CRM building peeping over its shoulder.

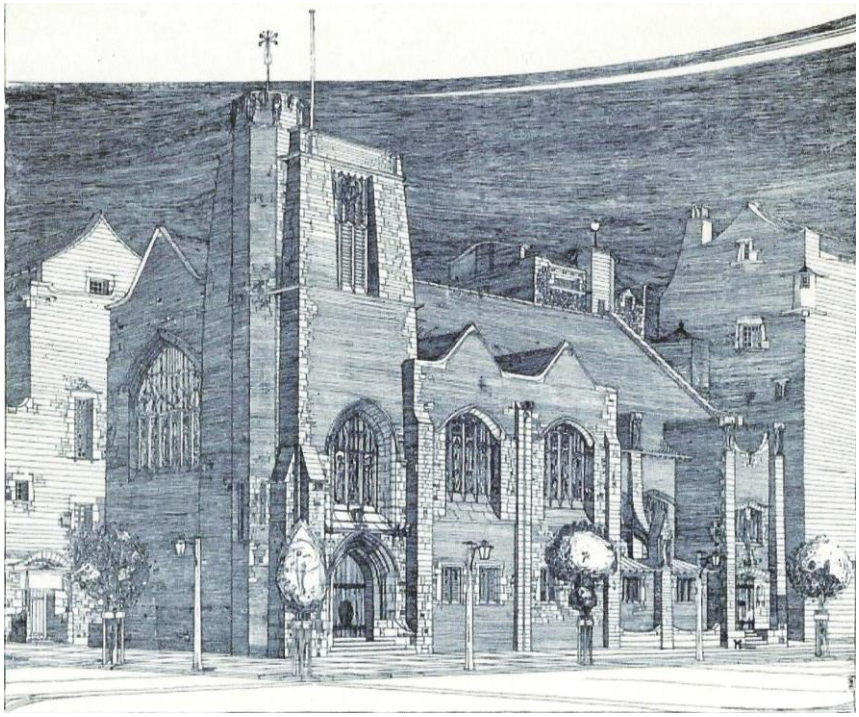


Fig 5.61 'St Matthew's Free Church, Glasgow, John Honeyman and Keppie'
Academy Architecture 1898(1), p. 65



Fig 5.62 Queen's Cross church, Glasgow (C R Mackintosh 1896-99)

Two further dramatic church designs conclude: both for the 1902 Liverpool Cathedral competition. Henry Wilson's Byzantine behemoth (the design also involved Lethaby, Weir Schultz, Halsey Ricardo, F W Troup, Christopher Whall and Stirling Lee) was radical enough to look frightening – an alien spaceship atop a cemetery. Charles Rennie Mackintosh's design was not so daunting, but its detail was perhaps too bizarre – triangular buttresses like the vanes on a radiator. Neither was accepted.



Fig 5.63 Liverpool Cathedral design (Henry Wilson, et al, 1902)

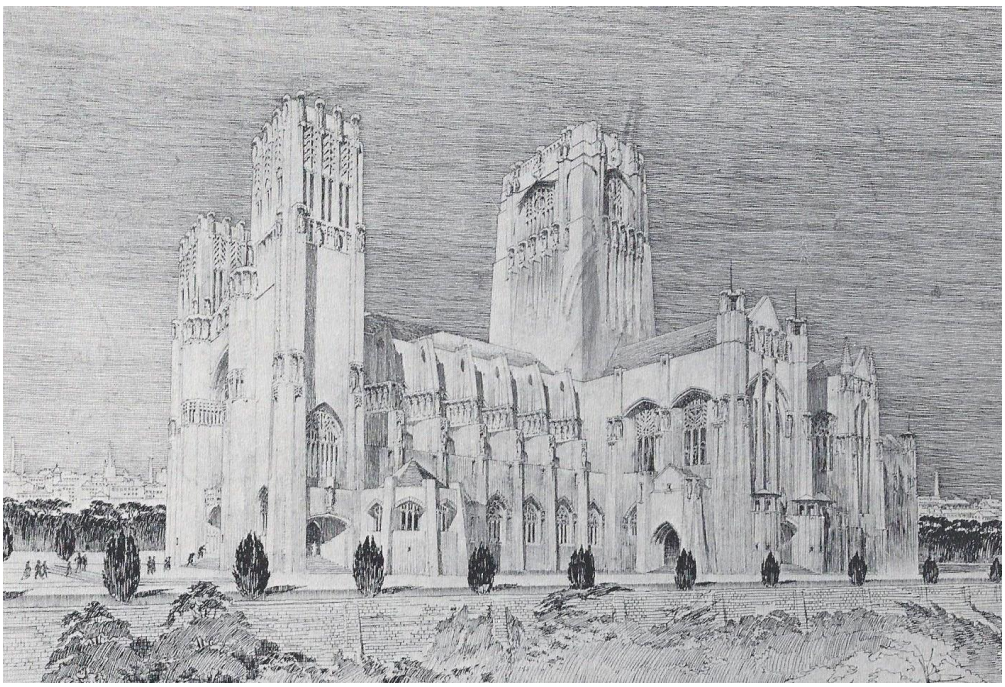


Fig 5.64 Liverpool Cathedral design (Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 1902)
Pevsner, N, *Studies in Art, Architecture and Design*, p. 169

How could a cathedral on a hill above a city fail to be dramatic? But it was the wrong sort of drama. The careful rectitude of Giles Gilbert Scott's Gothic design was seemingly more in tune with the nervous conservatism of the CofE – and Bodley had to be to be brought in to rein back even that modest exuberance. Both serve as reminders of how hard it is for an Arts & Crafts 'look' to work on a large scale, and how revolutionary Arts & Crafts design ideas seemed. They still can. Beauty was important – appearance expressed individuality, and understanding it could sometimes demand perception and a connoisseur's taste for the modern. At the local level, such idiosyncrasy could be allowed, accepted, even encouraged by the church. At a national level, it was politic to be more conservative. There abides that fear that men who do not believe much in a Christian God might design a church that expresses no real faith – they are not interested in doing so. For they may have become wholly detached from religion – an idea that does not seem shocking, or even very interesting now. But it was perhaps to those who clung on to the church in 1900. The boundaries of bizarre could be overstepped, however. W D MacLennan (not AWG, and not an exhibitor at ACES)



Fig 5.65 St George's UFC, Paisley, Scotland (W D MacLennan, 1905-7)
Now St Matthew's Church of the Nazarene



Fig 5.66 Paisley
elders' bench; lighting; glass; pulpit

hardly worked outside Paisley. And he died young. Whether he knew Charles Rennie Mackintosh is unclear – but he was drawing on that same Vienna/Glasgow/Jugendstil strain. The red sandstone is local, used universally in Paisley and the south side of Glasgow. Perhaps, because it is not country-cottagey, pastoral or 'cute', Paisley stretches the idea of beauty to breaking point – like Great Warley, it feels too 'modern', too Art

Nouveau. Yet its date places it firmly in the period. It is emphatically not Gothic Revival; nor is it nostalgic – its sense of spectacle suggests an attitude to religion which is assertive, celebratory, and – being Scotland – unashamedly material. It exhibits a desire to be new, different – and bang up-to-date. A taste for the eccentric is not hard to find elsewhere: it tends to be described as 'Art Nouveau', as if to express discomfort with something so foreign to British tastes – all but one by AWG hands: objects simple in purpose, elaborated with unnecessary meaning.

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Fig 5.67 Lecterns:
Welbeck Abbey (Henry Wilson); Wallasey (Walter Gilbert); Roker (Ernest Gimson for E S Prior); All Saints, Elm Grove, Ealing (Spencer Perceval memorial church) (Nelson Dawson for W A Pite)

Personal churches evoke a personal response. What does it consist of? A brief paragraph of exegesis. The experience of entering and being in the churches selected for study in this thesis may be briefly characterised thus: a sense of anticipation, in that the church's contents may be unexpected, odd, juxtaposed strangely, rich and aesthetically exciting: the reredos at Haslemere, the paintwork at Curbridge, the wood carving at Cheltenham, the copper pulpit at Brithdir, the lamps at Paisley, the font at Woolmer. That one is entering a private space vividly expressing an individual human personality – the idiosyncratic crowding of the Stations of the Cross at Matlock, the almost *mitteleuropean* rood beam at Kempley, the portentous memorial fireplace at Pixham. And that nothing is quite as one might find in a 'restored' Victorian church, with its predictable dark-stained benches and encaustic tiles; nor is the experience obscured by the antiquarian interest which can compromise the impact of a medieval church. Is it fanciful to compare them to drawing rooms more than theatres? Or, perhaps, more accurately, studio theatre rather than opera house? A place where a personal God, a real life Jesus, might appear; where a Heavenly Father would look absurd.

Chapter 6

Ripples: the diffusion of Arts & Crafts in churches

> I suppose an artist has the happiest life of anyone, though a craftsman comes pretty near him.
>
> Jessie Cole of West Woodhay[1]

Arts & Crafts ideas – Arts & Crafts sensibilities – were not exclusive to the AWG, nor to architects, nor even to the ACES. In 1917 Duchamp staked a new claim to art – that it was whatever an artist declared it to be: the artist was high priest and arbiter. Rejected by, and therefore rejecting, the Academy, his response was to create an even more rarefied art world, dominated by the self. The unintended consequence of the readymade was that art looked so easy that anyone – a child, a chimpanzee – could do it. Craft, under the wing of the ACES, took rather the opposite line: that anyone *could* make things, and those things had value. Yes, there were experts and master craftsmen: but ACES exhibitions were open to all. The best craft – jewellery by Georgie Gaskin, pots by Bernard Leach – could also be understood as art, could even be it. But craft was essentially anti-hierarchical: skill could be acquired by anyone, given the right training. Either way, democratization was afoot. Increasing turning towards education amongst Arts & Crafts practitioners suggested that allowing, encouraging and promoting craft was a social good. This sense became widespread. Thus exponents of Arts & Crafts ideas could be not only not members of the AWG, nor exhibitors with the ACES, but could be wholly unaware of either body, while unconsciously adhering to the underlying principles – which were, after all, never codified or fixed. This chapter maps some of the

[1] Mary H McClintock, *Portrait of a House: a Period Piece* (London: Carroll and Nicholson, 1948), p. 31.

diffusions of Arts & Crafts ideas in churches. First, how enthusiastic amateurs applied hands-on skills to church work, as architects and as makers of fixtures and fittings: in some cases the skills were equal to AWG craft skills, in some of lesser quality but exalted by sincerity and spiritual commitment. Then examples of rural churches which followed the Arts & Crafts interest in craft education, frequently led by enthusiastic priests who were themselves makers, and whose fruits adorned their building. Finally, where did the ideas lead, and how were they modified or diluted? Gavin Stamp has gone so far as to suggest Coventry Cathedral as an Arts & Crafts building:[2] this chapter does not go quite so far, but Peter Cormack's notion that 'the Arts & Crafts spirit was a subtle and pervasive force that penetrated deep… and … it really had achieved a very considerable level of acceptance by the 1900s' stands.

Enthusiastic amateurs as architects

There are examples, albeit rare, of enthusiastic amateurs in architecture itself: a church built to plans and specifications of a self-taught designer. It is not a trend or a pattern, but it does happen. At St Mary, Wreay, Cumbria (1840-2) Sara Losh was effectively lord of the manor, her own estate manager after her father's death, and her own architect. She pre-dates the AWG by 40 years: but her approach can be understood as 'proto-' – far away from critical Ecclesiological eyes in remote rural Cumbria, she constructed a church of singular individuality, reflecting her own travels, her own visual eclecticism, her own notions of theology amounting to an alternative iconography – added to which the church was memorial in character (whether to her deceased sister, or a putative lover), and included objects assertively hand-made, including a lectern apparently hewn from a single log of bog-oak.

[2] In his lecture, 'The Arts and Crafts church', Rewley House, Oxford, 15 May 2005.

Two copyright photographs removed

Fig 6.1 St Mary, Wreay, Cumbria (Sara Losh, 1840-2)
Upper: Visitcumbria.com Lower: Peter Storr at flickr

At Compton, Surrey, Mary Seton Watts conceived and constructed – with the help of villagers she trained for the task, and using ghesso and tiles she had them manufacture – a Mortuary Chapel neither especially Christian nor very church-like.



Fig 6.2 Compton Mortuary Chapel (Mary Seton Watts, 1895): altar; doorway

At Loch Awe, Walter Campbell and his sister constructed from 1907 (until 1927) a church of their own devising and their own theology, and largely with their own hands.

copyright photograph removed

Fig 6.3 St Conan's Kirk, Loch Awe (Walter and Helen Campbell, 1907-27)
undiscoveredscotland.co.uk

It would be fruitless to discuss if any of these 'is' Arts & Crafts. They are, to some extent, closer in spirit to the naive architecture, '*architecture brut*' instanced in exuberant, untutored, yet personally expressive buildings like 'Le Jardin de Nous Deux' by Charles Billy (1910–1991) at Civrieux-d'Azergues, France or the 'Palais idéal' by Joseph Ferdinand Cheval (1836-1924), a retired postman, at Hauterives, France. Both are statements of personal freedom expressed in intense, earnest design and work. Sara Losh felt free to build her own kind of church, *sui generis*: educated as if she were a boy, her only brother mentally disabled, she found her own way. Besides, in rural Cumbria it was the norm to be self-reliant – the Loshes were an inventive and entrepreneurial family. Mary Watts had the self-possession of the Scottish clan chief whose daughter she was, coupled with a sense of vocation, caring for her revered husband, G F Watts, his genius unquestioned, and underpinned by powerful self-regard. The Campbells lived on a somewhat inaccessible island (which their father had purchased) with no church (they lived there at first with their elderly and immobile mother): necessity, confidence, and a certain amount of vision was enough to inspire action. Is it eccentric to build one's own church rather than wait for an architect, with all the concomitant wrangles? There are other examples – at Fleetwood, Lancs, St Paul's (FCE) is described as 'self-build'. In 1926 (a little after our period) Stephen Johnson 'architect and master builder' purchased tools to repair the roof of the predecessor building, and a block-making machine, which he demonstrated to the congregation.[3] The people then made a 'vast number' of blocks, 'often working into the night by the aid of lamps.' Johnson led a working party 'from all walks of life', and 'the new church was completed in less than six months.' It would be hard to imagine a more hands-on approach, or better exhibition of enthusiasm and commitment from unskilled but well-led labour. It does not 'look' Arts & Crafts, but it conforms to all the 'touchstones'.

[3] St Paul's church website, www.stpaulsfleetwood.org.uk/page17.html [accessed 17 March 2016].

copyright photograph removed

Fig 6.4 St Paul, Fleetwood (1926-7)
Kevin Williams gfmanchester.com



Fig 6.5 St John the Evangelist, Rookhope, County Durham (1905)

At Rookhope, County Durham, St John the Evangelist was built above the village (1905), to designs by W D Caröe, re-using stone from an older church (1822-4), built by the infant River Wear and liable to flooding. The village is remote, and was never large or wealthy: resources were limited, and the farming community necessarily self-reliant. There had been lead and feldspar mines, but these were closed by 1905. The



Fig 6.6 Rookhope: choir benches, dwarf chancel screen and 'pulpit'

incumbent, Revd Susan Kent, reported, 'It was built by the men of the village, so it was 'theirs'.'[4] No building contractor is recorded in the Historic England listing, nor in the Architects Report to the diocese of 2011. The church is small, and this echo of the self-build way the earliest churches were built, by local men, anonymous, may seem unremarkable: but, 110 years after the event, that it was thought singular and memorable enough to be recounted, indicates perhaps a change in perceptions about church-building. What had come to be seen, as a legacy of the 19th century, as the work of specialist architects and builders, and subject to the recondite specifications of Ecclesiologists and liturgists, could once again be the work of the people – those who were to worship there: this church was used by both Methodist and CofE congregations. A local councillor added the extra note, 'The church was paid for by the people of Rookhope, so by right it belongs to them, not the church commissioners.'[5] The church is now closed, and will become a house, but its interior, whether designed in detail by Caröe or achieved by local hands, articulates an assertive, even self-conscious simplicity.

[4] Personal comment to the author, 23 June 2014.
[5] Councillor John Shuttleworth, quoted in Duncan Leatherdale, 'Rookhope Church will close', *The Northern Echo,* 6 January 2014.



Fig 6.7 Rookhope: altar rail

The altar rails have been compared to work by Voysey and Lutyens.[6] Does all this 'make' it Arts & Crafts? Only insofar as, by 1905, a church need not be grandiloquent, and something simple and 'hand-made' could be seen as appropriate, and valued.

Enthusiastic amateurs: three sets of fixtures and fittings

Colehill was designed by Caröe – the ICBS called it 'picturesque';[7] *The Builder* agreed: 'of a simple and picturesque character.'[8] It has the look of a country church strayed from John Douglas's Cheshire. The surviving presentation drawings suggest

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Fig 6.8 Colehill: North Elevation, Drawing 4 (detail)
Dorset History Centre (DHC) PE/COL/CW 6/2/5

[6] Neil Moat, notes on the architecture of the church, November 2012.
[7] Report by the ICBS Committee of Architects…6 July 1892. (Dorset History Centre: PE/COL/CW 6/2/9.) ICBS 9650.
[8] *The Builder,* 14 March 1903, between pp. 282 and 283.

Caröe intended something more restrained and harmonious than what stands now: the wood unstained, weathered to silver-brown, the brickwork a mellow, biscuity pink – only recently painted in 'black-and-white'. Caröe was here not observing Dorset precedent so much as responding to work by his mentor, Edmund Kirby, whose office was the first Caröe entered. Kirby had been assistant to John Douglas and was an admirer of Norman Shaw, whom Caröe came 'to regard as a hero."[9] Richardson has suggested Shaw's church of St Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park (1879) was especially influential on Caröe, with an "arty' interior painted sage green."[10] As envisaged in an 1895 architectural

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Fig 6.9 St Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park (1879): interior
© Andrea Liu and by David Beresford for smaaa.org.uk at Flickr

drawing of the interior (overleaf), Colehill is longer, higher, wider than in reality. On the contrary, the interior has a cosy, domestic air, with intricately rustic woodwork, designed by Caröe. However, the fittings came from other hands. It was not built in an Arts & Crafts way – Caröe did not camp out in the woods, and an ordinary building firm was used. Caröe was in charge, but at a distance. He was 'inclined to be high-handed.'[11]

[9] Freeman, *W D Caröe*, p. 6.
[10] Margaret Richardson, *Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement,* op cit, p. 15.
[11] Freeman, *W D Caröe*, p. 7.

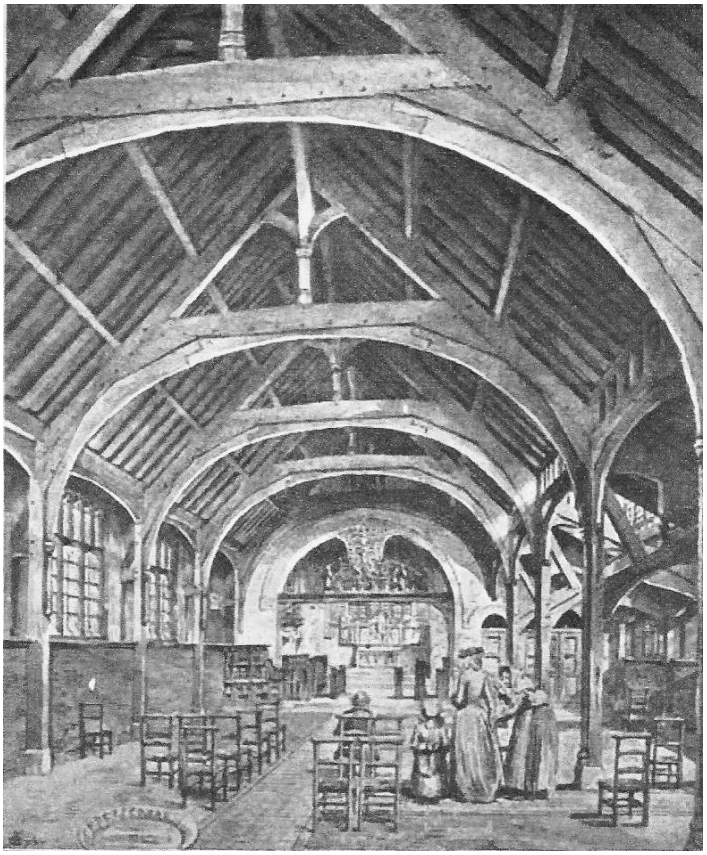


Fig 6.10 'SS Michael and All Angels, Colehill, Wimborne, Interior View, W. D. CARÖE, M.A., Architect'
Academy Architecture*, 1895, p. 42*

Eric Gill, in Caröe's office 1899-1903, noted Caröe's 'almost complete lack of any interest in anything but theatrical effect.'[12] He has a point. The church attracted the disdain of John Newman in the 1972 *Pevsner:* 'a Home-Counties church, ill in place in Dorset' and added, 'Goodhart-Rendel calls it 'not at all nice'.'[13] Caröe designed none of the fittings: they were supplied by local people whose craft skills varied widely – artistic members of the community. The chancel screen, rood loft and rood (now no longer in place) were designed by a local man, Roland Clark.[14] He also designed the organ case (1897), carved the reredos (1915), and designed altar cross and candlesticks, though these

[12] Ibid.
[13] John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Dorset* (London: Penguin, Buildings of England, 1972), p. 159.
[14] 1927 church inventory: Dorset History Centre PE/COL CW 5/2 (1927). Clark has proved rather resistant to research (he is also recorded as C R Rowland Clark in the parish Magazine). The 1911 census has a Rowland Clark at 17 Artist's Row, Portland. He is otherwise unknown.

last were *made* by Laurence Turner (AWG). The reredos panels were painted by Frederick Beaumont, a fashionable London portrait painter who lived near Wimborne.[15] The pulpit and sounding board (1897) were carved by another local man, Revd Canon William Gildea, as was the Altar (1897); he may also have made the lectern.[16] Gildea was Vicar of West Lulworth, where he had had a new church built in 1879. He was Romantic but pragmatic: The Communion Table is made of oak cut out of the beams of the old Church roof, which were much decayed except in the centre… Some of the wood in the reredos was wreck picked up at sea and still has traces of the paint of the vessel to which it belonged.[17]

This was a robust, no-nonsense attitude to an old church – he demolished it, then prudently and unsentimentally re-cycled the recoverable timber. But there is something Arts & Crafts-ly romantic in his notion of using driftwood 'picked up at sea' – a special sort of 'local material'. On the east (external) wall of the church is a wooden figure of Christ carved by Joseph Mayer of Oberammergau, given in 1897 – Austrian sculpture appears also at North Cerney and in the reredos at Ullet Road. Another statue, inside, of St Michael and the Dragon, was carved in walnut by G Pucci, presumably Italian, but of whom nothing else is known. Thus the Arts & Crafts-ness in these furnishings is various, clumsy, idiosyncratic, with both beauty and banality. The craft tradition continued in the hands of the vicar:

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[15] He had studied at the RA Schools (1882-88) where he won a silver medal in Life Study. During the Great War he worked in St Ives. cornwallartists.org/cornwall-artists/frederick-samuel-beaumont [accessed 23 June 2012].

[16] 'Pulpit and sounding board. 1897. Oak pulpit, simply carved in Jacobean style. Presented by Rev Canon Gildea + carved by him. Altar. 1897. Carved in oak by Rev Canon Gildea + presented by him.' 1927 church inventory: Dorset History Centre PE/COL CW 5/2 (1927).

[17] 'Memorandum', November, 1879: Dorset Rootsweb at southernlife.org.uk/dorset/lulworth_holytrinity.htm [accessed 23 June 2012].







Fig 6.11 Colehill: altar (by Gildea); organ case (by Clark); reredos (by Beaumont); cross and candlesticks (by Turner)

Two copyright images removed

Fig 6.12 Colehill: pages from Book of Remembrance
Canon John Goodall

> In the N wall of the Nave, a carved oak wall bracket and chained to it with an oxidised copper chain, a carved oak casket, … containing a volume bound in leather and silk containing records of Colehill men who served as well as those killed…. The whole designed + illuminated … on vellum, in 1919, by the vicar (Rev A W Stote).[18]

Stote records 'each page has an original painted and illuminated design in gold, silver and colours' and that the Book 'has occupied the Vicar's spare moments for upwards of fourteen months.'[19] An Arts & Crafts Vicar. He was not alone in combining faith with craftwork commitment.

St Stephen, Shefford Woodlands, Berks is

> A Wesleyan chapel of 1837 turned into an Anglican church in 1910-11 by Capt A C Burmester… [who] also carved most of the internal woodwork

[18] 1927 inventory.
[19] *St Michael's Parish Magazine,* April 1920.

> in an accomplished Arts and Crafts manner, latterly as a memorial to villagers who died in the First World War.[20]

Burmester came to the area through marriage: his wife inherited the Lovelock estate, which included the village, in 1905.[21] The county archaeological society visited it on 2 August 1935:

> Outside it is a plain unpretending little building having been until a year or two ago a Wesleyan Chapel… The interior came as a great surprise to everyone. It has been completely fitted up with really beautiful amateur oak carving, very largely, if not entirely, the actual handiwork of Capt. Burmester himself, as a war memorial, with the names of those who fell carved in relief on the backs of the seats.[22]

The woodwork is intense, original, and, whilst artistically adventurous in a few places,



Fig 6.13 Shefford: wall panels

[20] Geoffrey Tyack, Simon Bradley, Nikolaus Pevsner, *Berkshire* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of England, 2010), p 508.
[21] archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/LOVELOCK/2002-04/1018457258. [accessed 15 December 2013].
[22] Notes of the 82nd General Meeting (July-August 1935), *The Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine* Vol. XLVII, Nos. 162-6, June 1935-June 1937, p. 319.



Fig 6.14 Shefford: benches carved as war memorials

and a cut above naive, it is plainly not produced by a professional firm, nor to an academically rigorous historical model. Burmester was a committed artistic gentleman craftsman – and mildly fugitive: in the 1911 census, 'late Capt, Royal Artillery, JP for the County of Berks.' The carving was started before the War – panelling in the chancel, dado in the nave, a Tree of Life at the west end. The benches were, it must be assumed, plain until 1914. As at Cheltenham, grim events caught up with intentions. In the church are memorial plaques to Burmester and his wife: she played an important part in the work, designing for his wood carving. In this conjugal creative partnership, more Arts & Crafts. He never took holy orders, but his dedication was surely sincere.

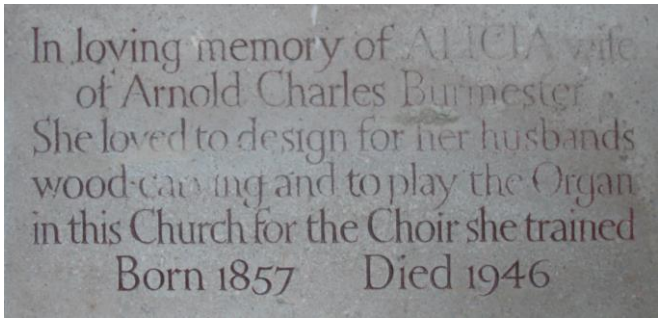


Fig 6.15 Shefford: memorial plaque to Alicia Burmester

At West Woodhay, Berks, a new parish church was built (1882-3) to designs by Arthur Blomfield, 'one of the last great Gothic revivalists' whose work was 'not based on a slavish copying of architectural precedent, or on any search for eccentric originality.'[23] He built around 60 new churches. In his office at different times were Walter Cave and Charles Spooner. He had four cathedrals under his care.[24] It is not Blomfield's church at West Woodhay that attracts the eye, however, but its contents. The interior is largely the work of two sisters, Jessie and Edith Cole, daughters of the big house: their father bought the West Woodhay estate, which included the entire village, in 1880.[25] The Coles had, until then, been living in splendour at 64 Portland Place, London, with a butler and six other live-in servants.[26] There were two sons and three daughters: Jessie (1853-1936), Annie (1856-1938) and Edith (1859-1940). Only Annie married. The sisters did not restrict themselves to the expected female field of textiles, but, more unusually, one of them, Jessie, designed and made almost all of the woodwork, the bench ends combining scholarship and originality, and made with vigorous commitment.

Two copyright images removed

Fig 6.16 The Cole sisters: *left*: Jessie Degen Cole; *right*: Edith Cole as a girl
Copied from an album in the possession of Elizabeth Cole, their great-great niece

[23] Paul Waterhouse, 'Blomfield, Sir Arthur William (1829–1899)', rev. John Elliott, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2167/view/article/2667, accessed 4 June 2012].
[24] Richardson, *Architects of the Arts & Crafts Movement,* p. 99.
[25] www.westwoodhay.org/VillageHistory.htm, compiled by James Cole, great-nephew of the Cole sisters, supplemented by personal conversation and correspondence with him.
[26] genforum.genealogy.com/englandcountry/surrey/messages/1632.html [accessed 3 June 2012].

Not long after acquiring West Woodhay, William Cole decided he no longer wished to have the parish church hard by his house.[27] Shades of Brockhampton. Cole had his new church built half a mile away – arguably more convenient for the villagers, as at Lower Kingswood. It was in no sense a private chapel like Matlock, or a squire's church, as Pamphill: the family sat on three benches at the front on the south side. They had their own entrance door, but no 'Squire's pew'. Mary McClintock, Cole's great-niece, records that her aunt, Jessie Cole,

> was architect for the estate and built cottages and the schools, the laundry and men's club, putting into these simple buildings a dignity of good planning, proportions and materials far better than usual…[28]

Jessie Cole 'was mathematical and creative'; she pursued the same grounding as male architects: she 'would wander from Brussels to Lucerne and from Lucerne to Florence and Assisi, noting the architectural details with the mind of a professional…'[29] This appears to have been on her own initiative – reminiscent of Sara Losh. Jessie was practical and businesslike: 'responsible for the making of the bricks at the kiln.'[30] In 1893 the new church was extended west, and the north chancel wall broken through to turn the vestry into a new organ chamber, with a screen inserted next to the organ.[31] Two letters in Jessie's hand, from the 1930s, survive, answering queries from the then incumbent, Revd A E Burdekin.[32] She wrote:

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[27] James Cole put it thus: 'He wanted to get rid of the church.' (personal conversation, 23 May 2012).
[28] Mary H McClintock, *The Queen Thanks Sir Howard: the Life of Major-General Sir Howard Elphinstone, VC, KCB, CMG, by his daughter* (London: John Murray, 1945), p. 184. McClintock was Annie Cole's daughter.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Mary H McClintock, *Portrait of a House,* p. 29.
[31] Revd A E Burdekin (Rector of West Woodhay), *Gifts made to West Woodhay Church at & since its building in the year 1883, recorded by the Rector, the Rev A E Burdekin in the year 1934*. Handwritten notes in possession of James Cole.
[32] Two letters from Jessie D Cole, Winchester, 18 Sept 1933 and 5 November 1934, to Burdekin, in the possession of James Cole. By this time Jessie was in her 80s, so her recollections are not necessarily reliable. Burdekin's letters, setting out his enquiries, are lost.

> The screen was placed in front of the organ some years … after the S. African war[33] – The screen I drew out from photoes [sic] of Stoke by Nayland church scheens [sic] – in Suffolk – near where we lived for many years – but I had to reduce the width of the arches I remember - & the carving along the top is different.



Fig 6.17 West Woodhay: North screen

The screen carving was done by Harry Hems of Exeter, who also had worked at Hoarwithy.[34] But Jessie makes it clear she calculated the precise setting out, since the measurements at Stoke-by-Nayland were different from those at West Woodhay. She does not say so, but it is probable the design for the carving at the top of the screen – different from the source – is of her devising: though, of course, Hems would have been more than capable of providing a suitable motif. Remarkable evidence of her artistic instincts and craft skills are to be found throughout the church. The ends of the congregational benches are all carved; as are the panels in front of the two front benches,

[33] A commemorative plaque is dated 1902.
[34] Burdekin, *Gifts,* op cit.



Fig 6.18 **West Woodhay:** panels to front of front benches, east end of nave; chest

and panels at the rear of the bench immediately east of the south door. Burdekin records the fact in a matter-of-fact way: '1903. Oak benches. Jessie Cole carved.'[35] 'The pew-ends were the work of many years; they were all designed by her, each one of a different pattern.'[36] The panels are a remarkable collection of ideas, eclectic and original by turns, though, apart from the rather knowing 'rustic' lettering of the Biblical quotations, never stray far from 15th century English models. Family tradition has it she 'had her own workshop in West Woodhay House.'[37] She also 'carved the pulpit, signing her name deep in the wood at the back where no one could see':[38] a typically Arts & Crafts piece of self-effacement – and female modesty. The lectern and prayer desks in the choir carry through the same themes.[39] She also made the church chest (dated 1906).[40]

It is unusual – though not unknown – for a lady to carry out wood work of this quality.[41] Anson describes church decorating as an appropriate female activity – conventionally flowers, festival garlands, linens, frontals and banners.[42] Jessie Cole goes well beyond this, and is a pioneer. There are also textiles at West Woodhay. In 1933 Jessie wrote to Burdekin:

> I cannot remember when I worked the white altar cloth but I think it must [?] [have?] been some years after Edith worked the red one … & that she worked the purple one shortly afterwards. I have been

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[35] Burdekin, *Chronology of furnishings at the church*. 1-page handwritten note (n.d.) in possession of James Cole.
[36] McClintock, *Portrait of a House,* p. 29.
[37] Anon, *St Laurence's Church, West Woodhay*. Typescript sheet available in the church (1980). McClintock records that Jessie had no fixed work-room: 'the carving table stood sometimes in the study, sometimes in the billiard-room, sometimes even in her bedroom… her work liable at any moment to be interrupted and uprooted.' (*Portrait of a House,* p. 29). There was also an estate carpentry shop - Park House 'until relatively recently.' (www.westwoodhay.org).
[38] McClintock, *Portrait of a House*, p. 29.
[39] Burdekin, *Gifts* states only, 'The Pulpit was also the work of Miss Jessie Cole.' He adds 'The Lectern was the gift & work of Miss Jessie Cole.'
[40] Burdekin, *Gifts*: 'the oak chest (also carved by Miss [Jessie] Cole.'
[41] But see p. 304 below.
[42] Peter Anson, 'The Art of Garnishing Churches' in *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: Faith Press, 1960), pp. 198-205.

> looking up old diaries and pass [i.e. bank] books but have nothing to show when I worked the white altar cloth.[43]

The 'white altar cloth' is the white/gold frontal, still in everyday use at the church. The red array is somewhat less spectacular, but no less expertly made.[44]



Fig 6.19 West Woodhay: 'white' altar frontal (ca 1882-3); red frontal

The sisters also provided much of the glass – though they did not design it. Burdekin records the windows were designed by 'J Holliday', and installed by Powells in 1890.[45] He means Henry Holiday, still working for Powells. Despite acknowledgement in

[43] Burdekin, *Gifts* adds, 'The white Festal Cloth was worked and given by Miss Jessie Cole.'
[44] Burdekin, *Gifts:* 'The red cloth was given and worked by Miss Edith Cole & was used at the first celebration of the Holy Communion at the Consecration of the church.'
[45] Burdekin, G*ifts*, op cit.

her letters of the gifts she and her family had made, and the passage of more than 30 years, Jessie remained reticent about her role:

> I believe I gave the cross – but possibly my mother paid for part of it and I w[oul]d rather not be mentioned as I feel uncertain a[bou]t it.

Hers was a very Arts & Crafts cast of mind: at once keen to get the 'who' and 'what' of work properly recorded if possible, but with no desire for recognition, credit or fame: on the contrary, a fastidious dislike of it: 'I do not however care about being mentioned…' Especially in her woodwork Jessie Cole was combining design and making in a distinctly hands-on way, with local materials (the wood was all from her father's extensive woodlands). At first she 'copied' the Stoke-by-Nayland screen. But later she devised her own patterns, influenced by English examples but, like Sedding's bench ends in Cornwall (made by Trasks), inventive not copying. The texts are included without great subtlety – the lettering with something of the rough-hewn quality of Spooner's lectern at St Bartholomew's, Ipswich: purposefully honest work, with no hint of the machine. And she has the right sense of truth to materials and nature:

> …*never* let varnish or stain of any kind come near oak, it prevents the grain of the wood absorbing the ammonia in the atmosphere and getting that lovely natural colour. It is a *crime.*[46]

And her credo: There is nothing to compare with creating a thing, if you love what you are doing – you can't make anything beautiful unless you *are* in love with it, of course.[47]

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[46] McClintock, *Portrait of a House,* p. 32.
[47] Ibid*,* p. 31.

Spreading the acquisition of craft skills

At Colehill, Shefford and West Woodhay educated, civilised people could indulge their interests and culture, making or purchasing as their inclination and resources suggested. But craft was not the preserve of the leisured classes It was increasingly seen not just as something being lost, but whose reinstatement could have social benefits. The notion that skills training was a key part of a national cultural agenda meant that students, teachers, apprentices, enthusiasts and semi-professionals all made contributions. The examples given here suggest that a richness of effort and achievement around 1900 was ubiquitous in churches. Impulses towards democratization, against hierarchy, which might once have seemed revolutionary, were everywhere. In northern counties woodwork classes were started locally, often to give employment and skills training to unemployed men. Many found expression in furnishing their church.

The Northumbrian Handicrafts Guild, founded in 1900, set up craft classes with the County Council. The Guild's first exhibition was in 1901: the class at Lucker took first prize. It was organised by the vicar, and initially taught by Florence Hedley, daughter of Tyneside's leading wood carver Ralph Hedley. Hedley's workshop produced the figures of saints for the pulpit in 1904, but the class made the surrounding panels (overleaf).[48] The names of the carvers are recorded: James Bruce, a tailor who eventually became a teacher of carving; Ralph Gatty, a shoemaker in nearby Adderstone; Charles Grieve, a platelayer on the railway, Joseph Punton a gardener, Arthur Ryott a farmer. These men – together with Gertrude Jane Ryott and two unidentified persons (JD and WDG) – also carved panels for the front of the choir stalls.

[48] *Northumberland Handicrafts Guild First Annual Report 1900-1901*, December 1901, p. 7. Information in this paragraph is from a note by John Millard, 7 October 2012, who is researching Ralph Hedley. The pulpit was designed by Charles Septimus Errington (1869-1935).



Fig 6.20 St Hilda, Lucker: panels on the pulpit

> At St Andrew, Stanley, Durham, an unremarkable church (1876-7) by J G Holt: a wood carving class was established, the object being to carve an oak pulpit for the church to replace the stone one. The amount needed - £30 - was to be raised by 2/6d donations to meet the cost of the wood. The instructor, Mr J W Masson, prepared the design – 15th century pattern – the parishioners carved it, and it was assembled by Mr J W Henderson, Prudhoe Street, Newcastle…Later [1909] a carved oak Litany Desk, carved by parishioners, was added.[49]

There was also a credence table carved by another member of the congregation in 1912 (overleaf). There are many other examples of 'committed amateurs', some of them priests. At St Helen, Amotherby, North Yorkshire, a 'craftsman vicar', Revd Charles

[49] From a calligraphed History Album in the vestry at the church.

copyright image removed

Fig 6.21 St Andrew, Stanley, Durham: Page from Parish History Album

Peach, designed and made the pew ends, pulpit, and font (1886).[50]At St James, Ruscombe, Twyford, Berks, Revd Sidney Macartney carved a door 'with figures of saints and Arts & Crafts arabesques' and painted saints in the chancel window jambs (1907-13).[51] At St Mark, Bestwood, Notts, woodworkers from the nearby colliery fitted the church interior (1887); at St Peter, Awsworth, Notts there are carvings on choir stalls and pulpit by 'a local carpenter' (1902).[52] At St Hilda, Jesmond, Tyne & Wear, fittings were made by craft students working as The Newcastle Handicraft Company, and the three Davies sisters, Louise, Elizabeth and Barbara, who lived locally, and also taught crafts.[53] At Christ Church, Turnham Green, 'in the early part of the 20th century' the carving of the altar screen and choir stalls was carried out by 'six determined members of the congregation (five ladies and a man) who attended lessons at the Arts School in the

[50] Barrie and Wendy Armstrong, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Yorkshire: a Handbook* (Wetherby: Oblong, 2013), p. 2.
[51] Tyack, Bradley, Pevsner, *Berkshire,* p. 496.
[52] www.nottsopenchurches.org.uk/MiningHeritageTrail.pdf [accessed 7 November 2014].
[53] Barrie and Wendy Armstrong, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the North East of England: a Handbook* (Wehterby: Oblong, 2013), p. 85 and p. 194. The Handicrafts Company is discussed briefly at p. 224.

Bath Road.'[54] At St Mary, Winkfield, Berks it was the vicar's wife, Mrs Daubeny, who did the work: she painted tiles for the chancel (1890-3) to designs by Woodyer.[55] At St Beuno, Penmorfa, Gwynedd, Constance Mary Greaves, an aunt of Clough Williams-Ellis, carved the lectern and font cover, 1896-9.[56] At Putley, Herefordshire, the church benches were carved by the local landowner, John Riley and his son and daughters, and represent plants, beasts and birds appropriate to country life in a fruit growing parish, 1880s.[57] At St Mary, Burton Bradstock the vicar's wife and her friends were allowed by E S Prior, architect for the 1897 restoration, to paint the dado and panelling:

Two copyright photographs removed

Fig 6.22 St Mary, Burton Bradstock, Dorset (additions by E S Prior, 1897): dado decoration
www.dorsethistoricchurchestrust.co.uk

In 1912 Guy Dawber reported of his screen at St Mary, Widdington, Essex that, 'The rector – an old schoolfellow of mine, is ... an excellent carpenter, and with the help of some eight or nine village workers made the screen…. One being the village carpenter, but the others having no particular knowledge of carpentry.'[58]

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[54] By e-mail from Gordon Higgott, 7 November 2014.
[55] Tyack, Bradley, Pevsner, *Berkshire,* p. 715.
[56] Matthew Saunders, *Saving Churches* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2010), p. 90, quoting *The Cambrian News,* 27 April 1899.
[57] www.putley.org.uk/nfHome.asp?Section=The+Church….. [accessed 30 October 2009].
[58] Guy Dawber, letter to *British Architect,* 9 February 1912, p. 109.

At Brockhampton, the sense of the hand-made is so powerful, modern visitors have been moved to continue in the same spirit: hymn book covers and runners in the pews were given by an anonymous donor in 1950, and an altar cloth and hand-written book about the flowers in 1960, seeking to continue what Lethaby started. Members of congregations continue to make furniture and fittings: in the course of this research contemporary work in many churches has been encountered: a music stand at Dodford, a lectern at Bothenhampton.



Fig 6.23 Brockhampton: 1950 hymn book covers

Two church-minded national bodies were founded not so much to harness these energies, but to ensure what was put in churches was of good quality. First the Clergy & Artists' Association for the Improvement of Art in Churches, 1896, 'founded to counteract the evils resulting from the low standard of art in churches at the present day.'[59] It aimed to offer help and advice and to connect those commissioning church work, whether clergy or lay, with artists and craftsmen.[60] Its Secretary was Reginald Hallward (AWG). The Church Crafts League was a break-away organisation, founded 1900, which wanted only artists who were communicants.[61] Its founder members included Canon Gore and Henry Holiday. The surviving membership list (1920) includes twenty architects, of whom several are AWG – Coates Carter, F C Eden, Harold

[59] *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Decorative Art for Churches, Etc., by Members of the Clergy and Artists' Association*, October 1905. (The exhibition was at the Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.)
[60] *Builder*, 16 May 1896, p. 417.
[61] *British Architect,* 22 December 1899, p. 459.

Gibbons and Charles Nicholson among them – as well as non-architect AWG members such as Nelson Dawson and Edward Spencer. As late as 1930, they were holding a Festival of English Church Art.[62]

Attenuation

And so 'Arts & Crafts-ness' becomes attenuated, diluted, even etiolated – to the point where its presence is faint enough to be arguable. Perhaps the spirit was by now so omnipresent as to be impossible to discern clearly. Two examples venture into this debatable land – churches where the AWG holds little or no sway, there are few if any ACES connections: yet something has changed in the way the churches have been built and adorned, making them intense, personal, artistic, intimate and strange enough to be seen in an Arts & Crafts light. Perhaps they are merely 'arty': if so, that is in itself interesting: seen in their wider context, the way in which these churches relate both to their congregations and to God is unlike how they might have been in 1850.

At Inkpen a number of strands intertwine: the overall effect of the church is neither Gothic Revival nor vernacular revival; neither grandly theatrical nor comfortably homespun; there is artistry and adventure, idiosyncratic and a little fey. The mood is neither Victorian nor Modern. The work begins well into our period, and extends beyond it. In deepest rural Berkshire it is bucolic, old-fashioned and cultured all at the same time. The cross-currents, while rather defying exegesis, are instructive: they pinpoint the way in which 'Arts & Crafts' is elusive, findable if one is looking for it hard enough, yet evanescent - will o' the wisp and enigmatic. First, the spiritual and social

[62] C B Mortlock, *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 57, No 328, July 1930, pp. 42-44.

context: Inkpen was effectively a hereditary living.[63] Revd John Butler was succeeded by his son, Revd Henry Dobree Butler (c 1861-1933), who had been a curate to the GWR workers at Swindon. Butler senior was Rector for 57 years: at his death (1895) he left his wife all his worldly goods, including the patronage of the living, which went with their house.[64] Despite the connection with nearby modern railway works, the Butlers dominated their village's life in a way that seems feudal: John had nine sisters, who, in 1837, ran the village Sunday school, 'the only means of education for the labouring classes.'[65] Butler's reputation had been more as a huntsman than cleric: he had not taken care of his church's fabric, and at his death the bell tower and gallery were unsafe, and the church damp. His son 'was quite a character….He used to ride around the village on an old bicycle, always wearing a black cassock and a broad-brimmed clerical hat.'[66] He was Vice-President of the village Football Club, active in the Cricket Club and founder of the Flower Show. He had four sisters, who kept house for their brother in the Rectory, apart from one who was attached to St Mary's Convent, Wantage, from which she emerged from time to time to visit her family.

Henry proposed a scheme of complete church restoration. The 16-strong Restoration Committee included George Butler, the Rector's elder brother, who ran the family farm, and his sister, Caroline. There was a proposal to build a new church, but Caroline threatened to withdraw her money unless the idea was dropped. The Butlers provided much of the initial funding: Caroline gave £500; Henry's widowed mother, £100; a sister-in-law of hers £125; and £100 from the estate of the late Rector. By

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[63] E A Martin, *Inkpen Yesterday* (St Columb: Edyvean Printers, 1993), pp. 7-23.
[64] Oxford Records Office (ORO), MS Oxf Dioc Papers c1107: Presentation by Maria Anne Butler… of Revd Henry Dobree Butler, Clerk…. 14 May 1895. The rather curious position then arose, on his mother's death in 1897, that Henry was his own patron.
[65] Unattributed quotation from Martin, *Inkpen Yesterday,* p. 9.
[66] Anon (but R Griffiths), *Ancient and Modern: a Celebration of the Second Millennium* (Churchwardens of the United Benefice of West Woodhay with Enborne, Hamstead Marshall, Inkpen and Combe, n.d. but 1999).

February 1896 £1400 had been raised. The Bishop of Oxford sent £10, and the Bishop of Reading £5. Labourers and stockmen on the Butlers' farm asked that their overtime money should go to the fund. One Butler sister led a group of village women in needlework: they made £24, and decided it should buy a new brass lectern. The Churchwarden's accounts show that, by the time of consecration, the Butlers had given £980 of the total cost of £2077-3-7d.[67] Some of this came from Butlers who lived away from the village. Clapton Crabb Rolfe, Oxford Diocesan Surveyor,[68] was asked to prepare plans for 'restoration' of the old church.[69] Work proceeded over the summer, and the job was finished with only £30 or so still needed.[70] Box pews had survived in the church, but these were swept away: some of the wood was recycled to make new open benches - Rolfe was asked to see 'the old material was used as efficiently as possible.' Henry Butler had a persuasive personality: an uncle's executors offered to pay for a stained glass window, but Butler steered them towards providing the pulpit. Rolfe proposed an oak chancel screen, but Butler would not hear of the expense: sister Caroline took the hint, and paid the full cost - £56-2-6d was paid to Harry Hems in June 1897 for the carving. Butler siblings gave the altar - £36, again to Hems.[71] There was an element of didacticism here, as at Hoarwithy: the figures carved on the altar are an uncommon quartet: Bishop John Cosin (1594-1671), St Osmund of Salisbury (d. 1099), Archbishop Laud (1573-1645) and Archbishop Theodore (602-690). They were there to make a point. The first three were all traditionalist liturgists (and book collectors), and all with scholarly and organising genius: Cosin made detailed proposals for the 1662 Book

[67] Berkshire Records Office: D/P 76/5/6, Subscriptions to Inkpen Church Restoration Fund.
[68] He failed to become Diocesan Architect on Street's death (1881): that job went to Oldrid Scott. The sources all say Rolfe was 'later' appointed Surveyor.
[69] ORO MS Oxf Dioc Papers c1107: Faculty to repair church with addition of an aisle… in accordance with plans prepared by C C Rolfe esquire and approved by J O Scott Esquire, 27 April 1896. The only modern source on Rolfe is Andrew Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia* XXXV 1970, pp. 53-107.
[70] Different sources vary on the amount – it may have been as much as £300.
[71] The accounts show that the Rector contributed £69-4-0d towards the altar, and Caroline Butler £8.

of Common Prayer;[72] Osmund compiled the Sarum Use.[73] Theodore, 8th Archbishop of Canterbury 'found the Church of England an unorganized missionary body, and left it a fully ordered province of the universal Church.'[74] The female figures are more



Fig 6.24 Inkpen: altar (detail)

predictable: Our Lady, St Frideswide (Butler was a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford) and St Margaret. There was also a rood screen of considerable elaboration, its cross embellished with the evangelists' devices. The architect was presumably chosen for his Oxford diocesan connections, though there were Rolfes farming near Inkpen. Rolfe



Fig 6.25 Inkpen: rood

[72] In the early 1600s he 'became a member of [a] … group noted for their aversion to Puritanism and their love for worship and the sacramental way of life.' Marianne Dormann, 'John Cosin' at mariannedorman.homestead.com/Cosin.html [accessed 15 November 2013].
[73] 'Free from ambition, he neither imprudently wasted his own substance, nor sought the wealth of others' William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum anglorum,* 184.
[74] James Kiefer, 'Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury', *Biographical sketches of memorable Christians of the past* at justus.anglican.org/resources/bio/250.html 'The body of canon law drawn up under his supervision, and his structure of dioceses and parishes, survived the turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and are substantially intact today.' [accessed 15 November 2013].

added a new North aisle, replacing the crumbling old wall and inserting an arcade. On the South side he added a new porch,[75] and created a new window, with unusual flying rere-arch. He rebuilt the East wall with new lancets; he made a new oak roof – the angels adorning it must also be his;[76] the belfry was repaired and a tile-hung bellcote added. He designed an elaborate reredos and set out the new seating.

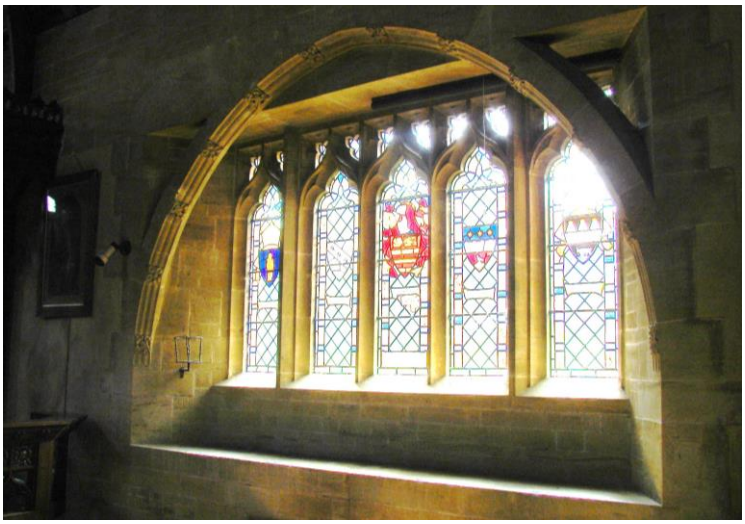


Fig 6.26 Inkpen: south window showing flying rere-arch

Rolfe's rere-arched window is certainly unusual – but is it Arts & Crafts? It is hard to see in what way – except perhaps in adventure. Inkpen pulpit is a low, intimate, approachable affairs – with no great staircase to mount, no tester, no sense of *de haut en bas*. But is it 'Arts & Crafts'? Or simply a response to the scale of a small country church, and an end-of-the-century tendency away from preaching, and towards the eucharist? The spirit of craftsmanship in the service of the church, and craftsmen making things following their own instincts, seems stronger *now* than it was then. In 1969 the font cover (designed by G F Bodley, 1909, not Rolfe)[77] was removed, and replaced in 1972 by

[75] 'The porch is a memorial to the Rev. John Butler M.A. rector, 1850-95 and has a carving in low relief of 'The Entombment' from a picture by Taddeo Gaddi', *Kelly's Directory* 1899.
[76] The accounts show Harry Hems was paid £10 for the angels.
[77] ORO MS Oxf Dioc Papers c1107: Faculty to place a cover on the font in memory of the late Mr Guy Leech, according to the design of Mr G F Bodley, 27 March 1905. Bodley also designed a silver-gilt chalice and paten, made by Burkentin and Krall, give in 1903 by Caroline Butler (*VCH*, p. 205).

one easier to lift off.[78] The base was made by Alec McCurdy of Cold Ash, 13 miles east of Inkpen; and the top was adorned by Ron Lane, 'a craftsman from the New Forest';[79] from Dibden Purlieu, Hampshire, 50 miles south.[80] The font cover is in walnut with naturalistic carvings of water creatures - vole, dipper, newt, kingfisher, teal.[81]



Fig 6.27 Inkpen: 1972 font cover

Rolfe's work at Inkpen has been counted a success: 'the general effect is exceedingly good, giving at once an impression of simplicity and richness.'[82] 'Inkpen is praised as one if the few Victorian restorations that enhanced the church.'[83] But at the time all was not so serene: 'The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings made an unjustified fuss about the work done by Rolfe here.'[84] One element added after Rolfe's work was done gives the church its most atmospheric Arts & Crafts air: a set of wall paintings by Ethel King Martyn (1873-1946). Each is a memorial to one of the

[78] ORO MS Oxf Dioc Papers c1107: Faculty to remove font canopy from St Michael's to St Gabriel's, 24 July 1969. St Gabriel's was a chapel of ease built by Henry Butler.
[79] Martin, *Inkpen Yesterday,* p. 23.
[80] Voice-over to 'Artist in wood', British Movietone News, 1971. On YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MVuws4mapEg [accessed 15 November 2013].
[81] See B Joseph, 'A man who knew wood', *The Countryman* (1980), Volume 85, No. 4, pp. 151-3.
[82] P H Ditchfield and William Page, *Berkshire IV,* VCH, 1924, pp. 204-5.
[83] Anon (but Professor Richard Griffiths), *Ancient and Modern: a Celebration of the Second Millennium* (Churchwardens of the United Benefice of West Woodhay with Enborne, Hamstead Marshall, Inkpen and Combe, n.d. but 1999).
[84] Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', p. 106.

vicar's female relatives. Martyn painted the first wall paintings in the chancel in 1910, and, some time later, further images in the spandrels.[85]



Fig 6.28 Inkpen: 'Raphael, the Healing of God': Ethel King Martyn

One is in memory of Henry's aunt Mary Ann; one in memory of his sister Lucy; a third in memory of his cousin Annie Margaret Butler. So this church too is a family memorial – but lacking the grandiloquence of Richards Castle or Great Warley: more homely, more 'hand-made'. Set in the wider cultural context, an Arts & Crafts flavour is not such a surprise: by 1910 Arts & Crafts was everywhere. *Newbury Weekly News* recorded a meeting of the 'local Society of the Guild of Craftworkers', founded by Mrs Thompson:

> It is four years since the first Exhibition took place…. The exhibition contained all classes of work, wood, metal, jewellery, lace and sweets [sic], and samples of all that is best in the development of the home industries of Britain were on view.[86]

In April 1910 there was a Folk Festival at Newbury – 'the first that has been held in the country'. It was a splendid success, with folk music and dancing:

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[85] Anon, *Ancient and Modern,* op cit.
[86] *Newbury Weekly News,* 17 February 1910.

> Pantomime played an important part in the programme. A little girl from Boxford School in a dainty Kate Greenaway dress indicated by expressive gestures the story of Bo-peep…[87]

In Berkshire in 1910 town life was busily imitating art imitating idealised country life. It would be impossible to tell the moment when the Butlers passed from old-fashioned Trollopean figures to self-conscious players of the role of such figures, to lovable examples of typical Berkshire. As clients, they did not distinguish between art and church, nor between God and working for their fellow men without pretension. There is a quality in the church of 'villageness': not an alien structure imposed by our betters, but something shared among us, accessible and warm. It was noted that in Martyn's painting 'A delightful local character is obtained by the use of the road to Coombe, with its familiar beech tree…'[88] The angels are here in Inkpen: a Stanley Spencer touch.

At Summerstown Godfrey Pinkerton, a shadowy, fugitive figure, gave no overt sign (until he was AWG 1925) that he was especially in sympathy with AWG or ACES. His Arts & Crafts influences are faint, invisible enough to be questionable: but by the turn of the century it was hard for any architect to ignore (or escape) them. When the builders left, the shell of the church was a bare classical basilica: a dramatic blank canvas. The scale demanded something. Soon 'the beautiful reredos decorated in blue and gold, the Vicar's Glastonbury Chair, the Altar fittings, Clergy Choir Stalls and Litany Desks, etc' were added, the latter of oak inlaid with mahogany and walnut.[89] The font was the gift of 'the Teachers, Bible Classes and Scholars of the Sunday Schools.' According to the Historic England listing for the church, 'The carving, including font and cover' was

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[87] *Newbury Weekly News,* 14 April 1910, p. 5.
[88] 'Notes of the Past Month', *Inkpen Parish Magazine*, October 1917 (n.p.).
[89] *The History of Summerstown and its parish church* (6-page pamphlet, 1929), LMA P95/MRY2/47.

by Laurence Turner. The wording suggests other carving was done by Turner too. This might include pulpit, doors and lettering, perhaps.









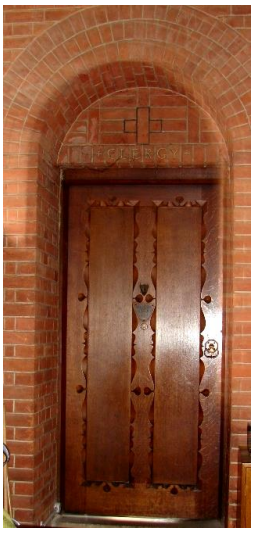


Fig 6.29 Summerstown
font; pulpit; reading desk; sedilia and altar rail; vestry door
Top, centre right and centre left: John Salmon

In 1919 the baptistery was turned into a War memorial. The design seems to have been by Pinkerton, but the artists are unrecorded. It has striking figures of a warlike Adam striking at the Serpent (?); and of St George. But the scale of the building is overwhelming, and the memorial dwindles, the decorative ideas dwarfed.

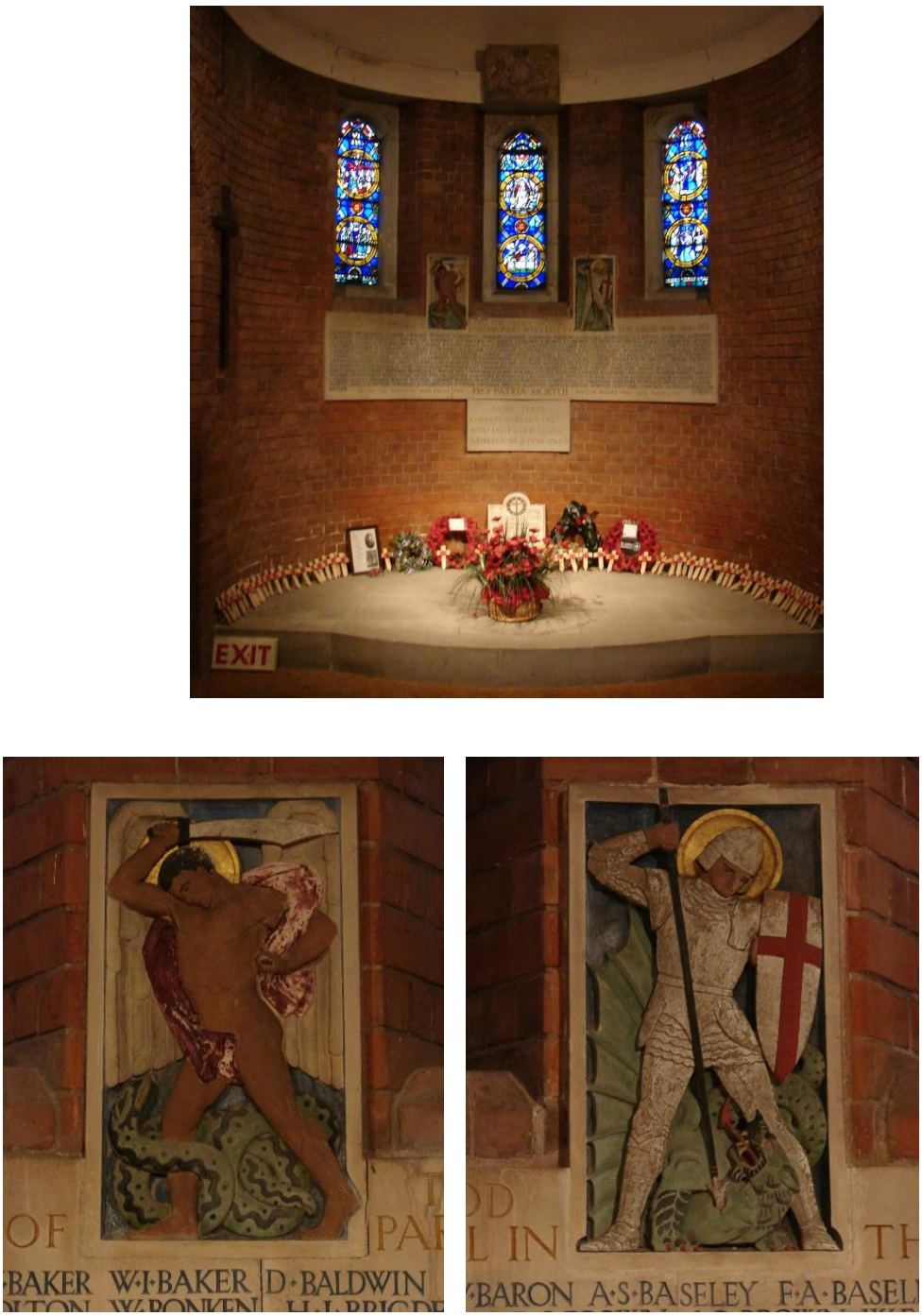


Fig 6.30 Summerstown: War memorial

In 1925 'four life-size paintings in oils on canvas stretchers' were fixed in the lunettes in the arcades, painted by 'Miss C Grant' – Constance Grant: fragile pencil sketches survive for three.[90] By now the flame was flickering – Miss Grant was not an artist of the first rank. In November 1924 Christopher Webb reported on her work, as

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Fig 6.31 'The Ascension of Christ':
Sketch (Constance Grant, 1924); in situ, north arcade
Sketch: LMA DS/FO/1924/50/10

[90] The other two are sketches for The Crucifixion and The Resurrection (Constance Grant, 1924) LMA DS/FO/1924/50.

requested by Southwark DAC.[91] He gave his opinion: 'the work is obviously influenced by the modern school of painting, of which it is, to my mind, an excellent example.'[92] He was perhaps being kind. The execution did not match the ambition. The decorative scheme was then extended – by hands unknown:

> The ceilings of the Sanctuary, Chancel, Side Chapel and all the Arches of the Aisles and Lobbies strikingly represents [sic] the Eastern Sky, with moon stars and clouds; two life-size Cherubims [sic] with golden trumpets proclaim 'Holy, Holy, Holy'; around are emblematic representations from the originals in the Catacombs in Rome… The whole is carried out in blue, red and gold, and when the sunlight is reflected from the window on to the ceilings the effect is very beautiful.

But it is chilly, distant, detached – compare it with Colehill, North Cerney or Kempley.



Fig 6.32 Summerstown: sanctuary ceiling

[91] LMA, DS/FO/1924/50/6.
[92] LMA, DS/FO/1924/50/3. Webb (1866-1966) was a glass designer, as was his slightly better-known brother Geoffrey (1879-1954). Geoffrey designed glass for St Mary, Hinckley, and his signed design for it, carrying this address is at LMA DE 1225/37. They were the sons of Aston Webb. Christopher was articled to Ninian Comper, but did not pursue an architectural career.

Godfrey Pinkerton's oeuvre is small and, from his 1907 FRIBA proposal form, includes nothing of any great distinction. Yet his 'attainments hardly won him the recognition which he deserved.'[93] By 1907 he had sound AWG connections: his FRIBA proposers were John Belcher (AWG 1884), Mervyn Macartney (AWG founder) and Robert Watson (of Dunn and Watson). Pinkerton's obituary in *The Builder* records 'he was for some time in the late Mervyn Macartney's office, setting up on his own in 1897.'[94] Might he have been there while Kenton & Co was operational (1890-2)? If so, did he know Lethaby, Gimson and Sidney Barnsley? In the only detailed study of Macartney, Pinkerton does not figure.[95] Pinkerton seems to have been in partnership with Henry Martineau Fletcher in the early years of the 1900s.[96] Fletcher was AWG from 1902: on the Committee 1906-7 and 1913-15; eventually Master in 1930.[97] He worked with the woodcarver Joseph Armitage and the decorative plasterer Percy Bankart.[98] Fletcher was Pinkerton's witness on his 1907 FRIBA proposal: they give the same office address. Pinkerton's family background was comfortably bourgeois: his siblings were Eustace, a member of the London Stock Exchange; Algernon, who emigrated to Australia; the 'Poet & Translator' Percy E Pinkerton; and Mary who married a solicitor. Pinkerton's self-effacement is complete, his disappearance almost total, and the church stands not as his monument, but as a magnificent space – except that its monumental scale make it distant and sad: the present incumbent (2015) is motivated by its splendour to repair and even embellish it, but its congregation remains stubbornly small.

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[93] Pinkerton's obituary, *JRIBA* 26 June 1937, p. 849.
[94] *The Builder* 16 April 1937, p. 100.
[95] Jan Ward, *Mervyn Edmund Macartney, Architect 1853-1952* (no place of publication: self-published, 1998).
[96] In A Brodie, A Felstead, J Franklin, L Pinfield and J Pinfield, *Directory of British Architects 1834-1914* (London: Continuum, 2001), two men are listed as Assistants to both - George Dudley Harbron (1880-1953) 1903-5, and Samuel Woods Hill (fl 1901-10) in 1905.
[97] Fletcher presented several papers to the AWG: 'Temporary Street Decoration' 1914 (delivered by F W Troup); 'The ornamental use of cast-iron' 1914; 'Heraldry as applied to buildings' 1924; 'Bridges' 1916, 'Provincial France from the Painter's, Sculptor's and Architect's Point of View' 1921, 'Churchyard Monuments' 1923, 'Alfred Stevens' 1928, 'Inigo Jones' 1929, etc. Henry Martineau Fletcher, *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011 sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view… [accessed 01 Nov 2013].
[98] Ibid.

What happened next

It is easy to argue that, after 1918 the Arts & Crafts as a force in British design dwindled down to the mere details it had found so important: a liking for the Olde Worlde in pubs and housing estates (which may simply have been a continuation of the 'vernacular revival' that some see in Norman Shaw's work at Bedford Park); successful commercial ranges of hand-made-looking metalwork, Cymric and Tudric, produced by Liberty's; the simplified lines of 'good citizens' furniture' furniture produced by Heal's and Gordon Russell; and the perennial revival and re-discovery of William Morris's textile designs. In church architecture it faded, but in interesting ways. It became something like a nostalgia for nostalgia. Six examples will serve.



Fig 6.33 Christ Church, Chalford:
font; lectern (detail)

Christ Church, Chalford, Glos (1926-36) demonstrates that the AWG's ideals of co-operative, collaborative work could continue forcibly even after their *fons et origo* had died. In 1924 a new vicar set about transforming the undistinguished interior of his church. Norman Jewson, Ernest Gimson's assistant and Ernest Barnsley's son-in-law,

was his guiding hand. He worked with Peter Waals, Gimson's foreman since 1902, who, after Gimson's death in 1919, moved his workshop to within yards of the church. Most of Gimson's craftsmen moved with him. The organ gallery was made by Waals (1927); the chancel screen (1932), designed by Jewson, made by Waals. The lectern (1933) was also to a design by Jewson. The figures of the Virgin and St John (1934) were added to screen, carved by William Simmonds (AWG 1923). The font (1937) was designed by Jewson; the cover was by Owen Scrubey (1905-1988), who had worked with Gimson at Rodmarton Manor; the fishes carved on the outside were by Simmonds; the silver plated copper dove was made by the Bisley blacksmith, Norman Bucknall.



Fig 6.34 St Andrew (CofS), Gretna, Scotland (Courtenay Melville Crickmer, 1918)

Towards the end of the Great War, the need for high explosive ammunition led to the development of an enormous cordite factory at Gretna on the Solway Firth. Churches were provided as a matter of course for the major denominations, and, since the workers – almost entirely female – arrived from England as well as Scotland, they had to be separate physically, and architecturally neutral. The local paper, the *Annandale Observer*, described the CoS church, St Andrew's, justly, as 'very simply designed as a war

building, depending for its effect on a broad dignified treatment.' It is a visual transition from the Byzantine/Italianate strain in A&C to Modernism, looking back and forward. Money and time were short: so there was no tower at the Episcopalian church, All Saints (overleaf) and very little embellishment internally. Nonetheless what craftsmanship there was held the very faintest echoes of Bankart and Gimson, and the attention to modulated brickwork of Lutyens or Spooner. The buildings were simple, but not bare,



Fig 6.35 St Andrew: ceiling plasterwork

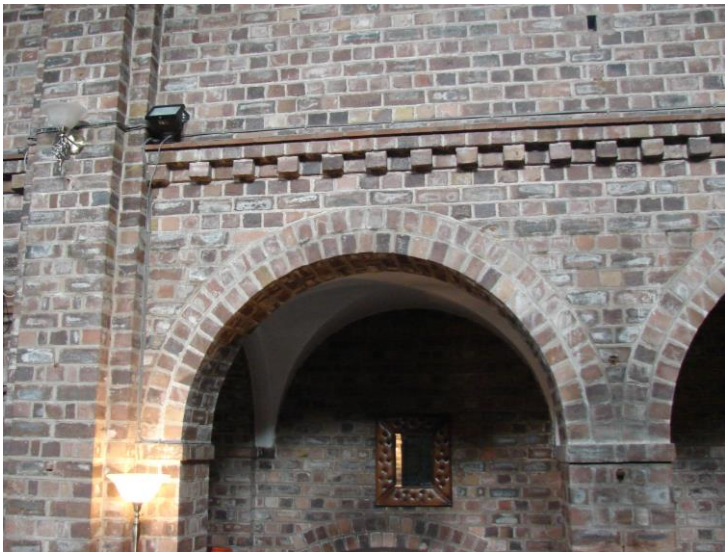


Fig 6.36 St Ninian (RC), Gretna, Scotland (C Evelyn Simmons, 1918): S arcade brickwork

demonstrations of the importance of the hand-made, even when resources were short: 'only the best'? Perhaps not, but very far from the worst. A church was still more important than a factory, because even those who work with machines making bombs have souls, and can respond to beauty.



Fig 6.37 St Ninian (RC), Gretna (Now the Anvil Centre, wedding venue)



Fig 6.38 All Saints Anglican/Episcopalian, Gretna, Scotland (?Geoffry Lucas, 1917)

At Charterhouse School Giles Gilbert Scott built a sombre, catafalque-like chapel (1922-7), and recorded the names of all the suppliers, both companies and craftsmen.

Four copyright images removed

Fig 6.39 Charterhouse School chapel
Top: record of craftsmen
Lower left: 'Mason at bench: James Finlay' *Lower right*: 'Stone carver: A B Knight'

Many were photographed at work. Bainbridge Reynolds supplied a pair of altar candlesticks: his 1927 invoice (£145) is preserved in the school's extensive archives.

At Rodborough, Glos (1925), Sidney Barnsley was asked to convert a carriage house into a chapel for the numerous and lively young people of the NC Tabernacle. Peter Waals made the furniture. The Bisley smith, Norman Bucknell, made the lights.







Fig 6.40 Little Chapel, Rodborough Tabernacle, Glos (Sidney Barnsley, 1925)

At St Andrew, Harrow Road, Sudbury, London, W Charles Waymouth built another church (1925) which looked back. It could have been built in 1888, but it is inescapably self-consciously a loving pastiche of what it would have been then.



Fig 6.41 St Andrew, Sudbury (W Charles Waymouth, 1925)
Exterior; brickwork detail; pulpit; side aisle beam detail

In Staffordshire in the 1920s, John Sydney Brocklesby (1879-1955) built two RC churches - Sacred Heart, Tunstall (1922-3), quickly followed by St Joseph, Burslem (1923).[99] At Burslem, the interior was designed and worked by Gordon Forsyth, head of the local Burslem art school, with his pupils as designers, makers and labourers in painting, mosaic and other decorative work: his daughter, Moira, provided the glass.

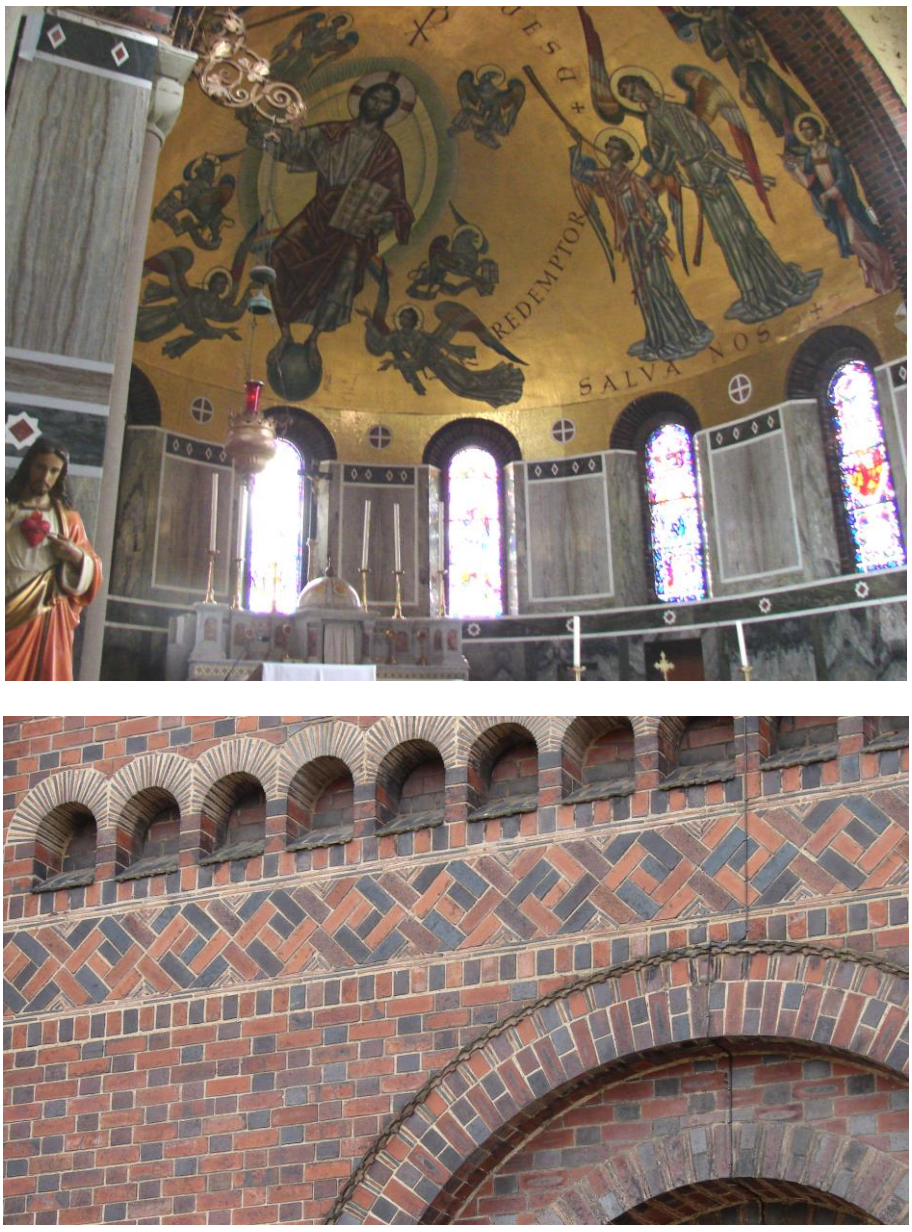


Fig 6.42 St Joseph, Burslem (John Sydney Brocklesby, 1922-3)

[99] Brocklesby also built St Andrew, Langley Mill, Derbyshire (1911-13); St Peter, Belper, Derbyshire (1919); Jesus and Mary, Swadlincote, Staffs (1920-21); St Francis of Assisi, Long Eaton, Derbyshire (1920-1929); St George, Normanton, Derby (1920-22); St Augustine, Nottingham (1921-3); St Oswald, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancs (1925-30).

Here was the spirit of the Arts & Crafts out in the world – unfunded by any bourgeoisie, expressing the educational aspirations of the Potteries, already stumbling in recession and under-capitalisation, and with young people desperately in need of new opportunities. At Tunstall, the congregation was better-off, and the church, as a result, is a more conventional, self-important place, yet full of careful artistic detail and craftsmanship – but with an undeniable valetudinary air. Brocklesby was an Arts & Crafts 'believer': he did not like using Clerk of Works and his workmen were allowed considerable latitude in the exercise of their crafts.[100] He was also un-businesslike, and many of his church commissions ended in dispute and/or losses. He meticulously recorded the names of his workers – at Ashton-in-Makerfield they included P. Howe, 'Main Sculptor' and N Pimblett 'Head Fixer' as well as four other masons.



Fig 6.43 Sacred Heart, Tunstall: carving on pulpit; bench-end; glass by Moira Forsyth

[100] Christopher Spencer, *Elbow Room: the story of John Sydney Brocklesby, Arts and Crafts Architect* (London: Ainsworth and Nelson, 1984), pp. 116, 119.

In *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, the 1911 anthology of the best churches as seen by its editor Mervyn Macartney and those who wrote its two Prefaces, Charles Spooner and Charles Nicholson, the constant complaint is about the lack of grandeur in churches and the tendency towards dreary churches. Nicholson complains

> The ordinary Englishman…wraps up this religion of his in a conventional suit of clothes with some vague idea in the back of his mind that any breach of convention in these matters would be a piece of bad taste and therefore not to be tolerated.[101]

Whatever was happening in the real world, architects felt churches should be grand, and conventional. Although it highlights a number of decorative details such a pulpits and reredoses, the main thrust of *REEA* is to praise big-boned churches like St Matthew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Liverpool Anglican Cathedral. There is no sign of many of what would now be seen as 'key' churches of the period - Lower Kingswood, Brithdir, Brockhampton, Great Warley, Port Seton or Roker; nor any sign of St Agatha, Portsmouth (Heywood Sumner, 1895) or St Matthew, Queen's Cross (Mackintosh, 1896). It is as if the writers were looking in the wrong places, and the small and intricate churches that embodied the spirit of the age were less valued than the pallid imitations of the mighty temples of Scott, White and Butterfield. But that was not the way things were going: Chalford, Gretna, Sudbury and Rodborough all suggest that small-scale, friendly, home-made, homespun was what congregations sought. Though the congregations were increasingly fugitive, dwindling down to small groups of elderly habitués. On the whole, people still did not go to, nor care about churches. That trend remains.

In 2005 Gavin Stamp, after giving his lecture on 'Arts and Crafts churches' was asked by the present author whether he was going to turn the text into an article. He

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[101] *REEA,* p. 6.

replied, 'No: too difficult.' What he meant was, as his lecture suggested, the subject was far too vague to be attempted. The architectural history of the Victorian age is very largely about churches – they built so many, and the great names of architects like George Gilbert Scott, G E Street and Butterfield still command reverence among historians. But the story of the Arts & Crafts and churches is not dominated by any great names – or the churches thy built are not impressive and worthy of attention. Besides, 20th century architecture is much less engaged with churches: it has rather lost interest in art and religion, preferring art galleries, airports, hotels and grand palaces for oligarchs. The founders of the AWG would be sad to know it, perhaps. Even though they themselves had begun to shrug off religion, their masters and mentors were church architects, and the notion that building a church was worthy of application and attention somehow lingered. After fifty years in which God was expressed in buildings that were muscular, didactic, dictatorial and uncompromising, it is perhaps unsurprising that the response, among the men of the AWG, was to see a church as no more than a special case of house, perhaps better able to accommodate flights of architectural or artistic fancy, but, in the end only an intellectual, not a spiritual, exercise. Ideas that are to do with human relations do not, on the face of it, necessarily mean there is no room for God, but his special place at the top of the hierarchy is no longer guaranteed, and worshipping his unseen and distinctly questionable presence more than slightly embarrassing. Much better to consider the beauty of his handiwork.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

> religion has no hold upon intelligent working men in London… For good or evil, it has passed; no one will ever restore it. Christianity… Let's take what good there is in it, and have nothing to do with the foolish parts.
>
> George Gissing, *Thyrza* (1887), Chapters VIII and XV

Rather as at Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, the lasting impression of these churches, taken as a group, is as a collection of disparate works of art, arising from a common interest in good craftsmanship; in sympathy with, but not especially in harmony with each other. It is a slightly disconcerting orchestra, entirely composed of soloists. The variousness of 'Arts & Crafts', its elusiveness as a doctrine, its artistic inclination towards disparity (the distaste for 'copying'), makes definitive conclusions about the churches somewhat problematic. Their individuality renders architectural categorization thorny: it is almost as if they are deliberately resisting generalisation. As has been discussed, differences are as frequent as similarities, and searching for diagnostic characteristics leads to unsatisfactory groupings hedged round with exceptions. Even the church *oeuvre* of individual architects is disparate enough to make clear judgements hard: Percy Currey, Charles Ponting, Charles Nicholson, for example. Few of the architects offer careers that went through neat succeeding phases, leading to a climactic church building – unlike Butterfield (Keble College Chapel, say), Pearson (Truro Cathedral), or Street (whose career crescendoed at the Law Courts). In churches around 1900, there are in any case rather few climactic buildings – Brockhampton, Roker (the so-called 'cathedrals'), and perhaps Westminster, a real cathedral with Arts & Crafts interior elements. (Oddly Leeds RC Cathedral is rarely

noticed as an important or defining building). In addition, the sheer paucity of churches by any given architect frustrates pattern-finding. There are exceptions – W D Caröe was comparatively prolific, and this thesis reflects that, by considering in detail two of his churches, more than for any other architect – Colehill and Charterhouse, whose lack of family likeness further underlines the point. The error lies, perhaps, in trying to force the churches to be a type. Nonetheless there remains the desire to draw together the threads, and knit the various strands into a coherent whole. In order to do so, it may be useful to look back at some of the posits proposed in Chapter 1, to see whether, in the light of the evidence put forward, they do indeed cohere.

Is 'Arts & Craft church' merely a 'convenient shorthand', or is there something 'richer beneath the superficialities'? (page 6) At the surface the buildings are engaging both architecturally and decoratively: but their physical appearance obscures their meaning. Their 'Arts & Crafts-looking-ness' (page 12), as discussed in Chapter 5, diverse and idiosyncratic as that can be, rather distracts from what emerges as a more profound common factor: they articulate, less visibly but more vividly, something not architectural at all, neither about aesthetics, nor artistic politics, but about a change in the tenor of British life – the change not only in belief, but in the *status* of belief. During the period it drifts inexorably from the centre to the edge: it is a given in 1850, in doubt by 1918, as discussed in Chapter 2. It is in this way in which these churches, despite themselves, became 'irrelevant' (page 8) that their interest rather lies. It means they can easily be ignored now, as a group, in overviews of Arts & Crafts architecture. Yet this decline from importance to unimportance allowed them to be the very thing they are – various, adventurous, odd, unorthodox. The form of a church no longer mattered to establishments, neither ecclesiastical nor architectural – churches were no longer a

statement of national policy, as they had been in 1818. They had become too numerous, fractious and unmanageable – too individual. They could therefore matter to individuals as personal expressions, and to architects as playgrounds: here they could be experimental, expressive, adventurous: as Sedding put it (page 49), 'fresh realisations of sacred facts, personal brooding': options not so apparent, available, or indeed necessary, to Gothic Revival church-builders.

It was also suggested in Chapter 2 that these churches occupy an architectural 'debatable land' between twin architectural certainties: the Gothic Revival and the Modern. The reason is, it emerges, only partly architectural. In the former case, churches were certain because of the broad cultural consensus about the importance, significance and truth of Christian belief (and its morally correct expression, by and large, in Gothic architectural language). In the Modern, the certainty, such as it is, is more a consensus among architects about the nature of architecture, applied to churches no differently from how it is applied to any other building. During our period, 1884-1918, if he is a member of AWG, churches are no longer the ultimate expression of an architect's abilities. (For those church architects outside the AWG – for example, Comper and Temple Moore – their continuing commitment to the centrality of church architecture went with an essentially conservative architectural outlook: it tends now to make their careers seem *cul de sacs*. The exception is the mercurial Giles Gilbert Scott.)[1] For AWG men churches were, instead, something of an enjoyable exercise in applying original artistic and architectural ideas to a form still interesting, but no longer crucial: God was not central to their lives, so they could be detached from a church job, or see its importance in other directions – as Wilson did at Brithdir, or Curtis Green at

[1] See David Lewis, 'Modernising tradition: the architectural thought of Giles Gilbert Scott (1880-1960)' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2014).

Dockenfield. 'Ideas of church and ideas of architecture were no longer in accord' (page 8). Some clients clung to outward forms of mid-Victorian certainties – at Ullet Road, Down Ampney, Summerstown – though their commitment and sincerity towards those certainties was not always clear, as at Richards Castle, Pamphill or Lower Kingswood. The architects of the AWG were meanwhile feeling their way towards future ways of working (and living). In some cases, this new approach happily accorded with the client's by now old-fashioned view of the 'need' for a church, unchanged by the passing of time – as at Haslemere, Woolmer, Gunnerton. But in other cases the disjuncture could be productive – Brithdir, Brockhampton, Kempley. The direction of travel is somewhat obscured by Arts & Crafts' tendency to seek to go forward by looking back – a rose-tinted rear-view mirror on craftsmanship, nostalgia for pre-industrial utopias, a respect for traditions, perhaps even exaggerated by the sense they had been lost. Perhaps they had not been, or may never even have existed – could the men of Kempley *ever* have carved figures as Laurence Turner did, or the village carpenters of Brockhampton achieved the photographic precision of George Jack's wild flowers? Arts & Crafts looked for, even demanded of the past a perfection it did not perhaps possess.

The disparity between religious intention and architectural execution could result in churches that now seem faintly absurd, coy, twee, embarrassing – 'artsy-craftsy', as Betjeman put it in 1933: one might apply the epithet to Matlock, Colehill, Inkpen, Glandford, Onibury. They lack the sure-footedness of Gothic Revival churches. If they have confidence, it is in something less exalted than God – lovely things, sentiment, the picturesque. There is a lack of authority: perhaps because those who wanted the churches built were no longer intent on authority. Their churches do not trumpet the glory of God, but express rather the significance of the self, or the importance of

community, and that community's belief in the worth of its own togetherness. This may account for why they often seem to look inward, not outward. Their sense of enclosure, even cosiness suggests clients most at home with a Jesus who is a comfortable friend rather than a suffering Saviour. Being 'at home' counts. There is no fear in them: no prostration before the Almighty. They are even capable of rather leaving God out of it – Pixham, Lower Kingswood, Wallasey, Great Warley: 'spiritual without being religious.'

Thus one way in which in which they may have meaning as a type, is in how they articulate these different shades and nuances of belief. Can these shades be teased out? The period is short enough for the churches to be treated as simultaneous. However, there is room for a little chronology, not pushed too far. At the start of the period, there are churches which assertively engage with God, and which, for those who built them, are a clarion call to belief. This expresses itself in varieties of splendour. At Hoarwithy there is intense exoticism, combining lavish materials with idiosyncratic iconography – but the church is as much a reflection of Poole's self-confessed religious eccentricity, and personal theology, as an irrefutable demonstration of the gospel: he built a reading room for the village too, indicating perhaps his realisation that God's word was not enough. At Ullet Road, the Unitarians' comfortable reading room was for themselves, with a library to indicate their intellectual depth and social responsibility – the church does not stand alone, but clustered round with hall, and meeting rooms. It expressed their wealth and power, their social standing and benevolence – but also, with the benefit of hindsight, smugness and self-regard. At Woolmer, no such richness – though, had there been money enough, the church would have been a good deal more lavishly appointed – here it was 'chaste richness' that was to demonstrate the value of Christian observance.

Our 21st century scepticism towards altruism and selflessness means the churches can be looked back on now with a certain ambivalence. Their sincerity is suspect. (This is, indicatively, not the case with the churches of Temple Moore and Comper.) At Richards Castle, Mrs Foster's church is ostensibly a correct and impressive way of demonstrating grief, but the massive bulk of the building, approached by a portentous staircase, glowering at the village from its small eminence, seems now more obviously a statement of dynastic pretentions than piety. Building a memorial church was the correct thing for the lady of the manor to do: twenty years later, Mrs Foster might have made a charitable bequest, or spent the money less overtly. Twenty years earlier, she might have had the parish church wholly re-fashioned. That she left the parish soon after the church's completion rather suggests the interest lay in the gesture, not the result. At Lower Kingswood egotism is to the fore – a monument to its benefactor's sophistication and wealth. At Brithdir, a fulfilment of a husband's dying wish by his widow, but the gesture, once made, ignored – Mrs Tooth did not reside at Brithdir. At Matlock, Mrs Harris's chapel was built in remembrance of the generosity of her aunt and uncle (and with their money) – their small memorial plaques are on the west wall: but it was rather more her personal plaything – her dog is equally memorialised. Brockhampton makes no concessions to restraint – well stocked with family memorials, but most intent on proclaiming its rural 'heritage'.

As the century turned, the personal became perhaps a little less strident. John Hawes at Gunnerton is the model of a saintly priest demonstrating his discipleship through dedication to his parish, in the form of a church designed, and to a great extent, furnished by his own hand. That same selflessness informs Haslemere and, in a more secular vein, Pixham. At Kempley, Charterhouse and Dockenfield enlightened

benevolences proclaim themselves *sotto voce*. The contrast between the younger generation at Wallasey and the older at Ullet Road suggests the grand gesture was no longer appropriate, and something muted more fitting for the sensitive, artistic sons of unabashed plutocrats. In some places, economy gave new churches a modesty which appeals to current taste for the simply understated – Stonebroom, Pixham, Curbridge, perhaps. But excess still has its flourishes – at Great Warley, Summerstown and Pamphill, for example. The picture is various and kaleidoscopic: as certainties fragment, how could it be different? These are the 'spiritual and artistic adventures' that were desired and now, thanks to the freedom of thinking of AWG architects, possible.

The Arts & Crafts manifested the end of unquestioning acceptance of hierarchies. It coincided with – reflected, did not cause, but sprang from the same sources as – that sense of God's drift from Victorian public figure to Edwardian private man: from a great higher Truth to poetic metaphor. (It was the Prims who recognised the importance of the poetry: 'Our chapels have a poetic as well as a prosaic side.' (page 56).) To those who had for seventy years been the Anglican church-building classes – county grandees and wealthy individuals – the purpose of a church was no longer self-evident. While 'restoring' the parish church – those few which were yet left unrestored – remained for a time 'the right thing to do' (as at Onibury), building a *new* church had now to be for a reason. For confident urban NCs, the reason was usually public, and even to some extent secular – a way of demonstrating substance and sense of purpose (as at Hutton), home town success (as Ullet Road), respectable equivalence to Anglicans (at Ben Rhydding). For dedicated priests toiling in the slums (Agar-Ellis at Small Heath, Aitken at Haslemere) their church was a physical beacon of practical faith, even if those for whom God cared did not care all that much about Him: Jesus was, through them,

now primarily a social worker. All these nuances of religious commitment and spirituality could be expressed in the character of a church: Christ the compassionate, Christ the commonplace. The working man and woman – as Gissing suggests (in the epigraph to this Chapter) – were largely indifferent: it was increasingly understood that, while people needed buildings, things other than churches were likely to be of greater appeal – at first things in accord with church work: meeting rooms, working men's institutes, libraries; then, increasingly the secular: cinemas, fire stations, telephone exchanges and department stores. The 'foolish parts' of religion were abandoned: or replaced with new foolishness.

The chronology of the shift from the centrality of religion to something more unashamedly personal, may be gently charcaterized thus. At the start of Gissing's 1887 novel *Thyrza* the hero, Walter Egremont, presents his fiancée with a copy of *Sesame and Lilies*. Towards the end of the novel he posts his long-standing friend, Mrs Ormonde, a copy of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. In the three years between these gifts, Egremont's arc from Ruskin – 'very beautiful and noble' as his fiancée describes it – to Whitman, reflects something of the cultural shift. In Egremont's case, it was a psychological fault-line: a small spiritual earthquake. Whitman felt modern and prophetic, while Ruskin looked old and tired. Whitman sang the Body Electric: Ruskin analysed what makes a good bishop and the dutiful domestic duties of women. Ruskin's little book became a popular Sunday School prize: Whitman's was banned in Boston for obscenity.[2] Ruskin ends with a vividly Biblical vision of Christ in a heavenly garden. For Whitman

> underneath Christ the divine I see,
> The dear love of man for his comrade, the attraction of friend to friend.[3]

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[2] Of course, *Leaves of Grass* was begun (1855) before the *Sesame and Lilies* lectures were delivered (1864). However, Egremont, who was then in America, presumably posted Mrs Ormonde the latest, 1881, 6th edition – Whitman revised and renewed the poems frequently. Whitman was certainly 'news' in England.
[3] Walt Whitman, 'The base of all metaphysics'.

Whitman's is the human Christ encountered at Haslemere, Pixham, Hutton, even Great Warley – a personal friend, a confirmation of the value of earthly life as much a heavenly redemption. But humanism, enlightenment and social democracy in the end cannot inform a church, because God the Father will not be democratized. Once personal spiritual quest drives church-building, a church finds it hard to have persuasive divine immanence. It can be approachable, friendly, lovely, but it can no longer quite bring us to our knees. It is less, somehow, a church.

They stand, then, as three-dimensional demonstrations not of a shared understanding of God, but of varying personal relationships to God, even a struggle for the upper hand in a balance of power. Whitman's Song was of Myself, and he was not alone: Poole at Hoarwithy, Freshfield at Lower Kingswood, Louisa Tooth at Brithdir, Miss Mayo at Pixham, Burmester at Shefford, the Unitarians of Wallasey, the UFC in Port Seton – they did not just want there to be a church, they wanted it to be theirs, and to reflect their view of the world (and, to a lesser extent, the world to come). Even Aitken at Haslemere and Hawes at Gunnerton – priests at the helm of church and parish – expressed *themselves* in their church building almost as much as they expressed God: a God now, surprisingly, to be found not on high, but in themselves and the flock around them. At North Cerney Croome first wanted his church to be liturgically correct (though his vision of a pre-Reformation church may have been as much romantic as archaeological), but he wanted it to be *his* – the repair of his family chapel in the church was his first major project, and his listing of the craftsmen who worked there may have been just as much about ownership as admiration. The same holds good for Jodrell at Glandford. And Jessie Cole's wood-working at West Woodhay may have been just as much about ownership and self-assertion as piety.

There is a corresponding pattern of variety in the relationships between architect and client. Some architects are subservient to their brief, some express Arts & Crafts credentials despite clients' nervousness. Client and architect worked in every possible combination. Where the client was amenable or relaxed, or even unconcerned with aesthetics, it might be the architect who emerged as the stronger character: his church now can be best understood as an expression of *his* desires, tastes and spirituality – Weir Schultz at Woolmer, Weir at Onibury, Mitchell at Port Seton, perhaps even Macpherson at Aberlour. There was close harmony and even friendship at North Cerney, Hoarwithy and Woolmer. In other cases, client and architect were pulling in different directions – at Kempley, Wells's free-wheeling nature-worship scarcely meshed with Lygon's dilettante Anglo-Catholicism; at Brithdir, Wilson's artistic objectives constantly rubbed Mrs Tooth the wrong way – a sort of creative combat; there was something of a diplomatic dance at Richards Castle; and artistic confrontation at Port Seton. In other cases, neither client nor architect was dominant: there the spirituality seems to be less than convincing, or subsumed in something else – folksiness at Curbridge, distracting ornamentation at Charterhouse (as perhaps also at Sloane Street); grand gestures at Ullet Road (and Roker); a fixation on furniture at Down Ampney. In yet others, the architect seems to subject himself to the client's demands – willingly at Great Warley, less so at Kempley; there are examples of undemonstrative professional commitment at Pamphill, Matlock and Hutton. In some cases, the architect is detached, even absent – Colehill, Glandford, Cricklewood. In others, undemonstratively present and, one must assume, compliant: Ben Rhydding, Inkpen. And in many it is impossible to say, since even the built evidence gives no clue – Curbridge, Paisley, Cheltenham: was the project problematic, either side recalcitrant? History does not record. All were responses to God in whatever form he took in the imagination (or ego) of client or architect.

What then of the underlying question of this thesis: 'What did its author have in mind that made him build something different in discernible ways from what he might have built twenty years earlier?' The key lies not in striving for architectural or decorative innovation, nor in most fully realising the possible perfections of ecclesiastical architecture, but the sense that the personal was paramount. To whom did this matter? The audience for Street and Scott's churches was, yes, their peers as well as their clients, but they also had the Ecclesiological Society looking over their shoulders; a level of attention reflecting an interest in churches in the church-going classes as a whole. For the Art & Crafts it was different. Yes, the journals published their work – if they chose to submit it – and commented on it: but they did so architecturally rather than ecclesiologically. And the wider world was decreasingly interested in churches: *REEA* was not succeeded by comparable volumes. One might almost build a church unbeknownst. A more important audience, and perhaps even more important than one's client, was one's fellows – the Brothers of the AWG. The Goths had been bustling and competitive: the Arts & Crafts drew together into Clubs and Societies with common attitudes. The resonant relationships between members of the AWG, often working in these churches together in trust and sympathy, was consciously and actively different from what had gone before, as seen in Chapters 4 and 5. The men of the AWG thought along similar, but not identical, lines, and shared a commonality of purpose, and the spirit of egalitarianism. There was a sense of themselves as free artists, and a concomitant desire to think for themselves and go their own way. It was convenient, then, that their clients were no longer intent on perfecting churches as they *should* have been, but were more interested in how they wanted them to be - self-expression, even self-indulgence. Subjection of the self in glorifying an unapproachable God was no longer expected of an architect, nor necessary – where present, unusual enough for it to

be commented on, as at Haslemere by Aitken of Spooner. It was enough to go about things in the right way: it is not easy to find AWG men critical of others' church work.

What questions remain unanswered? One at least remains: 'Is – or was – there any such thing as an 'Arts & Crafts church'?' The answer lies not in the buildings, not even in the clients, but in the interface between them, which gives them context. Consider three examples. At North Cerney almost nothing in the church – except perhaps Gimson's candle-stand, and a vestment press by Eden – could be identified as 'Arts & Crafts' *stylistically* by an aficionado. No matter: Arts & Crafts was about attitude: in their different ways, Will Croome and Revd Martin de la Hey were instinctively Arts & Crafts, Croome especially, with his interest in craftsmanship and his villagers. Eden may have employed others to make his windows – he did not see the need to be both designer and maker – but his inclination towards both beauty and fine workmanship, and his membership of the AWG, allow him 'in'. And he has this in common with other self-effacing Arts & Crafts practitioners like Spooner and Webb: 'He never sought the limelight, nor did he hesitate to refuse work when the client wished him to do what he regarded as improper or unworthy.'[4] 'For an Incumbent who had rejected all his fine designs for furnishing a new chancel, substituting mean and makeshift stuff…he inlaid boldly on the cornice [of the pulpit he was allowed to provide], 'Where there is no vision, the people perish'.'[5] It is the same phrase with which Cobden-Sanderson concludes his history of the Arts & Crafts Movement (1905).

At Hutton, Hayne was provincial, unimaginative, derivative, even. The church he built is 'vernacular revival', prettified, sweetly evoking Merrie England without any

[4] F C Eeles, Obituary of Eden, *Manchester Guardian,* 28 July 1944.
[5] Will Croome, *Frederick Charles Eden FSA FRIBA,* op cit, p. 557.

scholarly grounding. But his clients were 'Arts & Crafts' in attitude – fair-minded, honest, keen on fellowship, egalitarian. The coming together of his mannerisms and their integrity makes something which is not an 'Arts & Crafts church', but Arts & Crafts helps explain why it is the way it is. The same is true of Ben Rhydding. Summerstown 'is' Arts & Crafts by dint of the craftsmen who were employed there, in particular Laurence Turner, who has run like an AWG thread through this thesis. His work is to be found at Kempley, Colehill, North Cerney and Woolmer; Percy Currey used him not at Stonebroom, but at another of his Derbyshire churches, Holloway; Arthur Keen for the chapel at Baptist Church House. None of these churches 'looks' Arts & Crafts.

Nor does Pamphill. The woodwork there, which is neither Sappertonian nor Trasksesque, is by Herbert Reed, who had worked for Harry Hems, who worked at Hoarwithy for Seddon and Down Ampney for Ponting. Ponting was neither AWG nor ACES. He rarely ventured far from Wiltshire, certainly not to London; was not FRIBA, or even ARIBA; published little or nothing. He was interested in churches – and a committed Churchman – built 12 new ones, and restored or repaired 28. Yet there is something in his work that expresses, without affectation, the freedom, energy, originality and even playfulness of the first flush of Arts & Crafts. He was in thrall to the past – not an academically correct past, though he was a skilled archaeologist, but a romantic, rosy past. The notion of an 'Arts & Crafts manner' is palpable in his work: not in the least political, nor even perhaps deliberate, but heart-felt and sincere.[6] It is partly because he himself came from craftsman roots. He was not concerned about status among London surveyors, painters and engineers. He was a provincial, happy to get work from the big estates which largely employed him, and always trying to be an *artistic*

[6] The Historic England listing describes Pamphill as 'Good example of Arts and Crafts design' without explanation.

architect, sensitive to the beauty that resides in small detail. There is something also in Prothero at Cheltenham that is profoundly – despite himself – Arts & Crafts; and in the work of Nicholson at Curbridge, and Lutyens at Pixham.



Fig 7.1 St Birinus, Redlynch, Wilts (Charles Ponting, 1894-6)



Fig 7.2 Christ Church, Shaw, Wilts (Charles Ponting, 1905)

There is also the possibility that, although it *is* a handy shorthand, 'Arts & Crafts church' defines nothing so much as our own confused ideas about an ill-defined set of instincts and habits. Even at the time, Arts & Crafts was porous and fractive. And the 'touchstones' listed at the opening of this thesis were not exclusive to the AWG or

ACES – many could be instanced much earlier than 1884, in the work of Scott, Pugin, Street, Bodley and others. The very fact that the architects who were AWG, or adhered, however semi-detachedly, to AWG's ethos, were various enough to defy categorisation adds to the confusion. They are not neat and tidy. All one can say of them is that for sure is that they were building churches around 1900. The notion of a 'movement' seems over-stated, and even the pigeonholes are permeable: the 'boundary' between High Gothic and Arts & Crafts is shifting and uncertain, as Michael Hall's *Bodley* sets out. The pursuit of beauty animated Bodley's entire career, but for those who came after him, beauty lay in different places, and not all of them in God. Since there was no longer consensus about who or what God was, churches seemed to be less and less church-like.

Finally, what about the architects and churches that have not been considered? If the boundaries are so porous, why have some churches not been examined? Even the work of some AWG men has been omitted - Leonard Stokes, Walter Tapper, J T Micklethwaite. And what of other (comparatively) prolific church architects who were not AWG - Temple Moore, Ninian Comper, Giles Gilbert Scott, but also Fellows Prynne, William Seth-Smith, John Douglas? And, even if George Baines is banished, what about Nichol and Nichol?

One clue can be found at the end of our period in *The British Architect* in 1915*:*

> There is this to be said for the Gothic phase: that it has left behind it something vital and creditable to our time in the church architecture of Butterfield, Sedding, Pearson, Bentley, Bodley and Geo. Gilbert Scott. Right down to the present time we have all seen how the very spirit of Gothic art has lived in the work of Messrs Paley and Austin, R J Johnson,

> Basil Champneys, Leonard Stokes, W J Tapper, Sir Aston Webb and Geo. Gilbert Scott [jr] who has proved much more than the inheritance of a great name in his fine work at Liverpool.[7]

It was only the Gothic that, for that writer at least, still 'counted' as church architecture: 'the great national inheritance of a Gothic tradition.' None of the architects noticed in this thesis is mentioned – suggesting that the difference, even if not spelled out, or even necessarily consciously recognised, was present. The 'not-Gothic' church was not to be countenanced. Besides, 'for the past forty years… we have been floundering about in a pit of the antique… fearing only to be accused of neglecting the shibboleth of a past style.' Seeing architecture as a matter of style was not at all how the Arts & Crafts saw it. This kind of assessment was Victorian, and churches no longer were.

To compound the problem, and to further demonstrates the fragility of categories, each of the omitted architects built at least one church which has an at least superficial claim to 'Arts & Crafts-ness': St Mary, Walesby, Lincs (Temple Moore, 1913); St Mary, Kirriemuir, Angus (Ninian Comper, 1903-5); St Paul, Morton by Gainsborough, Lincs (J T Micklethwaite, 1891); All Souls, Peterborough, Lincs (RC) (Leonard Stokes,



Fig 7.3 St Mary, Walesby, Lincs (Temple Moore, 1913): chancel, door handle

[7] 'Influence of the War on Architecture', *British Architect,* 18 June 1915, p. 303.



Fig 7.4 St Mary, Kirriemuir, Angus (Ninian Comper, 1903-5)



Fig 7.5 Ascension, Malvern Link, Worcs (Walter Tapper, 1903)

1895-6); Ascension, Malvern Link, Worcs (Walter Tapper, 1903); St Joseph, Sheringham, Norfolk (RC) (Giles Gilbert Scott, 1908 onwards); St Martin with St Peter, Worcester (Fellows Prynne, 1909-11); Englefield Green Methodist Church, Surrey (William Seth-Smith, 1903); St Chad, Toller Lane, Bradford, W Yorks (Nichol and Nichol, 1907). And what of Ernest Geldart – surely the ultimate example of hands-on priest/maker? Or Ernest Shearman? Or Richard Bassnett Preston, Peter Macgregor Chalmers, Hodgson Fowler, William Beddoe Rees, C Ford Whitcombe? The danger is of going back to the sheep-and-goats impulse with which the research started. If any of their churches have

an Arts & Crafts look, feel, atmosphere – if they remind us of something in the past without recreating it – if they are unnecessarily pretty (rather than beautiful) – then they are at some level, conscious or unconscious, partaking of the sense of adventure, the sense of release from earlier bondage, that is expressed the more fully in the core churches in this study. Searching for faint signs of life in *ever*y church around 1900 seems likely to invoke the law of diminishing returns. Suffice it that they are there.

And what of churches that 'look' Arts & Crafts – whether deliberately or unconsciously – but somehow 'aren't': the churches of George Baines and Son, for example. By the end of the period, say 1910, was it possible for an architect to build a church without 'being' Arts & Crafts? Without having some knowledge of the churches built by Shaw, Sedding, Caröe, Nicholson, Spooner? Or the ideas – perhaps more powerful and visible – of those who were *not* church architects: Ashbee, Gimson, and the two great non-church-building opinion-formers Baillie Scott and Voysey? Would it have been possible for architects like Hayne or Garside and Pennington to have been ignorant of *REEA*? It is arguable that, by 1910, whether an architect subscribed to the egalitarian ideas of Morris, or the campaigning of Walter Crane, or the theoretical flights of Professor Lethaby, he was unable, certainly unlikely to continue in the vein of Gothic Revival without a conscious effort. Arts & Crafts attitudes had arguably become so diluted and normative by 1910 that non-hierarchical, non-precedent-obsessed thinking meant it was hard not to prefer new forms and new approaches: what had been experimental and even revolutionary in 1888 was now rather mainstream, even old-fashioned. In its appearance Ben Rhydding deliberately looks back – and is commended for doing so. Hutton looks back to something cosy, honest and English – somehow it could not avoid making it seem quaint. And inside, with its raked floor, unadorned

doors, square-headed, clear-glazed windows, this was a church to serve man and to bring him face to face with a down to earth everyday God.

In 1924 Virginia Woolf – rather famously and slightly fatuously – proclaimed:

> I will hazard a second assertion, which is more disputable perhaps, to the effect that in or about December 1910, human character changed. I am not saying that one went out, as one might into a garden, and there saw that a rose had flowered, or that a hen had laid an egg. The change was not sudden and definite like that. But a change there was, nevertheless; and, since one must be arbitrary, let us date it about the year 1910. The first signs of it are recorded in the books of Samuel Butler, in *The Way of All Flesh* in particular; the plays of Bernard Shaw continue to record it. In life one can see the change, if I may use a homely illustration, in the character of one's cook… All human relations have shifted – those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature.[8]

If she was right, the Arts & Crafts was part of that change. Raymond Williams thought that 'The temper which the adjective Victorian is useful to describe is virtually finished in the 1880s; the new men who appear in that decade, and who have left their mark, are recognisable different in tone. To the young Englishmen in the 1920s, this break was the emergence of the modern spirit.'[9] If so, the Arts & Crafts was the long birth-pang of our brave new world of self-actualisation, sexual liberation, motor cars and the web.

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[8] Virginia Woolf, 'Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown' (1924).
[9] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p. 165, quoted in Alan Powers, '1884 and the arts and crafts movement', *Apollo*, 1 April 2005, p. 60.

Appendix 1

The churches

This appendix gives particulars of the 35 core churches in this study: dates, client, funding, architect, craftsmen, and where available, plan; also, where helpful, indicative photographs.

Almost all of the 35 churches are referred to in several different parts of the main text. To minimise repetition, those elements of the church used as exemplars in the main text are not enlarged upon here, but only cross-referred to by page numbers in the heading for each church. Not every page number for every instance of a church mentioned in the text is given in this way, since that would be cumbersome: only those instances where the reference especially illuminates these notes is given.

Photographs are largely self-explanatory, but are captioned where necessary.

Full bibliographies, including primary sources, for the 25 'major' core churches are given in the Bibliography.

1. Aberlour (minor) (see pp. 181-4, 227)

Church of the Sacred Heart, Aberlour, Banffshire (1909)



Built in 1909 for a growing local population of RCs. No information about funding. Archibald Macpherson (RC) (1851-1927) was Robert Rowand Anderson's chief assistant, known for his draughtsmanship: 'finished drawings were rare… often a set of working drawings [were] ruthlessly scrapped.'[1] His practice was largely confined to the archdiocese of Edinburgh, and dioceses of St Andrews and Dunkeld, and Aberdeen. 'His scholarly understated style appealed to converts and to the old Catholic gentry.'[2] He was FRIBA in 1906, proposed by Hippolyte Blanc, Alexander Crawford and Rowand Anderson. It is not known how specifically he was appointed for this job. No craftsmen's names are recorded: presumably local painters and decorators of Dufftown.



Details of the screen, retable and reredos panels

[1] Ebeneezer Macrae, quoted in DSA article on Macpherson.
[2] DSA.

2. Ben Rhydding (minor) (see also pp. 162, 260-2)

Ben Rhydding Methodist Church, Ilkley, Yorks (1909)



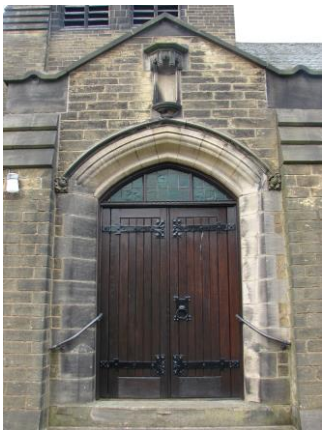
Interior looking west

From the 1850s, Ilkley was a fashionable centre for hydropathy, attracting wealthy visitors. Ben Rhydding itself, an 'outlier' of Ilkley ('Ben Rhydding' was the name of the large hydro hotel above the town) had no Methodist church until a wooden chapel of 1880. In 1882 it was decided to build a new church: 'an ornament to the neighbourhood.'[3] There was a design competition, with five entrants. A substantial part of the funding was by the Broadhurst family of Manchester – Tootal ties. A four-day Autumn Fair raised £539-16-10. There was a grant of £105 from the Connexional Chapel Building Society. (Seat rents were still charged until 1932.) The cost was £3600. Samson Howard Garside and George Farquhar Pennington were local architects with a wide and successful general practice. Pennington was the son of a Wesleyan minister; Church trustee and circuit Steward. Garside, originally a mining surveyor, was Town Councillor and a founder of Pontefract Cooperative Society. All their churches were Wesleyan. Pennington 'always used craftsmen for the communion furniture': surviving accounts name J Hirst and Sons of Castleford, interior oak work; Walter Hudson,

[3] Building Committee minutes quoted in Centenary Celebration Order of Service, 2009.

painter; A Halliday, iron work ('hand-hammered').[4] Building Committee minutes for 1907 survive. The brief was 'Style Gothic or any other design suitable to the site'; Pennington persuaded the committee to have oak not pine for the seating, but they preferred local sandstone to his proposal of brick.[5] It has gradually filled with craftsmanly furnishings: a cross by 'Mouse' Thompson (1930); memorial window in the north west aisle designed by Harry Stammer, 'who worked freelance, in the kiln at York Minster' (1950s); lectern (1979) in oak bought by the donor 'many years before' carved in 'the workshop of his mill' by Stanley Jessop of Gomersal; a cross high in the tower constructed by Peter Bastow of Ilkley (1994) from the 1909 oak pews.[6]





Communion rail; pulpit; south door

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Pew rents, 1932

Kathleen Pinder (ed), *Ben Rhydding Methodist Church 1909-2009,* p 38

3. Brithdir (see also pp. 66, 132-3, 142, 149-151, 210, 218, 220, 235-7)

[4] 'Ben Rhydding Wesleyan church: Opening Ceremony', *Ilkley Gazette,* 12 June 1909, n.p.
[5] Yorkshire Archives (Bradford): 56 D86/2. Minute Books 2/1/1/15.
[6] *A Welcome awaits you…* church guide leaflet, 2009.

St Mark's, Brithdir, Gwynedd (1895-8)



Built by Louisa Tooth, returning to her native Wales, in memory of her second husband, Revd Charles Tooth, Chaplain of St Mark's English church in Florence, whose last wish was 'his worldly possessions should be sold, and further the cause of Christ's Church.'[7] (Tooth's brother was the first clergyman in England to be imprisoned for Ritualism.) The pulpit and altar bear inscriptions from the Vulgate. The land belonged to a son from her first marriage. The first vicar was expected to hold three services every single day.[8] Mrs Tooth died not long after it was completed. Her architect was Henry Wilson (1864-1934): we do not know how he came to be commissioned. Building was in the hands of Mrs Tooth's bailiff, who 'knows no more of building than a cat.'[9] Wilson worked through assistants: Herbert Luck North for masonry and C H B Quennell for woodwork. Wilson himself worked on every aspect of the job – designs for textiles and metalwork.[10] He sculpted and chased the altar frontal; designed the font, modelled by Arthur Grove, cast at Central School by William Dodds, master plumber.[11]

[7] Letter re St Mark's Church, Brithdir: Ceredigion Records Office M/1/149.
[8] M Corbett Harris, 'St Mark's Church, Brithdir' *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society,* vol. VI (1969-72), pp. 186-190; p. 189.
[9] Allan, 'Henry Wilson's Brithdir letters', p. 419: 5 March 1897.
[10] Ibid, p. 298: 17 November 1896.
[11] Manton, *Henry Wilson*, p. 71.

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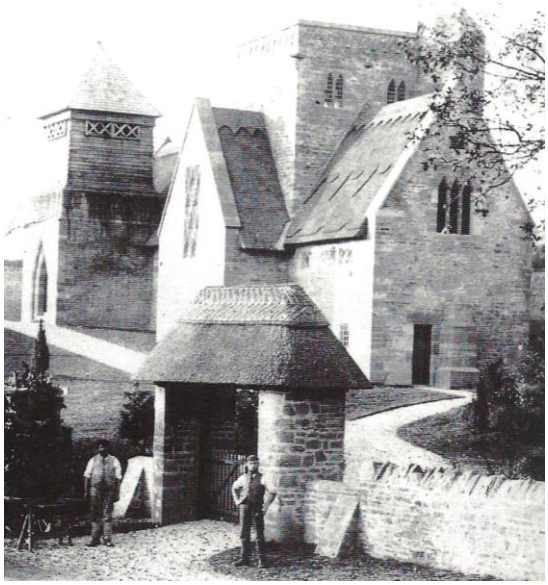




Bench end (Trasks); window in 'south transept'; gutter stays; detail of altar
Top: © Martin Crampin

4. Brockhampton (see also pp. 79-80, 134, 257-9, 305)

All Saints, Brockhampton, Herefordshire (1901)



At completion 1902
from Hugo Mason*, Church guide,* 2002

Built for Madeline Jordan (1863-1932), heir of the founder of the largest department store in New Jersey.[12] She married Arthur Foster (1855-1929) of the Lancashire mill-owning dynasty. The medieval parish church was hard by the great house: too close and too small. In 1901 Madeline had her new church built as a memorial to her parents, *outside* her grounds - villagers could attend services without entering her land. The architect was W R Lethaby (1857-1931). In 1901 he was eminent: from 1896 head of the Central School of Arts and Crafts; in 1901 Professor of Design at the Royal College of Art. We know little of the briefing process, though Lethaby's 11-page specification survives.[13] Craftwork includes windows by Christopher Whall, choir stalls carved by George Jack, font designed and carved by Lethaby, wall hangings by Morris & Co from Burne-Jones designs. The blacksmith-work was produced locally - the door hinges by the Brockhampton smith. Clerk of Works was Randall Wells.

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[12] E S Goodstein, 'Portrait of a 'Modern' Victorian Church: W R Lethaby's All Saints' Church, Brockhampton', *Victorian Institute Journal*, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond VA, Vol. 23, 1995, pp. 84-107; p. 90.
[13] NAL LeW/2/12.

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'Design for the Church of All Saints, Brockhampton-by-Ross, Herefordshire: sections and plans' (1901) *RIBA 36110*





glass by Christopher Whall; font carved by Lethaby

5. Charterhouse (minor) (see also pp. 139, 218-9)

St Hugh's Chapel, Charterhouse-on-Mendip, Somerset (1908-20s)



Charterhouse began life, perhaps as early as 1890, as a 'Welfare Hall' for Mendip lead miners: it blossomed into a church under the eye of Prebendary Menzies Lambrick, 'a clergyman of independent means who found rest from onerous parochial duties in the east end of London by frequent visits to the secluded Mendips.'[14] He later married, and became Rector of Blagdon (1908), and lived at Cheddar. He was philanthropic – built a library in Breaston, Derbyshire (1904) in memory of his parents, and 'to further the work of the church.'[15] It seems likely he funded the work at Charterhouse and perhaps paid for the interior wood-carving too. The relationship between Caröe and Lambrick is unknown: Alban Caröe simply reports his father 'knew him in London'. 'When the structure had been finished, the rejoicing Prebendary added fitting after fitting, each more richly carved than the last.'[16] In 1981 some accounts survived in the Caröe practice archives, including payments in 1922-3 to Dart and Francis, builders and church furnishers (£1168); sanctuary lamp, 1923 (£10); fleche, 1923 (£335-10-0) 'at the expense of a Mrs Hill' (she also paid for the screen in memory of her son); prayer desk, 1926

[14] From a 3-paragraph reminiscence (1981) by Alban Caröe in the A4 information sheet in the church
[15] Jean Crisp, *Breaston in Old Picture Postcards* (Netherlands: European Library, 1992), p. 61.
[16] Alban Caröe, reminiscence, op cit.

(£15-5-0). The churchyard cross, 1931, was made by Ralph Fry of Kingsbury Episcopi (£179-15-0), paid for by F King, Esq. £85 was paid to Nathaniel Hitch for 'carving figures' (when, is not known). None of these primary sources is now to be found. Caröe seems to have designed some (most?) of the work (but what and when?). No drawings survive, apart from three single-page undated entries in Caröe's notebooks for the roof plan, the sanctuary lamp and a fireplace, all in 'genuinely 'back-of-an-envelope' style.'[17] It is tempting to speculate that, between 1908 and 1923, at least some of the carving might have been made by the miners themselves. There is also one window by Horace Wilkinson. The font cover is in memory of a builder from Rickford, near Blagdon, who died in a railway accident in 1909. The font itself was the gift of Cornish miners who came to work in the Mendips. The baptistery is enclosed with a sort of 'English altar, with crenelated 'riddel posts'.








[17] Nigel Wilkins of NMR by e-mail to the author, 21 April 2011.

6. Cheltenham (see also pp. 247-9)

Cheltenham College Chapel (1892-6)




Interior: reredos; looking west to organ

Built to mark 50 years of the school. Building happened to coincide with the Boer War, so gradually it turned into a war memorial, the role intensifying later. The architect, Henry Prothero (1848-1906) was chosen in a three-way competition (the other entrants were T G Jackson and Reginald Blomfield). He was an Old Cheltonian, and had worked in the office of Cheltenham's leading church architect, John Middleton. The chapel was paid for by the proprietors and parents, with some individual elements funded as personal memorials. £10,000 was budgeted. Cost £12,235. Being in Cheltenham, Prothero naturally drew on the skills of the two leading British art furnishing companies in the town, R L Boulton & Sons, and H H Martyn & Co Ltd. Some craftsmen's names came to the fore: Martyn's two leading carvers, Harry Breckin and Harry Dean (see p 247). Neither was AWG or ACES. There is, however, also work by AWG men: stained glass windows by Louis Davis (AWG 1891), paintings by J D Batten (AWG 1892), and James Eadie Reid, who had been in Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft. East window: Heaton, Butler and Bayne, 1901.

7. Colehill (see also pp. 82, 240, 286-91)

St Michael and All Angels, Colehill, Wimborne, Dorset (1893-5)



The initiative came from wealthy locals: Colonel Paget (retd.), started an endowment fund, but could not finance a new church entirely. While plans were taking shape, he died: the church became his memorial. Walter Bankes of Kingston Lacy gave the land. The other initiating figure was Francis Huyshe, Vicar of Wimborne Minster, who probably appointed the architect W D Caröe (1857-1938), probably at the suggestion of J L Pearson, who was doing restoration at Wimborne, 1891. (Caröe had left Pearson in 1885, but had been his assistant at Truro Cathedral.) There is much quaint detailing – roof timbers lavishly elaborated; green stain (as at Shaw's Bedford Park) everywhere. Once the church was built, members of the community furnished it (see pp 288-291). Caröe would not have wanted to be seen as an 'Arts and Crafts architect': he was dismissive of their unworldliness.[18] He became a member of the AWG in 1890, but rarely played any active part, and resigned in 1910.

[18] Freeman, *W D Caröe,* p. 12.




Exterior: wooden figure at east end; south side dormers



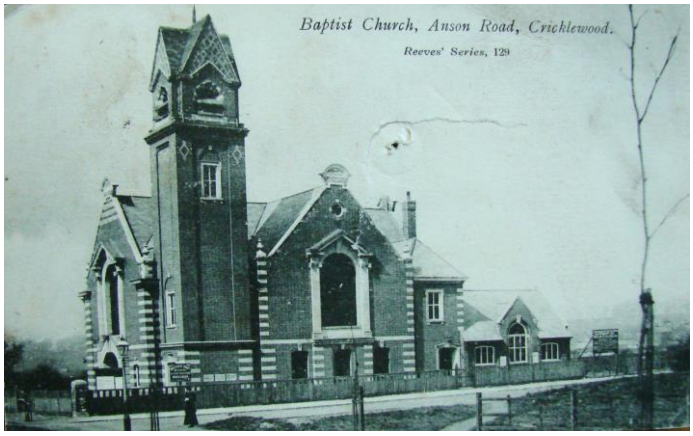

Interior: roof to south porch; looking into vestry on south side

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Plan: Dorset History Centre PE/COL/CW 6/2/1 (detail)

8. Cricklewood (see also pp. 117-20)

Cricklewood Baptist Church (1907-8)



Postcard postmarked 2 August 1910
church archive

Cricklewood Baptists built their first church ('tin tabernacle') in 1885, but a few years later sold it to the Congregationalists.[19] In 1906 William Rickett gave £2000 towards building a new chapel: a rich and active Baptist, coal merchant and ship owner, deacon at Heath Street Baptist Chapel, Hampstead (1861): 'his chief love was the [Baptist] Missionary Society [(BMS)].'[20] The land for the chapel was acquired (£870) by the London Baptist Property Board from All Souls College, Oxford. 'Responsibility for building the church was in the hands of the London Baptist Association'[21] who chose the architect: Arthur Keen (1861-1938) was one of the earliest members of the fore-runner of the AWG, the SGAS, elected at their second meeting, June 1883. Keen's best-known building is Baptist Church House (BCH) in Southampton Row (1901-3), where Laurence Turner did the plasterwork. 'His character was marked by profound sincerity, unaffected modesty and a quality of earnestness which distinguished everything he undertook.'[22] We have no knowledge of the brief or the process of building, apart from the survival of

[19] L Malpas, *Cricklewood Baptist Church: a concise history* (single A4 sheet, n.d. but after 1960); 'W T', 'The Story of the beginning' in the Jubilee Services leaflet, 13-17 September, 1958. Both in the church archive.
[20] S J Price, *Popular History of the Baptist Building Fund* (London: Kingsgate Press, 1927), p. 259.
[21] Anon, *Cricklewood Baptist Church 70th Anniversary* (programme booklet, 1978), in church archive.
[22] *Times*, 17 December 1938, p. 16, quoted in *JRIBA*, 9 January 1939, p. 255.

papers in an unused vestry at the church. Money was not a problem: the tower was built. The church itself is now flats.

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Cricklewood Baptist Chapel: No 4' (Sections): Arthur Keen, January 1907
Cricklewood Baptist Archive





Ceiling decorative plaster in 'school-room'; the church in 2014 (now flats)

9. Curbridge (see also pp. 170-6, 181)

St John the Baptist, Curbridge, Witney, Oxfordshire (1904)



The first Curbridge chapel (and schoolroom) was built at the front of the present churchyard.[23] It was not consecrated until 1847. By 1865 it was thought inadequate: a fund was started to replace it to a design by C C Rolfe (1874).[24] A new school was built instead. In 1904 the elderly Rector of Witney gave way to James Kirby, energetic and go-ahead, who swiftly organised a committee, including 'several influential laymen.'[25] The most significant was Thomas Foreshew of Clinch's Brewery.[26] The other major benefactor was Revd Cyril Walford Osborn Jenkyn (CWOJ): 'instrumental in rebuilding the chapel in 1906.'[27] 'a man of substantial means.'[28] The new church was built 1905-6: CWOJ continued as principal officiating clergyman at Curbridge until 1910.[29] He undertook to be responsible for building the church 'according to the Plans of Sir C Nicholson, Architect, approved by the Vestry.'[30] It is not clear how Nicholson got the job: it is possible CWOJ knew Nicholson. On the south elevation two close rows each of

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[23] Tim Partridge, *Anglican Churches in Curbridge: a brief history written for the Centenary of the present church in 2006* (self-published, 2006).
[24] Saint, 'Three Oxford Architects', p. 103.
[25] *Witney Gazette,* 15 December 1906.
[26] *VCH:* 'Witney Borough: Church Architecture', *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 14: Bampton Hundred (Part Two)* (2004), pp. 222-224.
[27] Ibid. Cites references: 'ORO, MS Oxf Dioc c 2073, faculty pps 1906'.
[28] Letter from Kirby, 17 May 1906: Diocesan box c 2073 at ORO.
[29] Service Registers at ORO: PAR083/1/R7/1-3.
[30] Letter from CWOJ, 17 May 1906. ORO, Diocesan Box c 2073.

four small, rather cramped hexagonal windows, slightly claustral. (They provide light not to the nave, as one might expect, but to the vestry.) The asymmetrical porch is surmounted by an offset tower – the chimney for the stove that once heated the building. The chancel step is articulated externally by a bellcote with pitched roof, embellished with a low relief cross, an eyebrow dripmould over the bell opening, and a rather uncross-like cross for a weathervane. The west end has a round window with an echoing string course – but with three blind square-headed windows which seem arbitrary. There is a very pronounced narrow stone shelf at what might be described as picture-rail height. Pevsner: 'it would not look out of place in a southern Italian village.'[31]



Exterior: vestry windows; west end; bellcote; east end

[31] Partridge, *Anglican Churches in Curbridge*, p. 5.

10. Dockenfield (see also pp. 81, 220, 239)

Good Shepherd, Batts Corner, Dockenfield, Surrey (1909-10)



'For some considerable time it has been felt that a separate church was needed for this part of Frensham parish.'[32] Those who felt it were not the Bishop, priest or people: the 14 members of the Committee appointed to 'earnestly appeal for funds' were all but three from Frensham, 1½ miles away. What was wanted was, in effect, a means of keeping Dockenfield people out of Frensham church. There was also an ostensibly philanthropic reason: 'employment would in this way be found during part of the winter for some of those who would otherwise be out of work.' There was competition from Bible Christians, who had a chapel from 1876.[33] Church was to cost £1800. The list of 90 promised donors included the Bishop of Winchester, archdeacon, prebendary, a JP. The architect chosen by the Committee was Curtis Green (1875-1960). He and his wife pledged £5. We do not know how he was chosen – there was no competition. He was local, living at Farnham in a house he designed. He was ARIBA 1906; AWG 1911. Had a proposed west tower and porch been built, it would have looked very different. Green worked with (see overleaf) H W Palliser (AWG), H L Christie (CSAC), H A Payne, RWS (Birmingham Art School – where Green also trained), as well as Esmond Burton (AWG), who painted the altar.

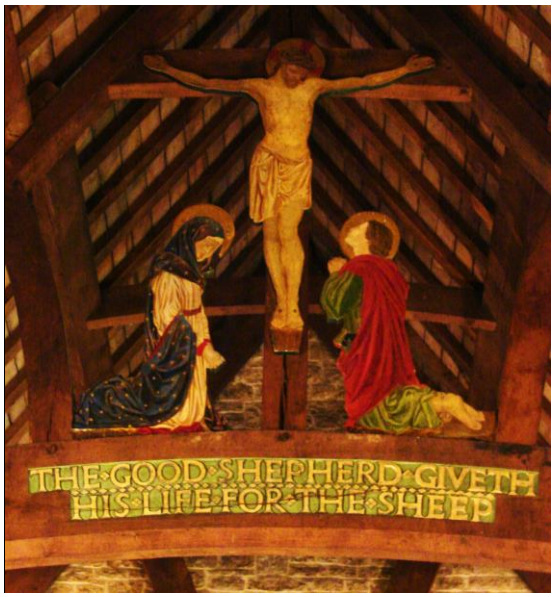
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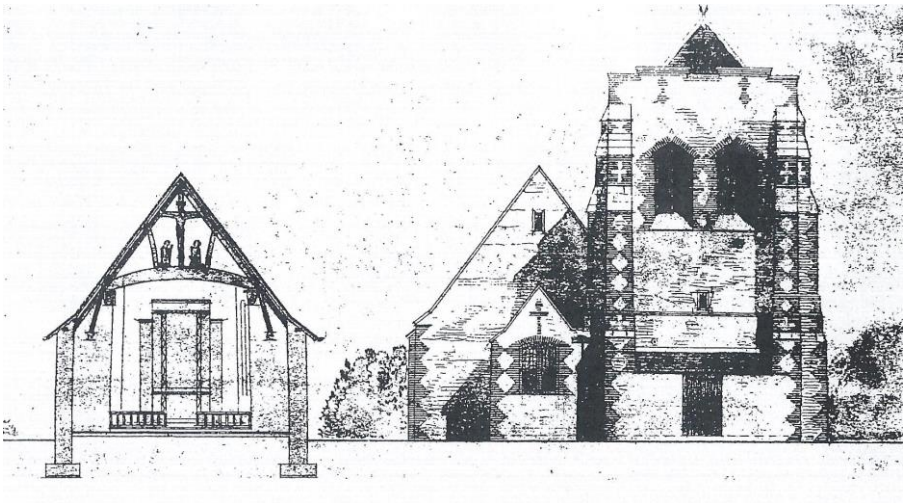
[32] 'Batts Corner: the New Church', *Farnham, Haslemere and Hindhead Herald,* 3 December 1910, p. 8.
[33] Hantsweb at calm.hants.gov.uk [accessed 23 January 2013].











Instruments of the passion at chancel arch; font (both by H W Palliser); external east end cross (H L Christie); painted rood (H A Payne); elevation drawing (Curtis Green)

The photocopied elevation is in Frensham and Dockenfield History Group's archive: the original has not been traced

11. Down Ampney (minor) (see also pp. 255-6)

All Saints, Down Ampney, Glos (1897-1907)



In a medieval church (consecrated 1265), Henry Gibbs, son of the guano tycoon of Tyntesfield, chose (1898) to 'commemorate the birth of a daughter after five sons.'[34] He gave £10,000 for a scheme of new religious fittings. All were designed by Charles Ponting (1850-1932) and executed by Harry Hems: 'scholarly Late Gothic, with some Art Nouveau touches.'[35] It is not known how Ponting was chosen. He was not AWG, but his early training was in a woodwork workshop and a masons' yard. He was devout and, like his client, High Church. Hems's screen (see over) is in a Jacobethan taste, and incorporates part of an 'ancient gallery'. The North transept screen is dated 1900; an elephantine prayer desk and lectern 1905; Lady Chapel screen, seemingly 15th century (?) is dated 1907. Good craftsmanship, respecting unknown past masters: unquestionably hand-made and neither from a catalogue or 'commonplace'.

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[34] Anon, *All Saints' Church, Down Ampney* (church guide leaflet, July 2013).
[35] Brooks and Verey, *Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds,* p. 326.









From top: **'This screen, incorporating the ancient gallery front, erected 1900'; screen dated mdcccxcvii (1907); prayer desk (1905); lectern (1905)**

12. Glandford (see also pp. 96-7, 214, 255)

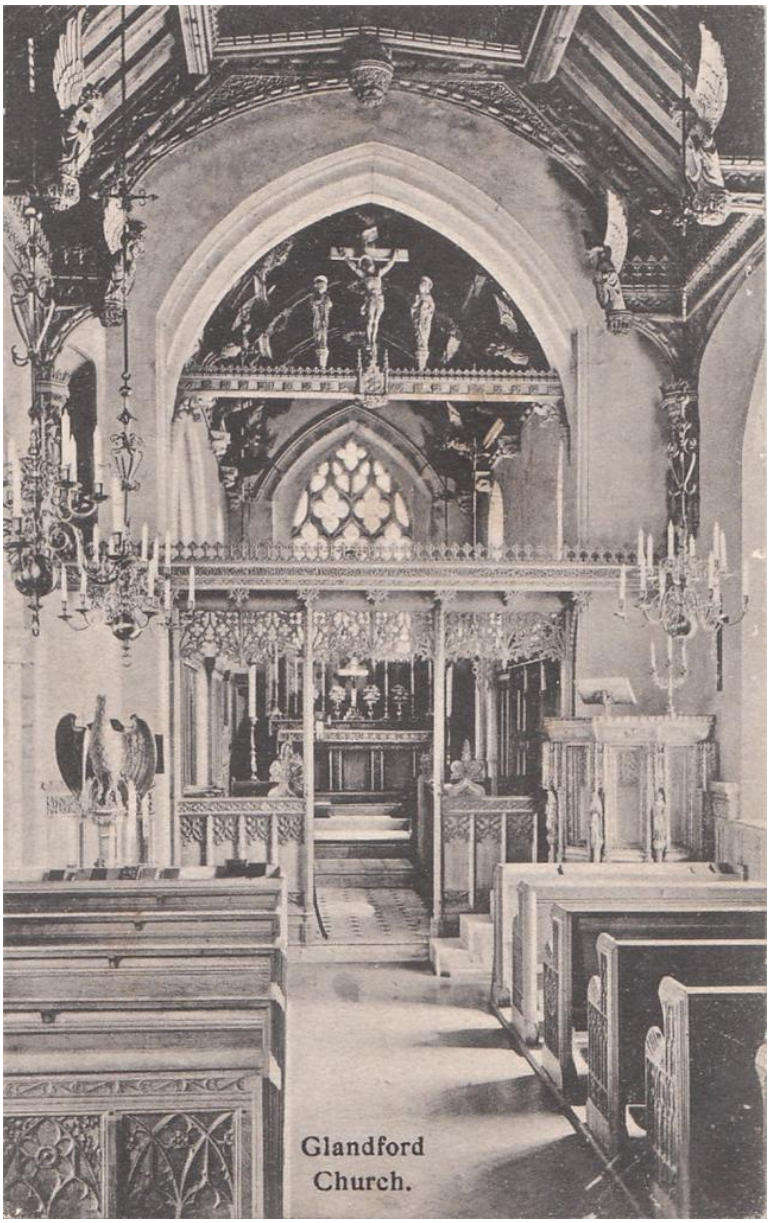
St Martin, Glandford, Norfolk (1899-1906)



Glandford was built by the lord of the manor, Sir Alfred Jodrell (1847-1929), ostensibly as a memorial to his mother. Jodrell took a constant interest in local churches: restored St Margaret, Saxlingham, Norfolk (1898);[36] the north transept of SS Peter and Paul, Salle, Norfolk (1910-12);[37] gave the oak for the re-roofing of the north and south aisles at St Nicholas, Salthouse, Norfolk (1922).[38] He was High in inclination – Instruments of the Passion figure in the decorative scheme, on shields held by roof angels. Glandford was paid for entirely by Jodrell. He chose a somewhat workaday architectural practice to do the job, Hicks and Charlewood of Newcastle who had done restoration work lately at nearby St Mary, North Creake, Norfolk (1897). William Searle Hicks (1849-1902) and Henry Clement Charlewood (1857-1943) built a number churches in the North, with woodwork by Ralph Hedley, metalwork by Bainbridge Reynolds, and artwork by James Eadie Reid.[39] At Glandford the craftsmen were not members of the AWG, nor any other local Guild or Arts & Crafts society. All were carefully listed in a notice in the vestry.

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[36] Binham Priory website: www.binhampriory.org/Parishes/Saxlingham... [accessed 28 November 2013].
[37] *Discovering Broadlands Churches* at www.broadland.gov.uk [accessed 28 November 2013].
[38] www.salthousehistory.co.uk/from-old-notebooks.html [accessed 27 November 2013].
[39] Information by e-mail from Neil Moat, 7 July 2014.



postcard postmarked 1910





13. Great Warley (minor) (see also pp. 98-9, 131-2)

St Mary the Virgin, Great Warley (1902-4)



Built for a stockbroker, Evelyn Heseltine, in memory of a younger brother. Heseltine chose the designer of the fittings – William Reynolds-Stephens (WRS) (AWG 1888) – before he decided on the architect. Heseltine's church-going conformed to social patterns of behaviour rather than religious commitment.[40] He was keen to deflect accusations of self-glorification. The parish church was in a state of severe disrepair, inconvenient and inhospitable.[41] But the new church was on the edge of the village, and no more convenient. However, the point of the church was seemingly didactic: 'The interior …designed as… a carefully orchestrated sequence of symbols, colours and materials to evoke in its congregation and assurance of the promise of the Resurrection.'[42] An *Explanatory Memorandum* was issued to parishioners at the dedication in 1904. Hitchmough expounds the symbolism of the interior with great precision, but it is worth noting that Heseltine was a friend of Mary Watts, whose Mortuary chapel also required a booklet to explain it to the locals. The introduction to WRS seems to have come about through Norman Shaw.[43] WRS introduced Harrison Townsend to Heseltine.

[40] Wendy Hitchmough, 'Studies in the symbolism and spirituality of the Arts and Crafts Movement' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2001), p. 148.
[41] Ibid, p. 147.
[42] Ibid, p. 150.
[43] Ibid, p. 145.

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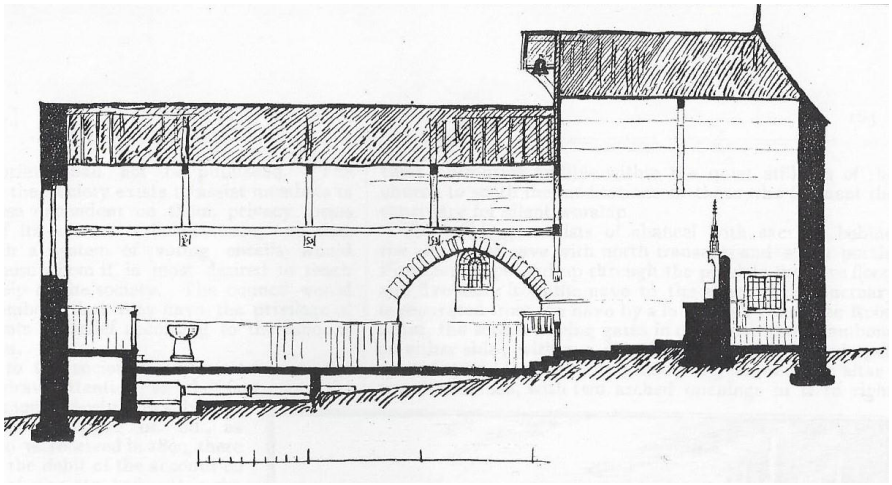
The exterior of the church gives no hint of the interior. At the altar Christ, in a robe of oxidised silver with a mother-of-pearl clasp, stands against a black marble vine. His heart is ruby glass. Above him the apsidal roof in aluminium foil: oxidised aluminium ribs support the nave roof, with lilies rising from bulbs. Above, rose trees crowned with silver leaves and painted white flowers. The brass chancel screen has more roses, with six small silvered angels, each carrying a scroll bearing a single word – Long-Suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Meekness, Temperance. The organ case has low relief panels of animals from the Benedicite.



Screen to south chapel (detail);
copper panel on organ case, illustrating the Benedicite

14. Gunnerton (see pp. 232-4)

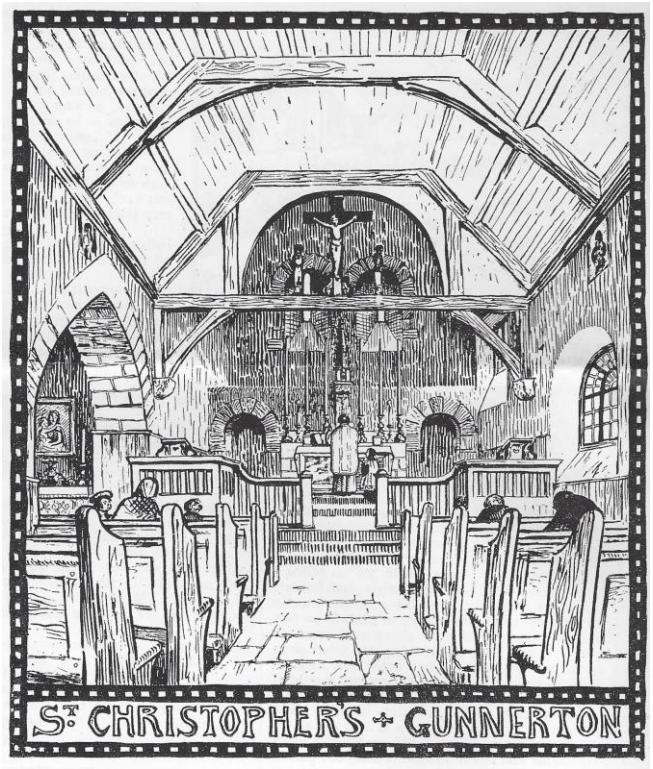
St Christopher, Gunnerton, Northumberland (1899-1901)



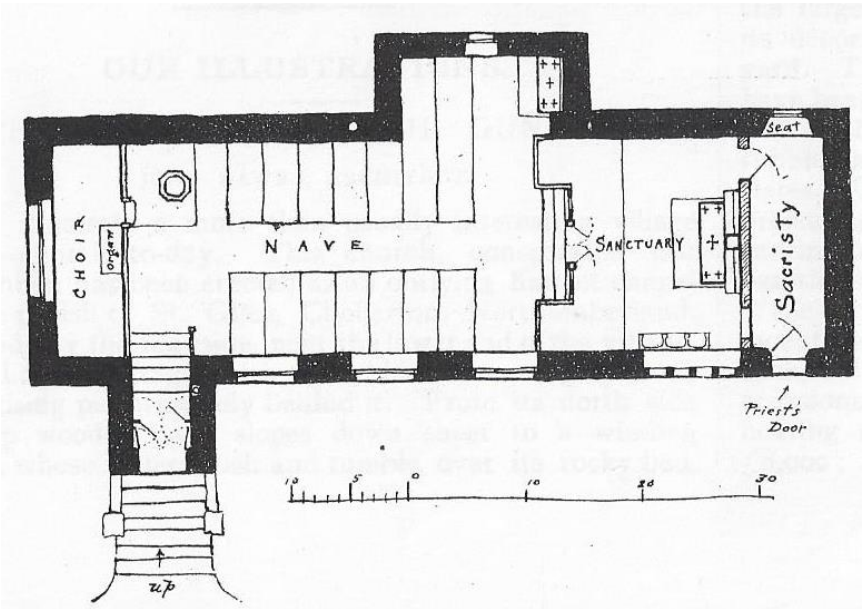
British Architect*, 15 March 1901, p. 184*

Its genesis and religious context are fully described on p 232-4. Its origins were in a meeting between its architect and priest, John Cyril Hawes (1876-1956), and the then vicar of the mother church at Chollerton, Wilfrid Hornby, who had seen drawings (or possibly a model) by Hawes for an 'imaginary church' at the RA in 1898. Hawes was almost certainly the church's main craftsman too: he attended classes at Central School and the AA, learning wood-carving, stone-carving and glass making. The church cost £8,000. The rood beam is stark and severe – the figure of Christ 'is a Swiss one carved in the Tyrol.'[44] The congregation benches are stained green. The austere sedilia is dark red. There was a small choir gallery at the west, with carved panels of animals from the Benedicite – mice, whales, an ape, elephants and a dodo. High in the walls, panels of saints' heads – Aidan, Mark, John. And 'the 'inventory' of church furniture is to be enriched by a chalice and paten from the hand of Mr H Wilson.' It is not clear whether this ever materialised.

[44] 'St Christopher's Church, Gunnerton', *British Architect,* 15 March 1901, p. 184.



British Architect, *15 March 1901, p. 184*



15. Haslemere (see also pp. 100, 108, 133, 149-52, 220, 235, 240, 245-6)

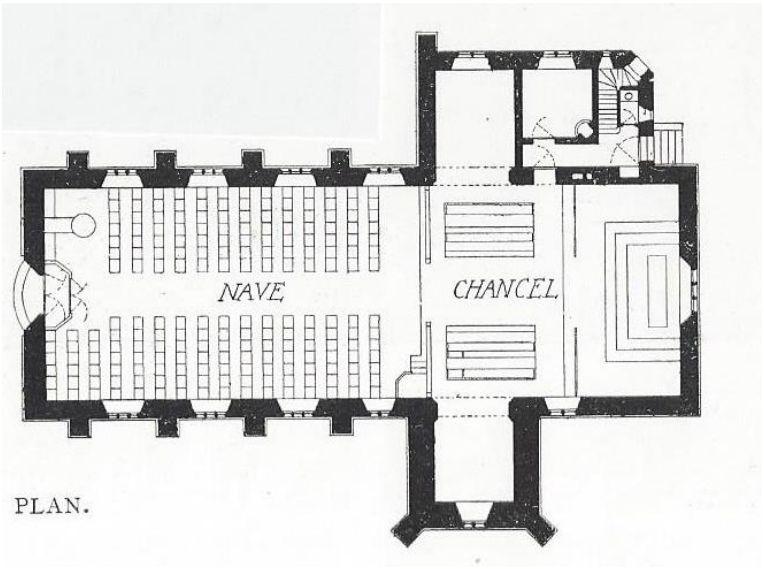
St Christopher, Haslemere, Surrey (1900-3)



Photograph in the church, n.d.

In 1900 Haslemere was a rural backwater with poverty and unemployment. The vicar was an energetic Scot, trained in the East End of London, Revd G H Aitken. In 1900 he reported the parish church 'on Sunday mornings is quite full, and sometimes overfull.'[45] The Wesleyans were building a chapel nearby. In May 1901, a Building Committee was appointed to 'find an architect': they chose Charles Spooner (1862-1938). Aitken galvanised the town into raising the necessary £4000 in two years. Aitken was 'High', but not ritualist: his sympathies can be seen in the reredos - High Church heroes and heroines paying homage to a mild, beneficent Christ, painted by Minnie Dibdin Spooner, wife of the architect, who also made a statue of the patron saint. Other craft work includes: holy table and sanctuary chair (A Romney Green, 1903-4); lectern (W Bainbridge-Reynolds, 1904); font (1904), prayer desk (1904), altar rails, pulpit, electric light fittings, organ case (all designed by Spooner); banner by Lily Bristow of Haslemere, 'advised by' Ann Macbeth of Glasgow School of Art, 1904-5; lettering on retable (Eric Gill, 1908); N nave window (Mary Lowndes, 1910); textiles by St Edmundsbury Weavers (c 1906) and Luther Hooper (1911). The parish magazine cover was designed by Heywood Sumner.

[45] *Haslemere Parish Magazine,* November 1900, p. 3.

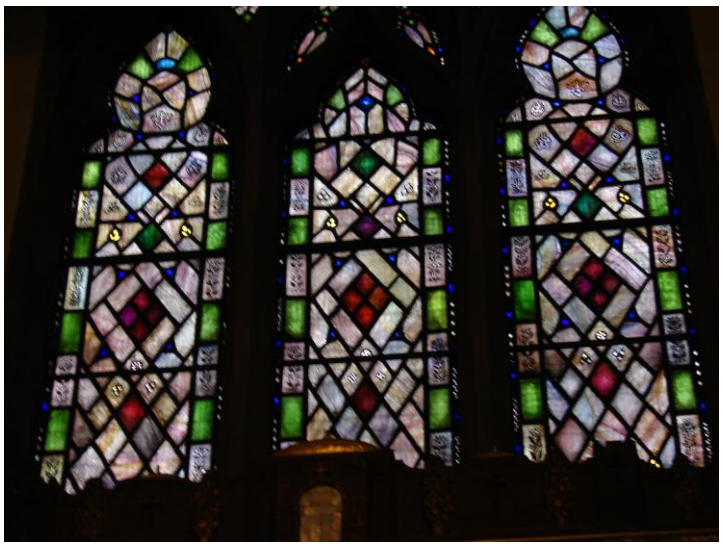


Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture*, (1911) p 44*









light fitting; nave glazing; font (all designed by Spooner);
east window (reputedly by Veronica Whall, using her father's glass)

16. Hoarwithy (see also pp. 90, 108, 222-3, 244-5)

St Catherine, Hoarwithy, Herefordshire (1878-1903)



An existing chapel-of-ease rebuilt for Revd William Poole (1819-1902), who funded the entire job. His architect, John Pollard Seddon (1827-1906), FRIBA (not AWG), was Surveyor to the Archdeaconry of Monmouth. He travelled to Venice a few years after Ruskin.[46] The result was *Progress in Art and Architecture* (1852), admiring Byzantine art. The original building (1840 or 1842) was encased in new sandstone, and enlivened with a campanile and extravagant carving. Major structural elements were complete by 1883.[47] Internally laid out explicitly for Tractarian worship. Interior works continued into the 1890s; glass added after Poole's death (1903). Most of the woodcarving (1883) by Harry Hems of Exeter. Inside all is 'of the most costly material.'[48] A few designs by Seddon survive for details, dated 1874.[49] The apsidal east end has a golden mosaic, Christ Pantocrator (1893), designed by Ada Currey for J Powell & Sons.[50] The ceiling painted by George Fox & Co. Some stonework remains unfinished.

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[46] Obituary of Seddon, *Builder* 10 February 1906, p. 150.
[47] Anderson, 'The Beautification of Hoarwithy church', p. 16.
[48] Madeline Hopton (ed), *Records of Hentland Parish, Herefordshire, AD 500-1915* (Typescript transcription in the possession of Philip Anderson, provenance and source unknown), p. 11. The author was Poole's niece.
[49] Darby, *John Pollard Seddon,* pp. 61-2. There is also a design for the choir stalls in the RIBA.
[50] Dennis Hadley, 'Ada Curry (1852-1913): A Forgotten Artist', *Journal of Stained Glass* Vol. 24, 2000, pp. 29-37.











17. Hutton (see also pp. 120-4, 262-3)

Hutton and Shenfield Union Church, Essex (1913)



1983: interior with congregation
Hutton archive

Prosperous city merchants built a practical, sociable church for the villas of Shenfield. Hutton is *possibly* the first 'union' church in the country, purposely built to be shared by two denominations, Baptists and Congs. The energetic leading light was insurance broker and member of Lloyds, Arthur Burns: he saw 'making money [as] the means of help and new opportunity for others.'[51] He was a chorister, Lay Preacher, Deacon. Hutton's archive includes his typed manuscript (1912) summarising the story. Hutton was to be 'of a permanent character and capable of extension be erected, such building to include in the first instance, the Church, Vestries for Minister and Deacons, Church Parlour, Class Rooms, Kitchen, etc, the Church to have seating accommodation for 324 persons.' There was no shortage of money.[52] Nor any desire to spend money on anything but the most necessary. The process of choosing the architect is not recorded,

[51] N Bitton, *A Tribute to Arthur Burns: a Good Life* (Priory Press, n.d. but probably 1945 or 1946), p. 32.
[52] Anon (but Arthur Burns), Typescript MS in Hutton archive, n.d. but 1912; pp. 10-11.

nor the circumstances: William Hayne (1887-1941): 'will … be a credit to Nonconformity and an ornament to the district.'[53] Hayne was in Frinton in 1895, largely responsible for designing all the houses on the less smart side of town. He was a founder member of Frinton Free Church; never a member of AWG or ACES. The surviving sheaf of bills suggest he had no Clerk of Works at Hutton, nor an assistant. He did not use local craftsmen, nor artistic makers.







Top left: **interior 1914, before organ installation**
Hutton archive

[53] Burns typescript, p. 8.

18. Inkpen (see also pp. 306-13)

St Michael, Inkpen, Berks (rebuilt 1896-7)

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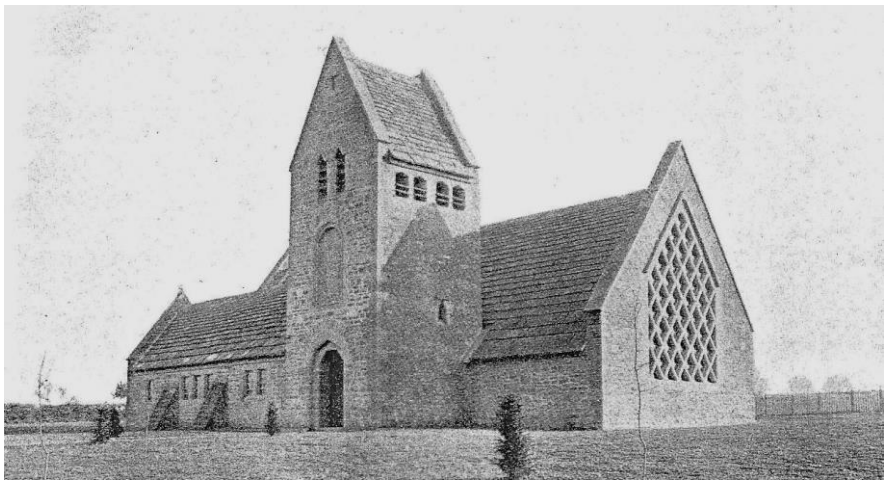
w-woodhay-and-kintbury-benefices.org.uk/html/1400_parish_of_inkpen.html

Inkpen was a 'hereditary' living: John Butler (*c* 1815-95) was Rector for 57 years; succeeded by his son, Henry (*c* 1861-1933) who proposed a scheme of complete restoration. The Butler family provided most of the funding: £980 of £2077-3-7d.[54] The architect was Clapton Crabb Rolfe (1845-1907), Oxford Diocesan Surveyor. (There were Rolfes in Inkpen: there still is Rolfe's Farm.) Rolfe was sympathetic to Butler's High Church views. He was a campaigning religious author. He added a new N aisle, porch, and new window, rebuilt the E wall with new lancets, made a new roof. The rebuilding is understated, respects local materials. Rolfe designed a new reredos: Farmer and Brindley were paid £147-12-0d for making it; a local builder, 'Rogers', was paid £18 for the stone corbels. Harry Hems was responsible for all the woodcarving, including a new rood. Wall paintings in the chancel by Ethel King Martin (1873-1946) 1910, 1916, 1921 - memorials to various Butler women. In 1934, a lychgate was erected to the memory of Henry Butler, designed by F C Eden (AWG 1915).

[54] BRO D/P 76/5/6 Subscriptions to Inkpen Church Restoration Fund.

19. Kempley (see also pp. 138, 143-4, 213, 217-8)

Edward the Confessor, Kempley, Glos (1903)



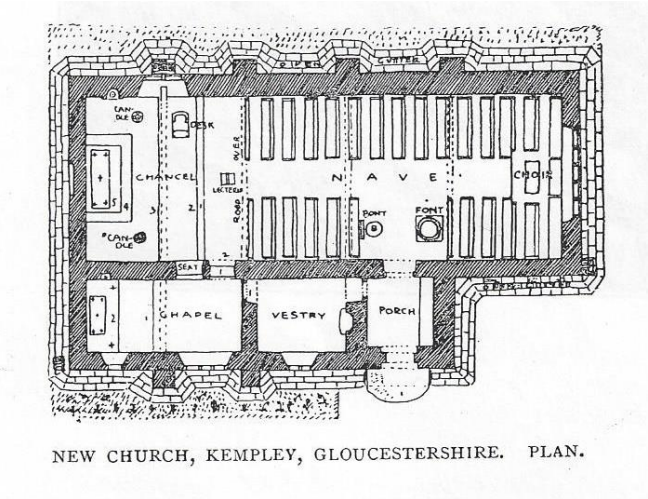
'Kempley Church, Gloucestershire from the North-West.
A Randall Wells, Architect'
'Current Architecture', Architectural Review*, vol. 16, July-Dec 1904, p. 181*

Built at the instigation and expense of William Lygon, 7th Earl Beauchamp, lord of the manor of Kempley, ostensibly to replace the medieval parish church, St Mary's, liable to flooding (which still stands). The field for the new church was given by Lygon, so the church could 'nestle amongst the trees.'[55] Lygon was High: he specified the new church was to have 'a Chapel for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament' and 'A Rood.'[56] He introduced a baldachino above the altar, to the consternation of the Bishop. At Madresfield Chapel, decorated (1902) by Birmingham artists to the brief of Lady Beauchamp (a wedding present to her husband), Charles Gere's reredos Christ is flanked by four angels swinging thuribles. Beauchamp was himself an artist, and exhibited as a sculptor.[57] At the church he 'at first acted as his own architect.'[58] The ground plan is his.

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[55] *Kempley Parish Journal,* 18 September 1902, quoted in J E Gethyn-Jones, *St Mary's Church, Kempley and its paintings Vol. 1* (privately published, 1961), p. 36.
[56] Gethyn-Jones, *St Mary's Church, Kempley,* p. 35.
[57] 'his finest piece, *The Golfer*… was displayed in the Paris Exhibition of 1920. It depicts a naked golfer, raising his club as he concentrates on his shot.' Paula Byrne, *Mad World: Evelyn Waugh and the Secrets of Brideshead* (2010), extract, April 2010 at www.vanityfair.com [accessed 28 Dec 2011].
[58] *Kempley Parish Journal,* 18 September 1902, op cit.

But 'Running into difficulties he invited Mr Randall Wells, then building Brockhampton Church to take over.' Wells agreed to take it on, provided he had a free hand. He 'did not propose to hamper the building with pre-arranged drawings of details'; any ornament was only to be what the workforce could do themselves. Laurence Turner (AWG) was brought in to do, and to lead others in, stone carving. The rood was carved by the last ship's figurehead carver in London; lectern by Edward Barnsley; candelabra and pair of iron candlesticks by Ernest Gimson. 'The Earl must have been satisfied with [Kempley], for he subsequently commissioned Wells to design a new Great Hall at Madresfield.'[59]



NEW CHURCH, KEMPLEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. PLAN.

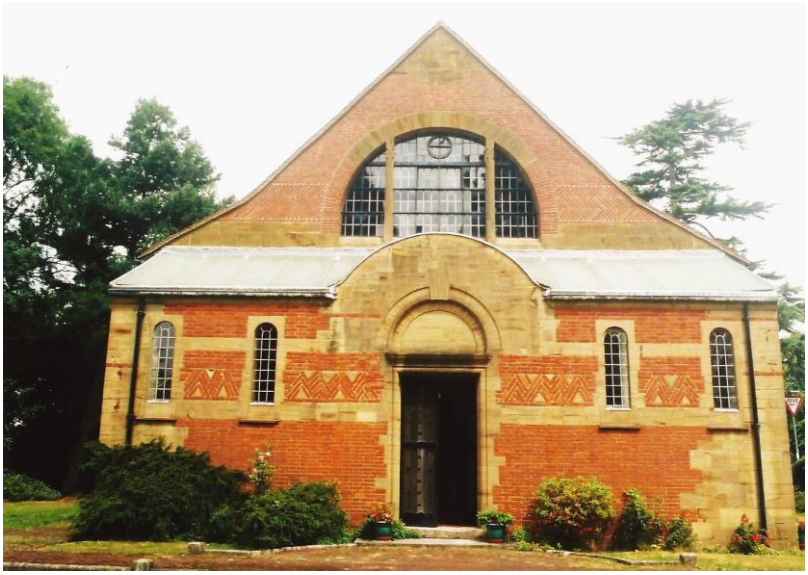
Architectural Review, *Vol. 16, July-Dec 1904, p. 182.*



[59] Charles Keighley, 'Randall Wells and the Ruskinian Tradition' (MA dissertation Royal Holloway College, 1994, (revised 1995)), p. 26. The Hall was never built.

20. Lower Kingswood (see also pp. 88-90, 140, 149-50)

Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood, Surrey (1891-2)



Entirely funded by two local magnates. Sir Henry Cosmo Orme Bonsor, MP (1848-1929), Director of the Bank of England, Chairman of the London and South East Railway, provided the land. Edwin Freshfield (1832-1918), the Bank's lawyer, was the presiding spirit. It is, ostensibly, a monument to his deceased wife who died during building. Freshfield's extensive collection of ancient stone capitals, brought back from the Middle East, was put into the church after her death, and set up amongst the congregational chairs. It is the only new church by Sidney Barnsley (1865-1926). Freshfield had co-funded an architectural expedition to Greece by Barnsley and Robert Weir Schultz. Barnsley lived on the spot.[60] He painted the roof,[61] seemingly to a design by Mrs Freshfield.[62] Masonry, ironwork and glass partly by local men, partly by Barnsley's London friends. Kenton & Co probably made the furniture. Free-standing campanile based on one Freshfield saw in Bulgaria. The ground plan is based on the 4th century

[60] R Weir Schultz, 'Reason in Building' in T Raffles Davison (ed), *The Arts connected with Building,* p. 37.
[61] W R Lethaby, 'Obituary of Mr Sidney Barnsley', *Times* 30 September 1926, p. 7.
[62] Brandon, 'The Lost Jewel in the Arts & Crafts Crown…', p. 45.

church of St Eirene, Constantinople. There were Church of England services twice every Sunday, Freshfield generally reading the lessons.[63]

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Block plan (n.d.)
Courtesy of Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Study Centre, Miami, Florida, USA

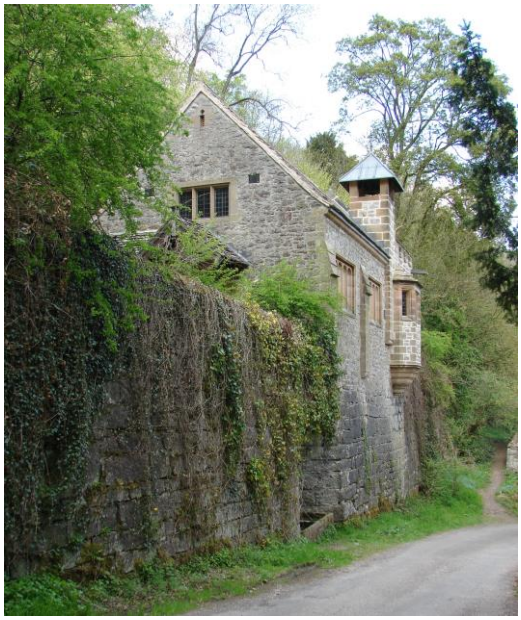


Interior looking east:
One of Freshfield's antique capitals is on the left, between the piers of the arcade

[63] Gerard Van de Linde, *Reminiscences,* 1917 at Googlebooks [accessed 2 January 2012].

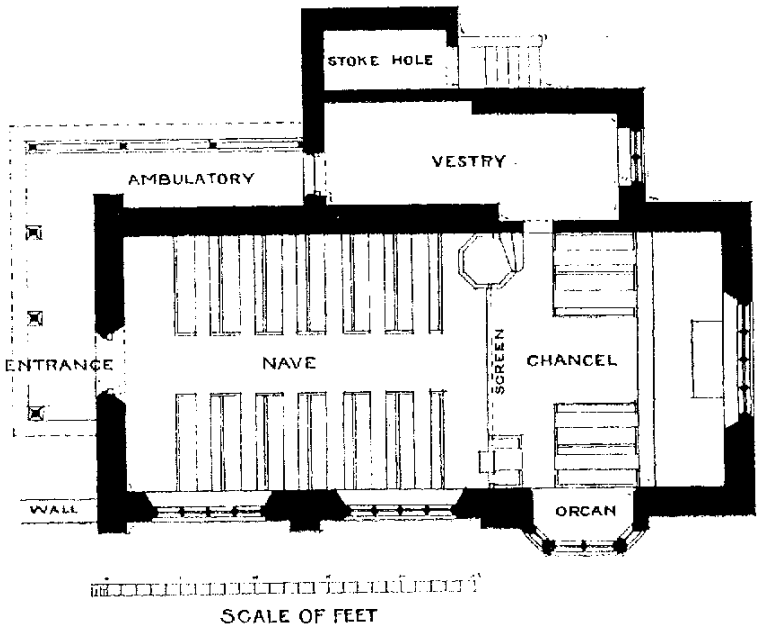
21. Matlock (see also pp. 237-8)

St John the Baptist, Matlock Dale, Derbyshire (1897)



Built for Sophia Louisa Harris (1851-1908) in memory of her aunt and uncle, who left her their house and money. Her architect was Guy Dawber (1861-1938), whose parents had retired to Matlock. Described in his drawings as 'a private chapel', though local people attended services. Mrs Harris memorialised her dog (!), Vida, with a discreet plaque at the west end. Mrs Harris was Anglo-Catholic in her decorative tastes, but it is not certain how devout she was. The pentice from the vestry door to the west end is labelled 'ambulatory' in the 1898 plan: a frustrated desire for processions. Mrs Harris seems to have had her own Chaplain.[64] Dawber employed AWG men for the interior:[65] Louis Davis (glass), John Cooke (whose painted altar-piece is no longer there) and George Bankart for plasterwork, as well as a woodcarver Cecil Fabian (not AWG). It is not known who made the windows, or any of the other woodwork.

[64] Minute Book of St John the Baptist, Matlock: Derbyshire Records Office, D5494/2.
[65] *Builder's Journal,* 3 April 1901, pp. 148-9 + illustrations.



'A Private Chapel, Matlock Dale. Plan.'
The Builder, 29 October 1898, p. 386



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22. North Cerney (see also pp. 194, 214-7)

All Saints, North Cerney, Glos ('restoration' 1913-30s)



All Saints is a medieval church rich in antiquarian interest. *Pevsner* comments: 'For many the most attractive of Cotswold village churches, largely thanks to William Iveson Croome (1891-1967) of Cerney House, whose benefactions from 1913 onwards filled the church with exquisite furnishings.'[66] Will Croome, CBE, MA, FSA was an inveterate recorder and historian; and a leading light of local county history. He sat on Gloucester DAC, and was Chairman from 1950.[67] President of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1953. Churchwarden at North Cerney throughout his adult life, and as server and sacristan. He compiled a scholarly *History* of the church, yet unpublished.[68] He was a devout Anglican. 'North Cerney church became his private chapel…he was also responsible for appointing the incumbent.'[69] Less well-known, because less rich, was the aesthetic priest who first initiated the restoration of the church, the Rector, Revd E W Martin O de la Hey (1866-1936), a keen amateur archaeologist

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[66] Alan Brooks and David Verey, *Gloucestershire: the Cotswolds* (Buildings of England, Yale, 1999), p. 506.
[67] Cirencester Archaeological and Historical Society website, www.cirenhistory.org.uk/croome.htm [accessed 5 June 2012].
[68] *All Saints Church, North Cerney: some notes, historical and descriptive by W I Croome (Revised to January 1950).* Typescript in GA: D3709/1.
[69] Anthony Symondson, comment added to Vitrearum's Church Art blog, medieval-church-art.blogspot.co.uk/2008/08/percy-dearmer-and-the-warham-guild.html, 9 September 2008 [accessed 5 June 2012].

'whose deep reverence for ancient work, wide scholarship, and innate fineness of taste'.[70] He had been a tutor at Keble College, Oxford, where he met F C Eden, then an undergraduate. 'Within five years… de la Hey, guided step by step by Mr Eden, and assisted by the generous benefactions of the Croome family, had transformed [it].'[71] De la Hey first called upon Eden as archaeological adviser in 1909: by 1912 Croome had identified Eden's skills as a glass restorer – Eden became Croome's architect. They visited Italy together for several weeks every year, latterly joined by Walter Tapper. Eden (1864-1944) was AWG 1915. His first work at North Cerney was glazing in the north chapel in 1912; then east window in the south transept, and nave south window, 1913. He completely re-conceived Croome's family chapel: the most striking feature is the screen, designed by Eden and carved by Laurence Turner. Next (1915) converting the space beneath the organ loft into a sacristy; further glass; then, after the war, high altar reredos, 1924, and porch gates, *c.* 1925. In 1929 the imposing, elaborate Rood Loft façade was designed and assembled by Eden. He also designed vestry furniture, and frontals. Full details of the craftsmen are on pp 214-7.

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Left: **Annunciation carving: photograph in Eden's album** (RIBA A399/4)

[70] Croome, *All Saints church…* , p. 38.
[71] Canon J Turner, *History of North Cerney and its church* (n.d.: post-1971, ca 1981) Typewritten history of the church and its rectors: P70 IN 4/17; p. 75

23. Onibury (minor) (see also pp. 259-60)

St Michael, Onibury, Shropshire (1902-3)



Restoration and refit. All the work was paid for (£922) by Herbert J Allcroft, son of a glove-manufacturing millionaire. Father was an evangelical Christian, and built three London churches. His son was a less enthusiastic Christian, but with a keen sense of history: he seems to have had no interest in liturgy, or, reportedly, church-going. The archetypal SPAB architect, William Weir, refitted the medieval interior (which seems to have been very decayed). The structural restoration work is thorough and discreet – while furniture and fittings are unexpectedly flamboyant. Weir was appointed through a local SPAB member, who was concerned in 1892 that Allcroft senior was intending to demolish the church. Allcroft senior was described as 'extremely pig-headed'.[72] Thackeray Turner wrote to him 'there ought not (under a skilful architect) be much difficulty in rendering the church fit for present wants'.[73] The threat was averted by Allcroft's death in 1893. In 1902 Turner wrote to Allcroft junior, and received a positive

[72] Letter from Oliver Barker to SPAB, 25 May 1892: SPAB archive, Oliver Barker files.
[73] Letter from Turner to Allcroft, 22 July 1892.

reply: 'We shall be only too glad to do what we can for Onibury church.' Weir was appointed to do the work: 'Mr Allcroft is pleased with the result.'[74] There is a short account of the church, following its re-opening, in *Building News*.[75] It details the structural work: no mention of the eye-catching light fittings, nor of the new gallery. Weir 'never employed a professional assistant of any kind… and tended to buy the material and employ direct labour, personally supervising the work on site.'[76] There are 66 church jobs to Weir's name in the ICBS files.[77] No record of any individual craftsman.






[74] Letter from Turner to Sir Alexander Stephen, 4 December 1903.
[75] *Building News,* 11 December 1903, n.p.
[76] DSA [accessed 20 September 2009 and 30 December 2012].
[77] There is a list of Weir's buildings in the SPAB Annual Review for 1926 (pp. 20-26).

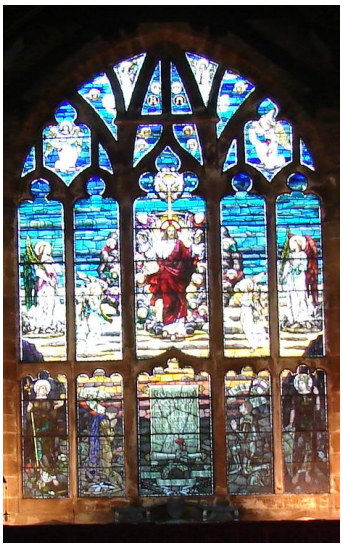
24. Paisley (minor) (see also pp. 275-7)

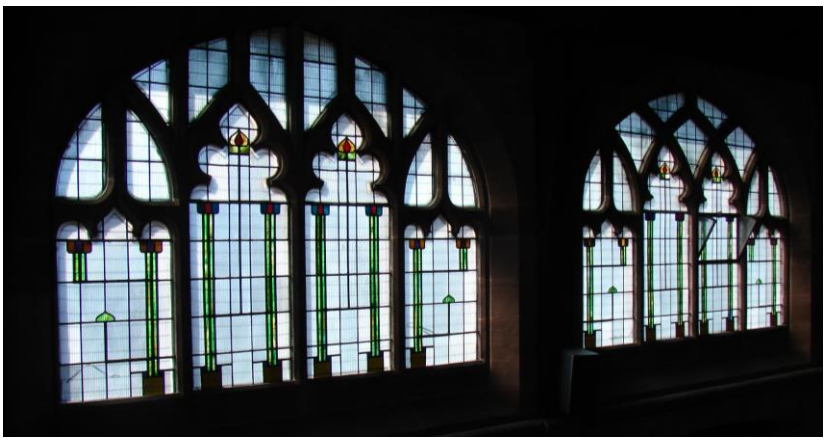
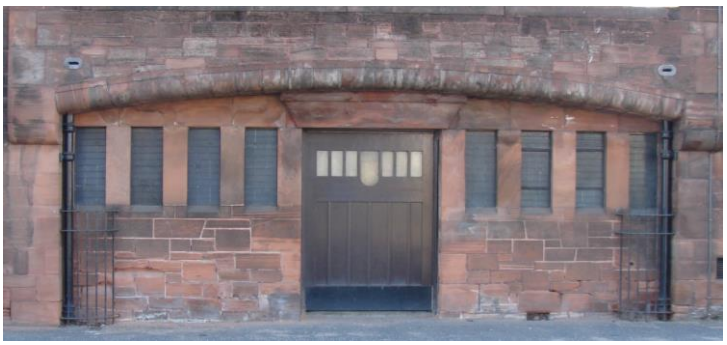
St George's (now St Matthew Church of the Nazarene), Paisley, Scotland (1905-7)



Built as UFC church: the congregation's previous church, nearby, was of 1845. Building took a year: the cost was £9000. The principal donor may have been Lady Smiley, wife of Sir Hugh Smiley, a newly-created Ulster baronet with a large new house in Paisley: she gave the organ (1907), and laid the foundation stone. It became CofS at reunification in 1929. Since 1988 it has been St Matthew's Church of the Nazarene. The architect, W D McLennan (1872-1940), was a member of the congregation. He was 33 when he received the brief for a church 'in the Gothic Cathedral style' to seat 800, with halls to accommodate 450.[78] He had built two small local churches, enlarged a third and designed furniture for a fourth. He registered as probationer with RIBA, 1891, but never sought membership. No records seem to survive of the building committee minutes, so his relationship with his client is unknown. No evidence of any Arts & Crafts methodology or principle. Nothing is known of builders or craftsmen. Red sandstone from Locharbriggs near Dumfries. East window by Robert Anning Bell (AWG 1891). The intended spire was never built.

[78] Anon, welcome leaflet in church, May 2011.






East window; pulpit; lighting; gallery windows; south door; plaque on font; choir stalls front

25. Pamphill (see also pp. 91-5)

St Stephen, Kingston Lacy, Pamphill, Dorset (1907)



Pamphill is a village church which is really an estate church for Kingston Lacy, which, as rebuilt by Charles Barry (1835-41) had no chapel. When its owner Walter Bankes died in 1904, he left £5000 for 'the building and endowing or contributing towards building and endowing a Church at Pamphill.' His widow carried out his wish, possibly also to give thanks for the birth of their son. Very little evidence of Bankes's interest in the spiritual life: this is very much his wife's church. Architect Charles Ponting (1850-1932) rarely worked outside Wiltshire and Dorset. He was neither RIBA nor AWG: his 'Arts & Crafts-ness' is not political, nor even perhaps deliberate, but heart-felt, and sincere. He trained in the office of the Savernake Estate architect: in masons' yard and joinery shop. He was a dedicated churchman, a churchwarden, and office-holder in the English Church Union. Elected FSA 1888. In 1883 appointed Diocesan Surveyor for the Wiltshire part of Salisbury Diocese, responsible for 237 churches. He exhibited at the RA – 17 drawings over his career. He built twelve new churches (seven before Pamphill), with repairs and restorations at many more. No personal or office papers seem to survive. How he got the job at Pamphill is not known. Oak lectern and Stone Font by Herbert Reed of Exeter who had worked for Hems. Oak seating and stalls by Hosking Bros, Newbury, contractors for the entire building. Reredos and altar panels designed by

Horace Wilkinson (1866-1957), and made by Carters of Poole. North and south sanctuary windows and east window also designed by Wilkinson.









26. Pixham (see also pp. 101-7, 211)

St Mary, Pixham, Dorking, Surrey (1903)



The creation of, and wholly paid for by, Mary Mayo (1834-1933), who came to Pixham in 1862, and was asked by the vicar of Dorking to be a visitor to the poor.[79] She was devout: part of a strong-minded High Church circle led by three priests from St John the Divine, Kennington.[80] The building includes a memorial to her two brothers, both priests. The nature of the building was from the first, and specifically, dual-purpose – Hall as well as church. The Sanctuary is divided from the Hall by a curtain, except for Services.[81] She chose Edwin Lutyens as architect: she may have known him through Surrey connections: Barbara Webb of Milford or Gertrude Jekyll. He had by then built 40 houses. The front elevation proclaims ecclesiastical status with not one but two crosses. There was to be a tower, not built. The altar is under a low brick dome. No stained glass: natural light is from high dormers. No reredos or fancy woodwork. The Hall had chairs from the start. We know nothing of any craftsmen: indeed, there is no great work of craftsmanship to be seen. No member of AWG was involved. The builders were Messrs Colls. Costs unknown.

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[79] L Parnell, 'Pixham Church' in Wedgwood, A (ed), *A History of St Martin's Dorking* (Friends of St Martin's, 1990), p. 134.
[80] Mary Mayo, *Pixham,* p. 12.
[81] Ibid.







Interior looking east; dome over chancel; brickwork on west end exterior (detail)

27. Port Seton (see also pp. 135, 176-9)

Chalmers Memorial, (CoS), Port Seton, East Lothian (1904)





Built as a United Free Church (UFC). FC membership in Port Seton was numerous but not wealthy: fishermen. The FC built a new church in 1855: in 1895 it planned to build a bigger.[82] The driving force was Mrs William Wood, born Margaret Parker Chalmers, daughter of Thomas Chalmers, a prime mover in the Disruption.[83] Her husband was related to the Cadells, owners of Cockenzie House, with money from steel, shipping and coal: Thomas Cadell was Chairman of the UFC Kirk Session.[84] The church 'was at first estimated to cost about £2800, but, owing to the expected influx of a mining population, and other circumstances, it was found necessary to enlarge the plan, and the building will now cost about £3000.' In 1902 funds stood at £2126. Initial plans were submitted in 1902 by 'Mr P Whitecross', and agreed. A fortnight later an alternative plan was submitted by 'Mr C Greig of Edinburgh'. In July 1903 yet another plan was submitted by Sydney Mitchell, and adopted. The original design was for a simple rectangular building with twin towers, but major design changes followed, including

[82] Report on a Meeting of the Free Kirk congregation, 11 September 1895: in Tom Donaldson, *History of Chalmers Memorial Church* (n.d., but 2005).
[83] The church was renamed Chalmers Memorial Church in 1929. Until then it was the United Free Kirk.
[84] From an undated leaflet for 'Cockenzie New Church (United Free Church of Scotland)'. It cannot then be earlier than 1900. The Foundation Stone was laid in February 1904, and building took 12 months.

moving the vestry, and adding a gallery.[85] Sydney Mitchell was well-established in Edinburgh architect. He lived at nearby Gullane. He had UFC sympathies: most of his churches were FC or UFC. Wood carving probably by William and Alexander Clow[86] who carved the figures in the Chapel of the Knights of the Order of the Thistle at St Giles Cathedral (1910-11), and St Michael in the Scottish National War Memorial for Robert Lorimer.[87]



Carving on newel post to pulpit stairs

[85] One of the first changes was to turn the church through 90º so it is at right angles to the main road.
[86] Tom Donaldson, in personal conversation with the author, 4 May 2011.
[87] 'William and Alexander Clow (W & A Clow)', *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851-1951*, University of Glasgow History of Art and HATII, online database 2011 [http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib6_1218469998, accessed 11 Feb 2013].

28. Richards Castle (see also pp. 96, 157-8, 213, 226, 267)

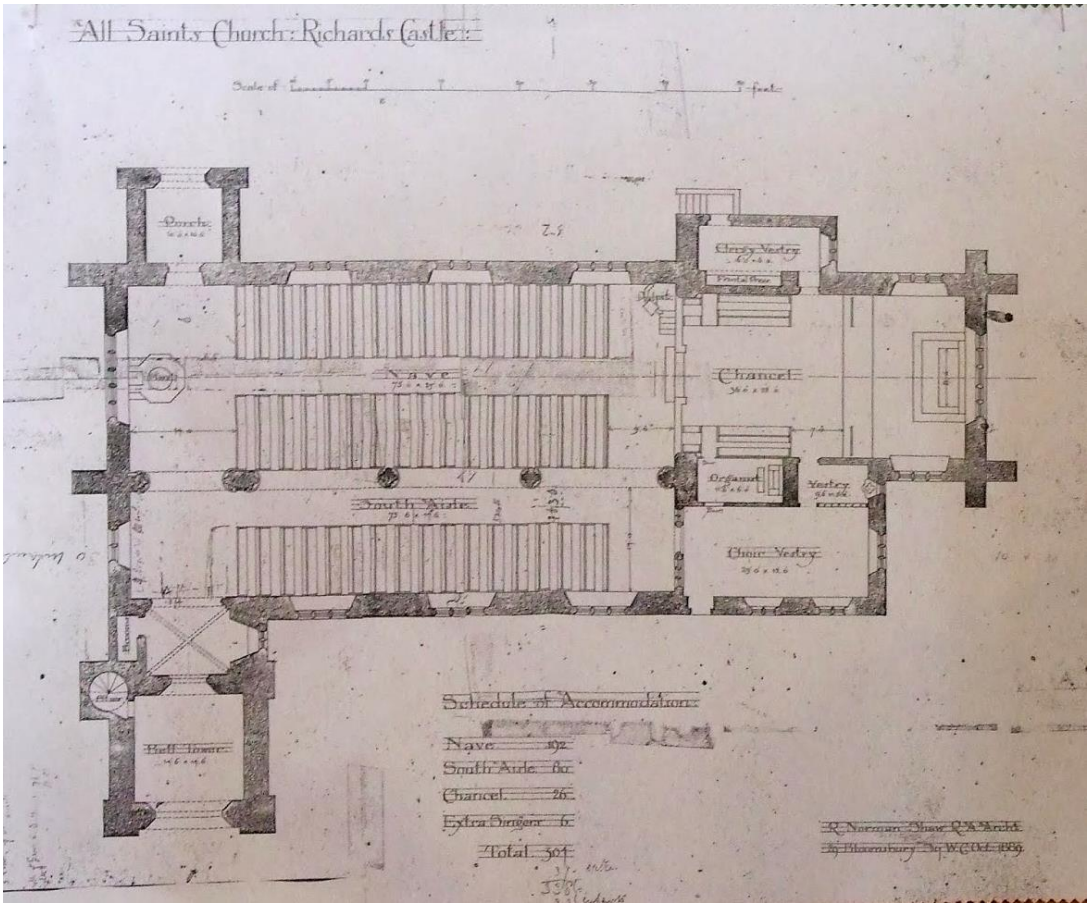
All Saints, Batchcott, Richards Castle, Shropshire (1890-2)



Johnston Jonas Foster, Yorkshire mill-owner, bought nearby Moor Park estate in 1874.[88] He died suddenly, 1880. The church was paid for by his wife as a memorial to him, and a daughter who died 1883: originally 'All Saints' Memorial Church.' Cost £11,181-18-6d, plus 5% commission. Architect was Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) who had rebuilt ('restored') St John, Low Bentham, Yorks (1876-8) for Foster's youngest brother.[89] A substantial correspondence survives: 117 letters, mostly Shaw's. Foster's widow originally wished to replace the parish church: Shaw persuaded her against, fearing SPAB. Reredos designed by Shaw, painted by Charles Edgar Buckeridge (1864-98), a pupil of Burlison and Grylls, and protégé of G F Bodley. Shaw drew all the architectural details, including the doors' metalwork. Soon after the church was completed, the Fosters moved away. Shaw was made Honorary AWG 1898, aged 67.[90]

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[88] John Stansfield, *History of the family of Stansfeld of Stansfield in the parish of Halifax and its numerous branches* (Goodall and Suddick, 1885), pp 199-200; David Lloyd, 'History of the Moor Park estate'; Marjorie Voss, 'An Architect and his Clients', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, XLIV, 1982, pp 13-30.
[89] Saint, *Richard Norman Shae,* p. 415. Shaw and Lethaby jointly designed the organ case at Low Bentham (1886), and Lethaby designed the font (1890).
[90] Shaw resigned from the AWG in 1901: he retired from the RA the same year.



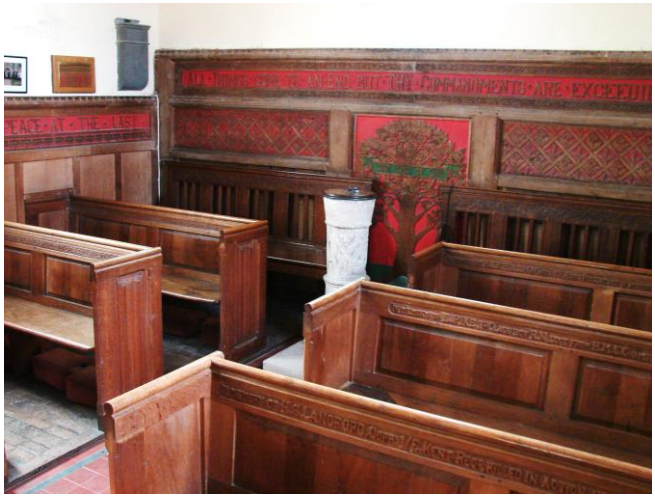
plan in church

copyright image removed

plan of chancel floor, 28 October 1891
Royal Academy (uncatalogued)

29. Shefford (minor) (see also pp. 291-3)

St Stephen, Shefford Woodlands, Berkshire (1910-11)



The full account of the church is given at pp 291-3. The 'committed amateur' had its apotheosis in Captain A C Burmester, who, some time after 1905, purchased a derelict Wesleyan chapel of 1837, and spent the next 30 years carving the internal woodwork 'in an accomplished Arts and Crafts manner', from 1914, each bench as a memorial to the fallen of the Great War.[91] The back of the church door was carved with scenes from the Nativity. Burmester was a Captain in the Royal Artillery and a JP. He was deeply committed, but never ordained.



Carving on inside of south door

[91] Geoffrey Tyack, Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Berkshire* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of England, 2010), p. 508.

30. Stonebroom (see also pp. 82-3, 218)

St Peter, Stonebroom, Derbyshire (1900-1)

Derby Diocesan Registry

Stonebroom was a colliery village: Morton Pit was sunk in 1865, owned by the Clay Cross Company. In 1880 there was a corrugated iron church, 'generously given' by the company.[92] Revd William Round arrived in 1895 and had a parsonage built.[93] The land was given by William Gladwin Turbutt, JP of Ogston Hall. Round felt 'a church of a worthy character' should be built, and in 1896 initiated a scheme to raise funds. He was supported by John Jackson, JP, principal partner in the Clay Cross Company. Jackson's sudden death acted as a spur to fundraising, largely from people of substance. Village funds were tiny: church collection (Easter 1900) raised just £1-4-3½d.[94] There was never a large congregation. Stonebroom United Methodist church (later Bethel) and Primitive Methodist church (Zion) both opened in 1867; a Baptist church opened in 1877. The architect was Percy Heylyn Currey (1864-1942), an active member of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society, as were Turbutt and Jackson. He was FRIBA in 1907, but never AWG (nor NAWG). The fittings are simple too, and sturdily made by colliery craftsmen – blacksmith, bricklayer, carpenter.

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92 Sally Mason, *A brief history of St Peter's Church* (typescript, 1995), p. 39.
93 'A new church for Stonebroom', *Derbyshire Times* (n.d. but July 1900), quoted in Alan Randle, *Stonebroom: St Peter's Church and the Village: a Hundred Years 1900-2000* (Alan Randle, 2000), p. 2.
94 Derbyshire Records Office: D3366/5/2.







copyright image removed

Derby Diocesan Registry

31. Summerstown (see also pp. 313-8)

St Mary, Keeble Street, Summerstown, Wandsworth (1903-20)



'The proposed new church of St Mary, Summerstown'
Wandsworth Borough News, *10 January 1902*

The 'original' St Mary was built 1835. Not enough care was taken with the foundations: in 1894 it was pulled down. The site was left empty for eight years: services were held in a tin tabernacle. Meanwhile 'fields and orchards have given way to streets of houses and traffic of all Descriptions has disturbed the old-time quietude.'[95] A new priest arrived in 1899: he set up 'The Permanent Church Building Committee', explaining the urgent need for a new church: the population was expected to rise from 5000 to 10,000 'in the next few years.'[96] In 1901 promises of funds from 7 individuals were recorded: the total was £960. The budget was finally over £8,000. Five architects were invited to submit plans: it is not known why Godfrey Pinkerton (not AWG) prevailed. His oeuvre is small and, from his 1907 FRIBA proposal, included nothing of any great distinction. He was in partnership with Henry Martineau Fletcher (AWG 1902, Master 1930). The final builders' bill was settled with a saving of £83-8-6, 'due to the architect's care and attention.' In April 1904 the Committee voted that the plans and elevations be framed and hung in the Clergy Vestry. Some pieces from the old church were saved: communion

[95] *Wandsworth Borough News*, 10 January 1902. London Metropolitan Archive (LMA): P95/MRY2/048.
[96] Minutes of the Permanent Church Building Committee meeting, 7 July 1900. Minute Book (1900-1915): LMA P95/MRY2/016.

table, font and some chairs.[97] Early on were added the reredos, vicar's chair, altar fittings, clergy choir stalls and litany desks of oak inlaid with mahogany and walnut: unknown craftsmen. The font was carved Laurence Turner (AWG). The reading desk was given by Pinkerton. A War memorial was installed in 1919, ousting the font from the baptistery. Paintings in the spandrels by Constance Grant, 1920s. In 1927 a stained glass scheme was commissioned for the east window, to be by Morris & Co, now in the hands of John Henry Dearle. The window was installed during the 1930s.







Lower photograph (copyright) removed

South transept; baptistery; nave glazing; interior looking east
Lower: © John Salmon

[97] *The History of Summerstown and its parish church* (6-page pamphlet, 1929) LMA P95/MRY2/47.

32. Ullet Road (see also pp. 109-16, 132-3, 160)

Ullet Road Unitarian Church, Sefton Park, Liverpool (1896-9)



Sefton Park was an expensive suburb of Liverpool: Church Council minutes (1894) record, 'it is desirable… the Chapel should be removed into a more residential neighbourhood.'[98] At the opening of the church, the newspaper listed the congregation of ship-owners and industrialists: 'Brunner, Tate, Rathbone, Thornely, Holt, Jevons, Roscoe, Gair, Melly and Bright.' The architect was Thomas Worthington (1826-1909), the Northwest's pre-eminent Unitarian architect. The materials were of the best: the exterior scarlet Ruabon brick, the inside lined in warm pink-purple Runcorn sandstone.[99] In 1900 Brunner and Tate funded new ancillary buildings (designed by Thomas's son Percy (1864-1939)) including Church Hall, library, school room, meeting rooms. Ullet Road contains a Last Supper reredos made by Martyns of Cheltenham. Gerald Moira (AWG 1898) painted the ceilings of the meeting rooms; R P Jones (AWG 1909) provided furnishings; R Ll B Rathbone (AWG 1892) made three sets of massive exterior doors clad in copper.

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[98] Minute Book of the Council and Annual Meeting of Congregation, 16 April 1894 (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 3/7/4).
[99] George Craig, historian of Ullet Road, in personal conversation 24 June 2011.

copyright image removed

'New Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool: Plan showing seating'
Thomas Worthington & Son, 14 April 1899
Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/12/16



33. Wallasey (minor) (see also pp. 116, 161-2, 205, 231)

Memorial Church, Liscard, Wallasey, Merseyside (1899)



Painted altar – side panel (Bernard Sleigh)

Unitarianism started on the Wirral in 1888; there was an 'iron church' at Liscard from 1892. The Chairman of the Church Committee died, 1896: his widow, Martha Elam, gave money for the building of the new church: it cost £5,200.[100] She appointed Edmund Ware (1852-1934) and Edmund Rathbone (1863-1924) in 1897, before she had selected a Building Committee, possibly because they had recently designed the nearby school hall at Egremont Baptist church, Wallasey (1896). They were both committed Unitarians. Rathbone was a poet, and ran 'The City Beautiful Wayside Café' in Liverpool. He organised the 1896 Liverpool 'Aesthetic Fair Loan Art Collection' with works by Rossetti and Whistler. Exterior sculptures by Benjamin Creswick of the Bromsgrove Guild. Metalwork – lectern and electroliers – by Walter Gilbert, founder of the Guild. Painted bench ends, altar and pulpit were by another Guild member, Bernard Sleigh. Panels above the altar are from the Della Robbia company, founded by Rathbone's brother. The furniture was stained green.

[100] Jacqueline Bailey, 'In what way was the Memorial church, Manor Road, Liscard, of 1899 influenced by the Arts & Crafts Movement?', Open University project, 1982.











34. West Woodhay (see also pp. 294-300)

St Laurence, West Woodhay, Berkshire (1882-3, 1894; fittings 1882 onwards)



A full account is on pp 294-300. Church by Arthur Blomfield in knapped flint and Bath stone. In 1882, soon after acquiring the West Woodhay estate, wealthy wine merchant William Cole decided he no longer wished to have the parish church hard by the house.[101] Blomfield was altering and enlarging the house (new façade and ballroom): Cole asked him to design a new church on a site half a mile away. The church entirely paid for by Cole. In 1893, it was extended west by twelve feet;[102] the north chancel wall broken through to transform the vestry into a new organ chamber, to a design by Blomfield.[103] The opening had a handsome curved beam above, a new screen below. William's daughter, Jessie Cole, drew the design of the screen from photographs of the screen at Stoke-by-Nayland, where the Coles had lived: 'I had to reduce the width of the

[101] 'He wanted to get rid of the church': James Cole, great-grandson of William Cole, in personal conversation with the author, 23 May 2012. The medieval church was demolished.
[102] James Cole, 23 May 2012.
[103] Revd A E Burdekin (Rector of West Woodhay), *Gifts made to West Woodhay Church at & since its building in the year 1883, recorded by the Rector, the Rev A E Burdekin in the year 1934*. Handwritten notes in possession of James Cole.

arches I remember - & the carving along the top is different.'[104] The carving was done by Harry Hems, perhaps to her design.[105] Later Jessie went on to design and herself carve much of the woodwork in the church: aisle ends of the congregational benches, panels at the front of two front benches, and at the rear of the bench by the south door. Jessie also carved the pulpit, the church chest (1906), and probably the lectern and prayer-desk. Her great-niece records she was effectively architect for the estate. Her sister made a number of frontals and falls.







[104] Jessie Cole's recollections are in letters to Burdekin 18 Sept 1933 and 5 November 1934, in response to questions about the church. By 1933 Jessie was in her 80s, so her recollections are not necessarily reliable. Burdekin's letters are lost. Jessie's are in the possession of James Cole.
[105] Burdekin, *Gifts*…, op cit.

35. Woolmer (see also pp. 83-5, 108, 240, 250-2)

St Michael and All Angels, Woolmer Green, Herts (1898-99)

copyright image removed

RIBA PB 692/2 (1)

Initiated by Arthur Cayley Headlam (1862-1947), later Bishop of Gloucester: 'The needs of Woolmer Green are really greater than those probably of any other part of the Parish.'[106] Headlam raised all the funds: all four major local landowners contributed, and there were large aristocratic gifts (e.g. £50 from Lord Cowper), and modest sums largely from village children. Two rich donors were singled out in Headlam's 1901 List of Subscriptions 'for assistance in carting and preparing the ground.' The church was built in 15 months. Furnishings took longer: in 1907 there remained numerous wants: 'Tower, bells, organ, choir stalls, altar rails' and wainscoting for the Chancel. The altar rails and choir stalls came in 1908. The tower never appeared. The bricks and the roof tiles were hand-made and local.[107] The architect was Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951). How he was appointed is unclear. The carving of St Michael over the porch is by H W Palliser (AWG 1922). Screen and font carved by Laurence Turner (AWG 1891) from RWS's designs; choir desks by Ernest Gimson (AWG 1891), who also designed light fittings (not made). Trowel for the laying of the foundation stone was by Henry Wilson (AWG 1892).[108]

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[106] Headlam, Easter address, 1897 in *Headlam's Scrapbook*, a collection of ecclesiastical ephemera (Herts Archives: HALS DP/119/3/10).
[107] *Building News*, 11 January 19007, p. 64.
[108] Report of Foundation Stone laying, contemporary newspaper cutting (n.d.) in *Headlam's Scrapbook*.

Appendix 2

The founding bodies of the AWG and their members

The **St George's Art Society** first met on 5 May 1883. The original members were:

Ernest Newton, elected President
E S Prior
Mervyn Macartney (Treasurer)
W R Lethaby
E G Hardy
Reginald Barratt (Secretary).

E J May (in his absence) was elected to the committee.

Gerald Horsley, Arthur Keen and Charles Hornabrook joined soon after.

The Fifteen were

Walter Crane
Lewis F Day
Henry Holiday
Hugh Stannus
T M Rooke
G T Robinson
James Linton
E F Brentnall
Sacheverell Coke
Joh Dando Sedding
Arthur Kennedy
George Simonds
and later
H M Paget
Henry Page
T Erat Harrison
J T Nettleship.

The first meeting of what became the **Art Workers' Guild** was convened 'by invitation'. Those present:

J Belcher (Chair)
W A S Benson
Somers Clarke
Basil Champneys
Lewis F Day
E Onslow Ford
J McClure Hamilton

W C Horsley
Gerald Horsley (Secretary *pro tem*)
W R Lethaby
Mervyn Macartney
J Micklethwaite
W Marshall
Ernest Newton
Alfred Parsons
E S Prior
H Schmalz
J D Sedding
George Simonds
Hamo Thornycroft
J B Wirgman

Henry Holiday was invited, but got the wrong day, so missed the meeting.
Ernest George and Heywood Sumner were also unable to attend.

The **Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society**'s self-selected committee's original members were
Walter Crane
Frederick Brown (painter; co-founder of the recently formed New English Art Club)
George Clausen (painter)
Holman Hunt (painter)
Solomon J Solomon (painter)
H H La Thangue (painter)
T B Kennington (painter)
James Havard Thomas (sculptor)

22 men attended the first ACES meeting; 32 a week later; 60 at the meeting of 6 November; 75 on 13 November 1886.
They were listed as 'Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers and workers in the Arts of Design.'

Members of the AWG listed as 'Architect' 1883-1889

Gerald Horsley
W R Lethaby
Ernest Newton
Mervyn Macartney
E S Prior
John Belcher
John Dando Sedding
W C Marshall
Basil Champneys
J T Micklethwaite
Somers Clarke
Hugh Stannus

G T Robinson
Beresford Pite
T Cutler
R Phéné Spiers
C F A Voysey
Lewen Sharp
F A Gotch
Leonard Stokes
T R Spence
Charles J Tait
Thackeray Turner
A Young
J W Waterhouse
E G Hardy
W Scott Morton
J M MacLaren
Charles Spooner
Howard Ince
Reginald Blomfield
E J Tarver
G P D Saul
F M Simpson
Harrison Townsend
Harold Peto
G Birch
W Niven
A H Macmurdo
A W Soames
E J May
J W Simpson
J F Bentley
Ernest George
T Graham Jackson
Walter Cave
Horace Field
Edward Burgess

Appendix 3

'Pre-cursor' churches

Churches built before 1884, which, either in method, ethos or in some cases appearance, might be considered proto-Arts & Crafts.

In date order

St Mary, Wreay, Cumbria (Sara Losh, 1842)
St Matthew, Meerbrook, Staffs (R Norman Shaw, 1868, 1873)
St Pancras, Rousdon, Devon (Ernest George, 1872)
St Michael, Bournemouth, Dorset (R Norman Shaw, 1872-83)
St Peter, Hornblotton, Somerset (T G Jackson, 1872-4)
St Mary the Virgin, Haughton Green, Denton, Manchester (Medland Taylor, 1874-6)
St Peter, Ayot St Peter, Herts (John Pollard Seddon, 1875)
St Margaret, Ilkley, Yorks (R Norman Shaw, 1875-9)
St Swithun, Bournemouth, Dorset (R Norman Shaw, 1875-92)
St Paul, Boughton, Chester, Cheshire (John Douglas, 1875)
St Martin, Brampton, Cumbria (Philip Webb, 1877-8)
St Mary the Virgin, Halkyn, Flintshire (John Douglas, 1877-8)
The Epiphany Chapel, Peplow, Shropshire (R Norman Shaw, 1877-9)
St Catherine, Hoarwithy, Herefordshire (J P Seddon, 1878ff)
St Michael, Altcar, Merseyside (John Douglas, 1878-9)
St Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park, London, (R Norman Shaw, 1879-87)
Cowper Memorial (URC), Olney, Bucks (John Sulman, 1879-80)
St Augustine, Armoury Road, Highgate, London (J D Sedding, Henry Wilson, 1880-1916)
St Matthew, Summerhill, Big Lamp, Newcastle (R J Johnson, then Hicks, 1880-1905)
Good Shepherd, Lee, Lewisham, London (Ernest Newton, 1881) (destroyed in Blitz, rebuilt)
St Anne, Haughton, Denton, Manchester (Medland Taylor, 1881)
St Chad, Hopwas, Staffs (John Douglas, 1881)
St Mary, Pulford, Cheshire (John Douglas, 1881-4)
St James, Gatley, Cheadle, Manchester (Medland Taylor, 1881)
St John, Charfield, Glos (W Wood Bethell, 1881-2)
St Paul, Four Elms, Edenbridge, Kent (Edwin Hall with W R Lethaby, Stirling Lee, George Jack, 1881ff)
St John's (RC), Cumnock, Ayrshire (Burges with J F Bentley and R Weir Schultz, 1882)
St Matthew, Mere, Wiltshire (Charles Ponting, 1882)
St Paul, Truro, Cornwall (J D Sedding, 1882-4)
Harrow School Mission, Latimer Rd, Hammersmith, London (R Norman Shaw, 1883)
Gustav Adolfus Kyrka, Liverpool (W D Caröe, 1883-4)
Richmond Presbyterian Church, London (William Flockhart, 1883-5) (demolished)
St Thomas, Groombridge, East Sussex (R Norman Shaw, 1883-4)
St Hilda, West Cliff, Whitby, Yorkshire (R J Johnson, 1884-6)

Bibliography

This bibliography is split into two sections.
The first section is a bibliography for each of the 25 major 'core' churches (not the 10 minor ones) used as the principal exemplars in this study. They are presented in alphabetical order of location (as set out on pp. 1-3 of the thesis.)
The second section is a general bibliography.
Where a title has an especial relevance to a core church, it is included in both sections. Titles specific to one church are not included in the second section.
(Place of publication is London, unless otherwise stated.)

SECTION 1

THE 25 MAJOR 'CORE' CHURCHES

Brithdir

Primary

Dolgellau Area Records Office of the Gwynedd Archives Service, at Z/M/149. 71 letters from Wilson to his client, Mrs Louisa Tooth, from May 1895 to October 1898 with a few fragmentary drafts of her replies. Transcribed, with commentary, as:

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Brockhampton

Primary

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Colehill

Primary
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PE/COL/CW 6/2/11: A drawing of the church – unsigned, but almost certainly by Revd A W Stote
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Fletcher, B, Obituary of Keen, *JRIBA*, 20 March 1939, p. 523
Fortescue, G A, Obituary of Arthur Keen, *JRIBA*, 9 January 1939, p. 256
Keen, A, 'The Craftsman's Part in the Classic Revival', *AR*, XLIX Jan-June 1921, pp. 98-99
Malpas, L, *Cricklewood Baptist Church: a concise history* (single A4 sheet, n.d. but 2008)
Northrop, H D, The Life and Works of Charles Haddon Spurgeon (Murfreesboro, TN, USA: Sword of the Lord, 2004), p. 110
Price, S J, *Popular History of the Baptist Building Fund* (Kingsgate Press, 1927)
Spurgeon, C, *The Sword and the Trowel* (1880)
'W T', 'The Story of the beginning' in the church's *Jubilee Services leaflet*, 13-17 September, 1958

Curbridge

Primary

Oxfordshire Records Office: Parish and Diocesan records at PAR083/11/A1/1, PAR083/1/R7/1-3, PAR083/10/A1/1, PAR083/4/F1-5; Box c2073

Secondary
Anon, *The Architect,* 12 (1874), p. 304 with plate
Bundock, Revd E, *Sir Charles Nicholson: Architect of Noble Simplicity* (JewelTree, 2012)
Partridge, T, *Anglican Churches in Curbridge: a brief history written for the Centenary of the present church in 2006* (self-published, 2006)
Saint, A, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia* XXXV (1970) pp. 53-107
Smith, C, *Two Men's ministries: based on the diary of two Victorian Rectors of Witney* (Witney: Trustees of St Mary's Preservation Appeal, 1983)

Dockenfield

Primary
Frensham and Dockenfield History Group (F&DHG) holds these:
Anon, 'Batts Corner: the New Church', Report of the Dedication service, unnamed contemporary local paper, from a cuttings book (n.d., presumably 1910 and *Farnham Haslemere and Hindhead Herald*)
Anon, *Proposed Church for Batts Corner,* 4 page leaflet (Frensham, March 1909)
Anon, Dedication Service sheet 'New Church at Batt's Corner' (30 November 1910)

Secondary
Anon, *W. Curtis Green RA: architect and draughtsman 1875-1960* (Green Lloyd and Adams, 1978)
Breame, E, *Batts Corner Methodist Church Centenary 1876-1976* (typescript, n.d. but presumably 1976)
Chuter, J, *A History of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Dockenfield 1909-2010,* typescript of speech given at Dockenfield church Centenary celebrations, 2010
Clayton, A (with J Chuter and S Osmond) *Our Centenary 1910-2010, Church of the Good Shepherd Dockenfield, Let's Celebrate!* (2010)
Curtis Green, W, *The Drawings of W. Curtis Green, R.A.* (London: Batsford, 1949)
Reilly, C H, 'W Curtis Green' in *Representative British Architects of the Present Day,* (London: Batsford,1931), pp. 99-112

Glandford

Anon, *Genealogical Memoranda relating to the family of Jodrell* (privately printed, 1897) at www.archive.org/stream… [accessed 28 November 2013]
Batcock, N, *St Martin's Church, Glandford* (after 2008) church guide booklet
Gamble, A, *St Martin's Church, Glandford* (n.p., after 1969) church guide booklet
King, C, 'The Rise and Decline of Village Reading Rooms, *Rural History*, 20, No 2, pp. 163-186
Knott, S, *Norfolk Churches* (2006-11) at www.norfolkchurches.co.uk
Linnell, C L S, *St Martin's Church, Glandford* (1956) church guide booklet
Mellor, D, *The Glaven Valley: Historical Jottings* (Cromer: Cheverton, 1989)
_____ *The Glaven Valley: Further Historical Jottings* (Cromer: Cheverton, 1994)
Stone, P and Warwick James, J, *Sir Alfred Jodrell, Philanthropist* (Fakenham: Larks Press, 1996 and 2011)

Haslemere

Primary

Haslemere Educational Museum holds:

Farnham, Haslemere and Hindhead Herald

Haslemere Parish Magazine (more or less complete run)

Sillick, W A, Collection of newspaper cuttings made by this local journalist (*ca* 1877-1953) in several albums

In the church itself:

Anon (probably Charles Spooner) *Notes on the Picture in the Triptych* octavo card (1904?)

Secondary

Anon (probably Rev G Shelford, then Vicar), *A Short History of the Church of St Bartholomew and St Christopher in the Parish of Haslemere* (n.p., 1952)

Anon (but actually Gaiter, F), *St Christopher's Centenary* booklet (n.p., n.d. but 2003)

Anon (Gaiter, F), *A Guide to St Christopher's Church, Haslemere* leaflet (Friends of the Parish: n.d.: 2005?)

Anon (but Mervyn Macartney, ed) *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture,* (Caxton Technical Manuals, 1911), entry on St Christopher, Haslemere: pp. 44-46

Booth, A, *Haslemere in Old Picture Postcards* (Zaltbommel, Netherlands, 1995)

Green, F E, *The Surrey Hills* (Chatto & Windus, 1915)

Hooper, L 'Art of To-day. Fine and Otherwise: Art in the Church', *Art Journal* (London), Feb 1911, pp. 47-52 and March 1911, pp. 83-87

Storr, V F, *Fellow Workers with God: Sermons of G H Aitken* (Methuen,1921)

Trotter, W R, *The Hilltop Writers: a Victorian Colony among the Surrey Hills* (Book Guild, 1996)

Troup, F W, Obituary of Spooner, *JRIBA,* 23 January 1939, p. 312

Walker, L and Sanger, C., 'The Inval Weavers', *Crafts Chronicle,* Summer 1981, pp. 2-6

Hoarwithy

Primary

Herefordshire Records Office holds:

Poole papers, C95/B/4

Annual Box 1843, HD8/18

Hentland Parish Records, J66/1

Hopton photo album, J 67/1

Hopton, M (ed), *Records of Hentland Parish, Herefordshire, AD 500-1915*. Typescript transcription in the possession of Philip Anderson. Its provenance and original source is unknown. (Madeline Hopton was Poole's niece.)

Secondary

Anderson, P, *The Beautification of Hoarwithy church* (Pink Publication no 13, Ross on Wye & District Civic Society, 2002)

Anon, 'Prayer-desk, Hoarwithy church, Herefordshire', *The Builder*, 5 July 1884, p. 12

Anon (almost certainly Anderson, P), 'Prebendary Poole – a Victorian Benefactor and Eccentric', *Ross on Wye and District Civic Society newsletter* Spring 2001, no 76, n.p.

Anon, Obituaries of Poole in *Hereford Times* and *Hereford Journal,* 15 March 1902

Anon, Obituary of J P Seddon in *The Builder,* 10 February 1906, p. 150

Darby, M, *John Pollard Seddon,* catalogue of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A, 1983)
Durant, S, 'Voysey and his first Mentor, John Pollard Seddon', *Journal of the CFA Voysey Society*, No 1 (Autumn 2012)
Leonard, J, *Churches of Herefordshire and their Treasures* (Logaston Press, 2000)
Mordaunt Crook, J, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (John Murray, 1981)
Pearson, L, *Tile Gazetteer: A Guide to British Tile and Architectural Ceramics Locations* (Richard Dennis, 2005)
Seaton, D, *History of the Deanery of Archenfield with a Description of the Churches in the Old Rural Deanery* (Hereford: Jakeman and Carver, 1903) Compiled from notes by Poole.
Seddon, J P, *Progress in Art and Architecture* (David Bogue, 1852)
_____ 'Ancient and Modern Architectural Ornament contrasted', *Building News*, 29 Jan 1858, pp. 109-112
_____ 'On the polychromatic decoration of various buildings', *RIBA Transactions*, 1879-80, pp. 129-148
_____ 'On church fittings', *RIBA Transactions* N.s. VI, 1890, pp. 287-293 (not found)
Sladen, T, 'Byzantium in the chancel: surface decoration and the church interior', *Churches 1870-1914* (Victorian Society, 2011), pp. 80-99
Smith, S S, 'Recollections of Prebendary Hawkshaw' *Hereford Times,* 21 July 1950
Stamp, G, 'In search of the Byzantine: George Gilbert Scott's Diary of an Architectural Tour in France in 1862', *Architectural History* Vol. 46 (2003), pp. 189-228

Hutton

Primary

The church's own archive holds:
Anon (but Burns, A), Untitled typescript in church archive (n.d. but 1912)
Turff, E, *History of the Hutton and Shenfield Union Church* (typescript in church archive, n.d.)

Secondary

Anon, Obituary of William Hayne, *East Essex Gazette*, 10 May 1941
Bitton, N., *A Tribute to Arthur Burns: a Good Life* (Malvern: Priory Press, n.d. but probably 1945 or 1946)
Thomson, J, 'A Sketch of the History of Hutton and Shenfield Union Church', *Hutton Church Manual for 1915*

Inkpen

Primary

Berkshire Records Office holds (Inkpen is D/P76):
D/P76/5/2 Inkpen Churchwardens' Accounts 1911-1955
D/P76/5/6 Subscriptions to Inkpen Church Restoration Fund
D/EX 221 Butler family papers
Oxfordshire Records Office: MS Oxford Diocesan Papers c1107 includes
Presentation of Henry Dobree Butler 14/5/1895
Faculty for repair of church 27/4/1896
Faculty for font 27/3/1905
Faculty for WW1 memorial tablet 20/1/1921
Faculty for font canopy removal 24/7/1969

Secondary
Anon (but in fact Professor Richard Griffiths, professor of English Literature at London University, ordained 2000), *Ancient and Modern: a Celebration of the Second Millennium* (Churchwardens of the United Benefice of West Woodhay with Enborne, Hamstead Marshall, Inkpen and Combe, n.d. but 1999) online at w-woodhay-and-kintbury-benefices.org.uk/html/1409__history_of_inkpen_church.html [accessed 15 November 2013]
Anon, *The Builder* 72 (1897[1]), p. 279
Driscoll, J F, *Inkpen and its church* (private press, 1945)
Inkpen Parish Magazine
A complete run 1911-17, in the possession of Gerald Atkinson of Inkpen.
Martin, E A, *Inkpen Yesterday* (St Columb, Cornwall: Edyvean Printers, 1993)
Saint, A, 'Three Oxford Architects', *Oxoniensia* XXXV 1970, pp. 53-107
_____'Charles Buckeridge and his family', *Oxoniensia* XXXVIII 1973, pp. 357-372
Timmins, G, *Inkpen, a village history* (Lolaprint, 2010), pp. 12-15 (entirely based on VCH)

Kempley

Anon (but probably Wells, R), 'New Church, Kempley', *AR,* Vol. 16, July-Dec 1904, pp. 181-5
Anon, 'Home Counties', 'Building Without a Builder', unidentified journal, about 1906 (An account of Randall Wells's working methods, found in E S Prior's papers by Lynne Walker, and included as Appendix E in Charles Keighley's dissertation.)
de la Cour, J, *Madresfield Court* (n.d.) at ww.elmley.org.uk/pdf/guidebook.pdf
Gethyn-Jones, D, *Kempley: Nine Centuries of Village History extending from the mid-Normandy village of Lassy in the 11th century to the Kempley of today* (private, 1957; 11th edn 1968)
Gethyn-Jones, J E, *St Mary's church, Kempley and its paintings, Vol. 1* (private, 1961)
Keighley, C, 'Randall Wells and the Ruskinian Tradition', MA dissertation, Royal Holloway College, 1994, (revised 1995)
Pevsner, N and Radcliffe, E, 'Randall Wells', *AR* 136, Nov 1964, pp. 366-8
Walker, L, 'E S Prior 1852-1932', PhD thesis, London University, 1978
Weaver, L, 'Kempley New Church, Gloucestershire, designed by Mr Randall Wells', *Country Life,* 19 August 1916, supplement pp. 2-3
Wells, R 'Kempley Church', *British Architect,* 5 March 1909, pp. 165-6

Lower Kingswood

Primary
Cheltenham Museum and Art Gallery: the Barnsley Archive
Drawings for Lower Kingswood: 1972.186.13;…14;…43;…64; and…69
Mitchell Wolfson Jr Study Centre, Miami, Florida, USA: Plans and elevations for Lower Kingswood, with four photographs: WC 2007.3.18.1-15
Anon, *Wisdom of God (St Sophia), Lower Kingswood, Surrey, consecrated July 1892* (guide pamphlet) (Wisdom of God Lent Group, 1989)
Anon, 'The Late Dr Freshfield. A practical Antiquary.' Obituary, *The Times,* 4 September 1918
Blatch, M, *The Churches of Surrey* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), pp. 142-3

Brandon, M, 'The Lost Jewel in the Arts & Crafts Crown: The Church of the Wisdom of God', BA dissertation, Southampton Institute, 2001
Freshfield, E, *A memorandum giving a short account of the Byzantine Capitals in the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood* (privately published, 1903)
Greensted, M, *Gimson and the Barnsleys* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991)
_____ 'Sidney Barnsley, Greece and Byzantium', talk to Friends of Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museum, 24 Feb 2010 (notes by author)
_____ 'The Arts and Crafts Movement: exchange between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)', MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011
O'Connor, J, *A History of the Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood* ('limited edition' - in fact a single bound volume, held by the parish church librarian) 2001
_____ (Anon, but probably O'Connor, J.) *The Church of the Wisdom of God, Lower Kingswood*, (visitors' guidebook) (n.p., 2001)
Ottewill, D, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951): an Arts and Crafts Architect', *Architectural History,* Vol. 22, pp. 88-116
Stamp, G, *Robert Weir Schultz Architect and his work for the Marquess of Bute: an Essay* (Bute: Mount Stuart, 1981)
Weir Schultz, R and Barnsley, S, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis: And the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, Near Skripou, in Bœotia* (Macmillan, 1901)

Matlock

Anon, Obituary of Dawber, *JRIBA* 9 May 1938, Vol. 45, 3rd series, No 13, pp. 633 and 666
Anon, Obituary of Dawber, *The Builder* 29 April 1938, p. 827
Anon, 'Men who build No 63, Guy Dawber', *Builder's Journal and Architectural Record,* 3 April 1901, pp. 148-9, 153 and supplement
Anon, 'Private Chapel, Matlock, Derbyshire', *The Builder,* 29 October 1898, p. 386
Bryan, B, *History of Matlock - Matlock, Manor and Parish* (Bemrose & Sons, 1903)
Drackley, J, *The Chapel of St John the Baptist Matlock* (pamphlet, n.p., 2003)
_____ *Matlock Parish Church Derbyshire, an Illustrated Guide* (Matlock, 2012)
Gray, A S, *Edwardian Architecture,* pp. 160-163
Hammond, N, 'Louis Davis, 1860-1941: Watercolourist, book-illustrator and stained-glass artist' *Oxfordshire Local History Journal*, vol. 7, no 5, January 2006
Kinney, L, 'Guy Dawber', in Airs, M (ed), *The Edwardian Great House* (Oxford: OUDCE, 2000), pp. 133-143
_____ talk on Guy Dawber to Vic Soc, Feb 2007 (present author's notes)
Reilly, C H, 'Guy Dawber' in *Representative British Architects of the Present Day* (1931), pp. 80-87
Saunders, M, 'St John the Baptist, Matlock' in *Saving Churches* (Frances Lincoln, 2010), pp. 77-78

North Cerney

Primary

British Architectural Library (BAL) at RIBA
Eden, F C, Album of photographs of his work: A399

Gloucestershire Archives:

Eden, F C, Plan of proposed rood screen, 1929: P70 CW 3/8 and P70 CW 3/50
_____ Sketch for frontal to St Catharine's chapel altar, North Cerney (with related letters to W I Croome), 1942: P70 CW 3/42
_____ Designs for a vestments press: D2507/10

RIBA at V&A:

'North Cerney (Gloucestershire)': Church of All Saints, design for altar: PA2/8(1-3); design: PA2/8(4); design for stained glass: PA2/8(5-6); design for altar reredos: PA302/43-44; design for altar: PA302/42

Secondary

Gloucestershire Archives holds (selected list):

Anon, Photographs and account in *Gloucester Diocesan Magazine*, September 1913, of dedication by Bishop of …Lady Chapel (Croome chapel): P70 CW 3/4

Croome, M S (mother of Will Croome) Album of newspaper cuttings: P70 MI 1

Croome, W I, *All Saints Church, North Cerney: some notes, historical and descriptive by W I Croome (Revised to January 1950).* Typescript D3709/1
Papers concerning history of North Cerney church, 1888-1967: D2507
(D2507/13 is a set of typescript draft versions of D3709/1 (1950-1958))
_____ *Album* (i.e. Photographs of interior and exterior of church): D3709/2
_____ Photographic log book, showing the 'repair, discovery and decoration of the fabric' of the church, 1900-1952: P70 CW 3/48
_____ Another photograph album: D2507/11
_____ Another photograph album: photos 'in an order which should not lightly be disturbed': D2507/12
_____ Detailed account of Eden's restoration work: D2507/8
_____ *Notes on William Smith, carver, and his work in the church, and details of other craftsmen concerned with the church 1900-1950*. Typescript P70 CW 3/12
(The notes appear to have been published as a Roneoed copy of the typescript in 1950: copies were still available in the church in 2013.)
_____ Photograph of Henry James Mason, parish clerk, churchwarden and builder, who carried out the work of restoration and improvement 1911-1936, with notes by Croome, ca 1920: P70 MI 3
_____*The Care of our Churches* (1951) Printed address to Gloucester Diocesan Conference: P70 MI 4
_____ 'Gloucestershire Churches' (Presidential address), *BGAS Transactions* vol. 72 (1953), pp. 5-22
_____ *Old Churches, New Churches* (Gloucester Diocesan Board of Finance, n.d. but 1960s) address given to the Cheltenham Deanery Lay Council: JQ4.19GS* D3867/V/6 (also catalogued under 16/235/5 JQ419)

Turner, Canon J, *History of North Cerney and its church* (n.d.: post-1971, ca 1981)
Typewritten history of the church and its rectors: P70 IN 4/17
(Another copy is at D4747)

Anon, Obituary notice of W I Croome, *BGAS Transactions*, 1967, vol. 86, pp. 212-213.

Anon, 'Obituary: F C Eden MA FRIBA FSA', *The Builder* 11 August 1944, p. 114

Avery, F, 'Norman & Burt of Burgess Hill – Local Builders of Renown' *Burgess Hill Local History Society Occasional Papers*, no 2 (2007) and *Sussex Industrial History,* No 40 (2010), pp. 2-6

Butler, A S G 'The RIBA Drawings Collection' (includes a brief appreciation of F C Eden), *Journal of the RIBA,* LXIV, October 1957, pp. 483-9: p. 487
Croome, W I, *Frederick Charles Eden FSA FRIBA,* reprinted from the *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass Painters* Vol. XIII, No 4, 1962-3, pp. 554-557
_____ Obituary of Eden, *Church Times,* 31 July 1944
Eden, F C 'Offprints and proofs of articles and lectures by F C Eden on ecclesiastical buildings and furnishings' (RIBA Archives at V&A: EdFc/1/3)
_____ *The Organ* (ICBS, n.d. but seemingly 1920s)
Eeles, F C, Obituary of Eden, *Manchester Guardian*, 28 July 1944
MacKechnie Jarvis, J, 'W I Croome', *Cirencester Miscellany* 3, (Magazine of the Cirencester Archaeological and Historical Society), 1996, pp. 13-31
Pakington, H, Obituary of Eden, *Architectural Association Journal,* August 1944 (n.d. – cutting in Croome album)
Patuck, V A, *All Saints Church, North Cerney,* church guide leaflet (1989)
'S E D B', *Frederick Charles Eden [F 1922-38],* Obituary in *Journal of the RIBA*, November 1944, p. 25

Pamphill

Anon, Obituaries of Charles Ponting
Builder, 5 February 1932, p. 272
JRIBA, 19 March 1932 (by Needham Wilson, A)
Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine, vol. 45, 1930-32, pp. 615-618
Wiltshire Gazette, 28 January 1932, p. 3
Wiltshire Gazette, 4 February 1932 ('appreciation' by William Rendell)
Anon, 'Kingston Lacy. Opening of new church. Costly gifts for a beautiful building'.
Dorset County Chronicle and Somersetshire Gazette, 1 August 1907, p. 11
Brown, G, *To Partake of Tea - The Last Ladies of Kingston Lacy* (Salisbury: Hobnob Press, 2006)
Heptinstall, J and S, *Kingston Lacy* (National Trust, 2012)
Mitchell, A, *Kingston Lacy* (National Trust, 1994)
Nicholson, A, 'Charles Edward Ponting FSA 1849-1932, Architect', BA dissertation, University of Exeter, 2007
_____ 'Charles Edward Pointing FSA 1849-1932' in *The Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin Gillingham, Dorset* (church guide booklet, 2009).
Shephard, J, *St Stephen's Kingston Lacy* church guide booklet (1967; new editions 1985 and 2002)
Watkin, P, *A Kingston Lacy Childhood: Reminiscences of Viola Bankes* (Dovecote Press, 1986)

Pixham

Primary
Dorking Museum holds
Dorking Parish Magazine: a more or less complete run for the period.
Service sheet for Dedicatory Service for the church (1904)
Service sheet: In Memoriam Mary Mayo, 1834-1933
and Secondary:
Pixham Church Centenary 1890-1990: Pixham Celebrates (E.203/4)

Pixham Junior Drama Group, *The Mill and the Miss: a pageant about Pixham,* 1990 (E.203/5)
Appeal fund leaflet 1983 (E.260/2)
Newspaper cuttings book(s) compiled by E L Sellick (O.SC.268; O.SC.266/1)

Surrey History Centre holds:

1867/Box 9/5/1-2	1927 St Martin's church workers
1867/Box 9/6	Church attendance census returns
1867 Box 9/7	Dorking Charities to September 1878
1867 Box 9/11	Agreement between Miss Mayo and Revd E A Chichester et al

RIBA Drawings Collection at V&A holds:
Dorking (Surrey): 'Church of Saint Martin, Pixham,' 1903: PA1601/LUT[60](1-3)
(This is an error: St Martin's is the name of the mother church in Dorking.)
Three further drawings (listed in RIBA Lutyens catalogue):
Rough studies for ground plan, N elevation, W elevation & section.
'Church Room/Dorking' 'E L Lutyens/Jan 03'
Plan, N & W elevations, longitudinal & cross-sections.
'Church Room Dorking/for Miss Mayo/Drawing No 1' (n.d.)
Details of sanctuary: half-plan, section looking E & section looking S
'Church Room/Dorking/Drawing No 13'
'E L Lutyens Archt/29 Bloomsbury Sq/WC' (n.d.)

<u>Secondary</u>

Anon, *An introduction to St Mary's, Pixham: a Lutyens church* (leaflet in church: n.d., but after 2003)
Bennett, P, *The Living Stream: Pixham and its People* (Dorking Local History Group, 1994)
Brown, J, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: an English Architect and his Clients* (Penguin, 1997)
Burleton, E, 'St Mary the Virgin, Pixham', Visiting Local Churches No 16 website [accessed 6 January 2013]
Drew, J and Dempsey, A (eds), *Lutyens: the work of the English Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944),* exhibition catalogue (Arts Council, 1981)
Hussey, C, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Country Life, 1950)
Lutyens, Mary, *Edwin Lutyens* (John Murray, 1980)
Lutyens, Robert, *Sir Edwin Lutyens: An Appreciation in Perspective* (Country Life, 1942)
Mayo, M, *Pixham 1862-1912* (Chiswick Press, 1912)
_____ ('An Old Inhabitant'), *Concerning the three churches in Dorking dedicated to St Martin* (Chiswick Press, 1917)
Parnell, L, 'Pixham Church' in Wedgwood, A (ed), *A History of St Martin's Dorking* (Dorking: Friends of St Martin's, 1990)
Richardson, M, *Sketches by Edwin Lutyens* (Academy Editions, 1994)
Ridley, J, *The Architect and his Wife: a Life of Edwin Lutyens* (Chatto and Windus, 2003)
Robinson, D, *Pastors, Parishes and people in Surrey* (Chichester: Phillimore for Surrey Local History Council, 1989)
Stanway, P, *The History of Pixham School 1880-1980* (typescript at Dorking Museum, n.d.)
Stiff, N G J, *The Church in Dorking and District* (n.p., printed by McCorquodale, 1912)
Wedgwood, A (ed), *A History of St Martin's Dorking* (Friends of St Martin's, 1990)
Wilhide, E, *Sir Edwin Lutyens: Designing in the English Tradition* (National Trust, 2012)
Worsley, G, 'Goddards, Surrey', reprinted from *Country Life* 28 November 1991

Port Seton

Primary

RCAHMS holds 13 drawings for Port Seton by Sydney Mitchell:
DP002704, DP002749-51; DP199021-8; DP199179

Secondary

Anon, *Chalmers Memorial Church Port Seton: Brief History and Key to interior decoration and symbolism,* 12pp A5 booklet (self-published, 1993) (copy held at NLS)

Anon (but apparently Donaldson, T), *Chalmers Memorial Church Port Seton: An Explanation of the Interior Decoration and Symbolism* (leaflet) (n.p., n.d.)

Anon, *Chalmers Church Profile 2010* at www.chalmerschurch.co.uk [accessed 1 February 2013]

Anon, *A Profile: Chalmers Memorial Church, Port Seton* (n.p., 1992)

Cadell, T, 'Cockenzie New church' (appeal leaflet) n.d., but ca 1903

Cockenzie & Port Seton Local History Society, 'Cockenzie & Port Seton', *The Fourth Statistical Account of East Lothian* at www.e14.org.uk/e14-cd/cp_index.html [accessed 3 February 2013]

Donaldson, T, Chalmers Memorial Church Welcome (leaflet) (n.d., but 1996)

_____ *Chalmers Memorial Church 100 years not out! 1905-2005* (4-page pamphlet), 2005

Hume, J R, 'A Fisherman's Church', *Life and Work,* November 2011, p 35

McDowell, D C, 'Scottish Assets: the commercial architecture of A G Sydney Mitchell', *Architectural Heritage,* Vol. 14, No 1, pp. 45-66

McWilliam, C, 'Cockenzie and Port Seton', in *Lothian except Edinburgh* (Buildings of Scotland, Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 137-139

Richards Castle

Primary

Inchiquin Archives: The Shaw/Foster Papers:
117 letters between Shaw and his client at Richards Castle, Mrs Hannah Johnston Foster. The number includes a small number of drafts of her replies to him; a very few letters to other correspondents, for example Mainwaring and Openshaw, surveyors.
The Papers also include about a dozen related printed items.
Of the non-letters, the following should be singled out:

Consecration booklet. Its full title is *Consecration and Opening Sermons of All Saints' Memorial Church, Richard's Castle* (1892)
A 24pp octavo booklet giving a brief account (3 pp) of the initiating and building of the church and the process of building; followed by the text of sermons given on the day

Design for reredos by Shaw, 5 March 1891, black pen on tracing paper (roughly A2 in size)

List A note in pencil, undated and apparently not in Shaw's handwriting, listing 25 or so points or queries about the church. It is enclosed in (and has been pinned into at one time) a folded sheet of embossed notepaper (86 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, W – presumably the Fosters' London house), which has on it, in ink, in another hand, the words, 'The Church'. It was perhaps written by Miss Foster.

The Shaw/Foster Papers are in the possession of Mrs Foster's descendant Lord Inchiquin, whose estate manager Catherine Davies has kindly made them available to the author on long loan for this research.

Royal Academy: 9 drawings for the church

A catalogue ledger of these was begun by Andrew Saint in the 1970s, while he was preparing his monograph on Shaw, but there are no catalogue numbers on the sheets. Andrew Potter of the RA Library is currently compiling a full, computerised catalogue of RA's entire Shaw drawings collection.

<u>Secondary</u>

Anon, 'Richard Norman Shaw', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Cambridge University Press, 11th edition, 1911), Vol. XXIV, pp. 813-4

Blomfield, R, *Richard Norman Shaw R.A.* (Batsford, 1940)

Harral, G, *All Saints Church Richards Castle, The First Hundred Years: 1892-1992* (Richards Castle Local History Group, 1992). Church centenary guide booklet.

Saint, A, 'Norman's Shaw's letters: A Selection', *Architectural History,* Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 60-85 (The 3 letters relating to Richards Castle are on pp. 71-4)

_____ *Richard Norman Shaw* (Yale University Press, 1976; republished with new photographs, additional material and corrections, 2010): the main entries on Richards Castle are (1976 edition) pp. 146-7 and 290-294

_____ 'Shaw, Richard Norman (1831–1912)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [accessed 9 July 2012]

Voss, M M, 'An Architect and his Clients', Presidential Address, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club,* XLIV, 1982, pp. 13-30. A selection of excerpts from the letters. Ms Voss notes: 'The extracts from the letters quoted in this article are taken from the transcripts in the possession of Mr Andrew Saint – not from the originals.'

Stonebroom

<u>Primary</u>

Derbyshire Records Office (Matlock) holds:

D3366/5/1-3 Stonebroom Preachers' Books 1892-98; 1898-1905; 1905-12

D3366/5/4 Service Register 1912-25

D3366/6/1 Instrument of agreement and surrender regulating the right to serve the church of St Peter Stonebroom…. 10 February 1910

D3366/6/3 Article containing order on benefaction of £500 to the incumbent of Stonebroom, 5 May 1911

D3366/6/4 Plan of parish, showing the boundaries of the consolidated chapelry (1919)

D3366/13/1-2 Churchwardens' Accounts 1892-1913; 1913-24

D3366/14/1 Book containing Pledge of The National Mission of Repentance and Hope (signed by 94 Stonebroom parishioners, plus 14 other names added)

D1091/A/PI 45 (also D3366/6/2) Article establishing the parish of Shirland and Tibshelf, *London Gazette*, 3 June 1910, pp 3871-2

D3107/A/PI/12/1 Article concerning the formation of the parish of Stonebroom, *London Gazette,* 3 June 1910

Derby City Records Office holds:

Kerry Manuscripts, vol. XV (1881), pp. 289-292
A series of volumes of notes, transcripts, essays and pasted-in cuttings collected by a Derbyshire clergyman, Revd Charles Kerry (1833-1908); indexed (erratically) by Kerry himself. Contains: An account of the baths at Stonebroom

Derby Diocesan Registry holds:

Conveyance of land for the church, 2 April 1907
Drawings by P H Currey, Architect, Market Place, Derby
~~Proposed~~ church Stonebroom Derbyshire: N, W, E elevations and block plan
Proposed church Stonebroom Derbyshire: S elevation and plan
Proposed church Stonebroom Derbyshire: sections
Drawing by P H Currey, C C Thompson, Architects, Derby, 1/11/22
Stonebroom church: proposed addition of 6 foot to base of tower
Petition for consecration of the chapel, 13 September 1907
Letter from Currey to Stonebroom church, 4 November 1907, asking for the original drawings to be returned in order to make tracings

Lambeth Palace Library (ICBS) holds:

2 drawings: North, east and west elevations
South elevation and plan
Appeal leaflet with perspective drawing

The church itself holds:

Shirland Parish Magazines: an almost complete run for the period 1895-1908
Perspective drawing of the church with proposed tower
P H Currey, C C Thompson, Architects, Derby, 26/6/22

<u>Secondary</u>

Anon, 'Death of Mr John Jackson, JP: a great captain of industry', *Derbyshire Biography* D, Vol. XVII, pp. 97-98 (dated 28/2/99): Book of cuttings in Derby City Archives

Anon, 'Death of Mr Jno. [sic] Jackson of Ashover', *Derbyshire Biography* D, Vol. XVII, pp. 72-73 (dated 28/2/99)

Christian, R, 'The Villages of Morton and Stonebroom', *Derbyshire Life,* Vol. 45, No 2, February 1980, pp. 38-40

Cook, G C, 'Henry Currey FRIBA (1820–1900): leading Victorian hospital architect, and early exponent of the 'pavilion principle", *Postgraduate Medical Journal,* 78 (2002), pp. 352–359, at www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov… [accessed 30 August 2013]

Craven, M, 'Chapel cushions celebrate skills of unsung men', *Derby Telegraph,* 12 September 2011

_____, 'Percy Heylyn Currey', *Biographical Dictionary of Derbyshire Architects* (typescript in possession of author)

Hackney, Revd B, *Parish Church of St Peter* (n.d.). One side A4 sheet found in the church. (Brian Hackney was Rector 1985-91.)

Mason, S, *A brief history of St Peter's Church* (1995). 'Parish Project' prepared by Sally Mason (of Morton) as part of her training to be a Lay Reader: ring-binder in her possession; pp. 39-45

Randle, A, *Stonebroom: St Peters' Church and the Village: a Hundred Years 1900-2000* (Alan Randle, 2000): comb-bound, self-published booklet. The author kindly gave me a copy. There are copies in DRO at Matlock, and in the church.

Robertson, D, 'Henry Currey FRIBA (1820 - 1900)', *Eastbourne Local Historian,* 152 (Summer 2009), pp. 13–15
Turbutt, G, *A History of Shirland and Higham* (Ogston Estates, 1978; Higham Press, 1997)

Summerstown

Primary
FRIBA Nomination papers for Pinkerton, 1907

London Metropolitan Archives.
There are numerous documents at P95/MRY2, of which these seemed the most useful:

P95/MRY2/002	Register of baptisms June 1872 - April 1900, with newspaper cuttings, brief history of parish.
P95/MRY2/003	Register of baptisms April 1900 - Dec 1910. Two volumes bound into one. Includes cuttings, photographs.
P95/MRY2/008	Register of marriages April 1847- March 1903. Includes cuttings.
P95/MRY2/009	Register of marriages April 1903 - June 1919. Two volumes bound into one. Includes cuttings.
P95/MRY2/010	Register of marriages June 1919 - June 1929. Includes cuttings
P95/MRY2/016	Minute book: Committee for building new church, July 1900 - March 1909
P95/MRY2/017	Parochial Church Council minute book April 1920 - January 1934
P95/MRY2/022	Churchwardens' account book, January 1924 - December 1938
P95/MRY2/026	Printed address by Edward Whittey, the first incumbent, to the inhabitants of Summerstown, January 1846
P95/MRY2/029	Faculty for demolition of old church and building new on the same site, 20 April 1894
P95/MRY2/030	Survey and plan of parochial rooms, formerly part of schools: one room in use as temporary church, 25 April 1901
P95/MRY2/031	Faculty for building new church, 17 December 1902
P95/MRY2/032	Agreement between Treasurer of the Building Committee and the builders for the new church, 19 February 1903
P95/MRY2/033	*London Gazette* 22 July 1904, with instrument substituting new church for old church (p 4768)
P95/MRY2/034	Letter from Diocesan Registrar giving details of work covered by faculty, i.e. cross, table and bronze tablet, 15 November 1923
P95/MRY2/035	Letter from Diocesan Registrar giving details of work covered by faculty, i.e. to place four oil paintings in four lunettes, 11 December 1924
P95/MRY2/037	Faculty for stained glass East window, 14 October 1927
P95/MRY2/038	Confirmatory faculty for windows from St Alphage London Wall, bronze tablet, and radiators, 18 April 1928
P95/MRY2/045	Extract from will of George Nind
P95/MRY2/047	Printed history of the parish, 1929
P95/MRY2/048	Book of newspaper cuttings and notes relating to history of the parish
P95/MRY2/055	Plan: church on Keeble Street, Wimbledon Road site 1904-1916?

Also at LMA

DR/F/1894/009	Faculty to pull down old church, 1894 with correspondence
DR/F/1902/014	Petition to pull down old church. This includes Pinkerton's plans and elevations on tracing paper (very fragile)
DR/CP/089	Conveyances and Sentence of consecration, 1904
DS/FO/1924/050	Faculty for decoration by wall paintings in lunettes. Includes pencil sketches by Constance Grant
DS/F/239	1967 faculty, includes photograph of interior

Secondary

Anon, Obituaries of Pinkerton
The Builder, 16 July 1937
RIBA Journal, vol. 44, 26 June 1937
Pinkerton, G, 'Some Dublin Buildings', *AR* 1906, pp. 209-220
_____ 'The Parish Church of St. Paul, Deptford: Thomas Archer, Architect,' *AR*, 52, July-December 1922, pp. 76-83

Ullet Road

Primary

Liverpool Central Library Archives (at Bootle) holds:

288 ULL 3/7/4 Minutes of the Council and the Annual Meeting of the Congregation *4 April 1889 – 7 Feb 1904*

288 ULL 3/16/4 Anon, *A few reminiscences of the Old Benn's Garden Presbyterian Chapel and the Renshaw Street Unitarian Chapel, and the Congregations assembling therein, by an Old Member of the Renshaw Street Congregation* (Liverpool: Ellerbeck, 1868)

288 ULL 7/1/1 Minutes of the meetings of the Council. *2 March 1904 – 24 March 1935.*

288 ULL 7/2 Reports of the Council and Committees and Treasurers' Accounts. *1900-1973*

288 ULL 7/12/1-27 Papers relating to the building of Ullet Road Church. *1862, 1895-1905, 1970-1972* (45 documents in all, including some plans and photographs)

288 ULL 7/13 Correspondence, etc., relating to the font in Ullet Road Church *1905-06.*

288 ULL 7/14 Correspondence on the adoption of a liturgy for Ullet Road Church *1898-1899*

288 ULL 7/16 Miscellaneous correspondence *1902-1906*

288 ULL 7/18/1-3 Service sheets for 'Special services'

288 ULL 7/19/2-3 'Leaflets explaining the aims of Ullet Road Church' *1921, 1924*

920 DUR/6/5/5-7 Letters relating to Ullet Road Church from Thomas Worthington & Sons, Architects. [n.d.]

H 288.1.ULL Anon, 'The New Unitarian Church, Sefton Park, Liverpool. Reminiscences of Renshaw Street Chapel', cutting from *The [Liverpool] Daily Post*, 27 and 29 May 1899, p. 15

Secondary

Hartwell, C, *Manchester* (Penguin 2001)
Holt, A, *Walking Together: a study in Liverpool Nonconformity 1688-1938* (George Allen and Unwin, 1938)
Jones, R P, 'Memories of the origin and building of Ullet Road Church, Liverpool (1896-1899)', *Transactions of the Unitarian Society,* Vol. 11:3, 1957

K[lein], L de B, *Ullet Road Church, Sefton Park, Liverpool: Mr Gerald Moira's Paintings in the Vestry and Library* (Liverpool Archives: 288 ULL 7/12/25(i))
Mooney, L, *A Guide to Ullet Road Unitarian Church* (Liverpool, 1996)
Parkinson, J, *Manchester: an architectural history* (Manchester University Press, 2000)
Watkins, H, *The Art of Gerald Moira* (E W Dickens, 1923)

West Woodhay

Primary

Anon, *St Laurence's Church, West Woodhay*. Single double-sided A4 typescript sheet available in the church: typed by Anne Cole (1980):
Burdekin, Revd A E (Rector of West Woodhay), *Gifts made to West Woodhay Church at & since its building in the year 1883, recorded by the Rector, the Rev A E Burdekin in the year 1934*. 3-page handwritten note in the possession of James Cole, great-great-nephew of Jessie Cole. (A rough draft of this also survives.)
_____ Chronology of furnishings at the church. 1-page handwritten note (n.d.)
Cole, James, *Church of St Lawrence [sic], West Woodhay: Gifts and additions to the third church* Typescript notes based on Burdekin's handwritten notes, 'the records of the Rector in 1934, updated to 2007'.
_____ Church History at www.westwoodhay.org [accessed 6 April and 2 June 2012]
Cole, Jessie, Two letters to Revd A E Burdekin, 18 September 1933 and 5 November 1934, in possession of James Cole, her great-great-nephew.

Secondary

Jeans, Revd Richard, *Ancient and modern: a celebration of the second millennium: West Woodhay, Enborne, Hamstead Marshall, Inkpen and Combe* (Churchwardens of the United Benefice, 2000)
McClintock, M H *The Queen Thanks Sir Howard: the Life of Major-General Sir Howard Elphinstone, V C, K C B, C M G, by his daughter* (John Murray, 1945)
_____ *Portrait of a House: a Period Piece* (Carroll and Nicholson, 1948)
Tyack, G, Bradley, S, and Pevsner, N, *Berkshire* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, Buildings of England, 2010), p. 612

Woolmer

Primary

Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum holds:
Schultz's design for the chancel screen, 19 September 1899 (1941.222.86)
Schultz's design for nave seating (1941.222.87)
Gimson's design for credence table and litany desk (1941.222.88)
Gimson's design for bishop's chair (1941.222.89)
Gimson's designs for sedilia in English oak, (1941.222.90, 91, 92, 93)
90 is dated Jan 24 1908
93 is dated Jan 30 1908

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) holds (all at D/P 119/6/15):
Gimson's designs for light fittings (11 Nov 1907; 24 Jan, 30 Jan 1908)
Correspondence from RWS on the above (1907, 1908)

RWS's drawing for the carving of St Michael over the south porch (n.d. but 1913)
Correspondence on the above (1913)
Correspondence (but no design) about the altar rails

HALS also holds 'Headlam's Scrapbook', a collection of ecclesiastical ephemera collated by Revd A C Headlam up to 1903. (DP/119/3/10)

RIBA holds the following drawings:
PB394/7 (1-17) Preliminary designs for St Michael and All Angels, Woolmer Green, by Robert Weir Schultz, 1899-1900
PB692/2 (1-4) Perspectives (2 in watercolour, 2 in ink) of the same church, drawn by Geoffry Lucas, 1899

The *Welwyn Parish Magazine* is held in a number of bound volumes by Tony Rook.

Secondary

Anon, 'Church of St Michael and All Angels, Woolmer Green', *Building News*, 11 January 1907, p. 64 + illustrations
Ballin, F, 'Woolmer Green's church and school', *Hertfordshire Countryside,* May 1971, pp. 46-7
Greensted, M, 'The Arts and Crafts movement: exchanges between Greece and Britain (1876-1930)', MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010
Ottewill, D, 'Robert Weir Schultz (1860-1951): An Arts and Crafts Architect', *Architectural History,* vol. 22, 1979, pp. 87-115
Rook, K, *St Michael and All Angels, Woolmer Green,* (2-sided A4 sheet, 9 March 1995)
_____ and Rook, T, *St Mary's Church, Welwyn: a History and Guide* (self-published, 1996)
Stamp, G, *Robert Weir Schultz, Architect, and His Work for the Marquesses of Bute* (Curwen Press, 1981)
Watson, J ('The People of the Parish'), *The Book of Woolmer Green: a new parish for the New Millennium* (Tiverton: Halsgrove, 2001)
Weir Schultz, R, 'Byzantine Art', *AR* I (1897), pp. 192-99, 248-55
_____ 'Architecture or Building', *British Architect,* 4 February 1910, pp. 87-89, 104-5
_____ 'The cathedral of All Saints, Khartoum, Sudan', *Builder*, 19 May 1916, pp. 371-3

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Lambeth Palace Library: ICBS files

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The Architect
Architects' and Builders' Journal
The Architects' Journal (founded as The Builders' Journal)
Architectural Review (AR)
The Art Workers Quarterly (1902-6)
The British Architect
The Builder
Builders Journal and Architectural Record
Building News
The Church Builder
Country Life
Kelly's Directory
The Studio

Anon, *William Searle Hicks, Architect: with list of churches in which examples of his work exist* (Walter Scott, 1903)
Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society (ACES): catalogues, 15 vols. (London, 1888-1931)
_____ *Art and Life and the Building and Decoration of Cities: a series of lectures by members of the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society, delivered in the fifth exhibition of the Society in 1896* (Rivington, Percival, 1897)
Art Workers' Guild, *Beauty's Awakening* (special number of *The Studio*, Summer 1899)
Ashbee, C R, *Craftsmanship in Competitive Industry* (Chipping Campden and London, 1908, reprinted 1977)
Brooke, W G *Handy-Book of the Public Worship Regulation Act* (Henry S King, 1874)
Cobden-Sanderson, T, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (Hammersmith: Hammersmith Publishing Society, 1905)
Davison, T. R. (ed.), *The Arts connected with Building: Lectures on Craftsmanship and Design delivered at Carpenters' Hall, London Wall, for the Worshipful Company of Carpenters by R W Schultz, C F A Voysey, E Guy Dawber, Laurence A Turner, F W Troup, A Romney Green, M H Baillie Scott, Chas Spooner & J Starkie Gardner* (Batsford, 1909)
Day, L F, *Every-Day Art* (Batsford, 1882)
Faulkner, P (ed), *Arts and Crafts Essays by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, with a preface by William Morris* (1893; facsimile Bristol: Thoemmes, 1996)
Froude, J A, *The Nemesis of Faith* (George Routledge, 1903)
Jackson, T G, *Recollections* (1915) (OUP, 1950; Unicorn Press, 2003)
Jones, R P, *Nonconformist Church Architecture* (Lindsey Press, 1914)
Leland, C, *The Minor Arts* (Macmillan, 1880)

Lethaby, W R, *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (1891) (Architectural Press, reprinted 1974)
_____ *Form in Civilization* (Oxford: OUP, 1922)
_____ *Home and Country Arts* (National Federation of Women's Institutes, 1923)
_____ *Philip Webb and his Work* (Oxford: OUP, 1935)
_____ *Scrips and Scraps*, (Powell, A. (ed.), Cirencester: SPAB, 1956?).
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Massé, H (ed), *The Art Workers' Guild 1884-1934* (Oxford: Shakespeare's Head, 1935)
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_____ Occasional Notes on Church Furniture & Arrangement (ICBS, 1906)
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Muthesius, H, *Die neuere kirchliche Baukunst in England* (Berlin: Wilhelm Ernst & Sohn, 1901)
_____*Das englische Haus*; 1904, published as *The English House* (Crosby, Lockwood, Staples, 1979; reprinted Oxford: BP Professional Books, 1989)
Nicholson, C and Corlette, H, *Modern Church Building* (RIBA, 1907)
Sedding, J D, *Art and Handicraft* (Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner, 1893)
_____ 'Religion and Art – their influence on each other' in C Donnelly (ed), *Report of the Church Congress held at Portsmouth* (1885), pp. 176-7
Shaw, R N and Jackson, T G (eds), *Architecture: a profession or an art? Thirteen short essays on the qualifications and training of architects*, (Murray, 1892)
Voysey, C F A, *Individuality* (Chapman and Hall, 1915)
Whall, C, *Stained Glass Work* (John Hogg, 1905)
Wilson, H, 'The Arts and Crafts Society: with Especial Reference to Certain Exhibits', *AR* 6, June-Dec 1899, pp. 209-216
_____ 'Nineteenth Century Building', *AR*, vol. 3, 1897-8, pp. 49-50
_____ 'Some consideration of John Dando Sedding's work', *AR,* vol. 3, 1898, pp. 237-242
_____ 'Concerning Drawing: a plea for discontent', *AR*, vol. 5, 1898-9, pp. 184-193
_____ 'Art and Religion', *AR*, vol. 6, June-Dec 1899, pp. 276-278
_____ 'On the real impediments of British Architecture', *AR*, vol. 8, July-Dec 1900, pp. 36-39

Parliamentary papers
Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, &c 1867
Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline Commission (HMSO, 1906)

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William Seth-Smith: www.seth-smith.org.uk
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