Church Building and Restoration in Leicestershire, 1800-1914

by

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ABSTRACT

CHURCH BUILDING AND RESTORATION IN LEICESTERSHIRE, 1800-1914

- Ph.D. thesis by Geoffrey K. Brandwood

This thesis aims to provide the first comprehensive review of church building and restoration in an English county between 1800 and 1914. Architectural trends and arrangements of furnishings and fittings receive the greatest attention, together with the setting of local events in the national context. The condition and appearance of churches in the pre-Ecclesiological era are considered and a rather more favourable picture built up than that inherited from the nineteenth century. The rise of Ecclesiology is examined and it is clear that Leicestershire follows rather than plays a leading part in national trends. Throughout emphasis is placed on statistical information to illuminate the points under discussion, for example, to assess the impact of the restoration movement on local churches; the claim that restoration was destruction is critically examined, particularly in relation to G.G. Scott. It is shown that from about 1870 there was a great need for new churches in Leicester, and, although there were some notable buildings provided, there was a general tendency towards architectural simplicity which led back to the values embodied in the pre-Victorian buildings. This is also associated with changing stylistic fashions; after the flowering of the Gothic Revival, its waning is traced and examples given of the use of non-Gothic styles. The above themes are generally treated chronologically. They are followed by separate treatments of the processes of selecting architects (the clear evidence is limited), building materials and their application (Leicestershire has an excellent diversity of materials), and the methods of funding the work.

Back-up material is provided in a series of Appendices. Of these the longest and most important are the ones summarising the work done at each church, the work of individual architects, and a review of the amount and timing of activity in other selected counties. The latter seems to show that not all counties follow the Leicestershire pattern, which peaks in the 1860s.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations do not conform with British Standard 4148. In cases where works are also cited in the Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches, the same abbreviations have been used for the sake of consistency. Abbreviations used only in Appendices One and Three are listed at the start of the Appendix in question.

AAS - Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers

Archit - The Architect

BAA - Journal of the British Archaeological Association

BFLC - Manuscript/typescript notes of Canon B.F.L. Clarke in the library of the Council for the Care of Churches, London

Bldr - The Builder

BN - Building News

ChBldr - The Church Builder

Eccl - The Ecclesiologist

GD - G. Dickinson et al., Rutland Churches before the Restorers: An Early Victorian Album of Watercolours and Drawings (London, 1983)

GPNH - Goddard architectural papers at Newton Harcourt Hall

HPM - Hinckley Parish Magazine, Village Advertiser, and Local Church Reporter

ICBS - (Incorporated) Church Building Society

JDBa - J.D. Bennett, Leicestershire Architects 1700-1850 (Leicester, 1968)

JDBb - J.D. Bennett, Who was Who in Leicestershire 1500-1970 (Loughborough, 1975)

LAHS - Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society

LC - Leicester Chronicle

LJ - Leicester Journal

LRN&Q - Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries

LRO - Leicestershire Records Office

MHA - Market Harborough Advertiser

NRO - Northamptonshire Record Office

PDC [year] - Peterborough Diocesan Calendar, (Clergy List) and Almanac for [year]

RANHS - Annual Report and Transactions of the Rutland Archaeological and Natural History Society

SADC - Society of Antiquaries Drawings Collection

SM - Stamford Mercury

SPAB - Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings

SSG - Sir Stephen Glynne's church notes in the Clwyd Record Office

VCH, 2 - Victoria County History of Rutland, vol. 2

VCH, 5 - Victoria County History of Leicestershire, vol. 5

W (year) - W. White, Directory etc. of Leicestershire and Rutland (year)

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My first expression of thanks is to Mr David Parsons of the Department of Adult Education at Leicester University, without whom this study would have been, quite simply, impossible. There are three reasons. First, and probably most important, when I moved to Leicestershire in 1975, it was he who helped me 'channel' my interest in churches into serious research. This developed through my participation in his monumental Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches project, and this is where my second debt of gratitude comes in. When I developed a strange fascination with the nineteenth century and embarked on the present line of study, he kindly put at my disposal the work of his adult education group and made various suggestions for further research. Finally, when it became clear that I could not be cured of my Victorian leanings, he put considerable effort into finding a University Department and a supervisor to take me in hand.

Some time after my work on the nineteenth-century activity in Leicestershire churches had begun, Elizabeth Williamson and Bridget Cherry put me in touch with Dr Chris Brooks, Dr Martin Cherry and Ms Joanna Cox who had started work on the Nineteenth-Century Devon Churches Project. I came to value their friendship and encouragement, and am especially grateful to Martin Cherry (by then living in Leicestershire) for so many useful discussions. He was brave enough to read my manuscript and made a great number of helpful suggestions for improvements.

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INTRODUCTION

Few parish churches in England escaped important changes in the three-quarters of a century from the accession of Queen Victoria to the outbreak of the First World War and these years gave churches the last major imprint which brought about their modern appearance. So many of the features of what might be regarded as a "typical" parish church are the result of modifications in this era - the establishment of Gothic architecture as a norm, rows of neatly-arranged, east-facing benches, choir stalls, a pulpit to one side of the chancel arch, tiled floors, a large font somewhere at the west end, a chancel raised a few steps above the nave and so on. In addition, the stock of churches was doubled as new buildings were erected to serve areas of increased population and bearing, almost without exception, the types of features listed. Many older churches were rebuilt along similar lines.

By any architectural or cultural standards the movement was a highly remarkable one and arose out of a background of renewal in the Anglican Church at large. This began in the 1830s and was to involve prodigious expenditure on new churches and alterations to existing ones. This activity over church buildings was but the material expression of a much broader movement in an age of deep religious conviction. The changing religious and aesthetic climate demanded buildings which were very different from those required by the latitudinarian churchmanship of the preceding generations. The phenomenon was not exclusively Anglican nor, indeed, exclusively British but was paralelled on the Continent by a new awareness of what was "appropriate" in church architecture and furnishing. But what was special about English events was the fervour with which architectural and religious sentiments were interlinked. Contemporary observers were acutely aware of something very special taking place and they recognised the crusading element behind the developments. At the very height of this new movement, in the 1860s, events were such that they encouraged the King of Prussia to despatch a Commission to England to look "into the cause of this manifestation of religious ardour".[1]

The architecture of the new buildings and the changes wrought during restorations sought, initially, to recapture and, later, develop and improve on the beauty of medieval precedents. It was painfully obvious to the Victorians that they had no style of their own for their churches. The enthusiasm for the Gothic Revival, however, did give birth to distinctive

1. ChBldr (1862), 39.

buildings but the inspiration came from long-dead styles and was effected in a very self-concious way. This self-concious revival of ancient work and the hot-house atmosphere of the Gothic architectural adventure in the Victorian years led to a rapid flowering of ideas, but a flowering that could not long be sustained. From about 1870 the popularity of Gothic as the prevalent style was rapidly fading in the face of competition from other styles, and by the end of the century it was being used solely for churches - and even for these it took a form which was very different from that used in the early Victorian years.

The reaction against Victorian church building and restoration was as fervent as the way the Gothic Revival had been promoted in the 1830s and '40s. Victorian restoration provoked strong and hostile criticism, even from the middle of the nineteenth century, on account of the level of destruction of earlier work, that of the Middle Ages included. The highly distinctive Gothic architecture of the age was viewed for most of the earlier part of the twentieth century with distaste, as is so often the case with any artistic style immediately preceding that of one's own generation. The best that could be hoped for was a lack of discussion at all. More usually the approach was hostile - for example, the architect and old-school writer on church architecture, H. Munro Cautley, referring to Norfolk wrote of "the deplorable re-construction and re-furnishing that took place with apparently a total lack of authority to check them, and no real taste to guide them. The only good thing to be said for the nineteenth century is that there did seem to be plenty of money for their so called restorations, almost too much you are inclined to think when you see to what lengths they went in altering the old and imposing the new."[2]

Therefore it is hardly surprsing that, until after the Second World War, there was little written which approached nineteenth-century architecture either sympathetically or seriously. Kenneth Clark's <u>The Gothic Revival</u> of 1928 was the pioneering essay but there was no serviceable study on church building of any substance since Eastlake's <u>History of the Gothic Revival</u> until 1938 when Basil Clarke published his <u>Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century</u>. Only after the War and, more especially since about 1960 has the period received the serious, sympathetic academic study that it so richly deserves (it is interesting to note that Basil Clarke admitted to being much more favourably disposed towards Scott and also the restoration movement in his 1969 edition than in the first edition). What has, correctly,

2. <u>Norfolk Churches</u> (Ipswich, 1949), 2.

attracted the attentions of historians to date has been the study of the main architectural themes and the architects of the period. There are now excellent biographies for some of the leading figures - Burges, Butterfield, Pearson and Shaw (and a less satisfactory one of Scott), and descriptions of individual buildings.[3] There is also a history of the rise and triumph of the Ecclesiological movement - J.F. White's The Cambridge Movement (1962). Basil Clarke made progress in examing the restoration movement specifically but his typescript remains unedited and unpublished.[4] What does not yet exist is a comprehensive study of what took place in a particular area of the country and which charts the rise of this great movement, its triumph and its eventual decline. Elementary examinations of work in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire were published in 1961 by M.L. Clarke, brother of Basil Clarke.[5]

One recent work that considered new churches (only) of all denominations in a given county is D.R. Elleray's book The Victorian Churches of Sussex (1981) but this is a short work which presents, essentially, a pictorial record and less factual and discursive material than one would like. Anne Riches's Victorian Church Building and Restoration in Suffolk (1982) attempts to look at both new buildings and restorations but it is extremely brief and provides a far from comprehensive treatment of the subject.[6] It is to be hoped that Homan's forthcoming book on The Victorian Churches of Kent will treat the new churches in his area more fully than Elleray's. Little work has been done on the subject in Leicestershire, though D.M. Thompson's thesis and subsequent article (see bibliography) discuss the subject very briefly as part of a review of the role of the churches in society between 1850 and 1880.

It is in this context that the present study was conceived. It arose out of the writer's interest in local Anglican churches which began in 1974 on moving to Leicestershire. This was origirally confined to medieval buildings but it was soon apparent from fieldwork and also participation in the Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches project (established by

3. The increasingly sympathetic treatment given to nineteenth-century buildings in the Buildings of England series since 1951 is symptomatic of the growing appreciative awareness of them.
4. Held in the library of the Council for the Care of Churches.
5. "Anglesey Churches in the Nineteenth Century", Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. & Field Club (1961), 53-68, and "Church Building and Church Restoration in Caernarvonshire during the Nineteenth Century", Trans. Caernarvonshire Hist. Soc. 22 (1961), 20-31.
6. Both are reviewed by the writer in Churchscape 3 (1984, forthcoming).

David Parsons) that a proper understanding of the pre-1800 churches was impossible without a knowledge of subsequent activity. The result was the accumulation of documentary material on this period and the growing awareness that a thorough study could and should be attempted. A particularly influential event was the writer's work to produce an index of newspaper material between about 1830 and 1914 in the two main local sources, the Leicester Chronicle and the Leicester Journal. This was published as Part Two of the Bibliography in 1980. It revealed a rich source of contemporary material which has been amplified by a study of the other extant material dealing with Leicestershire.

The present study is therefore offered as a contribution to understanding how church building and restoration operated at a local level between the vital years of 1800 and 1914. It aims to relate local developments to the national picture. To the knowledge of the writer no other comparable study has been undertaken in the country, though a major project for Devon was commenced at roughly the same time as the research presented here and which is still under way, led by Dr Chris Brooks, Ms Joanna Cox and Dr Martin Cherry.

THE SCOPE OF THIS THESIS

The aim is to present a comprehensive survey of the work that took place in all Leicestershire churches that existed in 1800 and those that were built or rebuilt before 1914. To keep the study manageable, only Anglican buildings are considered but these are the key ones in terms of architectural developments and responses. In all, some 387 buildings are involved, including a few that have been demolished.[7] The term "Leicestershire" needs a little explanation. It has the same geographical coverage as the Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches, which also includes Rutland. It also covers, for the same reason, two churches within the Diocese of Leicester but which lie just across the county boundary - Stanford-on-Avon in Northamptonshire and Wibtoft in Warwickshire. If another definition is required in discussing particular points, this is clarified in the text at the appropriate point.

Even the term "church" needs to be made clear. It includes all the Anglican parish churches and chapels in existence in 1800 and all subsequent ones built by 1914.[8] Mission churches, however, are not included in depth since most have now gone and there is very little documentary evidence about

7. These are Barrow and Leicester Christ Church, St Hilda, St Luke, St Leonard.
8. Snibstone, St James planned in 1914 but built in 1915 is included.

them.

The survey of work on architecture and fittings does involve a couple of omissions which require a word of explanation. These are monuments and stained glass. Monuments are a specialised subject and one for which the documentary sources used here are usually silent; it would not have been possible to treat them adequately. Furthermore the nineteenth-century contributions were far less important than those of the previous century. The same certainly cannot be said of stained glass. There are over 1,200 windows with decorative designs dating from between about 1825 to 1914, and these are a major study in their own right. They have enormously important aesthetic results but only in very rare cases do they represent a comprehensive scheme planned by the architect responsible for the building or restoration (e.g. Hambleton, 1895). Frequently it was only the east window that was put in at the time of the main restoration. What complicates the study of stained glass is the incredible lack of information about makers. Contemporary descriptions in newspapers and journals are confined in most cases, at best, to the name(s) of the donor(s) and a description of the scene depicted. Windows tended to be private gifts and information is generally absent from the parish records. Justice cannot therefore be done to this important subject here. A separate study using close stylistic analysis would be necessary.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Appendix One gives details of the work (or lack of it) at every church in the area under review, but there are some cases where the lack of information is tantalising. For example, we do not know precisely what was done and/or when and by whom at, for example, Loddington, Ryhall and Swithland. This is not for the want of attention to the documentary material. There is generally no shortage of this and the problem has tended to be one of coping with vast amounts of it, rather than its absence. Despite the voluminous source material, some of the evidence surviving is found in unexpected and out-of-the-way locations; other information, often important, is met with sometimes in a single casual reference. For example, the information that G.E. Street restored Normanton-le-Heath is tucked away in the files of the ICBS and that H.I. Stevens built Donisthorpe seems to be confined to an invitation to tender for the work in the Derby Mercury in 1837. The cryptic comment in White's Directory of 1877 that Ryhall was "restored" for £400 in 1857 is sufficiently vague to be unhelpful. At the time of the work there was little or no thought of recording for posterity what was taking place and a meticulous hand-written account of

the happenings at Seaton in 1874-5 is most exceptional.[9] The haphazard nature of the surviving evidence underlines the lack of interest in Victorian work. Less than a hundred years later most parishes do not seem to possess the basic documents such as faculties, architects' specifications and builders' contracts for the main nineteenth-century works.

The full details of material consulted are given in the Bibliography, but the main sources may be stated briefly here - parish records, newspapers, contemporary learned journals, directories, Visitation accounts, faculty transcripts, and the records of such bodies as the ICBS and SPAB. Information in primary sources has, of course, been accepted in preference to secondary material, unless there are compelling reasons to do otherwise. The information in the newspapers proved of particular value and often filled in gaps where parish material has disappeared. Also they report work that has been done whereas faculty and other records only speak of intentions and there is no certainty that the proposals were always executed. Local journals kept a good record of work carried out from the early '60s and there is, of course, the usual range of reviews in the national architectural press.

FIELDWORK

Every surviving church built and in use by 1914 was visited between July 1980 and May 1982. Comprehensive notes were made on site on a standard recording form (see Appendix Nine). This was devised at the outset and proved workable throughout. The objective was to record the absence of particular features, just as much as the existence of others. For instance, it is as important to know about the absence of sedilia and piscinas in the 1840s at particular churches as their existence at others. The front of the form was devised to record such standardised information and provide comments about particular features; the reverse was used for general discussion purposes. The two sides were generally adequate, except in the cases of major buildings or especially interesting schemes of restoration.

THE CONTENT OF THIS THESIS

The main body of the text is concerned with tracing the development of church architecture, fittings and furnishings in Leicestershire. Throughout, emphasis has been placed on relating what took place (or failed to take place) locally to the broader national architectural and religious developments. As J.M. Crook points out "Nineteenth-century architecture richly

9. LRO DE 1883/57.

repays analysis couched in economic, social and religious terms".[10] The examination of a finite area in depth gives ample opportunity to study these aspects of the period. They are a necessary background for a full understanding of the period and attention has therefore been devoted to questions such as the Ecclesiological awareness of the area, the selection of architects, the means of funding activity in church building, and the interaction of local events with national bodies , notably the ICBS and SPAB. Particular attention is devoted to the work of particular architects working in the area, both national figures (especially the prolific G.G. Scott) and the the local men who took up, with varying degrees of success, the ideas of the former. A practice that receives particular notice is that of the Goddards whose work is in evidence right through from about 1840 to 1914. It is highly instructive as it follows the whole gamut of ideas during these 75 crucial years. It is possible to trace in their work the rise of Ecclesiology, the extravaganza of High Victorian architecture, and the eventual decline of the church building and restoration movement. Only by following in detail such local events can the full impact of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century activity on English churches be assessed.

It is important to set Leicestershire in the context of events in other parts of the country. However, in view of the limited amount of detailed work that has been done elsewhere, it is not possible to do more than speculate as to its "typicality". There is little exceptional about the geography of the county except that it has a wide variety of building materials available which had an interesting and varied impact on the fabrics of churches (see Chapter Eight). Economically the county was (and is) relatively prosperous, with one major centre of population - Leicester - a scattering of small towns, and a large number of villages. Apart from the coalfield and the fringes of Leicester, the latter were almost entirely dependent on agriculture. Leicester itself depended on industry, particularly hosiery and footwear. The other towns usually depended on a mixture of small-scale industry and the agriculture of the surrounding districts. The growth of Leicester demanded a stock of new churches and the development of the coalfield in the west of the county a similar, though lesser, supply. The county embraces a good variety of geographical conditions in with the response towards church building and restoration may be examined.

The question of leanings in the county's churchmanship are discussed in Chapter Two but here it needs to be said that it does not seem to have

10. "The Pre-Victorian Architect; Professionalism and Patronage", Archit. Hist. 12 (1969), 62-78.

displayed any particularly strong High Church or Evangelical trends. The balance seems to have been on the side of the Low Church, which is to be expected in an area which had quite a tradition of Nonconformity. Leicestershire certainly provides a contrast to the Ecclesiological propensities of High Church Devon. The church architectural results may well reflect this position. There is no strong early evidence of local people being taken up with advanced Ecclesiological views, but, there is little or no resistence to such views as they gradually percolated into everyday architectural thinking. One phenomenon which received particularly strong reaction was that the apparently strengthening position of the Roman Catholics. "Papal Agression" in general and the establishment of the Catholics in Charnwood in particular, seems to have had a direct effect on some of the local work in Anglican churches (see pp. 93-6).

All that can be done at this stage is to attempt a crude comparison with other counties in terms of when church building and restoration was carried out. The Leicestershire picture picture is summarised in Chapter Ten. Other counties are reviewed in Appendix Eight.

The research for this study has enabled a fairly comprehensive picture to be developed of what was done at each church and a statement of the involvement of individual architects can be produced. These factual details are presented in Appendices One to Three. What is apparent is that only a handful of churches escaped major activity between 1800 and 1914 and that a very large number of architects from many different places contributed to the work. At no time, even during the active years about 1300, was there so much happening as between about 1840 and 1890. Activity tailed off rapidly thereafter so that during the twentieth century there have probably been as few, if not fewer, major schemes than in the early part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INHERITANCE

In 1800 Anglican churches were being built and furnished along the lines evolved in the two and a half centuries since the Reformation. Medieval churches were ill-adapted to the requirements of the sixteenth-century Prayer Books and numerous experiments took place to meet the changed circumstances. Before the Reformation parish churches were compartmentalised structures and lacked a main liturgical centre. Rather there were several - the font, the pulpit, and, above all, more than one altar. After the mid-sixteenth century the focus in the Church of England became the pulpit and reading desk and the tendency was towards corporate, participative worship. The emphasis was on the Word of God rather than the dimly-seen mysteries of the altar. In England, as in other Protestant countries, the chancel had become largely superfluous by the eighteenth century and the result was the development of single-cell buildings with a strong focus on the central area. The liturgical space occupied by the congregation was linked as closely as possible with that used by the clergy.[1] In its extreme form, the trend away from the disparate medieval church was expressed by a few buildings which adopted but one liturgical centre. The rococo box at Shobdon, Herefordshire, is a good example with its grouping of chancel, pulpit and font, as is Halston chapel, Whittington, Shropshire, with a similar concentration at the east end.[2]

Whilst the auditory church was the fundamental expression of Anglicanism,[3] a characteristic of eighteenth-century church building was the failure of any one type of building plan or set of internal arrangements to dominate - a marked contrast to the uniformity acheived from the 1840s. This diversity is seen in a number of key buildings in Leicestershire. The classic site is Kings Norton (1757-75), a "perfect expression of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, its lucidity, its classical view of life,

1. J.F. White, Protestant Worship and Church Architecture (New York, 1964), 78-117.
2. For these and other experiments, see G.W.O. Addleshaw & F. Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London, 1950).
3. Even in cathedrals, e.g. Wyatt's restorations; see S. Tschudi-Madsen Restoration and Anti-Restoration (2nd ed., Oslo, Bergen, Tromso, 1976), 22.

its freedom from cant and humbug, its objectivity".[4] The church is an impressive, tall rectangle in surprisingly serious Gothic, built by the younger John Wing for William Fortrey. It is constructed of brick and faced with white Ketton stone.[5] The interior is practically untouched eighteenth-century work and is dominated by a three-decker pulpit in the centre, two-thirds of the way towards the east end. It forms the focus for the worshippers in the pews, gallery and, presumably originally, moveable seats in the wide, central alley. The space before the communion table is approached by gates either side of the pulpit, but this space and the table itself are aesthetically and functionally secondary to the pulpit group. In this case the font was (and is) located at the west end. As usual in eighteenth-century churches the entrance was at the west, under the tower. (See plate 3 for a central pulpit).

Another series of buildings in the county of great significance was built for the fourth Earl of Harborough, probably all by George Richardson. They are Saxby (1789), Stapleford (1783) and Teigh (1782), which exhibit some important and diverse characteristics of late eighteenth-century church building. Country churches of such quality, as here and at Kings Norton, are invariably the result of wealthy and/or aristocratic patronage, which probably had a major influence on the architecture adopted. Lord Harborough's churches display both Gothic (Stapleford) and classical (Saxby) idioms.[6] The west entrance, through the tower, is standard throughout, but otherwise there is much variety of plan - a medievally-arranged nave and chancel at Saxby, a T-plan at Stapleford and a simple rectangle at Teigh. The interior of Saxby was sadly gutted by Joseph Goddard in 1874 but the other two retain their original furnishings. Teigh is a particularly precious survival. The seats are arranged in college fashion so the congregation can easily turn to either of the liturgical centres, the communion table/font at the east end and the raised pulpit group in the west wall over the entrance. The font was a small wooden one attached to the communion rail. All three buildings had ceilings (although Saxby's has gone). Stapleford retains its excellent gallery but whether Saxby had one is not known. The collegiate seating arrangement is repeated at Stapleford.

4. Addleshaw & Etchells, op. cit., 60.
5. J. Brushe, St John the Baptist, Kings Norton, Leicestershire (Kings Norton, revised 1976), no pagination.
6. The present Gothic windows are not original. They were inserted around 1893: AAS 22 (1893-4), 38.

The other church of far more than local significance is Tickencote, remodelled in 1792 by S.P. Cockerell for Eliza Wingfield. The extraordinarily rich Norman chancel was reworked faithfully in the spirit, if not the archaeology of the original. Almost certainly it is the first example of self-conscious Norman Revival work, as is the rest of the structure, rebuilt in a free Norman manner. It received a pulpit at the west end,[7] ceiling and box-pews. (See plate 1).

These five churches display characteristics which it is important to understand in order to assess the significance and course of early nineteenth-century developments. These characteristics may be summarised as follows.

A variety of plans. Despite the fact that the medieval plan was redundant for Prayer Book worship, the structurally separate chancel was still sometimes erected, e.g. Saxby or Snarestone (1752). At other churches (even by the same architect and for the same patron) it was abandoned, e.g. Teigh or Kings Norton. The T-plan was also in evidence, as at Stapleford, and also just across the county boundary at East Carlton, Northamptonshire (1788 by the younger Wing).

West entrances. In Midland churches north and south doorways are an almost invariable rule for medieval churches. In the post-Reformation church they were redundant and had no symbolic or liturgical use. All new and rebuilt churches from the seventeenth century in Leicestershire dispensed with them, even in that remarkable example of Gothic Survival, Staunton Harold (1653 onwards). The west entrance remained standard until about 1840.

Variety of style. Leicestershire reveals interesting examples of eighteenth-century Gothic(k), and also classical motifs. Galby (1741) by the elder Wing, displays a curious mixture of Gothic idiom alongside conventional eighteenth-century doorways and windows, as does Snarestone. Yet Kings Norton is a remarkably fine example of pure Gothic, which was probably a matter of self-conscious revival, rather than the survival of a popular building tradition. By contrast, more minor work at Ragdale (1767) reveals in the parapets of the chancel and south porch a poorly understood Gothic vocabulary, that is not matched by the altogether more serious treatment of the intersected east window. Here the use of Gothic at this time was due as Eastlake pointed out, "rather to a respect for the integrity of

7. SM 30 May 1862.

the building than to a love of the style."[8] Gothic, however, was entirely abandoned for Saxby and the nave at Teigh.

Building materials. Despite the late-medieval use of brick in Leicestershire for secular buildings, Bradgate chapel (c. 1500) is the only instance of brick being used for a church before the late seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century it was used much more widely in the county as it became cheaper than stone. Carlton, Snarestone and Walton-le-Wolds all have extensive displays of brick, and stone is merely a facing material at Kings Norton. Brick was commonly used for porches grafted on to earlier churches, e.g. Braunstone (c. 1704?), Worthington (dated 1781) and Hinckley (removed 1809). Brick was also widely used for patching and repairs.

Otherwise stone remained in use, especially in the east of the county where excellent building stones were available. However, both stone and brick could be used in the same area. The tower at Measham was rebuilt in local sandstone, probably about 1737, yet in the neighbouring village of Snarestone the new church of 1752 was entirely brick-built.

Seating. The location of the pulpit and desk had profound implications for the arrangement of the pews. The orientation of the seats was not related to the communion table but to the pulpit and therefore they did not necessarily face east. It was common for them to be placed round three or even four sides of the box pews, as at Orton-on-the-Hill down to the present time.[9] Yet this was by no means universal as the east-facing seats in the box-pews at Breedon-on-the-Hill (of the 1790s?) prove.

Position of the font. There was some sense in placing the font towards the east end of the church, where it could be seen more easily than in the recesses of the west end. At Teigh the font was attached to the communion rails. That at Stapleford was moveable and could be screwed into the middle of the nave when required. Elsewhere it was located in a more traditional position near the west end and could form a liturgical centre in its own right. For example, at Kings Norton and Orton-on-the-Hill it was in the centre of a christening pew.

Types of font. This subject is discussed more fully on pp. 57-8 but the

8. C.L. Eastlake, The History of the Gothic Revival (London, 1872, reprinted, 2nd ed., Leicester, 1978), 61.
9. Pews with seats on two or more sides cannot be traced earlier than 1601, at Barking, Suffolk, according to E.L. Cutts, A Dictionary of the Church of England (London, 2nd ed., 1889), 459.

swing away from Prayer Book requirements for immersion meant that a large medieval-type font was no longer essential.

Galleries. Galleries are discussed in depth on pp. 51-5 and here it needs merely to be noted that they were standard items of furnishing and were an expression of the desire by the Church of England to accommodate as many people as possible with a full view of the main liturgical centre. The evidence of, say, Gaddesby, where padstones indicate the presence of a former gallery in an enormous church in a small village, suggests they were sometimes put in even when there was no pressure on space for accommodation.

Ceilings. Ceilings were a further expression of the intimacy of worship desired in the Anglican church at this period. They made churches more human places for services by cutting out the dim recesses of the roof space. Excellent eighteenth-century ceilings survive at, for example, Stapleford and Withcote (c. 1744). Routine village work exists at Orton-on-the-Hill.

Decoration. Decoration was kept to a minimum. Walls were always plastered and invariably white. A clean, bright interior (without stained glass) was the rule, as is exemplified by Kings Norton. Only rarely was a wall decorated. A charming example is the mock window in the west wall at Teigh with its imaginery branches of a tree beyond.

"Shams" and stucco. The Teigh window is a sham. The Puginian concept of the sham held no moral terrors for the eighteenth-century builder or churchman. Nothing was considered wrong in building Kings Norton in brick and then facing it with stone. Similarly the "real construction" of external walls was often obscured by stucco, a practical precaution against weathering, particularly in areas of easily-weathered stone (especially in the marlstone belt). Stucco survives on several churches (e.g. Bitteswell, Galby and Tugby) but there is no certain way of knowing whether or not it is eighteenth-century. Wooden window frames and tracery to imitate the Y-form was acceptable as a cheap expedient (e.g. Mountsorrel at the west end and Queniborough, east end of the north aisle).

Respect for older work. Generally eighteenth-century vestries and their builders paid little respect towards medieval work in adapting and rebuilding churches to meet contemporary needs. The loss of aisles probably occurred from an early date after the Reformation because they became redundant with the loss of side chapels. The process continued throughout the eighteenth century as at Orton-on-the-Hill in 1764,[10] Foston (faculty dated

10. BFLC.

1766),[11] and Wanlip in 1796[12]. At Thurnby the chancel was removed about 1779 under a faculty.[13] The new chancel at Manton, dated 1796, though charming, is out of harmony with the rest of the church. Sometimes, as Eastlake suggested, an effort was made to blend new Gothic work with the old, e.g. the Ragdale example mentioned above, and the tower pinnacles at Great Casterton, dated 1792.

It is quite likely that many schemes were long overdue and frequently it took a long time to get them underway. Evidence for this can best be seen in the system of church briefs. This was a cumbersome, expensive and inefficient way of raising money.[14] For example, a petition for a brief to remove the aisles at Sheepy was made in April 1767 and was granted in June 1768. However, the work was not done until 1778 and a confirmatory faculty for it was given in 1779.[15] Similarly, a brief in January 1784 for Breedon-on-the-Hill was not followed up by work being carried out until the 1790s.[16] Minor schemes financed by the parish probably had much shorter gestation periods, but there seems every likelihood that parish politics and difficulties led to delays. Nichols quotes one such case at Claybrooke, where, in 1786, the proposal to introduce a gallery was objected to vigorously by a churchwarden who said that not only would it interrupt the light entering the church, but the occupants would disturb those below "by spitting upon them, and by other acts of rudeness"[!][17]

Furthermore the system of briefs was a notoriously inefficient way of raising funds. The rules for obtaining a brief required that the proposed works would cost over £1,000 and it is curious how many proposals just crept over the limit. Of the twelve Leicestershire briefs for 1768-84, eleven fall in the range £1,009-£1,108! There were frequent complaints that the sums collected barely covered the costs. These worked out at a more or less fixed charge of £230-£240 in the late eighteenth century, at which time a brief could be fairly safely relied upon to generate not much more than between £330 and £500. Claybrooke again provides an

11. BFLC.
12. Anon, Our Lady and St Nicholas, Wanlip, Leicestershire (Wanlip, 1967), 3.
13. AAS 11 (1871-2), 183.
14. Full details of the procedure is given in W.A. Bewes, Church Briefs (London, 1896).
15. ibid., 332; BFLC; A. McCulley, The Parish Church of All Saints, Sheepy (Sheepy, 1963), 2.
16. Confirmatory faculty issued March 1794 (BFLC).
17. Nichols 4 (i), 107.

instance. A brief issued in 1765 for £1,103 to rebuild or repair much of the church raised only £165, and in 1767 £135 had to be raised by a church rate.[18] Most briefs collected little from individual parishes. The Claybrooke brief raised 5s. 4d. from the nearby parish of Misterton.[19] The parishioners from further away Hambelton were even less generous, contributing a miserable 2s. 6d. on each of four occasions of Leicestershire briefs.[20] After lengthy agitation, this system of obtaining cash, totally inappropriate to the needs of the nineteenth century, was abolished in 1828.

Most funds no doubt came from the church rates levied by the vestry, but in certain places the work was paid for exclusively by a wealthy patron. The lavish works at all five churches discussed at the beginning of this chapter were paid for in this way.

The time it took to bring a scheme to fruition can hardly have been conducive to good maintenance but it would be very wrong to conclude that the age was one of total neglect, as the mid-Victorians were prone to imply. Some of the schemes mentioned in this chapter are proof of that. Nor are they the only ones. Other important works can be cited at Braunston 1728, Carlton c. 1764, Carlton Curlieu 1767, Croft 1769, Hinckley 1788 (spire rebuilt), Hugglescote 1770s, Lutterworth c. 1760, Rolleston 1740, Shackerstone c. 1776, Sharnford 1770s, Sibson c. 1727, Swithland 1727, and Thurlaston 1779. There were, in addition, many minor schemes for seating, galleries, ceilings, general repairs etc. Detailed work has yet to be done on this but it is to be hoped that much of the necessary data will be forthcoming with the publication of Part Three of the Bibliography of Leicestershire Churches (forthcoming).

All this activity tends to go against the received opinion from the nineteenth century that the eighteenth century let its churches languish in an uncared for, disgraceful state. There is no doubt that many of the criticisms were justified but to suppose that all was bad would be a naïve oversimplification. What was wrong in the eighteenth century was probably similar to most previous centuries. Even in the golden days of Charles I, archdeacons found much to fault at numerous local churches.[21]

18. BFLC.
19. LRO DE 452/3.
20. Register, 1716-49 (in church at Jan. 1981; now in LRO)
21. See A.P. Moore, "Leicestershire Churches in the Time of Charles I" in Memorials of Old Leicestershire, ed. A. Dryden (London, 1911), 142-63.

Yet this was an age which the mid-nineteenth century came to much admire; if the age of Laud could not maintain its churches properly, it is hard to see that the eighteenth century would have managed much better. The sort of seventy-page diatribe by Abbey and Overton in The English Church in the Eighteenth Century[22] ignores much solid, practical churchmanship and the genuine desire to keep churches in a reasonable state. Provided one does not look at the age from the standpoint of the Victorian hot-house of Ecclesiological and religious fervour, it is possible to produce a much more sympathetic judgement. This change of view is reinforced by such work as that done in Devon which led Warne to conclude that activity actually increased as the eighteenth century wore on.[23] Basil Clarke's work favours a similar position. He concludes, "it can probably be said that, on the whole, churches were fairly well kept ... It does not seem possible to come to any conclusion except the obvious one - that some churches were kept in good order, and some were not. But the evidence of parish records suggests that, on the whole, churchwardens and vestries did their duty, and raised, and spent, adequate money for church repairs."[24]

22. (London, 2nd ed., 1887), 403-75.
23. A. Warne, Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century Devon (Newton Abbott, 1969), 51-63.
24. B.F.L. Clarke, The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church (London, 1963), 8-9.

CHAPTER TWO

LEICESTERSHIRE CHURCHES, 1800-1840

THE CONDITION OF CHURCHES

The unfavourable view of the eighteenth century held by the Victorians applied with equal, or even greater force to the early nineteenth century. A typical comment was expressed by a local writer discussing Oaks-in-Charnwood church, built in 1815; it "is simply abominable except for its situation and the ivy which clothes its ugliness .... [A]t that period no man living knew how to build a church, nor, in fact anything else."[1] This sort of sentiment was typical of Pugin, Ruskin and the mainstream Ecclesiological writers. Even John Carter, Pugin's intellectual predecessor,[2] with his stream of attacks on destruction, neglect and false restorations, had little time for the productions of his own age. His 212 articles for the Gentleman's Magazine between 1798 and 1817 are couched in pungent, combative terms. What makes Carter especially interesting is that he is writing of his own time and not looking back, as the Victorians were, from a world with a very different intellectual climate. His words mean it would be wrong to dismiss the Victorian accusations as pure propaganda for the new cause of Ecclesiology.

This chapter follows on from the last by attempting to assess the condition of churches in Leicestershire in the early nineteenth century, before proceeding to examine the limited number of new churches, and the principles that guided the design of their furnishings and fittings, and the arrangements in existing ones.

The editors of The Ecclesiologist in the early years were masters of overstatement in cataloguing cases of decay, irreverence and neglect. This view of dilapidation and unconcern became inherited by the twentieth century. Even the biographer of the "Cambridge Movement", James F. White, does little to adjust the record by providing the possibilty of an

1. F.T. Mott, Charnwood Forest (Leicester, 3rd ed., 1868), 70.
2. He is seen in this light by John Summerson in Architecture in Britain, 1550 to 1830 (Harmondsworth, 4th ed., 1963), 311.

alternative view.[3] There is, however, a totally opposing viewpoint which romanticises the charms (undoubted in moderation) of pre-Victorian churches. Their scarcity breeds interest and it is this light that one can see Mark Chatfield's seductive book, Churches the Victorians Forgot (Ashbourne, 1979). The twentieth century can now easily forget that churches were often cheaply fitted and arranged, and always cold in winter.

One contemporary account supports the hostile view. Bishop Majendie of Bangor's Charge of 1814, while acknowledging some improvement in recent years, remarked that much had to be done before all buildings emerged from their "dilapidated and squalid state".[4] On the other hand a very different view comes from the four rural deans reporting to the Bishop of Chichester in 1817.[5] One noted seven churches needing repair but the others all say the buildings are "in good order and repair". One adds "I have everywhere found a very laudable desire in the several Churchwardens and inhabitants to have [the churches] kept in due neatness and decency".

It is, therefore, not easy to form a balanced view of the condition of English churches down to about 1840. In turn, this begs the question as to what is meant by the word "condition". First, one must set aside mid-Victorian expectations. These were formulated in something of a Golden Age which felt moral affront if a church were not perfectly maintained, built to Gothic designs (and only certain periods of Gothic, at that), and furnished in accordance with the dogmatic criteria of the times. The latitudinarian eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had no such dogmas, and nor has the mid/late twentieth. Both these periods are concerned with a minimum standard of functional criteria. Just like the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the mid/late twentieth is less concerned with architectural niceties than the need to provide serviceable accommodation in new areas of population growth, and to keep its enormous heritage of older churches in a tolerable state of repair.

Well-repaired, cared-for churches are not news and it is therefore not surprising that most of the accounts of pre-Victorian conditions we possess for Leicestershire are concerned with defects. They were written at the

3. J.F. White, The Cambridge Movement: the Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (Cambridge, 1962), especially chap. 1.
4. Quoted in M.L. Clarke, "Church Building and Church Restoration in Caernarvonshire during the Nineteenth Century", Trans. Caernarvonshire Hist. Soc. 22 (1961), 20.
5. B.F.L. Clarke, "Church Restoration in the Nineteenth Century" (unpublished typescript, n.d., [c. 1976]), 9.

time of a restoration and/or by those advocating improvements. That conditions were appalling in certain cases is undeniable and, having set aside the rhetoric in the following sample accounts, it is clear that conditions in these churches must have left a lot to be desired.

A church (unspecified) six or seven miles north-west of Melton Mowbray-
"I found that the tower ... was converted into a plantation, and that some large trees were growing out from the top. Curious to know whence they derived their support, I looked inside, and saw a mass of green putrid matter running all over the walls, and the place in a condition such as I would not see my pig-sty in .... The trees on the tower are so large as to quite endanger its stability."

- Stamford Mercury 17 March 1848.

Sileby, 1845
" .... in a shocking condition. One corner of the tower has been built up with a brick wall to serve as a strong room; the parvise is, or was, used as a storehouse for apples; against the tower are erected a dunghill and a latrina; the altar, font, chancel windows are in the worst and most neglected condition."

- The Ecclesiologist 4 (1845), 197.

(It took until Blomfield's restoration of 1878-80 to put the church into proper order.)

Higham-on-the-Hill, 1854
The children were in a west gallery, "a place such as no human being whose health was of consquence ought to be confined in during the length of time of service continued and .... the air above was utterly unfit for wholesome respiration."

- Petition cited in the faculty, Northamptonshire Record Office, ML 1116, 242.

But all this was not entirely new. As early as 1801 John Carter had attacked at Hinckley the very sort of things that would later offend the Ecclesiologists - "the incumbrances of pews and galleries, the decorations of pending buckets, the childish modern font, and the trim of the altar-piece."[6] Carter's attack is surprisingly Victorian in tone and points the need to distinguish carefully between the practical aspects of church buildings

6. Gentleman's Magazine 71 (July 1801), 607.

and fittings and their maintenance on one hand, and Ecclesiological ideals on the other. For the purpose of the enquiry in this chapter, it is considered that a church may be regarded as in good condition if it is weatherproof, needs little or no urgent maintenance or structural work, and the furnishings and fittings are suitable for worship and not in need of replacement.

It is not until the 1830s that extensive data becomes available for considering the condition of Leicestershire churches. Though he refers to every church, Nichols's great history is of little use for the purpose. Generally, he makes factual statements about the buildings, refers to heraldry and quotes monumental inscriptions in extenso. Only in isolated cases does he pass an opinion on the state of the church, usually when there is something exceptional to report. Great Bowden, having been repaired in 1791 is "in very good condition"[7]; at Coleorton "the church is handsome without, but mean and shabby within"[8]; Ab Kettleby is poorly lighted, the north pillars are not upright and "are unsafe and the floor is bad"[9]. Such descriptions do not add up to a comprehensive picture, and, in the nature of things, adequately maintained churches are not worthy of comment. Similarly, Throsby's Supplementary Volume to the Leicestershire Views (1795) is of no greater help.

There is an excellent source of information, however, on the eve of the great Revival. The Visitation Returns by the Archdeacon of Leicester, Thomas Kaye Bonney, for 1832, 1836 and 1842 give a detailed picture of the practical concerns of an important local churchman. Unfortunately nothing is known of Bonney's churchmanship but there is nothing to suggest that he did not occupy a middle-of-the-road position. Certainly he does not seem to have been influenced by the Ecclesiological movement. Just occasionally he happens to say things in 1842 that would have appealed to the new school. At Thornton he dissapproves of the communion rails being painted white (but normally he passes no comment on the painting of furnishings).[10] Goadby had been improved by the removal of the ceiling.[11] Melton Mowbray was said to suffer from the pulpit being in the centre of

7. Nichols 2 (ii), 471.
8. Nichols 3 (ii), 740.
9. Nichols 2 (i), 11.
10. LRO 245'50/8, 246.
11. LRO 245'50/9, 1½.

the nave,[12] and at Congerstone the open seats are praised.[13] On the whole Bonney's perspective is far removed from the ideals put forward in The Ecclesiologist and closely resembles the criteria used here to assess the condition of churches at this time.

Using such standards it is possible to analyse the proportion of churches which were in "Poor", "Fair" or "Good" condition. Such a classification is valuable, though necessarily lacking in precision. It is impossible accurately to quantify Bonney's words like "in need of repair", "deplorable", "neat", and "good". How does the need for repointing part of the tower compare with the need for window repairs; how does an uneven floor relate to the pulpit being rickety? In evaluating Bonney's descriptions, the following classification into three grades has been used:-

1. **Poor.** Major work needed. For example, Medbourne needed a little tower pointing and a new west door was required; chancel good; south transept roof bad; north transept ceiling fallen; inside walls needed cleaning; floors uneven; sittings irregular.[14]
2. **Fair.** Necessary structural work localised to a particular part of the church, but otherwise good. Modest expense needed shortly. Also general shabbiness qualifies. For example, Willoughby Waterleys where the nave and aisle floors were not very level; dusty; brick arch to the porch needed repair.[15]
3. **Good.** No work needed in the foreseeable future. For example, Kibworth and Kings Norton, in both 1832 and 1842.

Using these broad definitions, the results turn out as follows:-

	1832		1842	
	No. of churches	%	No. of churches	%
Poor	31	16	26	10
Fair	65	33	105	41
Good	101	51	123	49
No. in Visitation	197		254	

Whatever the inaccuracies in the detail of the assessments may be, a

12. LRO 245'50/9, 209.
13. LRO 245'50/8, 183.
14. LRO 245'50/9, 59.
15. LRO 245'50/8, 169.

general picture emerges. About half the churches in Leicestershire were in a good state of repair at the start of the Victorian era and only 10%-15% could be described as in poor condition. Such figures do tend to belie the impressions put forward by the restorers. The differing standpoints of the Ecclesiologists and the everyday, practical churchman, as typified by Bonney, is shown at Sileby. The Ecclesiologist's account, quoted above, contrasts with the 1842 record of a well-ordered church.[16] Similarly, the execrable conditons portrayed in the Higham-on-the-Hill gallery are hardly anticipated in 1842, when the church seeems to have been an acceptably appointed one for its day.[17]

However, Bonney was not blind to deplorable conditions. At Newton Harcourt in 1832 the nave and chancel were in such a state that he strongly recommended rebuilding; this was done, albeit in a very simple Gothick style in 1834-5.[18] Similarly, at Blaston St Michael in 1842 he found dreadful conditions - "this is a most mean Building, and in a very dilapidated state - the Roof is bad - the Timber is rotten - the Slates are loose - the Ceiling is falling down - Cracks are in the side walls and the whole is ready to come down - I know not what to suggest, except taking it down and building it up again."[19] At Heather in 1832 Bonney found that a fire had been made to boil water for whitewashing the church and that this had damaged the stonework.[20] At Twycross the ringers had hollowed out a space for a fire, the smoke from which drifted up the tower.[21] Castle Donington seems to have been in a particularly disgraceful state in the early 1830s. Bonney says "the East window is nearly ready to fall in."[22] In 1835 a letter noted "the Church internally presented a disgusting spectacle .... In some places paving stones [worn] down to the skeletons of the bodies underneath."[23]

All this adds up to a rather equivocal picture. On one hand about half the churches were in a condition that would undoubtedly meet with approval in the late twentieth century. Churches with truly offensive conditions were definitely in the minority but there is not the slightest question that some did exist. The evidence from Leicestershire tends to suggest that the numbers of such churches diminished somewhat from 1832 to 1842.

16. LRO 245'50/9, 147.
17. LRO 245'50/8, 189.
18. LRO 245'50/1, 263; ICBS 1st ser., N Box 2.
19. LRO 245'50/9, 41.
20. LRO,245'50/2, 44.
21. LRO 245'50/ 2, 163-4.
22. LRO 245'50/1, 81.
23. Letter of 30 Sep. 1835 in ICBS 1st ser., C Box 2.

CHURCH RESTORATION, 1800-1840

For half the stock of Leicestershire churches to be in what may be loosely described as good condition, there must have been regular maintenance, periodic refurnishing, and occasional rebuilding. The very minor works of month-to-month repairs are the type of activity usually indicated by small payments in churchwarden's accounts to "Mr ....." or "the plumber" for unspecified work. Frequently they did not exceed £1.

At the other end of the scale the first four decades of the nineteenth century saw a variety of major schemes underway. Appendix Two lists more than 150, in addition to various rebuilding and new church works. The most common types of scheme involved repewing and/or the insertion of galleries and/or reroofing. The question of furnishing schemes is discussed in detail further on in this chapter but here it needs to be noted that Leicestershire interiors retain moderately complete early nineteenth-century arrangements at only eight sites.[24]

In general the quality of the work was routine. However, much the same could be said of a large body of the Victorian activity. But the century did open very inauspiciously. At Leicester St Mary de Castro in 1800 (pl. 4) the auditory principle led to the insertion of a vast brick arch in the thirteenth-century south arcade so the congregation could see more easily the celebrated preacher, the Rev. Thomas Robinson.[25] At Lyddington the north and south porches were swept away (draft faculty, 1803), a west entrance created (reopened?) and the church repaired.[26] Similarly in 1807 or 1808 the south porch was removed and the doorway blocked at Stapleton.[27] At Langham the north transept was removed (presumably to save repairs),[28] and Leicester St Nicholas lost its spire under a faculty of 1805[29]. About this time there were inserted into the west walls of Leicester St Margaret, two windows whose tracery epitomised to the

24. They are Appleby Magna (1829-32), Ayston (apparently early nineteenth-century), Barkby (1838), Congerstone (1834-5), Donisthorpe (1838), Lubenham (1812), Stapleton (1808) and Sutton Cheney (1826).
25. J.M. Armson, St Mary de Castro, Leicester (Leicester, 3rd ed., 1976), 9.
26. Lincoln Record Office (information from Ms A. Dawtry; LRO DE 1881/41.
27. Nichols 4 (ii), 487.
28. SM 22 Aug. 1862.
29. BFLC.

Victorians all that was bad at the time - the design was a "Batty Langley abortion by a Mr. F[i]rmadge".[30]

Other destructive work took place during these forty years but at no greater pace than occurred during the mid-Victorian era: it was simply of a rather different nature. The most disastrous scheme - to rebuild Leicester St Nicholas in the 1820s - was averted (see Appendix One) through lack of funds, but the church did receive a huge brick arch in 1829-30 on the same lines as the one at St Mary's.

A review of the more significant works will illustrate the continuity with the traditions of the eighteenth century. Most of the early schemes are poorly documented, and increased evidence becomes available only with the papers of the (I)CBS, and the various works in the 1820s.

The earliest work of any import is the furnishings at Stapleton, and these are more interesting for their rarity than any aesthetic virtue. What survives is the west gallery on cast-iron columns and the east-facing box-pews. The woodwork is thin and rather flimsy and the detailing is plain, village work. As mentioned above, the north and south doorways were lost at this time, having become superfluous to contemporary needs. In 1812 there came other major schemes at Cotesbach and Husband's Bosworth. Cotesbach was extensively remodelled but unfortunately there is no documentary evidence apart from the date of 1812 on the tower and the payment in 1812-13 of over £400, including an item for 14,400 bricks.[31] The bricks appear to have been used for rebuilding the nave and tower,[32] which, like the remainder, have been stuccoed and given scored lines to imitate ashlar stonework (i.e. a "sham"). Various other changes seem to have taken place, including the shift of the body of the tower southwards and the moving of the priest's door further west. Inside there are ceilings between the main roof timbers and flimsy box-pews (now without their doors). The lack of documentary material is unfortunate, as it might have cast light upon whether the hoods of the clerestory and the tracery, which are very accurate archaeologically, are indeed of 1812 or reused.

For Husband's Bosworth, however, there is a great deal of information. A north aisle and small north porch were added, the nave south arcade removed and, on both sides, two elliptical arches inserted. "Objectionable windows"

30. Bldr 23 (1865), 103.
31. Parish documents in the custody of Major R. Marriott (as at 1982).
32. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland (Harmondsworth, 1st ed., 1960), 92 incorrectly implies the whole church is of 1812.

were put in and the roof was of "the meanest character".[33] In additon to all this the church was repewed and as so often, the tower arch blocked. The work was designed and probably executed by Joseph Vinrace of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, who appears to have been a typical surveyor-cum-builder of the time. The works were expensive for, in 1815, it was said that £1,670 had been paid out by then.[34] All that now survives from this scheme is the minimally detailed Gothick north porch (cf. Belgrave, St Peter). As at Cotesbach, there was no question of caring for the medieval work.

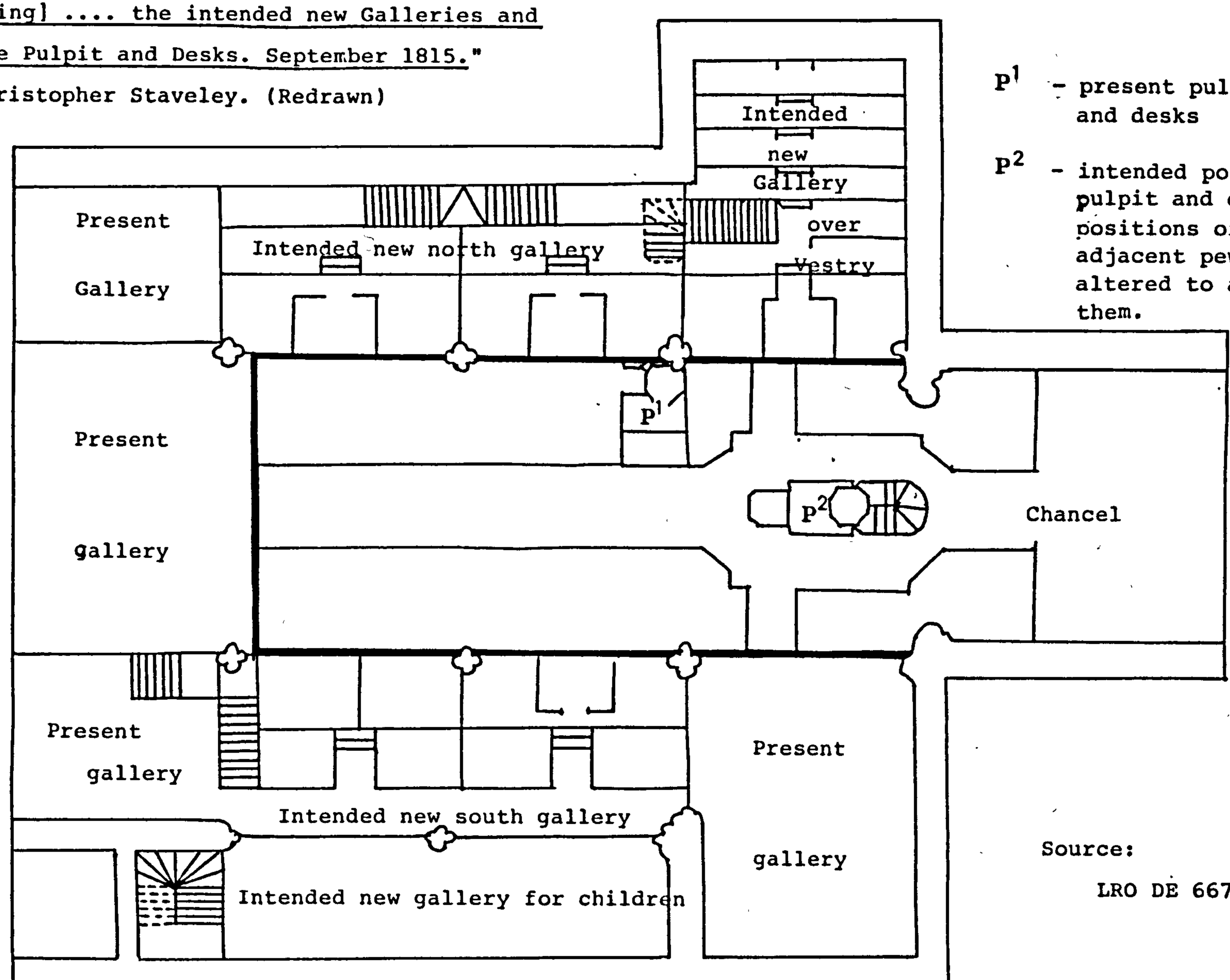
In 1815 there occurred a significant change in the liturgical arrangements at Loughborough (see illustration on next page). The three-decker pulpit was moved from its place three-quarters of the way along the north side (moving east) of the nave and was placed in the centre of the nave before the chancel arch.[35] Three galleries were added (north aisle, north transept, south aisles). The church must have presented a cluttered appearance, but the positioning of the pulpit here and elsewhere is highly logical in the light of the pre-Victorian emphasis on the Word rather than the Eucharist. The arrangement reflects the fact that Communion was celebrated but infrequently before the Anglican Revival. Most writers, including even Addleshaw and Etchells, make little of this point in assessing church interiors. Francis Bond condemns eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century communion tables for meanness, but, since they were seldom used for their primary purpose, a spirit of economy is hardly surprising.[36]

In Leicestershire in 1832 the Eucharist was celebrated usually only four times a year, except in the towns. In 1842 three-quarters of the churches still had celebrations no more than four times a year. The figures derived from the Visitations are as follows:[37]

	1832	1842
Up to and including 3 times	10%	10%
4 times a year	78%	64%
5 to 11 times a year	7%	18%
12 or more times a year	5%	8%

33. LJ 6 Dec. 1867; Bldr 25 (1867), 913.
34. Churchwarden's accounts, 1789-1889, in the custody of the Husband's Bosworth Historical Society (as at 1981).
35. LRO DE 667/44, /95.
36. F. Bond, The Chancel of English Churches (London, 1916), 119.
37. LRO 245'50/1-5, /8, /9. The figures have been converted to percentages for purposes of comparison; usable data exists for 194 churches in 1832 and 245 in 1842.

Fig.1. "A Plan of part of the interior of Loughborough Church [showing] .... the intended new Galleries and removal of the Pulpit and Desks. September 1815."
Signed by Christopher Staveley. (Redrawn)



P^1 - present pulpit and desks

P^2 - intended position of pulpit and desks; the positions of the adjacent pews to be altered to accommodate them.

Source:
LRO DE 667/44.

The increase in the frequency of celebrations must reflect the beginning of the influence of the High Church movement. It affords a useful confirmation of the greater interest taken in churches and the Church, and parallels the increased amount of church building and restoration from the late 1830s.

Throughout the 1820s there were various repewing and gallery schemes which continued the traditional arrangements. At this time there was much concern over the need for increased Anglican church accommodation, reflected particularly in the work of the Church Building Society. Despite the fact that attendance at a place of worship on Sundays was still compulsory, at least in law, there was little need to increase the accommodation in the average village church. Churches were generally nothing like full, as the 1851 Census was to prove. However, it is interesting to note that all the grants from the (L)CBS before 1840 were to churches which did increase the numbers of sittings. However, a grant was precluded under the rules of the Society if extra seating was not provided, and it seems likely that many places simply renewed outworn pews and galleries without any significant changes in accommodation.

Judging by the surviving evidence, the woodwork erected was mostly routine. The same may be said of the architecture involved in any restoration works. There was not a great deal of it but it probably maintained the late eighteenth-century level of output. The choice of styles is considered more fully in the discussion of new churches, but here it may be said that those responsible for the designs tended to favour a loose version of Gothic, such as is found in windows at Mountsorrel and Queniborough. Interestingly, there are no cases at all of Georgian work of the simple but elegant type used at, say, Sibson or Thurlaston in the second half of the eighteenth century.

There are, however, a few schemes which do demonstrate an interesting and eclectic concern with medieval forms. These can be seen as pre-Ecclesiological echoes and occur in a random way throughout the county. The motivations behind them can only be guessed at and no doubt varied from place to place. They can be stated, probably, as a desire to harmonise with the medieval work (e.g. Kibworth tower, see below) and/or a conscious historicist principle on the part of the patron (e.g. Little Casterton, also see below).

At Beeby, in 1819, the chancel was shortened by eight feet, a common enough act at this time, and one which was copied five years later at

Long Whatton.[38] It was rebuilt in brick, again a normal thing to do (cf. Leicester, All Saints ten years later), but it still remains, by early nineteenth-century standards, quite long. But, what is more significant, stained glass was placed in the east window, the first such case in Leicestershire in the nineteenth century, it seems. In addition the broken corbels were restored, as was the piscina.[39] The latter item was an almost unheard of thing at this stage. All this was done at the cost of the Rev. G. Calvert, rector 1818-65, and it is very much before its time and would suggest leanings scarcely to be expected before the 1840s. Unfortunately nothing is known of Calvert's brand of churchmanship or whether he had antiquarian associations or interests. There is no evidence either to suggest that the work at Beeby had any impact on other work in the vicinity.

A particularly successful piece of Gothic work was the rebuilt tower (pl.5) at Kibworth. The old one and its spire fell during attempted repairs in 1825, and a long and bitter debate on what should be done ensued.[40] The result was the present tower by William Flint, more usually known for his classical designs. It is a pleasing piece in the east Leicestershire medieval tradition (especially the frieze, battlements and pinnacles) and only a few features betray the early nineteenth century, e.g. the big, flat canopy over the west doorway (cf. Leicester, St George).

If Kibworth is an effective piece of historicism, so, in a very different way, is the work at Normanton (Rutland). Here, Thomas Cundy (probably the son, rather than the father) replaced the tower with a classically-inspired vestibule, semi-circular portico and tower in 1826. The latter was copied from St John, Smith Square.[41] This was the last important piece of non-Gothic architecture in the county until Leicester, St James the Greater in 1899-1901.

A building which illustrates the eclectic quality of restoration on the eve of the Ecclesiological era is at Barkestone wher the Rev. F.G. Burnaby (1803-80) secured the services of William Parsons for work in 1840. He added a south aisle and rebuilt much of the nave, and, apparently, also rebuilt the clerestory. In typical 1820s and 1830s fashion there are large

38. LRO DE 1106/2.

39. White, Directory (1846), 429.

40. Anon., Kibworth Church (Kibworth, n.d. [1976]), 3-4.

41. Pevsner, op. cit., 311.

blank masonry surfaces, pierced with Perpendicular windows. These have cast-iron tracery. In complete contrast to its Perpendicular windows, the south aisle has a pseudo-Norman doorway, which appears thoroughly out of place. Also on the font is a pseudo-Norman cover. Burnaby became a noted patron of church restoration and, according to his obituary, was well aware in later life of his architectural "mistakes" in his early work, no doubt including Barkestone.[42]

The most spectacular scheme of this period was at Appleby Magna between 1829 and 1832 under the Derby architect, John Mason.[43] The cost was large, £2,970, and the result typifies so many early nineteenth-century ideals in big church projects. The woodwork of the box-pews and west gallery is excellent, the gallery being canted forward in the aisles to give greater depth. The pulpit and desk are placed either side of the chancel arch and all the seats face east. The faculty plan shows seventeen open benches up the middle of the wide central alley, no doubt for the poor (probably such seats once occupied the alley at Kings Norton). The most conspicuous feature is the Gothick plaster-vaulted ceilings whose mouldings and profiles are far-removed from medieval technique and spirit. Also note-worthy is the, seemingly, contemporary stained glass by Collins of The Strand.[43] As sometimes occurs at this date, it occupies only the heads of the windows. It is probably the first extensive use of stained glass in the county in the century, apart from the single window of 1819 at Beeby.[44] The faculty did not cover the removal of the porches but this seems to have taken place at this time. On the south side, particularly, the removal of the doorway and the insertion of a Decorated window to match the medieval predecessors has been done with such skill that it is virtually impossible to distinguish its modern origin.[45] The west entrance became the main one, as so often in new churches of the time. The font is a typical small one of the period and has "sham" florettes

42. LJ 6 Feb. 1880. His greatest monument was Leicester, St Saviour, designed by Scott, and paid for entirely by Burnaby.
43. LRO 245'50/2, 2. See plates 7 and 8.
44. A piece of stained glass in the chancel at Sutton Cheney probably dates from c. 1826, and the east window at Barkby is almost certainly of 1828 (LRO 245'50/4,20). The window at Beeby was replaced in 1843 by Warrington (inscription).
45. Fully discussed in D. Parsons, "An Emergency Excavation at Appleby Magna Church, Leicestershire", Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. & Hist. Soc. 50 (1974-5), 41-5.

of plaster on the bowl.

Shortly after Appleby, another major scheme took place in west Leicestershire, at Congerstone. It was less ambitious but is very interesting (pl. 6) The work was paid for by Earl Howe who was to become one of the two greatest patrons of church building and restoration in the county. Plans had been drawn up as early as 1831 by William Martin of Bretby, Derbyshire,[46] but the faculty was not issued until 1834 and the work not finished until, probably, 1835.[47] At this later stage the architect was said to be H.I. Stevens, who seems to have worked to a simplified version of the older designs. The chancel was demolished and a new one erected, spanning the width of the north aisle and the nave. It is Gothic but eclectic and archaeologically incorrect. As at Barkestone there are large expanses of blank masonry. These are pierced by vastly elongated narrow lancets and also four-centred Perpendicular windows with, once again, cast-iron tracery. The liturgical centre was undoubtedly the pulpit/desk for the open, moveable benches shown in the plan in the centre of the chancel faced west (they have now gone). Earl Howe's pew in the north-east corner was comfortably appointed with a fire-place (as is his pew in an identical position at Twycross).

Such work as that at Congerstone or Barkestone showed a poor grasp of medieval forms and its connections with Gothic architecture before the Reformation were tenuous to say the least. Self-concious historicism, the result of Pugin's teachings, in particular, was not generally in evidence until the 1840s. It is therefore all the more remarkable to find such an approach before 1840, in one building in a remote corner of Rutland. Without close examination it would be hard to detect that the church of Little Casterton is not wholly medieval. The great tragedy is that only one firm documentary date is known - that is 1837 for the south porch.[48] It was built with fairly good archaeological accuracy to a design by William Twopeny.[49] He described himself as an "amateur architectural draughtsman" and was a relative of the Rev. Richard Twopeny, rector of Little Casterton, who was no doubt the moving spirit behind the work at the church.[50] It is said that the latter gentleman rebuilt the

46. ICBS 1st ser., C Box 7; Society of Antiquaries Drawings Collection.
47. LRO DE 1104/31; LJ 8 May 1835.
48. Inscription; Baptism Register, 1813-1965 (in church safe).
49. SM 2 May 1862. See plate 9.
50. G. Dickinson, Rutland Churches before Restoration: an early Victorian Album of Watercolours & Drawings (London, 1983), 123. On the evidence of dates, it is unlikely William was Richard's uncle as Dickinson implies.

chancel on two occasions, the first time the length he found it and the second when he discovered that the original thirteenth-century chancel was longer and returned it to its original length. This latter feat of archaeological correctness was certainly accomplished by 1838 or 1839, when a drawing was made of the church.[51] The Victoria County History claims the north aisle was rebuilt in 1810-11 but cites no source for this and if the present aisle is of that date it is a remarkable piece of accurate work for that age.[52] Richard Twopeny also brought a medieval floor drain from the ruined church of Pickworth to Little Casterton.[53] All this is remarkably serious work, far removed from the free activities mentioned in connection with other churches. There is, therefore, a strong case for regarding Richard and William Twopeny as the unwitting ancestors of Ecclesiological developments in the area. But, as with the work of the Rev. G. Calvert at Beeby, their work had no influence on local trends and it was not until the 1840s that such an approach received widespread acceptance.

NEW AND REBUILT CHURCHES, 1800-1840

The restoration of existing buildings gave less room for the expression of architectural aspirations than did new or totally rebuilt churches. In practice, however, the new churches offered little more scope since, with few exceptions, they were quite modest.

There were two distinct sets of circumstances which led to new churches being built - 1. in villages which had never possessed a church, such as Copt Oak or Six Hills, or had lost their medieval one, such as Barrow and Pickworth and 2. places where population pressure created a new need for an Anglican place of worship, such as Leicester, St. George and Swannington.

For convenience the list on the next page summarises the output of the period down to 1840.

51. ibid., 40.
52. VCH, 2, 240.
53. SM 2 May 1862.

Table 1. Summary of new and rebuilt churches, 1800-1840

Date		Style	Material	Architect
1815	Oaks-in-Charnwood	?	Charnian stone?	?
1819	Isley Walton*	Churchwarden	Stuccoed (brick?)	?
1823-4	Pickworth	Sub-Norman	Limestone	?
1823-7	Leicester, St George	Commissioners' Gothic	Sandstone	W. Parsons
1825	Swannington	Churchwarden	Brick	W. Matthews?
c. 1831	Barrow	Geometrical	Limestone?	?
1835	Old Dalby*	Perpendicular	Sandstone	T. Winter
1835-7	Loughborough, Emmanuel	Decorated	Sandstone	T. Rickman
1836-7	Copt Oak	Lancet	Charnian rocks	W. Railton
1836-7	Woodhouse Eaves	Lancet	Charnian rocks	W. Railton
1837	Six Hills	Lancet	Brick	?
1837-8	Coalville	Lancet	Sandstone	H.I. Stevens
1837-8	Hinckley, Holy Trinity	Georgian	?	?
1838	Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity	Lancet	Sandstone	H.I. Stevens
1838	Donisthorpe	Lancet	Sandstone	H.I. Stevens
1838	Leicester, Holy Trinity	Georgian	?	S. Smirke
1838-9	Leicester, Christ Church	Lancet	Brick	W. Parsons
1840	Groby	Lancet	Charnian rocks	W. Railton

* indicates a totally rebuilt church.

1800-1830

New buildings remained rare until the 1830s and were put up under a variety of local circumstances and in a variety of architectural styles. Little is known of the appearance of the first church, except that nineteenth century commentators roundly condemned it. Presumably it was similar in proportions to the present building as its walls were cased at the remodelling of 1883.[54] The unhappy church was Oaks-in-Charnwood. Isley Walton was rebuilt in a minimally-detailed, lean Gothic - pointed windows with Y-tracery, and inaccurate battlements to the small tower. It was cheaply-built of brick and given a stucco coating all over. There is no structural division between the nave and chancel.

Pickworth is a much more interesting building. The medieval church had

54. LJ 3 Aug. 1883.

disappeared bit by bit, finally vanishing in 1731. The present church (pl. 2) consecrated in 1824, probably owes much of its inspiration to the adjacent one at Tickencote. It has the same structural arrangements - nave, a lower, medievally-conceived chancel and a porch at the south-east angle of the nave. What is more the style is a less adorned version of the 1792 nave at Tickencote. The windows are wide and round-arched with rolls in the soffit and attached shafts in the jambs. The porch looks as though it might have been intended to heighten it into a tower, as actually occurs at Tickencote. Inside the lines are very simple and more reminiscent of a contemporary Nonconformist chapel. The ceilings (slightly curved) remain. A further probable connection with Tickencote is the fact that both churches had pulpits at the west end. For this reason the seats faced west originally[55] which makes the idea of a structurally distinct chancel ridiculous as the congregation would have have to make an effort to turn towards it.

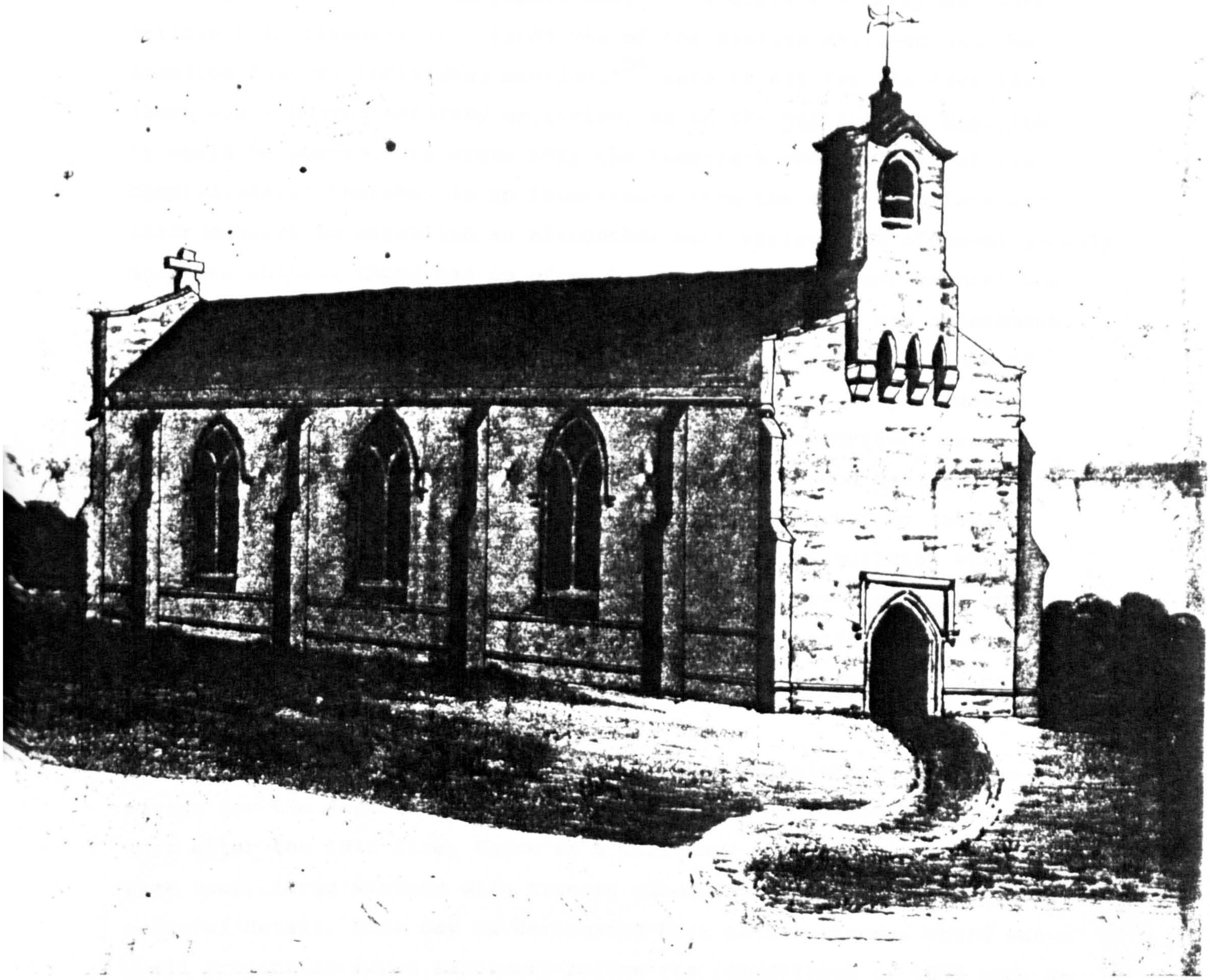
The other Rutland village which received a new church was Barrow, where the medieval building had gone by about 1660. The new church was a simple rectangle in three bays and measured 50 feet by 20 feet. It was demolished in 1974. There was a double bellcote, in typical Rutland tradition. The walls were pierced by tall Geometrical windows and the building was thus the first example of revived Gothic in the area, apart, perhaps from some of the work at Little Casterton.

A bellcote was also built at the brick church of Swannington in the Leicestershire coalfield (see illustration). The east end was pulled about from 1900 but the original building was a charming and innocent piece of churchwarden Gothic with big, wooden Y-tracery windows. The bellcote is supported on a corbelled-out projection which also appears inside. The nave and chancel were undivided.

The most ambitious church before 1840 was the only one in Leicestershire of those paid for entirely by the Church Building Commissioners under the Church Building Act of 1818. This was Leicester, St George, designed by the County Surveyor, William Parsons. It cost the Commissioners £16,600 and it remained the most expensive church in the county until the end of the century. In common with much early nineteenth-century architecture, the "Commissioners' churches" have tended to have a bad press until recent times, for example in the writings of Eastlake and

55. RANHS 15 (1917), 49-50.

Fig. 2 Swannington church, 1825



A small, brick church of 1825 for a village on the Leicestershire coalfield. William Matthews of Ashby-de-la-Zouch supervised the building of it and may have been the architect. The east end has now been confused by an uncompleted scheme to rebuild in 1900. The "Churchwarden" windows are wooden.

Source: a document containing a letter dated 16 Dec. 1825 in the ICBS records, T Box 2.

Kenneth Clark.[56] Eastlake said "they possess as a rule little or no merit in the way of architectural design, having been chiefly built for the sole purpose of providing as speedily and as cheaply as possible church accommodation for manufacturing districts, which of late years were rapidly increasing in population."[57] To Clark the churches "were deficient in firmness .... [and] few of the designs executed and now standing deserve individual mention."[58] Were it not for the fact that there was some contemporary criticism, as in the Gentleman's Magazine, it would be possible to argue that the twentieth-century view of the Commissioners' Churches is an inheritance from the mid-Victorians and their concern to establish an altogether more serious and archaeologically accurate Gothic. There has so often been a tendency to not examine the churches objectively, a view pin-pointed by T. Davis in his assessment of Eastlake's remarks about St Luke's, Chelsea - "he is incapable of appreciating a building for what it is, especially if it pre-dates Pugin."[59] "Papery", "flimsy", "cheap", "want of proportion" are all epithets applied to the churches. Often there is a good deal of justification but by no means always, and it is possible to argue that St George's is a competent, effective and liturgically practical building which stands comparison with the average productions of the Victorian church builders. It does not, of course, have the same weighty treatment of a church by Butterfield or Street but that is not necessarily a criticism in itself.

In many ways St George's is typical of many Commissioners' churches except for the fact that it had a tall, elegant spire before this was lost after the 1911 fire. There is a tall nave with aisles under the same roof, large windows with tracery embodying a mixture of (accurate) medieval detail. Each bay is demarcated by a tall buttress. There was a small projection for a sanctuary before the remodelling of 1879 and, as usual at the time, vestibules north and south of the tower for the stairs to the galleries. The doorway was, inevitably, at the west end, through the tower, as in the eighteenth-century tradition. The window tracery is

56. Clark's work was first published in 1928 and it is interesting that he did not modify his position in the second or third editions of 1950 and 1962.

57. C.L. Eastlake, A History of the Gothic Revival (London, 1872, reprinted Leicester, 1978), 189.

58. K. Clark, The Gothic Revival (London, 1974 ed.), 96-7.

59. T. Davis, The Gothick Taste (Cranbury, New Jersey, 1975), 152.

is of cast-iron. It is hard to see the much discussed insubstantial qualities of Commissioners' Gothic in this building. Perhaps such an accusation could be applied to the hood over the west doorway but is this really so far removed in spirit from the hoods over the mid fifteenth-century belfry windows at Leicester, St Margaret? Is the general treatment of the elevations and detail any less routine than in so many Perpendicular churches? It is certainly a good deal more imposing than the late nineteenth century churches in Leicestershire, which, it will be shown, revert in many respects to the pre-Ecclesiological types, common in the 1820s and '30s.

CHURCH BUILDING IN THE 1830s

Table 1. shows very clearly a quickening of building work in the 1830s. This increase was certainly not peculiar to Leicestershire and reflects the revival in the Church of England in that turbulent decade. There was much more involved than the Oxford Movement, Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society. The need for far-reaching reforms was felt to be long overdue as abuse and idleness were acknowledged to be rife. For example, in 1827, of 10,533 benefices, only 4,413 had resident incumbents.[60] Such a state of affairs was an easy target for John Wade's famous The Black Book (1820-23) and its successor The Extraordinary Black Book (1831) which attacked the Tory establishment in general and the Church of England in particular. Church reform became an electioneering issue with candidates for the reformed Parliament in 1832 and The Times remarked that the "establishment of the Church of England is now in serious peril and that peril becomes every hour more imminent".[61] Reforms came for some of the causes of discontent. Tithes were commuted in 1836. In the same year marriages in Dissenting chapels were permitted and the incomes of bishops were adjusted and new sees created at Ripon and Manchester. The Pluralities Act of 1838 did much to eradicate absenteeism, and in 1840 all non-resident prebends and sinecure rectories were abolished under the Dean and Chapter Act. But not all the issues received a remedy and that most contentious of subjects, church rates, remained unresolved until 1868.

It was in these years that the Oxford Movement was born. In 1833 Keble preached his sermon against National Apostasy and, in the same year, the

60. O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church 1 (London, 3rd ed., 1971), 36.
61. Quoted by Chadwick, op. cit., 47.

first of the Tracts for the Times appeared. The movement aimed, chiefly, to restore the High Church ideals of the seventeenth century, the position of the Church of England as a divine institution, the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession and the Prayer Book as the rule of faith. Unlike Pugin and, a little later, the Cambridge men, the leaders in fact had comparatively little interest in reviving Gothic architecture. Keble "was a latitudinarian, if not a utilitarian in architecture" and Newman "never went for it".[62] It was not an architectural movement but its views had great implications for the closely-related concepts of greater dignity of worship and more use of ceremonial.

At the local level the net effect of this turmoil was a marked increase in church building from 1835, with over two a year being erected in the county between 1835 and 1840. Most of them appeared in Leicester and other larger towns but industrialised, unchurched centres like Donisthorpe and Coalville received their first Anglican churches. This activity was motivated more by the practical necessity of providing accommodation for worship than the finer points of architectural design. A particularly graphic instance of this viewpoint can be found at Leicester, St Nicholas, which though dating from the 1820s, must be representative of the thoughts of the '30s.[63]

The vicar, the Rev. Richard Davies, was concerned that his church could only accommodate 250-270 people out of a population of nearly 3,000. He offered to devote a year's income of £100 towards rebuilding which would give 1,200-1,500 seats. After abortive activity, plans by the local architect, Thomas Cook, appeared in May 1824. His three designs, estimated at between £2,852 and £2,913 involved a large, rectangular building with a belfry at the west end. He used simple, round-headed windows (cf. Nonconformist chapels and Pickworth) in two tiers, the upper one of which was to light a gallery round three sides. Davies' goal was always just out of reach and acrimonious relations developed with those opposing the scheme. Despite the offer of a £1,500 grant from the Church Building Society, the scheme finally foundered in 1829 with Davies declaring "Saints, Catholics and Radicals unite against our Church. What hope is there of resisting such a Phalanx". Later he was more specific and blamed specific individuals for causing the scheme to collapse. In the event, a set of repairs took place in 1829-30.

62. T. Mozley, Reminiscences 1 (1882), 216-18, quoted in Clark, op. cit., 153.
63. The following details are derived from ICBS 1st ser., L Box 2 and LRO 9D61.

The importance of this adventure is that it is so typical of contemporary events. Davies was at no time concerned with the architectural heritage of his church and was purely concerned to provide adequate accommodation. He felt that his church was under threat, a common situation at the time when the Church of England was becoming painfully aware that other denominations had been actively increasing accommodation when it had not. The proposed church by Cook was simple but was highly efficient in accommodating large numbers of people. This was exactly the sort of building that was being advocated at the time. "The principal point for consideration", wrote an architect, W.F. Pocock, "is the most convenient method of seating the greatest number of persons to hear distinctly the voice of the reader and the preacher."[64] Pocock even went so far as to suggest churches built like theatres because of the possibilities for large congregational numbers. In fact, in Derby, this principle was taken to its ultimate conclusion. The church of St George was erected as a speculative venture, anticipating the increased population that was expected to come to the area. It could have been used either as a music hall or a church. The ultimate vulgarity was that the galleries were painted patriotically in red, white and blue![65]

The nearest Leicestershire came to such things was the church of Holy Trinity, Hinckley, where it was alleged "the[unknown] architect when engaged upon the plan of the building of this Church had also the plans for a theatre in some other town, and that these plans were forwarded to Hinckley by mistake. It was not until too late that the mistake was discovered."[66] Perhaps in view of the Derby example, there was a grain of truth in the story! The principle of accommodating people in churches before 1840 was, however much the Victorians disliked it, the same as in theatres. Holy Trinity had galleries round three sides, approached by stairs from outside and a three-decker pulpit which rose to the same height as the galleries. Furthermore it was aligned so that the ritual east end was west by north-west. The façade was indistinguishable from contemporary Nonconformist chapels; it had three bays with broad round arches filled at the top with semi-circular lights for the galleries. It had a cupola on the apex of the roof.

64. W.F. Pocock, Designs for Churches and Chapels of various Denominations and Styles etc. (London, 3rd ed., 1835), 9.

65. M.R. Austin, "The Church of England in the Town of Derby, 1824-1885" (M.A. thesis, Birmingham, 1966), 11-12.

66. HPM (1883) quoted in A.J. Pickering, History of the Parish of Holy Trinity Hinckley 1839-1939 (Hinckley, 1939), 5.

Holy Trinity, Leicester, was a more distinguished version of its Hinckley namesake and its chaste Georgian lines would have blended extremely well with the surrounding, contemporary buildings (it was stridently remodelled by Teulon in 1871-2). It too had three bays in its facade, the centre one under a pedimented gable and brought slightly forward. There was also a cupola on top. There were galleries round three sides and a small, projecting sanctuary.

The significance of these two churches in Leicester and Hinckley is that they were the last ones in the county to be built in the county in a non-Gothic style until the construction of St James the Greater in 1899-1901.

The other new churches are all variants of the same themes. The usual elements are a wide, rectangular nave, no aisles, a small sanctuary, a west tower-cum-porch, galleries usually with access from outside north and south of the tower, the existence of pews and simple architectural details. Most of these other buildings had tall lancet windows, separated by buttresses. This was the standard type of church in England in the 1830s and though of little architectural merit, was highly practical and economical.[67] Since they differed from many of the tenets of the Ecclesiologists, later generations made various alterations, chiefly enlarging the chancels, starting with Coalville in 1854.[68] The latter was rebuilt again in 1895.[69] The only "lancet church" in Leicestershire to escape virtually untouched is Donisthorpe (pl. 10). It has all the features listed above plus a spidery tie-beam roof with a plethora of struts and plastering between the main members. It is thoroughly typical of its time. There is a west gallery but the entrance to it is from within the church. The only significant modifications were rearrangements and refurnishing, probably in 1891, at the east end.[70] At the sides are box-pews but in the centre is a wide block of open seats for the poor.

Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity is one of the largest of the group and, like Donisthorpe, was designed by H.I. Stevens. The nave is over 46 feet wide and is spanned by a typically fussy roof. The galleries (pl. 11) run on

67. There is a slight superficial similarity to the medieval chapel at Noseley (a plain rectangle), but Noseley is much longer in relation to its width and the work in the 1830s must be seen as independent of medieval tradition.
68. LJ 29 Sep. 1854.
69. LJ 20 Sep. 1895.
70. Faculty 24 Aug. 1891 in the parish records (in the church).

three sides and follow the common practice of being entered through vestibules. They are supported on cast-iron columns with highly fancy crutches, reminiscent of work in Victorian railway stations. The original seating survives in the galleries. Unusually the tower formerly had a spire, the only other example in the county of this time being at Mountsorrel a little later (1844).

Occasionally shallow transepts were introduced into the plan as at Leicester, Christ Church and Coalville. Christ Church lacked a tower and a tall, octagonal turret and spirelet over the crossing had to suffice. The simplest building of all was the Six Hills mission church, a plain brick rectangle but still with lancet windows and a slight attempt to develop an architectural feature out of the western entrance.

The routine and functional nature of the lancet churches is illustrated by the fact that the new churches for Charnwood at Copt Oak and Woodhouse Eaves were identical when first built. The trustees of the Charnwood lands who collected money for the buildings appear to have made no attempt to get their architect, William Railton, to introduce any differentiation. Lack of fuss is a particular characteristic of another Railton church, Groby. It has a most unappealing spindly tower (with no dressed quoins) and windows of the most elementary pointed nature. This is the type of work which gave pre-1840 Gothic a bad name and was no doubt what the Commissioners had in mind in their oft-quoted Minute - "The most economical mode of building churches, with a view to accommodating the greatest number of persons at the smallest expense, within the compass of an ordinary voice" - the conclusions of which concept favoured Gothic as the cheapest style.[71]

This loose form of thirteenth-century architecture was adopted as being the cheapest and was, therefore, the most frequent. It was not until the pronouncements of the Cambridge Camden Society and its followers around 1844 that the final question of the "best" style was settled in favour of "Early Middle Pointed". Therefore, during the period 1820-1840 all types of medieval motifs were used, including the curious mixtures in the windows at Leicester, St George and Congerstone.

Decorated work was the most expensive, being the most elaborate, but was used in a moderately imposing church at Loughborough, Emmanuel by Thomas Rickman (his only work in Leicestershire). Rickman, though a

71. Quoted for example in K. Clark, op. cit., 96.

scholar well versed in medieval architecture, does not attempt to copy a medieval church. The general feeling is one of solidity but the plan and the detail is unmistakably of the 1830s, such as the florid canopy over the clock, the hipped roofs over the gallery vestibules, the nave and aisle galleries, the west entrance and the (originally) small chancel.[72]

The last building that needs to be considered in this section is very unusual for its date and, in some ways, a precursor of 1840s activity. Old Dalby was completely rebuilt in the Perpendicular style in 1835 to the designs of one, Thomas Winter, a builder-cum-architect of Nottingham.[73] It is a marked contrast to the typical auditorily-arranged church since there is a long nave and a long, structurally separate chancel that could have passed muster in the 1840s. Also there is a separate south aisle, large north porch, a massive open tie-beam roof with high-quality woodwork, and, in general, the impression of a medievally-conceived building. Only a few features, such as the opening into a now-vanished gallery and cast-iron poppy-heads to a couple of benches in the porch and other 1830s furnishings which were ejected at the 1894 restoration, betray the pre-Victorian church building world.

THE ARRANGEMENTS IN CHURCHES BEFORE ABOUT 1840

Early nineteenth-century churches were very differently arranged from their successors. Most mid-Victorian and later accounts speak of box-pews, galleries, ceilings etc. being commonplace, but it is rare to find anything other than generalities stated. This is hardly surprising since such things were not considered worthy of interest for a period of about a hundred years and the question of serious study did not arise. This section attempts to adjust the record as far as Leicestershire is concerned by providing a detailed examination of internal arrangements based upon the documentary and surviving evidence. Where is seems appropriate, the discussion is taken a little beyond 1840.

72. I have suggested elsewhere that the chancel was originally long but, in fact, it was lengthened by 13 feet by Barrowcliff & Allcock in 1909. The statement in "Leicestershire Churches 1825-1850" in The Adaptation of Change, ed. D. Williams, (Leicester, 1980), 42 is therefore incorrect.

SEATING IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Adequate documentary or surviving evidence for "pews" exists for 194 (57%) of the 338 churches in use in 1840. The term is used here in its early nineteenth-century sense rather than the loose one that emerged after the middle of the century. The latter refers to pews merely as church seating, whereas the former is much more precise and indicates that the seats were enclosed, were entered through doors and were usually appropriated to private occupiers. Here the term will be used in that strict sense and "open seats" will be reserved for the now normal seating with an open space between the bench ends.

Medieval fixed seating was introduced from the fourteenth century and was usually of the open seat variety. This new arrangement inevitably led to the idea of pew ownership and bars, then doors and locks came to be used to exclude the general congregation. Certainly doors are known at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, in 1455 and at St Michael, Cornhill, London, in 1466.[73] The practice spread rapidly from the sixteenth century and by 1800 it is unlikely that many churches would not have had at least some pews.

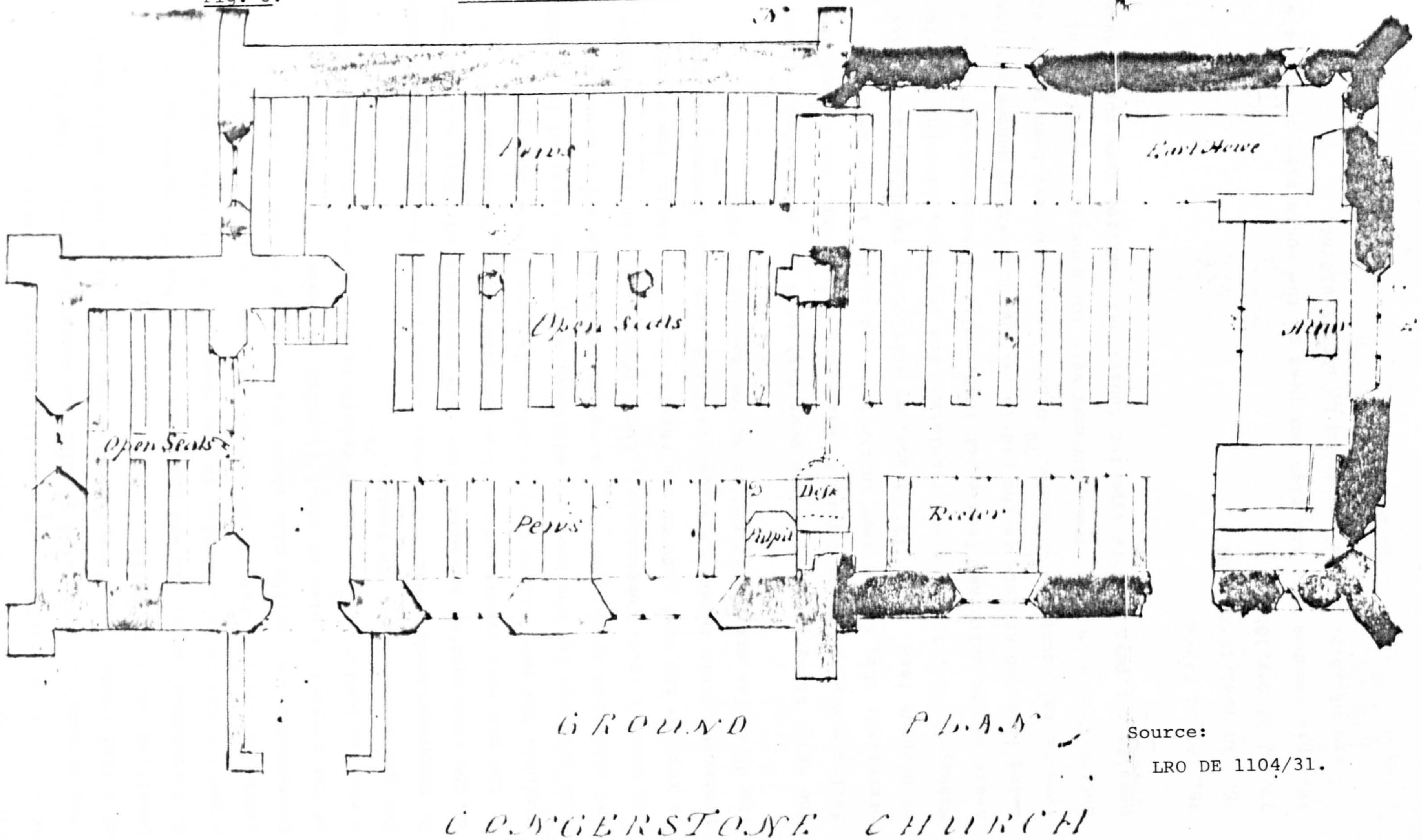
The figure of 57% is almost certainly a gross underestimate and, probably, it should be nearer 90%. They were so common that they were not remarked upon, even when details of a major nineteenth-century restoration were given. Rather, there is slight evidence that Nichols, when visiting churches for material for his county history, called attention to the fact when he encountered large numbers of open seats.[74]

The following categories of pews were to be found regularly prior to the Ecclesiological crusade against them.

1. Manorial pews. Large pews for the patron and/or lord of the manor and his family were common. A number survive in Leicestershire, the grandest being the (unrestored) Shirley pew of 1627 at Breedon-on-the-Hill and the gallery of 1783 for the Sherards at Stapleford. More typical are the humbler ones which survive at Congerstone (1834), Lubenham (late seventeenth-century but much mutilated), and Twycross (date uncertain). The Congerstone and Twycross ones were used by the family of Earl Howe of Gopsall Hall. The Twycross pew fills the extreme east end of the

73. J.C. Cox, Bench Ends in English Churches (London, 1916), 23.
74. For example, Barwell, Blaby, Bruntingthorpe and Cosby.

Fig. 3. Congerstone: plan from faculty dated 26 Nov. 1834.



Source:
LRO DE 1104/31.

north chapel and contains seats facing inwards on all sides. It is comfortably appointed with a fireplace (as at Congerstone too), blue velvet on all vertical surfaces and a small cupboard (for refreshments during long sermons?). Luxury also invaded the Sherard gallery in the form of a fine Coade stone fireplace with the royal arms over, and elegant panelling round the walls.

2. Incumbents' pews. It was also quite usual for the parson to have a pew for his family, usually in the chancel, or, at least, as at Countesthorpe in the 1842 rebuilding scheme, adjacent to it (see Fig. 9). At Congerstone the faculty plan shows the rector's pew on the south side of the chancel. A plan of South Kilworth in about 1835 shows one in a similar position.[75] At Thorpe Arnold in 1794 a pew was to be provided for the minister and his family.[76]

3. Congregational pews. Most pews, however, were for the ordinary members of the congregation and were invariably appropriated. This was the basis of the pew rent system which attracted such fierce debate in Victorian England. The pews filled many churches, leaving little room for the free sittings for the poor. In addition, they often resulted in an untidy and cluttered appearance. It was common for them to spill over into the chancel (e.g. Congerstone), there being until the 1840s no desire to reserve the west part of the chancel for a choir. Pew owners protected their interests vigorously and pews were locked well into the Victorian era; certainly at Melton Mowbray in 1853.[77]

The seats themselves within the pews fall into two categories - those facing east, and those facing in different directions. The former probably prevailed; they can be seen in the nave and aisles in the 1842 plan of Burbage (see Fig. 12 .) and, as surviving examples, at Appleby Magna, Ayston, Lubenham and Stapleton, for instance. Although east-facing seats become universal from about 1840, multi-directional seating was being inserted as late as the mid-1830s. The last known scheme of this type in the county is at Beeby.[78] Others appear to have been put in at Sutton Cheney in 1826. These schemes were for general congregational seating but pews of this type for individual families were put in even

75. LRO DE 743/46.

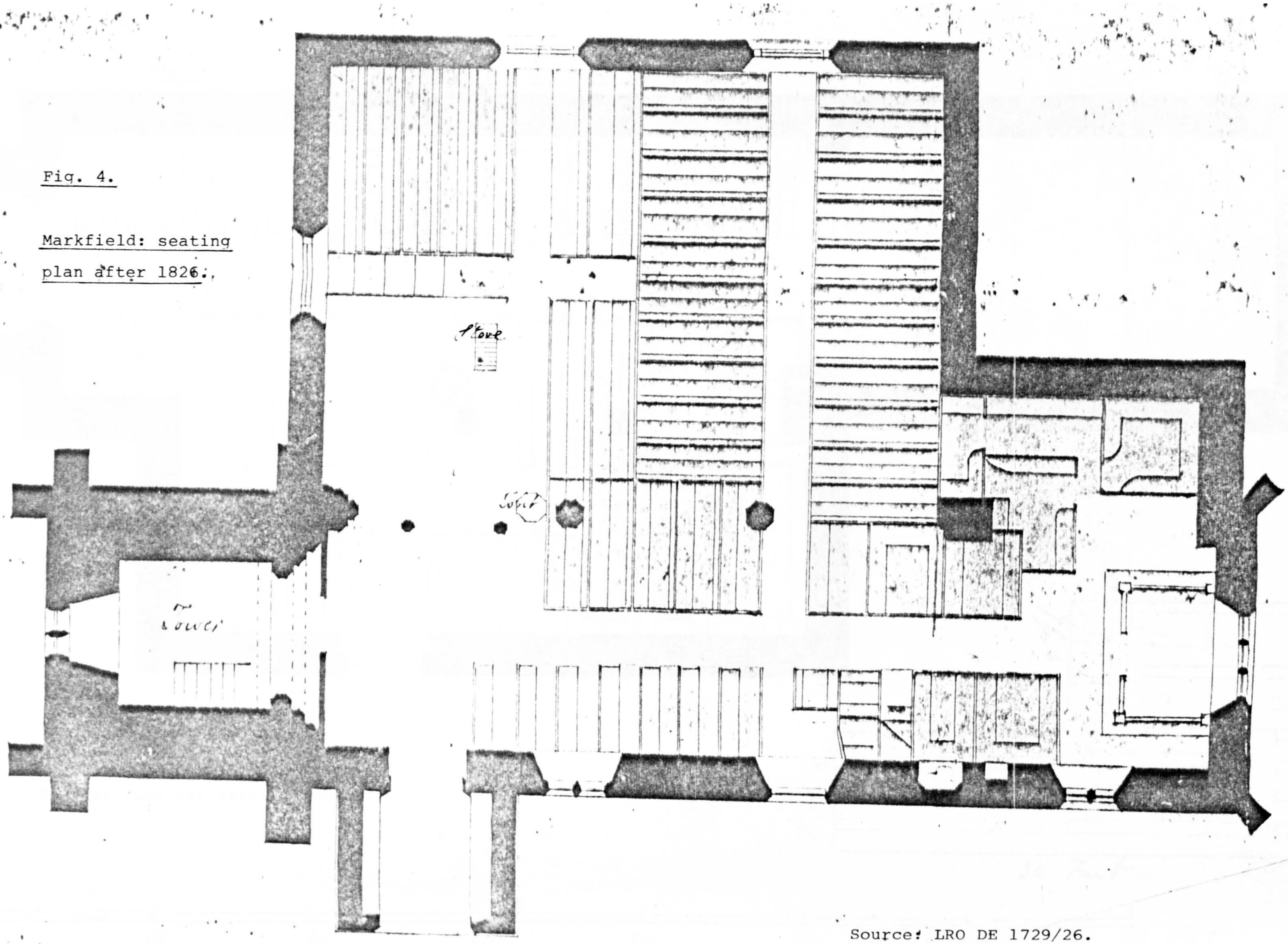
76. LRO 1D41/18/22, 284.

77. LJ 28 Oct. 1853.

78. This assumes that the high box-pews on the south side of the nave are of 1835, a date suggested by LRO DE 657/86.

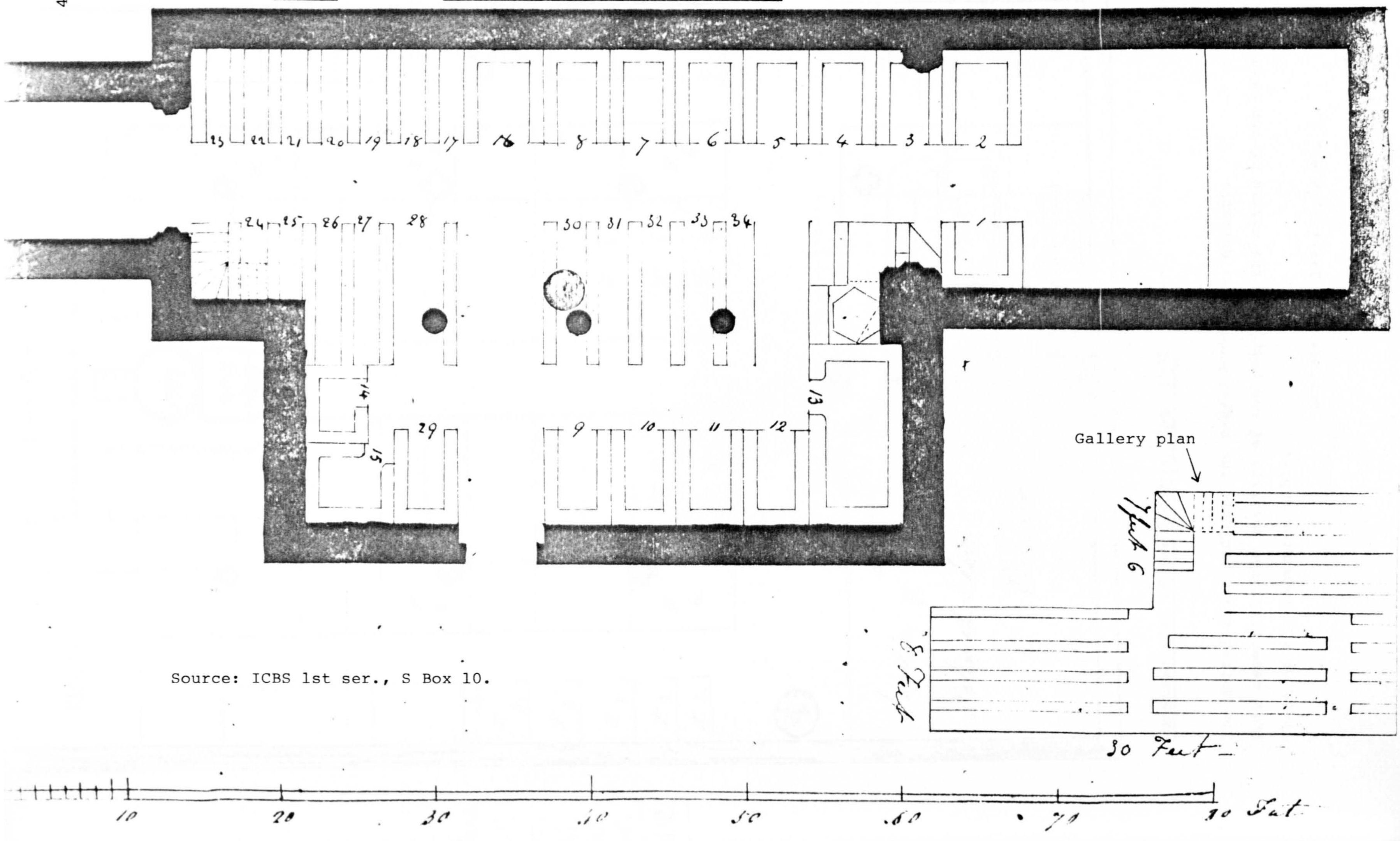
Fig. 4.

Markfield: seating plan after 1826.



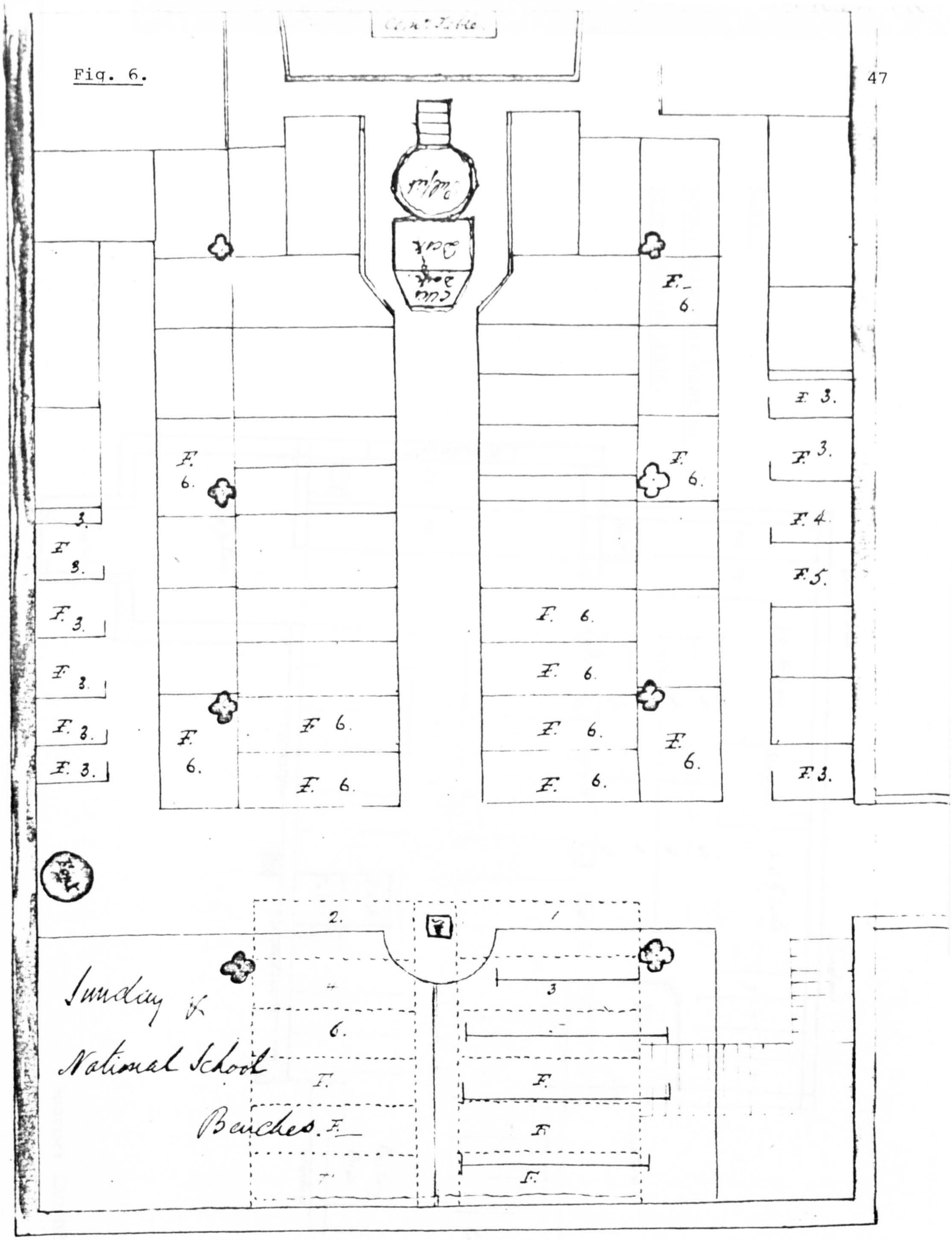
Source: LRO DE 1729/26.

Fig. 5. Sutton Cheney: seating plan, 1826.



Source: ICBS 1st ser., S Box 10.

Fig. 6.



Measham: plan of furnishings, Jun. 1832.

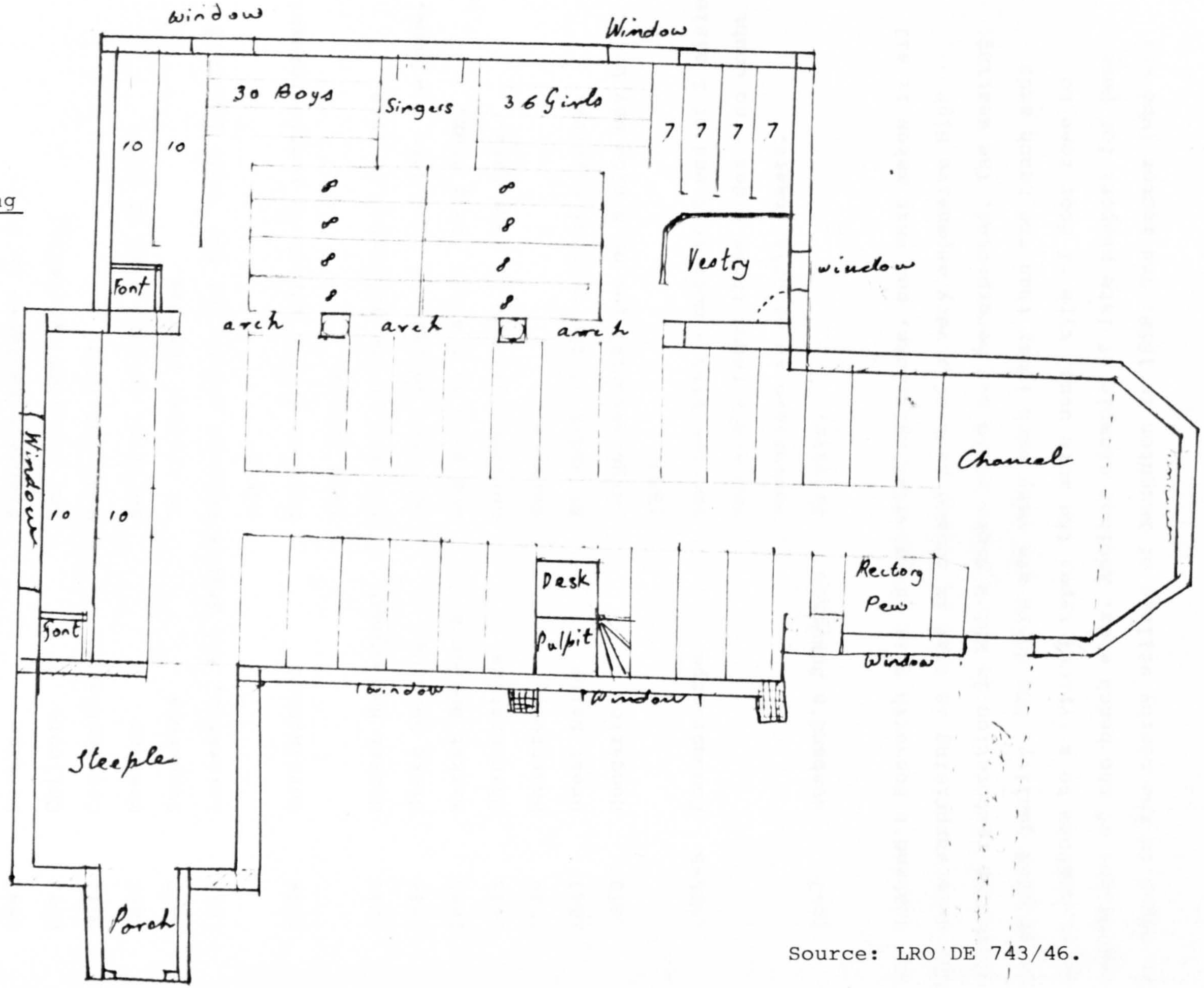
The dotted lines indicate the position of a new gallery.

Note especially the position of the pulpit in the centre of the nave in front of the communion table.

Source: ICBS 1st ser.,M Box 2.

Fig. 7.

South Kilworth: seating arrangements, 1836.



Source: LRO DE 743/46.

in the 1840s (see the plan for pews in the chancel at Burbage). The history of east-facing pews continued somewhat longer. The following list is probably fairly complete and shows the virtual abandonment of pews in reseating schemes after the mid-1840s.

Table 2. Seats with doors, installed from 1840.[79]

Date		Comments
1840-41	Diseworth	Survive.
c. 1841	Norton-juxta-Twycross	Survive.
1842	Burbage	Probably replaced in 1879.
1842	Chilcote	Now replaced by chairs.
1842	Countesthorpe	Replaced 1907.
1842	Measham	Survive; gallery also of 1842.
1842	Swepstone	In aisles; survive.
1843	Leicester, All Saints	Repewed except for the "side [aisle?] seats".
1844	Horninghold	Survive from a curiously rustic refurnishing scheme.
1844.	Market Harborough	Survive in the galleries of 1844.
1844	Stoke Golding	Survive; gallery of same date now gone.
1845	Market Bosworth	One seat in N aisle has a door.
1845	Shackerstone	Survive; gallery of same date.
1846	Sharnford	Survive.
1847	Great Dalby	At sides of the church; survive.
1850?	Hungarton	Large manorial pew on N side may be of 1850.
1865-6	Edmondthorpe	One pew with a door at E end of S aisle and seats round three sides - no doubt a concession to manorial taste.
1867	Husband's Bosworth	Survive.

The Husband's Bosworth case is astonishingly late, and what makes it all the more surprising is that it formed part of a very expensive High Victorian restoration in which doors would not be expected. The seating is of good quality. The doors are very much lower than the bench ends which conform to a typical type; the more usual type of door rose to the height of the bench ends. Another example of late support for pews is found in the nearby village of Laughton in 1858. The rector (who was

79. The references for the dates are to be found in Appendix One.

also the rural dean) disapproved of the recently-made open seats at Market Harborough, claiming they displayed "fancied reverence for antiquated usage" - a clear dig at Ecclesiology.[80]

An even more dramatic illustration of a less than wholehearted acceptance of open seating as late as the 1860s occurred at Wymeswold, which Pugin had reseated in 1844-6. A letter of 1863 from the Anti-Pew Society of London mentions that the then rector, concerned that Pugin's scheme allowed for too few appropriated seats, proposed to remove some of the free seats in the north aisle by converting them into high pews facing the pulpit.[81] A copy was sent to the Bishop. Sadly there is no other correspondence on the matter but perhaps the Society won the Bishop's support since the plan was never carried out. It is not certain when doors were finally used on seats but two of the latest cases must be on the Isle of Man where they were used at Kirk Arbory in 1886[82] and at Kirk Rushen in 1885[83]. Perhaps the most extraordinary case of all is at Trumpington, Cambridge, where low doors were provided by none other than Butterfield in 1858; whether this was to do with Butterfield's love of experimentation or his bowing to pressure from the parish is unclear.[84]

So thorough was the campaign against pews that few survive. In Leicestershire whole or fragmentary schemes (including single manorial pews and, indeed, any single seat with a door) exist at only 29 churches. In addition, they survived at Galby until about 1970,[85] at Great Stretton from 1838 until at least 1950,[86] and at Hoton, also probably of 1838, until 1926[87]. Elsewhere they survive in an emasculated form having been converted into open seats during restoration schemes; often the doors have simply been taken off, leaving the rebating visible.[88]

80. Letter in LJ 29 Jan. 1858.
81. ICBS 2nd Ser.
82. Anon., A History of the Parish of Kirk Arbory & its church of St Columba (1959), 19.
83. C.H. Lee, Notes on the History of Kirk Christ Rushen (1911).
84. Illustrated in P. Thompson, William Butterfield (London, 1971), 484. Thompson also mentions Butterfield designed low pews at Scott[o]w, Norf.
85. Information from Mrs Welch of Galby, Oct. 1981.
86. VCH, 5, 112.
87. Pictures in the church.
88. The following examples are known: Cotesbach, Great Bowden, Kirkby Mallory, Market Harborough, Peatling Magna, Ratcliffe Culey (singularly cheap and flimsy), Scraptoft, Sibson and Wardley.

Most box-pews were simple, panelled constructions with the doors and bench-ends of similar design and the same height. The reintroduction of simple poppy-heads to seats was an early feature in the reawakening of interest in Gothic forms and certainly pre-dated the influence of Pugin and his followers. A complete block survives at Congerstone from 1834-5, a few ends at Old Dalby from 1835, and a complete scheme at Barkby from 1838. In these cases the woodwork is dull and is crowned by poppy-heads of cast-iron. This device was a "sham" in Puginian terms - i.e. metal made to look like wood - and a cheap one too - i.e. cheaper than hand-carving wood. It was destined to die out in the new age but it did linger on longer than cast-iron window tracery which is not found after 1840 in Leicestershire. The stalls at Kirby Muxloe have cast-iron poppy-heads and seem to date from as late as 1853.[89] The shoulders and heads of the stalls at Knipton, 1845-6, are also made of cast-iron. At Blaby in 1846, the architect's specification called for the "front framing of Pews, Clerk's Desk to be .... with cast iron Gothic tracery screwd in the panels."[90]

GALLERIES

Galleries were standard items of church furnishing until the wave of Victorian restorations. Their descent can be traced from the Reformation, and, especially, from Elizabeth's order of 1561 "for the using and transposing of the rood lofts"; this adds the words "where in any parish churches the said rood lofts be already transposed".[91] Clearly many churches moved their lofts to the west end and some survive there even now.[92]

The earliest known references to galleries in Leicestershire are at Woodhouse where the 1842 Visitation notes one as being dated 1613,[93] Newtown Linford where Nichols notes one of 1633,[94] and at Loughborough where one was removed in 1636-7[95]. However, there must have been many

89. A date suggested by LRO DE 123/32 (receipt for new stalls and repairs).
90. Society of Antiquaries, Drawings Collection.
91. F. Bond, Screens and Galleries in English Churches (London, 1908), 14.
92. Bond mentions various examples; a strange Victorian case occurred at Attleborough, Norfolk, where the great screen and loft were moved to the west end in 1845 (Anon., St Mary's Church, Attleborough (n.d.)
93. LRO 245'50/8, 29.
94. Nichols 4 (ii), 891.
95. LRO DE 667/62, fol. 156r.

more before the eighteenth century of which we know nothing. They housed members of the congregation, the organ, the singers or the church orchestra, or any combination of these.

For the 338 churches in Leicestershire in use in 1840, there is documentary or physical evidence of galleries at 204 (60%). So common were galleries and so certain their destruction at a major restoration, that they are often not mentioned in descriptions of churches and some of the references that make up the 204 total are no more than a passing remark at a Visitation or in the churchwarden's accounts.[96] Without doubt a great many more churches possessed galleries, but it is difficult to estimate the proportion. Probably it was rather less than the number possessing pews. In a few rare cases it is clear that no gallery existed: for example, the eighteenth-century screen at Ragdale precludes one; a proposal to erect one at Osgathorpe in 1832 makes it clear there was not one before[97]; and the plan of Swannington (see above) contains no gallery.

It was the Ecclesiological movement which led to the abandoning of galleries as a form of accommodation and to their removal during restorations. The campaign against them was pursued most vigorously in The Ecclesiologist and elsewhere and, like the propaganda againt pews, central pulpits, eastern fonts and so on, met with early success.[98] The reasoning was that galleries were "unsightly" (the most common epithet), were subject to poor ventilation (see the quote about Higham on p.19),[99] were an unsuitable location for the choir (which should be in the chancel), and were unnecessary in most churches as sufficient accommodation should be available by means of properly arranged open seats. More trivially, at an unnamed church in a "not unfrequented watering place", the existence of a west gallery tempted many of the departing congregation to put on their hats as soon as they got under it, which was something they should not have done until they reached the porch.[100] Discipline of children in galleries was notoriously poor and the claim of churchwarden at Claybrooke

96. For example, the galleries at Woodhouse and Fleckney are known only from the Visitation returns. The 1851 Religious Census is the unlikely source for the gallery at Nailstone (LRO MF141/HO129/413, 35).

97. ICBS 1st ser., O Box L.

98. Even in 1790 they could inspire attack. Throsby refers to two "shabby" galleries in the nave at Billesdon "not unlike large pigeon boxes stuck against a wall". (P. Corner, Billesdon Parish Church (n.d.)

99. At Hinckley the galleries had "no proper ventilation" in 1874 (LC 21 Nov. 1874).

100. Eccl 7 (1847), 247.

about unruly behaviour has already been quoted (see p. 14). The ICBS in its instructions of 1842 came out against galleries. They were strictly forbidden in the chancel and clearly were not well thought of elsewhere.[101]

It is not surprising therefore that few galleries were put up after the 1840s, though they did regain some acceptance in the less dogmatic days around the turn of the century when the ghosts of Ecclesiology were finally being exorcised. Late examples were inserted at Ashby Parva in 1856 (removed 1866),[102], Heather some time after 1846, and Shackerstone in 1845. The rector of Laughton, who spoke out against the open seats at Market Harborough, was also sufficiently old-fashioned to put a gallery in his church in 1850 (removed 1880).[103] Benjamin Ferrey provided a gallery in the rebuilt nave at Barlestone in 1855. Leicester, Christ Church acquired one in 1873.[104]

Such aberrations were exceptional, and where galleries were needed in places with accommodation problems, there was a degree of embarassment on the part of those responsible. Shepshed church had the double misfortune to serve a population that was both large and poor. A letter to the Leicester Journal in 1843 from the vicar and churchwardens appealing for financial help, makes it clear that although they would have liked to enlarge the church, the funds were simply unavailable.[105] However, by spending £600, they could increase the accommodation from 429 to 563 by the expedient of galleries. This course of action was taken, and galleries duly went up in 1844.[106] That year, in the large, expanding town of Market Harborough, extra accommodation was provided by extending the galleries of 1819 along the aisles.[107] The problem at Harborough was that, as the church lies in the town centre and has no churchyard whatever, there was no direction in which expansion was possible.

On the other hand, widespread removals began in the 1840s, for example in 1845 at Wymeswold under Pugin, 1848 at Thurmaston, and in 1850 at Burton Lazars. The removals continued to the end of the century and beyond. The last recorded cases of gallery removals, it seems, are in

101. Quoted in Eccl 1 (1843), 150.

102. White, Directory (1863), 724.

103. White, Directory (1877), 262; VCH, 5, 218.

104. D.T. Wilson, A Sketch of the History of Christ Church, Leicester (Leicester, 1909), 17.

105. LJ 3 Mar. 1843.

106. White, op. cit., 592.

107. LRO DE 1587/56; White, Directory (1846), 480.

Rutland (where no gallery survives) at Normanton in 1911,[108] and Greetham in 1924[109].

There are twenty galleries surviving and dating from before 1914 (i.e. 6% of the churches which existed in 1840). Survival has been due usually either to lack of major restorations schemes (e.g. Shackerstone and Stanford-on-Avon) or the need to maximise accommodation in the towns (e.g. Loughborough Emmanuel or Market Harborough). The usual position was at the west end where the gallery rested upon wooden or cast-iron posts or columns. They invariably spanned the nave and often one (e.g. Great Bowden) or both (e.g. Appleby Magna) aisles. In towns it was common to erect galleries along the aisles too, a practice which continued right down to 1840. Occasionally there were two tiers of galleries at the west end, for instance Barkby (survive), Market Harborough,[110] and Oakham[111]. In rare cases galleries stood at the east end of the nave and even in the chancel. The known examples are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Galleries known to have existed at the east end of naves and in chancels.

	Remarks	Reference
Braunston	In chancel arch.	SM 22 May 1863.
Caldecott	Singing gallery against chancel arch.	SM 3 Aug. 1860.
Cosby	At east end of nave till 1751	Nichols 4 (i), 140.
Countesthorpe	In chancel till 1841.	LRO DE 1465/30/1.
Great Casterton	In front of chancel arch	SM 1 Nov. 1861.
Sheepy	About to be erected "between church and chancel".	LRO 245'50/6, 132.
Somerby	In central tower arch till 1866.	LJ 13 Apr. 1866.
South Kilworth	Erected c. 1754 in chancel.	LRO DE 743/44.
Uppingham	Put in chancel just before Jul. 1793.	BFLC quotes faculty of 10 Jul. 1793.

A gallery in the chancel at Stoney Stanton for the children and referred to in 1841 raises the problem of terminology.[112] So far this discussion

108. VCH, 2, 87.

109. Churchwarden's accounts, 1875-1922 (in the parish).

110. Old print in church.

111. LJ 18 Sep. 1857.

112. ICBS 1st ser., S Box 9.

has been to do with elevated structures but the so-called gallery in the chancel at Stoney Stanton was merely a block of seats for the children. Similarly children's galleries noted on plans for Blaby of 1846 are no more than rows of benches.[113]

Lighting could be a problem in galleries and sometimes extra windows were provided. The tiers of lights for the proposed Leicester, St Nicholas of 1824 have already been noted (p. 37). The semi-circular one over the south door at Shepshed clearly lit the former south gallery. The row along the south side of Mountsorrel, St Peter suggests that there was once a gallery all along the south side of the church.

FONTS

There were 322 churches in Leicestershire with a continuous history down to 1800 and few would have lacked a font. However, only two-thirds of these now have medieval fonts.[114] Many would have been destroyed under the Commonwealth and some were replaced shortly afterwards (e.g. Church Langton, 1662) under the requirements of the Act of Uniformity. So, by the start of the eighteenth century, most churches ought to have possessed a font, but, from the records and the surviving evidence, many churches acquired small ones of eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century date. Change in taste, rather than practical necessity is likely to have been the reason. One of the few documented cases of the replacement of an old font is at Newton Harcourt, where it was destroyed and replaced by a new one in 1777.[115] A similar situation arose at neighbouring Wistow where the old font was relegated to the churchyard by the end of the eighteenth century.[116] At Hinckley the medieval font was destroyed in 1786.[117]

By the 1830s and '40s matters concerning fonts had reached a situation which the Ecclesiologists found intolerable. The complaints revolved around three subjects; firstly, the position of fonts, secondly, their

113. At Barwell there is a block of tiered seats stretching from the north doorway to the west end of the north aisle. This is presumably the children's gallery referred to in a letter of 1 Aug. 1854 (ICBS 2nd ser.)

114. This ignores fonts of dubious date but includes those which survive but which were, at some time, displaced by post-Reformation ones.

115. Nichols 2 (ii), 881.

116. ibid., 872.

117. Eccl 2 (1843), 157-8.

form, and, thirdly, the desecration of old fonts.[118]

Position. The new men of the 1830s and '40s strongly advocated the return to the medieval positioning of the font towards the west end and near the main door, "to typify admission into the Church by Holy Baptism".[119] The then popular siting of the font in the chancel was not acceptable as this area was "set aside for the highest services to which a child can be admitted when he is come to the full privileges of a Christian".[120] No Leicestershire examples of "incorrect" positioning are reported in The Ecclesiologist, but they certainly existed. It is unlikely that a comprehensive list can be drawn up but Table 4 contains eight examples.

Table 4. Fonts located near the east ends of churches.

	Remarks	Reference
Ashby-de-la-Zouch	"not well placed - they baptize at the altar".	LRO 245'59/1, 24.
Burton Lazars	In chancel till 1850.	LJ 13 Dec. 1850.
Cosby	At east end of chancel till 1906.	Faculty plan 13 Feb. 1905 in parish records.
Market Harborough	In chancel in 1820s.	Drawing c. 1823.
Saxby	Moveable; fixed on altar rail when needed.	LRO 245'50/5, 202.
Shawell	In sanctuary in 1842.	LRO 245'59/8, 159.
Teigh	Fixed to altar rail.	SM 9 Nov. 1860.
Wymondham	Near the pulpit.	LRO 245'50/9, 253.

118. A fourth problem, the frequent administration of baptism in private houses, is outside the scope of this study.

119. A Few Words to Church Builders (Cambridge, 1st ed., 1841), 19.

120. A Few Words to Churchwardens, 1 (Cambridge, 12th ed., 1842), 8. The practice of siting the font in the chancel seems to have increased from the late eighteenth century (J.G. Davies, The Architectural Setting of Baptism (London, 1962), 121). The Ecclesiologist reported many cases of unsatisfactory siting, e.g. in the chancel at Bodiam and Sandhurst (2 (1843), 79), in front of the chancel, e.g. in the new church of Surbiton (4 (1845), 188), and even a font substitute in the vicar's drawing room at Kemberton, Shropshire, whence it was taken and placed on the altar when it was required for use (4 (1845), 244).

Occasionally a church did not possess a font at all and Archdeacon Bonney noted several examples. He ordered one to be provided at Higham-on-the-Hill in 1832.[121] There were no fonts at Leicester, Holy Trinity[122] or Withcote[123] in 1842. At Brentingby[124] and Thorpe Satchville[125] he noted the absence of fonts both in 1832 and 1842.It was said there was no font at Sysonby in 1842 and, ten years before, Bonney had remarked that the children were being baptised at the communion table.[126]

Form. The accepted form of the font after about 1840 was of stone, of medieval proportions and, preferably, decorated to a greater or lesser extent. Despite the preference given to the octagonal shape by the Ecclesiologists (it symbolised regeneration)[127] circular or square bowls also became popular. Invariably the Victorian font was substantial. The same cannot be said of most fonts put in in the previous century and a half. A font bought at Hoton for £4 in 1833 cannot have been of much substance.[128] Appendix Five lists all known cases of fonts in about 1800-42 which would not have conformed to the new standards of ecclesiastical propriety.

The most popular form was a small font either of stone or marble, usually with a baluster-shaped or small octagonal stem. Most were quite simple pieces, though the late eighteenth-century marble one formerly in Scraptoft was very ornate. The Wistow example has elegant, simple classical detailing. The little font at Isley Walton retains its stone lid "like that of a soup tureen".[129]

Wooden fonts were quite popular too. Ten examples are known to have existed but only that at Teigh survives, and here only by a stroke of good fortune since the rector from 1830 to 1876 carved a small new stone one of strange rustic design.[130]

Apart from the spode basin in the wooden font at Bitteswell,[131] a "small

121. LRO 245'50/2, 51.
122. LRO 245'50/8, 8.
123. LRO 245'50/9, 249.
124. LRO 245'50/5, 251; /9, 245.
125. LRO 245'50/4, 201; /9, 127.
126. LRO 245'50/5, 158; /9, 215. There is a marble baluster font there now.
127. Eccl. 3 (1844), 14.
128. LRO DG 18/DE 1346/482.
129. Pevsner, op. cit., 126.
130. RANHS 11 (1913), 55.
131. LRO 245'50/8, 89.

bason of lead (with a cover of wood upon a light pillar of freestone" at Fleckney,[132], the iron frame for the Gilmorton font,[133] and the cast-iron font at Leicester, Christ Church,[134] there is no evidence of any basins or exotic materials used in Leicestershire. Perhaps the humble basins favoured by the Puritans had all but disappeared by the early nineteenth century.

All the above types of font were viewed with disfavour by those with archaeological propensities. As early as 1795 John Throsby in his Supplementary Volume to the Leicestershire Views refers disparagingly to these small, modern fonts as "a child's plaything, the cup of a cup and ball".[135] Carter speaks of "the childish modern [marble] font" at Hinckley.[136] A description of 1844 refers to the Scraptoft font as "a ridiculous wash-hand-basin looking thing".[137] An extraordinarily late introduction of a small wooden, octagonal font with a removable pottery bowl occurred at Holwell in 1857.[138] However, this was thoroughly exceptional and was no doubt a cheap expedient.

The desecration of fonts. Throsby violently attacked the wholesale removal of ancient fonts and put the problem down partly to the successful salesmanship of stonemasons and partly to "the fashion of the times".[139] The examples of eighteenth-century removals at Newton Harcourt and Wistow have already been given (p. 55) but there must have been others. Throsby noted the font at Leire was used as a horse-trough.[140] About 1800 at Fleckney the old font was relegated to the churchyard, as was the one at Sapcote.[141] That at Shenton stood outside to catch the rainwater.[142] At Welham it was used as a trough at the village pump.[143]

132. Nichols 2 (ii), 876.
133. LRO 245'50/8, 125.
134. D.T. Wilson, op. cit., 29.
135. J. Throsby, Supplementary Volume to the Leicestershire Views (London, 1795), 361.
136. Gentleman's Magazine 71 (1801), 607.
137. BFLC.
138. LRO DE 1747/3.
139. Throsby, op. cit., 361.
140. ibid., 285.
141. Nichols 2 (ii), 876; 4 (ii), 902.
142. LRO 245'50/2, 115.
143. Anon., The Village and Church of Welham in Leicestershire (Welham, 1977).

The Ecclesiological thinking from 1840 was more successful than Throsby in stemming the tide of destruction. The Sapcote font was salvaged at a very early stage (1842) and stands in the church today.[144] The others mentioned above were less fortunate and appear to have vanished. Rescue operations are also known to have taken place at later dates at Lyndon (1866),[145] Egleton (1872-3),[146] and Braunston, Rutland (1890).[147] Archdeacon Bonney seems to have wanted to preserve old fonts and, at Scraptoft, specifically ordered the one in the belfry to be preserved (no doubt relegated there when the new font was put in in the eighteenth century).[148]

Appendix Five records all the wooden, marble and small fonts of other materials known to exist in Leicestershire from about 1800 to 1842.

CEILINGS

In the 288 Leicestershire (excluding Rutland) churches in use in 1840, there is evidence for plaster ceilings in at least 131 (45%). The documentary material for Rutland is not so good due to the lack of a major county history like Nichols, and Visitation material. Here only 11 cases (22%) are known. These figures are very much a minimum and, in reality, many more churches probably had them. They took a variety of forms, by far the most elaborate being the vaulted work at Appleby Magna of around 1830. Occasionally there was plastering between the rafters, as Packington and in the nave at Plungar,[149] and such cases are included in the figures. Sometimes the ceiling was flat, as survives at Wistow and Withcote, and sometimes curved, as survives at Horninghold (chancel) and Sutton Cheney (nave).

Ceiled roofs were extremely popular in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but in most cases it is not recorded when they were put in. Appendix Five shows ceilings known to have been put in after 1800 and it is noticeable that they continued right up to the start of the Ecclesiological era but not beyond. It seems likely that most roofs put in between 1800 and 1830 would have had plaster ceilings.

144. White, Directory (1877), 584.

145. VCH, 2, 75.

146. Archit 10 (1873), 139.

147. LRN&Q 1 (1889-91), 274.

148. LRO 245'50/9, 75.

149. LRO 245'50/9, 57, 223.

VESTRIES

Prior to the Ecclesiological revival many churches possessed vestries. The existence or absence of a vestry was one of the articles of enquiry in the 1832 Visitation. The results show that 44 out of 192 churches (23%) had vestry faciltities. However, very few of these would have been structural adjuncts to the church. The sixteenth-century example at Melton Mowbray was clearly a notable exception because of its size and elaboration, but the recent ones at Isley Walton and Mountsorrel were merely small projections south of the chancel. More typical, perhaps, were those at Blackfordby and Coleorton ("in the belfry"), Burton Lazars (a "small robing-place") or at Wymeswold where expenditure of £9.16s.2d. in 1832 cannot have bought anything elaborate.[150] A plan of 1815 shows a vestry in the north transept at Loughborough.[151] Ten vestries doubled as schoolrooms (e.g. Frisby-on-the-Wreake, Goadby Marwood or Knipton); at Lubenham the furnishings of the old school survives. There is very little documentary evidence which enables the date of most of the vestries to be assessed. A few exceptions are, in date order, Mountsorrel, c. 1794,[152] Leicester, St Mary de Castro, 1795,[153] Isley Walton, 1819,[154] and Lowesby, c. 1825[155].

HEATING

The Victorian age did much to alter the way churches were heated. The changes had a major impact upon the internal appearance, as well as the comfort, of the buildings. Until hot-water and hot-air systems were introduced, the standard method of heating - if heating existed - was the stove. They invariably had long pipes that often rivalled items like the pulpit or the font in visual prominence.[156] It is not surprising that the Cambridge Camden Society pronounced them inadmissable.[157] The campaign against such an item of comfort was much less successful than

150. LRO DE 1728/38.

151. LRO DE 667/44.

152. BFLC.

153. ibid.

154. Date of church.

155. LRO 245'50/4,97.

156. Stoves and pipes dominate many old prints and photographs, e.g. Great Bowden, prior to the 1887-8 restoration (in collection of Mr M.C. Brown, Great Bowden, references 9/24/6-7), or Market Bosworth (drawing by Sebastian Evans, 1847, in the church).

157. Eccl 2 (1843), 111; 3 (1844), 135.

against box-pews and galleries. For example, at Hambleton a stove was purchased for the first time in 1844, and another in 1853.[158]

In 1832 Archdeacon Bonney conscientiously noted the type of heating in Leicestershire churches, and it is interesting to find that nearly half the churches had no heating at all. Just over half have stoves, but hot-water pipes and warm air apparatus, so familiar from later restorations, are almost entirely absent.

Table 5. Forms of heating in Leicestershire churches in 1832.

	No. of churches		%	
No heating	83		44.0	
1 stove	68		36.1	
2 stoves	24		12.7	
3 stoves	4	98	2.1	51.9
4 stoves	1		0.5	
Unknown no. of stoves	1		0.5	
Flues*	4		2.0	
Warm water	1		0.5	
Fireplace**	3		1.6	
	188		100.0	

* Stathern is excluded as it also had two stoves

** Croxton Kerrial is excluded as it also had two stoves

The 1842 figures are less reliable and seem to indicate less thoroughness in recording heating systems. For example, many churches with stoves in 1832 have none noted in 1842 - a rather unlikely situation. The only tentative conclusion is that a few more complex systems were put in during these ten years. Barkestone had acquired a hot-water system,[159] no doubt part of Burnaby's restoration in 1840 (see above), as had Lutterworth[160]. At the new church of Loughborough, Emmanuel, there was a "stove" under the church.[161]

There was much debate in the 1840s over which was the most satisfactory

158. Churchwarden's accounts, 1759-1879 (in the church in 1981).

159. LRO 245'50/9, 170.

160. LRO 245'50/8, 141.

161. LRO 245'50/8, 51.

type of heating, and some thoroughly impractical (not to say dangerous) suggestions to do with braziers and other devices were put forward.[162] There is no evidence that any exotic methods were employed in Leicestershire, and pattern seems to have ranged from no heating at all, through stoves as a cheap expedient, to hot-water and hot-air systems. Technical considerations and the difficulty of dating the surviving evidence preclude a detailed examination of the subject of heating in this study. However, it needs to be noted that iron grilles over hot-water pipes and air ducts could be attractive minor items in Victorian restoration schemes; indeed, those at Loddington (of 1859?) are the best features of the nineteenth-century work at this church!

ORGANS

One legacy of the Victorian approach to worship is the idea that the only suitable instrument for making music during church services is the organ. The church orchestra had totally, or almost totally, vanished by 1900; the last Dorset band disappeared about 1895.[163] It seems likely that the church orchestra was often a casualty of restorations, being ejected in favour of the more dignified tones of a new organ. For instance, the church band at Ridlington ceased to function in 1860, the very year a major restoration was undertaken. The orchestra at Lyddington survived until comparatively late (1875), though it is possible bands persisted in a few remote villages till even later.

It is therefore easy to forget that a good many pre-Victorian churches had organs. The 1832 Visitation is quite methodical in noting whether they existed or not. In the 191 churches for which there is usable information, there were 23 organs (12%). Four were noted as small hand organs or barrel organs, which, judging from the surviving example at Wardley, could be quite charming in appearance. A quaint case of a necessarily portable organ occurs at Swepstone, where it was kept in the rectory owing to excessive damp in the church, and was brought forth when required.[164] Some degree of correspondence might be expected between the existence of organs (to modern eyes a sort of symbol of religious devotion

162. For example Eccl 3 (1844), 135; rather later in Eccl 15 (1854), 47-52.
163. F.W. Galpin, "Notes on the old church bands and village choirs of the past", Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Field Club 26 (1905), 173.
164. LRO 245'50/1, 161.

and liturgical seriousness) and well-kept churches. This is patently not the case as ten of the 26 were in churches whose condition was poor or fair, in accordance with the criteria established at the start of this chapter. The 1842 figures are more difficult to use since there is often no clear information, and, in half the cases where an organ had existed in 1832, none is noted ten years later. At Wymondham, where an organ is said to have displaced the orchestra in 1841,[165] Bonney makes no reference to it.

Unfortunately, the Visitation material does not shed any light on the location of organs within churches. Where there was a west gallery, this would have been a very suitable place, as it was good acoustically and would not have interrupted the view of any part of the church. The organs remaining in the galleries at Barkby and Stanford-on-Avon, for instance, seem to represent a typical arrangement in galleried churches. As galleries started to be removed from the 1840s, this posed a problem of siting the organ, a matter which stimulated much debate and one which is discussed later in Chapter Three (see pp. 105-6).

CAST-IRON TRACERY AND ORNAMENT

The use of cast-iron forms an interesting and, locally, a short episode in the history of taste. Some mention has already been made of the subject in the discussion of individual churches and here only a brief mention is needed to draw it together. Cast-iron was widely used for gallery supports (e.g. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity and Stapleton) but the date range for its adoption in other situations appears to be between about 1825 to 1850. Its most spectacular application was in window tracery and it is found at (in date order) Leicester, St George, 1823-7, Whetstone, probably 1826 or 1827, Congerstone, 1834-5, Great Stretton, 1838, and Barkestone, 1840. A quotation from Weatherhead & Glover of Derby for such windows at Appleby Magna in 1826 was never taken up.[166]

Cast-iron finials to bench ends still exist at Congerstone, 1834-5, Old Dalby, 1835, Barkby 1838, Barkestone, 1840, Knipton, 1845-6, and Kirby Muxloe, probably 1853. Ones probably put in at Blaby under a specification of 1846 (see p. 51) would have been removed during the refurnishing scheme of 1902.

165. Note in church.

166. Information from Mr R.J. Eyre.

Occasionaly it was used for altar rails, as at Appleby Magna and Kirkby Mallory by 1832,[167] or banisters to pulpit stairs, as at Swepstone in 1842[168]. The cast-iron font at Leicester, Christ Church has been mentioned on p.58 .

Despite the radical possibilities of iron as a constructional material as illustrated in W. Slater's iron church design of 1856 in Instrumenta Ecclesiastica and Thomas Rickman's Everton, St George, 1813-14, its use never became popular. In ordinary parish churches it was neither practical (windows rust) nor attractive (screwed-on poppy-heads) and it fell victim to changed ideas in the ensuing years. Its unpopularity with the Ecclesiologists meant it was very rarely used in the High Victorian period.[169]

ALTAR RAILS

Whatever the Victorians may have felt about the way their predecessors looked after their churches, they could not have criticised them for failing to provide altar rails. At the 1832 Visitation only four churches out of 197 (Blackfordy, Holwell, Snibstone and Welby) were they lacking.[170] By 1842 there were only three out of 254 without them.[171]

So far as is known, the rails occupied the conventional position in a straight line from the north to the south wall of the chancel before the sanctuary, apart from odd exceptions, such as Lyddington, where they surrounded the communion table on four sides, or at Six Hills where they surrounded it on three sides.

COMMANDMENT BOARDS

Like altar rails, commandment boards were to be found in the vast majority of Leicestershire churches. They had had a long history in the English Church. They certainly existed as early as 1488 at London, St Christopher le Stocks where they were set up with "dyuerse good prayers".[172] They

167. LRO 245'50/2, 2, 87.

168. Society of Antiquaries, Drawings Collection.

169. Iron was condemned, for example, in G.E. Street, "The True Principles of Architecture and the Possibility of Development", Eccl 13 (1852), 248.

170. At another four no reference is made, but a lack would have been noted.

171. Holwell and Snibstone are common to both lists.

172. J.T. Micklethwaite, The Ornaments of the Rubric, Alcuin Club Tract no. 1 (London, 1898).

proliferated in post-Reformation times under the requirements of the Royal Injunctions of 1560 and 1561 and also Canon 82 of 1604. It was required that the Commandments should be set up at the east end of every church. This instruction almost certainly implied the east end of the nave where everyone could read them, but which, like the Ornaments Rubric, admitted the possibility of ambiguous interpretation as to detailed practice.

In the early nineteenth century they were almost universal, and Archdeacon Bonney made a point of making sure "they were up". However, correct practice was a little less frequent than in the case of altar rails, and this is shown by the statistics given in Table 7.

Table 6. Numbers of churches without Commandments 1832 and 1842.

	Nos of churches examined.	No. without Commandments	% without
1832	188	17	9
1842	245	31	12

There seems to be no particular pattern. Absence cannot be attributed simply to spiritual laxity since the newly-built churches of Coalville, Isley Walton and Swannington all lacked them. On the other hand some new churches, such as Hinckley, Holy Trinity, Loughborough, Emmanuel, and Woodhouse Eaves had them. In some cases, as at Barkestone and Great Easton, they had been removed at restorations and not put back. As shown below (p.184), the popularity of commandment boards waned during the course of the nineteenth century.

THE PAINTING OF FURNISHINGS

It was commonplace to paint items of furniture in the pre-Victorian Church. The cleaning up of churches and the introduction of bare woodwork during the nineteenth century was, to an extent, a reversal of the ideas of previous generations. The task was carried out so thoroughly that it is easy to forget the amount of painted surfaces that had previously existed. Medieval decoration was extensive, of course, and its scale and iconography is well-known. Decorative schemes continued after the Reformation but tended to be in simpler styles and with plain coloured surfaces in place of lavish polychromatic ones. Early examples of the painting of furnishings occur at Loughborough in 1585-6

and again in 1592-3 on which occasions the pulpit was painted; in 1592-3 and in 1747 the font was painted.[173] At Lyddington there is reference to painting the pulpit and desk in 1721.[174]

There are many instances in the 1832 and 1842 Visitations of furnishings being painted an oak colour, mahogany colour etc. and the colour of the natural wood often seems to have been obscured. Many examples of wood graining survive, not all of them from the pre-Victorian era. Examples can be cited at Ayston (in this case pre-Victorian), Diseworth (pews, 1840-41), Kirby Muxloe (stalls, probably 1853), at Thringstone (where the graining in St Aubyn's church cannot predate its erection in 1862), and Snibstone, St James (where earlier (c. 1900 ?) stalls are reused).

Coloured treatment of furnishings is a rarer survival and Appendix Five lists all extant examples, together with ones known from documentary sources. Bonney often noted painted items, as did Nichols. No definitive list can be drawn up, but since Bonney chose to remark on the existence of painted woodwork, it might be argued that he thought it unusual enough to draw attention to. It seems possible that perhaps 25% of Leicestershire churches had at least one item of painted furniture in the early nineteenth century. The Appendix lists 53 different churches but it is likely the list is a considerable understatement. The lack of references for Rutland is due to the absence both of Visitation returns for the period and a detailed county history.

The loss of coloured or grained woodwork is largely the result of a post-Puginian reaction that demanded honest presentation of materials, not concealment under coats of paint. A parallel may be drawn with the Victorian practice of scraping walls and leaving bare stone surfaces (see pp. 234-7).

BRICK FLOORS

In the early nineteenth century brick floors were extremely common, and would have had a considerable impact on the appearance of church interiors. There is clear evidence from the Visitation returns (by far the main source), Nichols, casual documentary sources, and the remaining examples that, about 1840, 122 churches in Leicestershire had brick

173. LRO DE 667/62 fol. 9r, fol. 27v; DE 667/63.

174. LRO DE 1881/41.

floors in whole or in part. As eight of the nineteen surviving brick floors are not mentioned in the documentary evidence, it seems likely that the figure of 122 is a considerable understatement.However, by no means all churches could have had such floors since the 1832 Visitation states clearly that out of 197 churches twelve had entirely stone floors and two (Great Stretton and Stonton Wyville) had tile quarries.

There is little doubt that many floors were uneven and of poor appearance. The Visitation returns are full of such remarks. Unlike Norfolk, Leicestershire has few pre-Victorian floors left and the only brick one covering an entire church is at Great Dalby. Gaddesby still has mixed flooring of very rough appearance and must appear as so many churches did before the wave of nineteenth-century restorations. Inevitably brick has survived in places where restoration activity has been modest. The full list is given in Appendix Five.

A few brick floors were inserted right up until 1840 and even a little beyond. Late cases are known in 1834 at Newton Harcourt,[175] and in 1842 at Quorn (north aisle)[176] and, probably, Swepstone. The Quorn case was simply the extension of an existing floor.

Few flooring schemes survive from around 1840 but the tenuous evidence suggests that quarry tiles were starting to displace brick, presumably because of lower cost and better appearance, e.g. Great Stretton, 1838, Twycross, 1840, and Norton-juxta-Twycross, c. 1841. But, like so many of the other features mentioned in the latter part of this chapter, brick floors ceased to be acceptable in the 1840s and patterned or plain tiles soon swept all before them. The Ecclesiological movement affected almost every single aspect of English churches, even humble things like flooring materials, and it is to this crucial phase in the history of English churches that attention must now be turned.

175. ICBS 2nd ser.

176. Society of Antiquaries, Drawings Collection.

CHAPTER THREE

THE 1840s AND THE ECCLESIOLOGICAL MOVEMENT

A major reawakening began in the Church of England in the 1830s. Its architectural expression was not felt fully until the '40s, when the principles enunciated by Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society achieved an astounding degree of success. These ideas were taken up by the Camdenians' less fervent Oxford counterpart, the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, founded in 1839, and by other local societies which were set up from 1841 onwards. Numerous books, the Incorporated Church Building Society, The Builder (from 1843), individual architects like Scott and Butterfield, and various important patrons all played their part in the dissemination of these ideals.

The story of this Ecclesiological ferment has often been told and here the objective is somewhat different. It is to chart its progress at the local level in one English county, after a brief survey of the aims of the movement. It is easy to see this new activity as a landscape made up of major peaks represented by individual buildings and publications, well-known on the national scale - Scott at St Giles, Camberwell and St Mary, Stafford, Carpenter at St Paul, Brighton, A Few Words to Churchwardens, or Butterfield in his illustrations for Instrumenta Ecclesiastica. Such works were fundamental in the progress of the Revival, but, of course, Ecclesiology did not attain instant success. Scott, for instance, still put in galleries at St Giles, Camberwell, in 1841 and there was uncertainty for a while as to the "best" style to be adopted. At the local level progress was faltering and it took time for the new principles to be absorbed in the general architectural vocabulary.

But gradually architects, Gothic enthusiasts, church vestries, patrons, and anyone concerned with building or refurbishing an English church were caught up in the ideas of the time, just as Scott was awakened by coming into contact with the ideas of Pugin and the Cambridge Camden Society.[1] By 1850 it was virtually impossible for anyone to work in ignorance of the new principles. But the typical work in a Leicestershire

1. Scott records his conversion in Personal and Professional Recollections (London, 1879), 86-7.

village was far from the vanguard of Ecclesiological proselytising, and it was only after a time-lag that "correctness" was introduced. The new box-pews and galleries introduced in the '40s and mentioned in the last chapter are clear proof of that.

ECCLESIOLOGICAL IDEALS

Something needs to be said at this point about what was involved in church building and restoration as promoted by the Ecclesiological Movement. It was regarded as a scientific subject, the truths of which could be mastered by the study of ancient churches of the appropriate periods. The most évident truth was that medieval architecture alone was worthy of study and imitation, and, in practice, only selected periods of it achieved the peak of achievement. The consequence of this logic was that new churches came to be built in styles drawn from a fairly limited period of the Middle Ages. The question of a single style had scarcely disturbed local church builders before 1840, as the wide range listed in Table 1 demonstrates quite clearly. By the early 1840s the issue was settled firmly in favour of Gothic as the only suitable style for a Christian church.[2] There were exceptions but very few and, gradually, even Nonconformists took it up, as early as just after 1845 in the case of some Wesleyans, Independents and Unitarians.[3] It is curious that for all its dogmatism, the Cambridge Camden Society was slow to make a pronouncement as to which type of Gothic was preferable. However, men like Petit, who favoured Perpendicular, or Freeman, who had a penchant for Norman and Perpendicular, tended to be in the minority. By the mid-'40s the overwhelming body of opinion favoured "Early Middle Pointed". To copy most work between 1250 and 1350 was acceptable but something near to 1300 was best of all. It was A Few Words to Church Builders of 1844 which came nearest to an ex-cathedra pronouncement in favour of such architecture. Year by year Early Middle Pointed secured converts among church builders, just as Scott had seen the light about 1840.

The approval granted to a phase of medieval architecture implied its acceptability for being copied in new works. However, the other great architectural debate of these years was whether ancient models should be copied or whether inventiveness was to be encouraged. The mainstream of

2. Eccl 2 (1843), 5.
3. H-R. Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain 1 (London, 1954), 136.

early Ecclesiologists declared "a new style is unnecessary",[4] and condemned "inventive imitation"[5]. They spoke out against Petit who stood for more liberal attitudes.[6] The debate flared up again in the '50s in the pages of The Builder but, at least as far as the 1840s were concerned, the general pattern was settled in favour of copyism. The English ideal was regarded as the country parish church.[7] The Ecclesiologist felt that until the medieval styles had been remastered copyism would "be the safest and best course to adhere, for the present at least [my emphasis], to close or mechanical imitation, as the only sure way of attaining that excellence which we admire, but have hitherto striven to reach in vain".[8] This was Pugin's position - the humble emulation of past glories. It has often been condemned as slavish imitation but the new work had to start somewhere and, in practical terms, it was an eminently sensible starting point. The phrase emphasised above denied a once-and-for-all stance and change did come, although it remained within the Gothic framework until the end of the century.

Then came the question of how churches were to be arranged. They had to be "built in such a way that the Rubrics and Canons of the Church of England may be consistently observed, and the Sacraments rubrically and decently administered."[9] All this involved a return to certain aspects of medieval church building and the High Church practices of the early seventeenth century. The chief features can be summarised as follows.

1. A structurally differentiated chancel was required, preferably at least one-third of the length of the nave.[10] If there was no chancel arch, there should at least be a screen or raised floor. The latter was desired in any case, and was to be about 6 inches high, plus a further two or three steps towards the east end.[11]

2. "Truthfulness" in construction was necessary. The materials should be seen to be what they are. "Stucco, and paint, and composition, and

4. Eccl 1 (1843), 89.
5. ibid., 135
6. As put forward in Remarks on Church Architecture, 2 vols (London, 1841).
7. For the archéologues in France the ideal was the cathedral or the great collegiate church.
8. Eccl 1 (1843), 135.
9. ibid., 10.
10. Ibid., 41.
11. Eccl 3 (1844), 161.

graining, are not out of place in the theatre or the ball-room - but in GOD'S House every thing should be real."[12] Plaster for arches and vaults (cf. Appleby Magna) was outlawed.

3. Pews and galleries were unacceptable. Moveable seats were thought desirable.[13]

4. Open roofs were encouraged and ceilings forbidden. Roofs were to be high-pitched, and, if necessary, the removal of a Perpendicular clerestory was allowable.[14]

5. The font was to be near the main entrance. The octagonal shape was to be preferred since it symbolised regeneration. It should be of medieval proportions.

6. The pulpit and reading desk were to be clearly differentiated, i.e. the ambo arrangement should not be used.

7. The cruciform plan was thought inconvenient in small churches.[15]

8. "A church should be dimly lighted."[16] For this the removal of a clerestory could be a positive advantage (cf. Ashwell, p. 139).

9. Ideally the floor should be laid with encaustic tiles, or, less desirably, squared stone slabs.[17]

10. Brick was most undesirable, at least in the early 1840s. "We abhor brick as a mean material", said The Ecclesiologist.[18] By 1850 the position had changed.

11. The altar should be plain and placed lengthwise under the east window, and well-furnished with hangings.[19]

12. There should be a single piscina in the south wall and sedilia too, preferably three in number and of stone.[20]

13. There should be a credence on the north side.[21]

12. Eccl 1 (1843), 12.
13. Eccl 4 (1845), 271.
14. ibid., 104
15. Eccl 1 (1843), 96-7.
16. Eccl 2 (1843), 75. Its emphasis.
17. ibid., 124.
18. Eccl 3 (1844), 87.
19. ibid., 161.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.

14. A lectern should be an eagle or pelican of brass or wood or a simpler one with sloping sides.[22]

15. There should be stalls in the chancel. Ideally the chancel should hold three to five clergy, plus six lay clerks and twenty children in the choir.[23]

16. The separation of the sexes was desirable.[24]

17. Apses were not approved of.[25] This position changed after 1850.

These courageous edicts formed the basis of practically all church building and restoration in England until the end of the nineteenth century. The depth of influence was so great that, in many ways, it influenced work well into the twentieth century - even the new Coventry Cathedral is medievally-inspired, i.e. the fifteenth-century hall churches, given a modern veneer. In the long run, however, the Ecclesiological crusade was doomed in the face of changing attitudes to worship and the questioning of how much money would be spent on church fabrics. From the turn of the last century, we have seen a waning of its influence, just as medieval Gothic was ultimately found to be unsuited to the best expression of Anglican needs. The whole tradition of Anglican worship since the Reformation was one of the unity between clergy and laity. As White points out "The return to the medieval double rectangle .... was a reversal of almost two hundred years of Anglican church building."[26] The Ecclesiologists sought to re-establish the ancient hierarchy of clergy and laymen in an increasingly democratic age. As White says, they saw worship in terms of individual response, in an atmosphere of awe and mystery.[27] In the long run this was a path that the Church of England chose not to take.

In terms of construction, the whole thrust of the combined intellectual weight of Pugin, the Ecclesiologists and, a little later, Ruskin, was in favour of a revival of high quality medieval workmanship carried out by dedicated bands of craftsmen. All this was something of a Romantic misconception as the medieval builder was just as capable of saving money and producing poor workmanship as his despised nineteenth-century counterpart.

22. ibid., 164.
23. Eccl 111(1850), 87.
24. Eccl 5 (1846), 41-5.
25. Eccl 1 (1843), 64, 161.
26. Protestant Worship and Church Architecture (New York, 1964), 134.
27. ibid., 136.

Work, for example, at York Minster has amply demonstrated this.[28]

The other great Ecclesiological thesis was the elaborately constructed view of symbolism in churches. To an extent it undoubtedly existed in medieval churches but the works of Neale and Webb (the translation of Durandus) and Poole made it a very self-concious and important facet of nineteenth-century church building.[29] However, as White points out, "Far too many churches have adopted items because of a symbolism usually read into them long after their original function had been overlooked."[30] It was sometimes taken to excess - a "mania for symbolism" Eastlake called it.[31] The idea was that symbolism embodies spiritual truths in material forms and that these would remind us of those truths.[32] The hierarchical divisions between nave and chancel, choir and sanctuary, the position of the font as symbolising entry into the Church, and the cruciform plan as representing the cross are all examples. On the smaller scale, Pugin's hoodstops on the chancel arch at Wymeswold showing Synagogue and Church and his use of carefully chosen texts for different parts of that church are local examples of symbolism in practice.

ECCLESIOLOGY IN LEICESTERSHIRE

A fundamental question in considering local events in the 1840s is, how far advanced was Leicestershire in Ecclesiological terms? The county had a strong Nonconformist tradition and there is little evidence of High Churchmanship except at a very localised level. As indicated in Chapter Two, the Archdeacon of Leicester, T.K. Bonney, seems to have had no leanings in that direction. The Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough (in which Leicestershire lay from 1837), the Rev. Dr Butler

28. D.A. Stocker, "Architectural Fragments in York - an Outline of the Problem", Bull. of the C.B.A. Churches Committee 15 (1981), 9-10.
29. J.M. Neale & B. Webb, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Written by William Durandus, Sometime Bishop of Mende (Leeds, 1843); G.A. Poole, The Appropriate Character of Church Architecture, reviewed in Eccl 1 (1843), 125-6.
30. Protestant Worship etc., 134
31. Eastlake, op. cit., 233.
32. W. White, "Symbolism, its Practical Benefits and Uses", Trans. Exeter Diocesan Archit. Soc. 4 (1849-52), 305.

of Gayton, Northamptonshire, became a member of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1841, but is not known to have exerted Ecclesiological influence in the area under discussion.[33] In 1844 the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton (which covered Rutland) was set up with the Bishop of Peterborough as patron, but it seems to have had no influence in Leicestershire (excluding Rutland) nor, even, much in Rutland. The Lichfield Architectural Society, whose Secretary was J.L. Petit, had no impact on the western part of the area. There was no local Society to promote the study of architecture until the 1850s (see p. 131) and the activities of the Church Building Society of the County and Town of Leicester seem to have been concerned more with providing new accommodation and funds for the general restoration of churches, rather than architectural niceties.

There are a few works which display mainstream Ecclesiological tendencies and these are discussed later in this chapter. However, they tend to be isolated and seem not to have been carried out against the background of positive encouragement from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Leicestershire therefore forms a marked contrast to that hot-bed of advanced Ecclesiological thinking, the Diocese of Exeter.[34] Here, Bishop Philpotts was a strong High Churchman and was supported by similarly-minded clerics. Many were young men from the universities where they had imbibed the new ideas. There were, of course, pockets of Low Churchmanship, but, more signifcantly, there were several personalities who felt themselves to be in the vanguard of the Ecclesiological movement. The Rolle and Coleridge families were wealthy and put large sums of money into church building and restoration works. It was Lord Coleridge who brought Butterfield to work in the county, beginning with the restoration of Ottery St Mary, and who was one of Butterfield's few close friends. Similarly, Viscount Courtenay was active in the area and became a member of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1842.[35] The Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society was founded in 1841 under the patronage of Philpotts. It did much to promote the cause, and its Secretary, the Rev. John Medley, was responsible for the foundation and general design of Exwick, St Andrew. The architect was John Hayward, architect to the Society, and his work was described by The Ecclesiologist as "the best specimen of a modern church we have yet seen."[36]

33. Eccl 1 (1843), 23.

34. I am grateful to Dr M. Cherry for much of the following information.

35. Eccl 2 (1843), 38.

36. ibid., 23

Unfortunately the membership lists for the Cambridge Camden Society before 1841 no longer exist but by analysing the lists of new members published in The Ecclesiologist from 1841 to 1849, it is possible to obtain some idea of the greatest concentrations of Camdenians. The summary is given in Appendix Six. In view of the intense activity in Devon the number there is strangely small but the presence of a strong local Society may be the reason. Reports in The Ecclesiologist show the Cambridge Camden Society had close links with Somerset, Gloucestershire, Sussex and Oxfordshire, in particular, and the concentrations of new members in these areas might be expected.

In Leicestershire (excluding Rutland) only one person joined. This was the Rev. Henry Alford of Wymeswold, elected in November 1844, just at the time he brought in Pugin for the restoration of 1844-6.[37] He was a strong High Churchman and his presence in the lists is in sharp contrast to the absence of the rest of the local clergy. The young Lord John Manners of Belvoir Castle joined in 1841 while at Trinity College where the Society had its base.[38] His interest on returning to Leicestershire took no practical expression other than contributing in a fairly minor way to various works in the county and admiring Pugin's work at Wymeswold.

The picture was rather different in Rutland. Three people in this tiny area joined between 1841 and 1849 - the Rev. M. Garfit of Stretton in 1842,[39] the Rev. T.K. Arnold of Lyndon in 1843, [40] and the Hon. A. Arundel of Burley in 1845,[41]. Curiously, however, all the churches in these places remained unaffected by the Ecclesiological interests of the men concerned. Judging by the accounts of Lyndon and Burley at the time of their restorations in the 1860s, they are likely to have embodied much that would have incurred Ecclesiological opprobium. The only case in Leicestershire, apart from Wymeswold, where a church was altered by a Camdenian was Pilton (Rutland). C.J. Ellicott (b. 1819) was at St John's College, Cambridge, in 1843 when he was elected to the Society.[42] He was ordained as a priest in 1847 and was presented to the living of Pilton the following

37. Eccl 4 (1845), 23
38. Eccl 1 (1843), 23.
39. Eccl 2 (1843), 38.
40. ibid., 147.
41. Eccl 4 (1845), 122.
42. Eccl 3 (1844), 44.

year, where he remained until 1858, and then went on to a distinguished career.[43] He became Dean of Exeter in 1861 and Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol in 1863. At his consecration, Henry Alford, then Dean of Canterbury, spoke of his close association with Ellicott. Ellicott's contribution to local restoration was the rebuilding of the chancel at Pilton in 1852 in a plain Early English style.[44]

Like Devon, Leicestershire had some major patrons of church building and restoration but there is no evidence to suggest they were of a High Church persuasion or had particularly advanced architectural views. Their concern was with the provision of a decent standard of accommodation and, where necessary, more of it. Earl Howe of Gopsall Hall (1796-1870) is the first great patron to emerge. He had paid for the work at Congerstone in the 1830s (see p. 30), which typified the work of the time. He paid for more at Norton-juxta-Twycross, c. 1841, and at Shackerstone in 1845. The latter still involved seats with doors, the pulpit and reading desk arranged ambo-wise and a west gallery. William (later Perry) Herrick (1794-1876) was an almost exact contemporary of Earl Howe. His early gifts were small but when they became considerable from the late 1850s, he was not responsible for anything indicating High Church sentiments. Other important contributors included C.W. Packe, the Duke of Rutland, Sir Henry Halford M.P., and Lord Hazlerigg, none of whom seem to have evinced any greater interest in Ecclesiology than could be expected from informed members of the upper classes at the time. Fully Ecclesiological restorations as at Wymeswold and a little later at Ashwell, 1851 (pp. 139-40) were relatively few and were the result of localised individual acts of generosity and/or enthusiasm.

One set of circumstances may have acted as a brake on High Churchmanship and fully developed Ecclesiology in Leicestershire in the 1840s and early 1850s. This was the presence of the newly-founded Cistercian Abbey at Mount St Bernard. The Abbey and its founder, Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, had a direct impact on Anglican activities around Charnwood (see p. 94) and, no doubt, a much wider one indirectly. This was predictable in a decade of fears of Papal Aggression and anything that smacked of Romish tendencies was treated with great suspicion. This episode is treated more fully on pp. 93-5

43. SM 29 May 1863 gives the details of his career.
44. Oddly, the roof is a very simple arch-braced piece which would not have been thought advanced in the early 1840s.

In spite of the modest number of Camdenians and their limited influence, Leicestershire churches received a fair coverage in the pages of The Ecclesiologist in the 1840s. Unfortunately nothing is known of the sources of the reports. It is likely that some of the notices which deal with local items in conjunction with matters to do with other counties were written by men not resident in Leicestershire. These are the destruction of fonts (a mention of Rutland),[45] stained glass (half the article deals with Leicestershire),[46] old seats,[47] cross-legged knights,[48] lancet windows (mention of Rutland),[49] and village crosses[50]. The first volume of The Ecclesiologist refers to proposed glass at Leicester, St Margaret and to cleaning operations at Leicester, St Mary de Castro, as well as the reinstatement of the medieval font at Scraptoft.[51] In additon to the above, there are twenty mentions of Leicestershire churches in the 1840s. The range spans a description of deplorable conditions at Gaddesby[52] and Sileby (quoted on p. 19), proposed work at Exton,[53] a £5 grant to Croxton Kerrial,[54] and general descriptions of various churches.

The conclusion must be that Leicestershire cannot be regarded as Ecclesiologically advanced and, as the following discussion will show, there was little that could be regarded as avant garde. However, there was a great deal done, and done in a spirit that was far removed from that of the 1820s and '30s. No doubt, as elswhere in the country, what was reported in The Ecclesiologist was only a sample of what was happening. There is, for instance, no mention of Habershon's rebuilding at Burbage in 1842, Salvin's new church at Sewstern the same year, Railton's new building at Thorpe Acre of 1844-5, or the beginning of the Brandon's restoration at Leicester, St Martin in 1846. It would have been quite impossible for the journal to keep up with everything in a decade when so much was happening.

45. Eccl 2 (1843), 78.
46. ibid., 155-8.
47. ibid., 162.
48. Eccl 3 (1844), 9.
49. ibid., 73.
50. ibid., 89.
51. Eccl 1 (1843), 79, 111, 179.
52. Eccl 2 (1843), 63.
53. Eccl 3 (1844), 155-6.
54. Eccl 5 (1846), 20, 189.

THE INCREASE IN ACTIVITY

The most obvious sign of changed times was an increasing rate of work on churches as shown below: -

	Restoration and/or refurnishings schemes	No. of churches involved	No. of new churches
1831-40	53	48	11
1841-50	89	77	4

(The above figures exclude the mere ceiling of a roof)

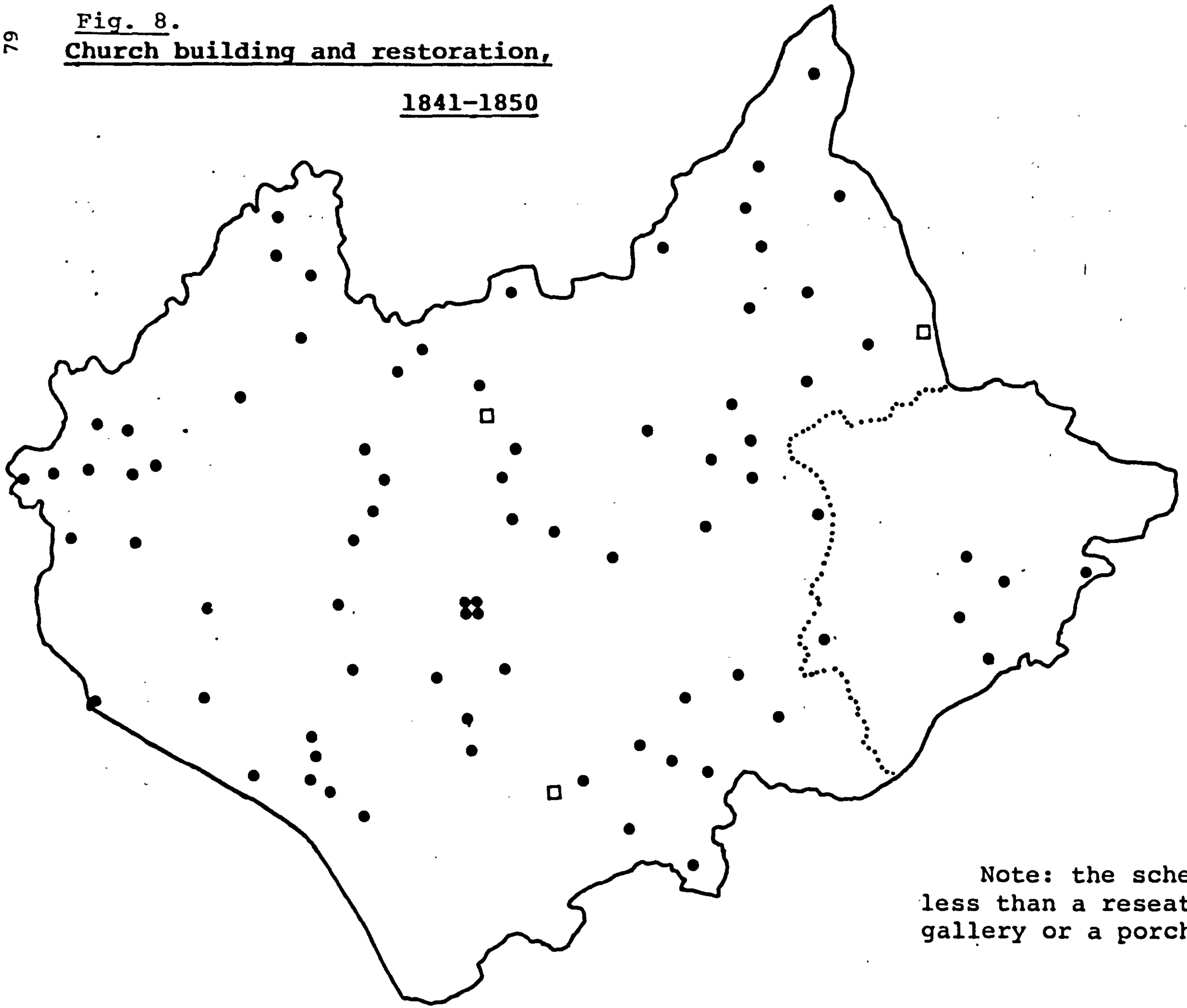
The reduction in the numbers of new churches is due to the fact that the late 1830s saw a wave of new church building in populous places, which seems to have satisfied the immediate needs until the 1850s. It can perhaps be argued that restoration and refurnishing schemes are a better indicator of concern about churches since they are more widespread and less concerned with localised population problems.

The distribution of this enhanced activity seems to have been fairly random (see fig. 8.). However, the towns were, perhaps predictably, concerned to attend to their churches at an early date, and only, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Loughborough and Oakham did nothing in the '40s. All the Leicester churches, except the impoverished St Nicholas, had experienced major schemes by 1846. There seem to have been a few pockets of intense activity about 1843 around Sapcote in the south-west and Measham in the far west. Perhaps this is a slight illustration of the Victorian belief that restoration could be, and, ideally, should be contagious. Rutland, despite its three members of the Cambridge Camden Society noted above, was a remote area in the 1840s, and seems to have been a zone of little activity with only six schemes between 1841 and 1850 (only 12% of the churches). In Leicestershire (without Rutland) the 77 churches affected between 1841 and 1850 represent 24% of those in existence in 1800.

The change did not escape the man best qualify to observe it. Commenting on his 1842 Visitation Archdeacon Bonney spoke of "A most praiseworthy spirit of improvement with relation to the repairs and general condition of the Churches and Chapels within his jurisdiction, had of late evinced itself; he had never been so gratified with their general good state and condition."[55] Church restoration was assumed to be a subject which would interest intensely the middle and upper classes. After about 1842 the local

55. LJ 4 Nov. 1842.

Fig. 8.
Church building and restoration, 1841-1850



● restored churches

□ new churches

Note: the schemes included include nothing less than a reseating scheme, building of a gallery or a porch or partial reroofing.

newspapers reported work done in minute detail and gradually used more and more technical terms in the knowledge their readers would understand them. The Leicester Journal, noting the attention paid to the churches of Leicester, set the situation in its wider context: -

> "Amongst the movements which distinguish the present day, zeal for Church building and restoration appears conspicuous; and strangers conclude from observing that our three largest Churches are simultaneously undergoing restorations, that Leicester has not been slow to exhibit the prevailing enthusiasm."[56]

DEVELOPMENTS IN LEICESTERSHIRE IN THE 1840s

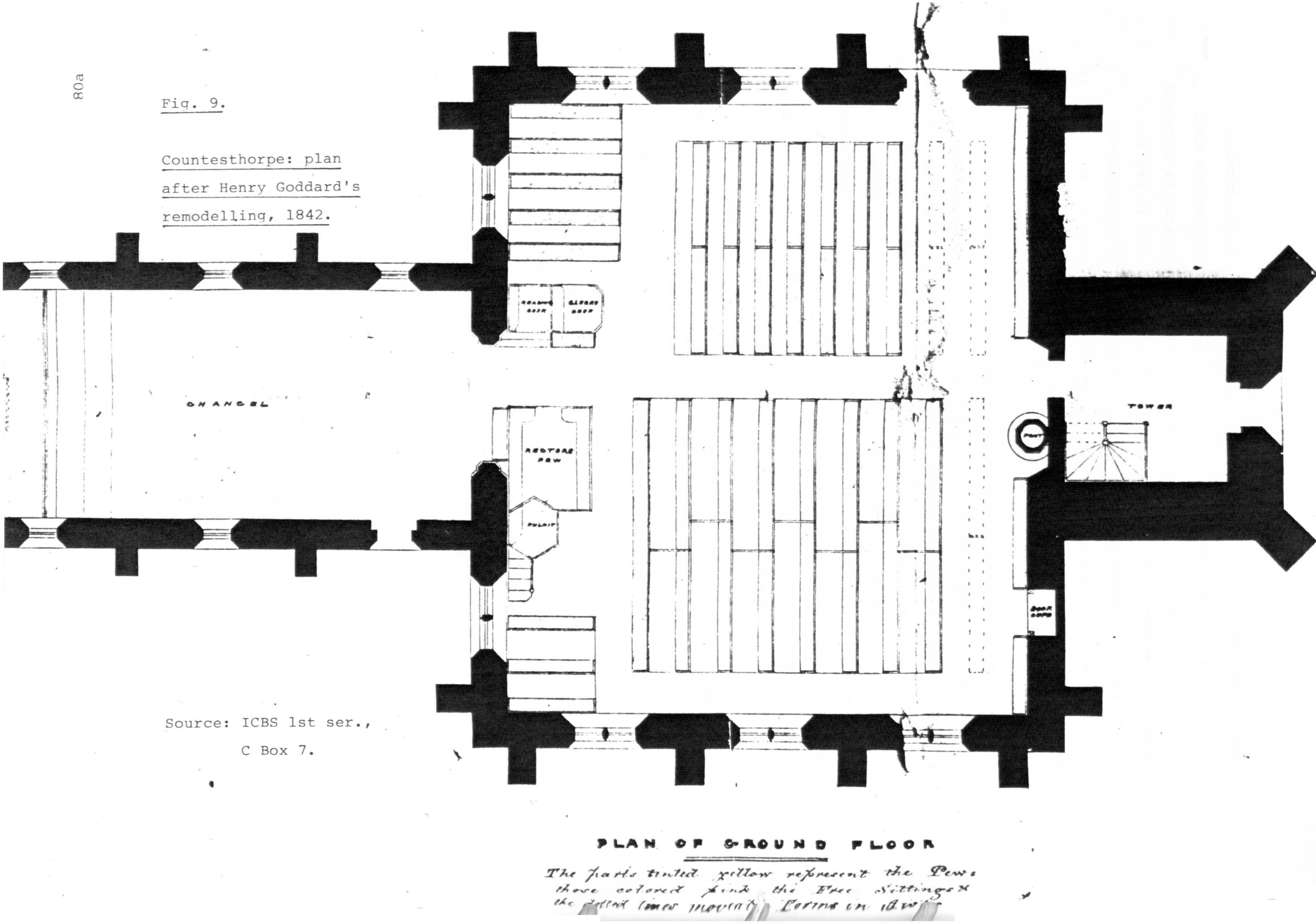
It took some time for the new trends emanating from Cambridge to make themselves fully felt in Leicestershire. The area shows the tentative, early strivings for greater architectural dignity in the schemes at Old Dalby and Barkestone (see Chapter Two), and during the '40s, the full acceptance of copied medieval Gothic. In the early '40s there is nothing in the county of any importance, apart from the well-meaning scheme at Barkestone. Many works carried on in the same old way, lacking, as the Ecclesiologists would have put it, any style at all. Typical of the old traditions was Henry Goddard's remodelling of Countesthorpe in 1842, when he rebuilt the nave in auditory proportions, added a gallery and provided pointed brick windows.(fig. 9 and plate 13). Other distinctly pre-Ecclesiological architecture are the pinnacles on the tower at Willesley (1844 or 1845), and the remodelling of Chilcote (1842), involving the use of stuccoed brickwork.[57] As described in Chapter Two, furnishing schemes continued in the old vein well into the mid-1840s. One of the last and most curious of these works was at Horninghold in 1844. The pulpit and desk are arranged ambo-wise and the pews have odd, flat rustic decoration on the doors. Some medieval poppy-head bench ends were reused but were relegated to unimportant positions. There is also a cheap, functional inner porch, no doubt of 1844.

There took place, almost certainly in 1841,a scheme at Norton-juxta-Twycross which provides a fascinating example of the transition between

56. LJ 11 Aug. 1848.
57. It is described more fully in J.C. Cox, The Churches of Derbyshire 3 (Chesterfield, 1877), 351-2. It was remodelled again in 1885 by Basil Champneys.

Fig. 9.

Countesthorpe: plan after Henry Goddard's remodelling, 1842.



Source: ICBS 1st ser., C Box 7.

old and new and which, happily, survives intact. The nave and chancel were rebuilt and totally refurnishied by an unknown architect. Earl Howe, as a major landowner in the area, contributed £1,000 of the £1,279 spent. The new structure probably reused the old masonry and is archaeologically very faithful to the Decorated style, which is so prevalent in this part of Leicestershire. The south doorway is a most elaborate affair, with its engaged shafts and masses of ballflower. However, its detail is somewhat cumbersome and incoherent, not yet in tune with the close copyism of the rest of the structure. Inside a west gallery and pews appear and the roof, albeit high-pitched, has a riot of spindly members. The chancel is "correctly" arranged with stalls, and the medieval piscina and sedilia are reused. The organ in the chancel seems to be of about 1841. (See pl. 14)

In 1842 another large-scale transitional work took place when M. Habershon rebuilt Burbage except for the tower. Its plan (see fig.12) - nave, aisles and long chancel - was Ecclesiologically acceptable enough, but the tracery includes odd, eclectic mixtures of Perpendicular and detail of about 1300. The seating arrangements and gallery are also old-fashioned.

Salvin's small Norman-style chapel at Sewstern also dates from 1842 (pl. 16) and represents that short phase when Norman forms were occasionally used. Apart from the south porch at Tugby (1873) and the Roman Catholic church at Ashby-de-la-Zouch (1908-15), this is the only Norman Revival work in Leicestershire churches. It is a small rectangular building whose bellcote and windows are all given Norman details. Even the font is like a massive, hollowed-out scalloped capital. The interior is very like a Nonconformist chapel as there is a complete lack of architectural ornament, and seen from inside, the windows resemble the "debased" ones of the eighteenth century. This may have been a factor in contributing to the failure of revived Norman architecture in English churches (it was rather more successful in Germany where there were a greater number of fine late Romanesque buildings, and more active proponents of the style).

The other style which met with scarely any more success at this time was Perpendicular. The Ecclesiologists generally disliked it, believing it not to have the purity and beauty of earlier styles. Its Englishness might have appealed, but this was offset by the fact that it had set English architecture on its "debased" course. The Perpendicular builders had aspired to wide, brightly-lit, open churches whose interiors were far removed from the "dim obscure" much favoured by the new school.

The fact that the style had been widely used during and before the 1830s also must have militated against it. It is not surprising that, following the dictats in favour of Early Middle Pointed, few architects had the temerity to use the latest Gothic style. A troublesome, "rogue" architect like E.B. Lamb did so but he was an exception. It was, however, revived at the end of the century, especially by Bodley, but by then the requirements in church building were different from the 1840s. There was a curious case at Leicester, St Martin, where the Decorated windows were discarded in favour of Perpendicular ones at the rebuilding of the south chapel in 1865-6, but this was probably to harmonise the new part with the rest of the east end. Street's famous paper of 1850 "On the Proper Characteristics of a Town Church" set out a number of requirements which, as it happened, are met by the greatest Perpendicular town churches.[58] But at this date he could hardly have recommended such a style!

Consequently, we find very little revived Perpendicular work in Leicestershire from the mid-1840s until towards the end of the century. In the late 1840s the nave and chancel of the rebuilt church at Cranoe are in this style and are by a local architect, J.G. Bland, in 1847-9. The work has a chaste, early Perpendicular quality, though the detailing is not entirely accurate. Perpendicular work also makes a rare appearance at Thurmaston which was extensively remodelled by H.I. Stevens in 1848 (discussed in detail on pp. 86-7).

The fittings at Cranoe are also in a fifteenth-century style. This is almost inescapable since there is little pre-fifteenth-century woodwork, other than screens, to copy in English churches. The Perpendicular examples therefore tended to set a standard which the Ecclesiologists seemed glad (obliged ?) to follow, especially in seating. They seem to have been untroubled about the apparent inconsistency of deprecating Perpendicular architecture, with all its implicit degeneracy of the style and its creators on one hand, and, on the other, fully accepting the roofs, stalls, seats, pulpits and lecterns produced by the same men.

But in the end it was Decorated or very late thirteenth-century architecture which won the day. Although the final victory occurred only from the mid-1840s, Decorated motifs had been used earlier. Rickman used them at Loughborough, Emmanuel, though the spatial handling was in the Commissioners' tradition and therefore more akin to Perpendicular. At

58. Eccl 11 (1850), 227-33.

Quorn in 1841-2, William Parsons followed existing Decorated ideas when he widened the north aisle. At Sapcote there are incipient signs of burgeoning Ecclesiology in 1843 - a Decorated window but with the wispy tracery typical of the time, the removal of a ceiling, and the replacement of the beams by ones faithful to the originals.[59] The medieval font was also restored to use.

Perhaps the most remarkable piece of work in the mid-1840s was the rebuilding of the nave, aisles and chancel at Anstey. The architects were Broadbent and Hawley, whose main activity was as builders, but occasionally they (or more specifically, Broadbent) acted as architects. But never with such impressive results as here. The Ecclesiologist had mixed feelings about it, "rejoicing" in "the low, free seats, the paving of the whole area and open roofs etc...".[60] However, it deplored the "absence of a good-sized chancel" and screen, together with the use of the tower as a vestry. But worse "the mouldings are inferior; the tracery has been copied from ancient designs, but unskilfully." In fact the chancel is not far from the proper Ecclesiological size and the mouldings and tracery do seem a very good attempt at medieval work. The east window was copied from Kidlington, Oxfordshire.[61] Probably the least convincing features are the massive pinnacles and the rather frivolous south doorway. The extreme openness of the lancet churches has gone and the proportions are typical of a parish church of 1300-1350 in the East Midlands. Despite the lavish Decorated detail, the abiding impression, as with all the work of the '40s is one of restraint.

The same word applies with equal force to the one Anglican work by Pugin in Leicestershire - the restoration of Wymeswold in 1844-6, which he carried out for the Rev. Henry Alford (see p. 75). The Cambridge Camden Society made a grant to the scheme of £10,[62] which presumably means it approved of what was being done. A very full account is given in a book published to pay off the debt.[63] Work started in 1844 with the rebuilding of the south aisle, which was in a particularly bad state, the removal of the gallery and the brick wall blocking the tower arch. The style was Decorated, and is an interesting mixture of copyism and invention. The aisle windows were copied from work in the finest Lincolnshire churches

59. White, Directory (1877), 584.
60. Eccl 5 (1846), 265-6.
61. LJ 27 Feb. 1846. See plate 15.
62. Eccl 4 (1845), 23.
63. Anon., A History and Description of the Restored Church of St Mary, Wymeswold (Wymeswold, 1846).

but the lavish, two-storeyed north porch is more fanciful. The impropriators, Trinity College, Cambridge, then came to the aid of the chancel. A small "chapel" was added on its north side for the organ. Interestingly, Pugin put in a Perpendicular east window rather than attempting a Decorated one (as Scott was unfortunately prone to do). This was obviously to keep the window in harmony with the rest of the chancel. New fittings (pl. 17) were provided to Pugin's designs. He removed the fragments of the rood screen, it being too decayed, it was said (but the fragments were preserved and they now survive at the west end of the south aisle). The finishing touches were the excellent painting of the chancel roof (a green ground with gold stars and quatrefoils with the IHC monogram) and texts everywhere suited to their position (e.g. on the lectern, "Thy Word is a Lamp unto my Feet ..."). Originally there were paintings in the spandrels of the arcade arches but sadly they have now gone. There is much to admire at Wymeswold but, ultimately, one is left with the impression of dryness and the view that, as is so often the case, Pugin in execution is less thrilling than the splendours of his drawings and the vehemence of his pen. But at any rate it pleased the distinguished visitors who came to admire it, including a Mr Jones who had restored St Mary's, Nottingham; he remarked "it surpassed anything of the kind [I] had ever seen in any village".[64] It goes without saying that Pugin's work met the Ecclesiological criteria. It is true the church is not "dimly lighted" but in such a large church with an extensive Perpendicular imprint it would have been difficult to achieve this effect without a fundamental alteration to its character.

At the same time, in 1844-5, the new chapel of Thorpe Acre was built to replace that at Dishley and shows clear evidence of changed tastes. The architect was William Railton who had been building Lancet churches in the '30s. He now erected a small, one-cell structure with a south porch, bellcote, high-pitched roof and Decorated detail which was generally, though not entirely, archaeologically accurate. The overall scheme was a considerable advance on his earlier work but the lack of a separate chancel and screen, and the poor detailing of the poppy-head bench-ends would have invoked censure from The Ecclesiologist had the journal reviewed the building.

By this time restoration was becoming a popular activity, clearly motivated by considerations more complex than mere repair work. Occasionally we can glimpse the sheer enthusiasm of those involved. In 1845 the brick skin in

64. LJ 24 Apr. 1846.

the east window at Leicester, St Margaret, was removed and this stimulated the parishioners into wishing it filled with stained glass.[65] A meeting was called to discuss the matter "but among those assembled so strong a feeling prevailed for doing something more that the repair of the whole interior .... is now contemplated." A subscription was opened there and then and, in 1846, none less than R.C. Carpenter carried out the restoration.

The Ecclesiologist liked what was done at St Margaret's,[66] but it most certainly did not like what took place at St Mary de Castro. Its attacks were often very strong and the dispute at St Mary's, with the local architect William Flint, was as acrimonious as any started by the journal. Flint was accused of "simply disfiguring" the church by copying poor work in the aisle windows, approaching the work piecemeal and a lack of resolve to correct faults.[67] Flint, perhaps more concerned to look after his local reputation, chose to defend himself in the pages of the Leicester Journal.[68] He felt himself victimised and remarked, with a little justice, "I am aware that those who do not belong to the 'ecclesiological clique' are the objects of its mendacious spleen." He overstated his case but proved that a few accusations were untrue, that the money was simply not available for a complete restoration and that he had had to deal with a difficult restoration committee. The fabric had been in a dangerous state and was desperately in need of the repairs he had made. To a small extent The Ecclesiologist climbed down in a review longer than the first one, admitting that Flint was not to blame personally for much of the work and that some of its statements might not be correct.[69] It did, however, imply that he had succumbed to pressures from the parish when he should not have done. The overall impression is that the journal was extremely harsh - yet had it not been so dogmatic, the Cambridge Camden Society and its successor would not have acheived what they did.

The Flint episode was but the start of a restoration programme which was to last another twenty years and involved three other architects. In 1847 the great east window in the south aisle was erected, in memory of the man who had stimulated the restoration work back in 1844, the Rev. John Brown. This was yet another case of copyism, for it was modelled on the east window at Ripon Minster.[70]

65. LJ 22, 29. Aug. 1845.
66. Eccl 9 (1849), 141-2.
67. Eccl 6 (1846), 196-7.
68. LJ 20 Nov. 1846.
69. Eccl 7 (1847), 35-6.
70. Bldr 5 (1847), 181.

The other great local dispute of the late 1840s, not hitherto noticed but highlighting many of the key themes of the day, was between Henry I. Stevens and the Incorporated Church Building Society. The Society's role is considered more fully later as a source of finance in Chapter Nine. Here it needs to be noted that it was less rigid about Ecclesiological dogma than the Cambridge Camden Society but, nevertheless, it had adopted many of the general principles, embodied in its rules as amended in May 1842. Stevens's style in the '40s was normally well-balanced and mature and unlikely to have given offence. The battleground for these two unlikely combatants was Thurmaston in 1848 which Stevens rebuilt except for the tower and nave arcades.[71] Stevens used straightforward Perpendicular tracery throughout (cheaper than his favourite Decorated for a tight budget?). He was commissioned to produce a roof which spanned, in one sweep, the nave and the widened aisles (a pre-1840 idea). To gain the necessary height over the nave arcades and walls above, he proposed to surmount them by a line of timber arches (four per bay) which would support the roof. Furthermore the membering of the roof cross-section in the nave involved an intricate display of hammer-beams and big unfoiled circles. The curate who contributed over a third of the cost towards the restoration was evidently keen on the design and made his contribution on condition that the novel design was adopted. In a very significant sentence the ICBS said "the roofing proposed is .... of too novel a character for it to be supposed that there is any ancient authority for it in any church", i.e. it was excessively inventive. Stevens, who maintained a well-argued, non-emotional case throughout, replied, "but novelty of adaptation is not an error unless the principles of construction are violated." The ICBS maintained that "correct character" must be retained unless there were very strong alternative reasons. Stevens felt his reputation impugned - he had never had a design rejected - and added that all who saw the roof liked it - it had been erected by September. He would pay for an architect, appointed by the ICBS, to come and view it. Nothing was resolved by November, by which time Stevens was very bitter indeed. Then the correspondence stops. But the church and Stevens had their way in the end because the ICBS paid out the £140 it seems.[72] The Thurmaston roof is one of the most novel and interesting modern ones in the Midlands and points the way to a greater freedom of design in the High Victorian period. Conversely, the single-span concept and the Perpendicular detail point back to a slightly earlier tradition. Also it

71. The story is drawn from ICBS 2nd ser.

72. ICBS, Year Book (1927), 114.

is worth noting at this point that the woodwork at Thurmaston was darkened, almost made black. This was a popular treatment in the 1840s, but one which went completely out of fashion in the next decade.[73]

Disputes like those at St Mary's and Thurmaston were exceptional and work in the area generally proceeded with much local and, very occasionally, national approval. Most of the works were tackled with a seriousness of architectural and liturgical purpose. In Appendix Two which lists work chronologically it is noticeable that during the 1840s the word "restoration" becomes more frequent and the word "repairs" less so. This is a clear indication of the weightier nature of works in this decade.

One of the more interesting "restorations" was at Coston in 1846 under the Sheffield architects, Weightman and Hadfield, who were responsible for many Roman Catholic churches. Whether they were chosen for their High Church sympathies is unfortunately not known but the rebuilt chancel displays the earliest insertion of nineteenth-century sedilia and a piscina in an Anglican church in Leicestershire. Also there were "correct" features like the many steps up to the altar, a priest's door and stalls. Other thorough-going schemes in tune with the new spirit were at Whitwick (see fig.10), Frisby-on-the-Wreak and Twyford.

One scheme which caught the admiring attention of The Ecclesiologist was the new church at Smeeton Westerby, a small building with chancel, nave, aisles, south porch and a vestry.[74] It was by Henry Woodyer, a pupil of Butterfield, and was in the picturesque, country church mould, so much admired at this time. There was virtually nothing to criticise and the journal was intrigued by the rather original handling of the west end. This has a deeply-recessed arch set between two buttresses and above it an octagonal turret and tiny spire. The internal arrangements, which included a screen, sedilia, credence shelf, a properly positioned font and open seats, were well thought of. The lack of a piscina was noted but had the correspondent looked inside the vestry he would have found one (perhaps it was felt that the chancel was too conspicuous a place for such an overtly High Church item).

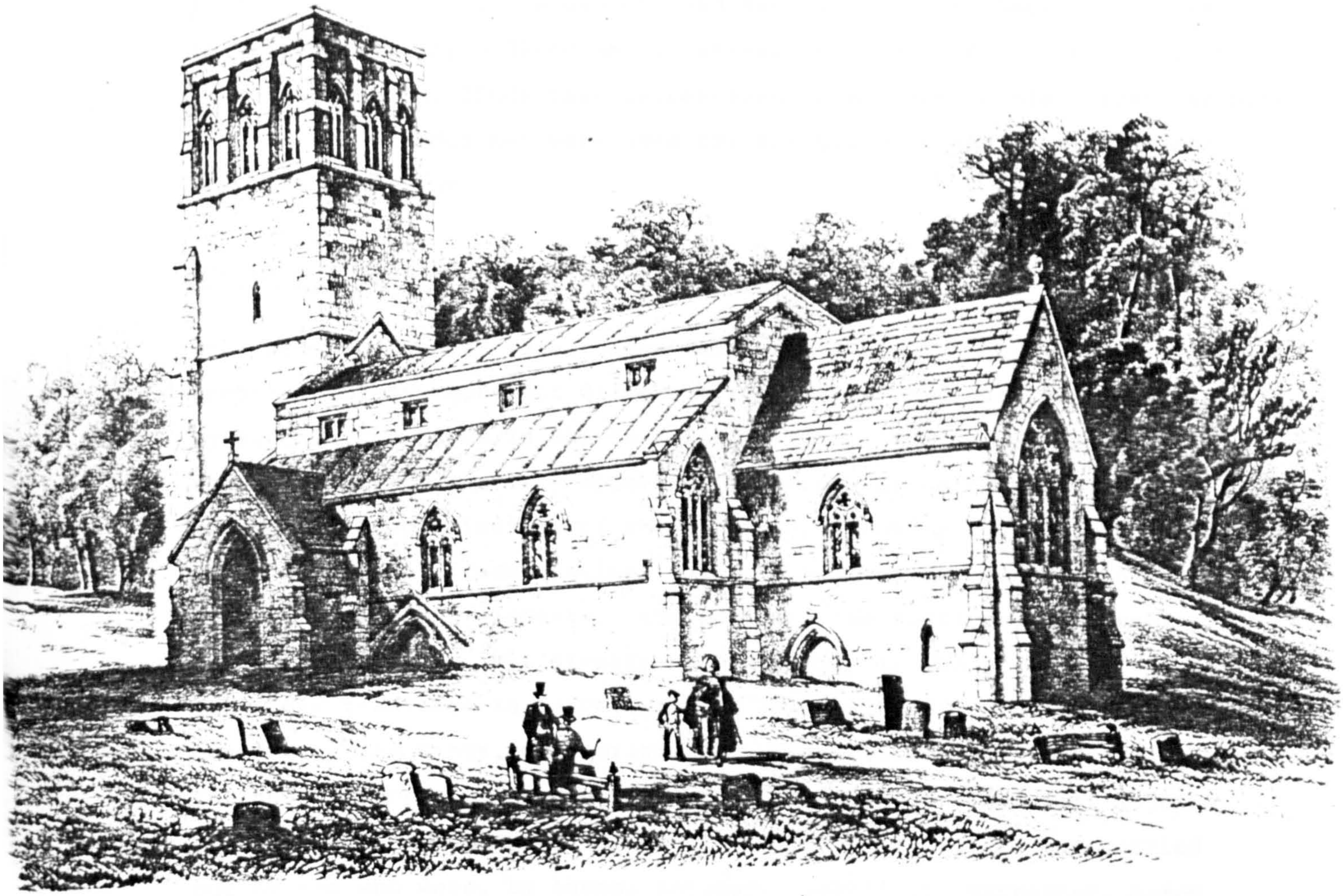
Most of the major or significant works in the 1840s - Coston, Sewstern, Smeeton Westerby or Wymeswold - were by architects from outside the county. Of the local men, Broadbent and Hawley did the remarkable work at Anstey and Henry Stevens built good, pure, Decorated chancels at Swepstone, 1842, and Heather, 1846-7. Stevens attracted a long, not wholly unappreciative

73. Other examples are at Stoney Stanton, 1842-3, Shackerstone, 1845, Coston, 1846, and Frisby-on-the-Wreak, 1849.

74. Eccl 8 (1848), 189. See plate 18.

No 40 57

Fig. 10.



Proposed Restoration of The Church of St John Baptist, Whitwick,

This picture is on the front page of a hand-written leaflet describing the need for restoration at the church. It shows St Aubyn's proposals which involved the eastward extension of the nave and aisles, by adding a fourth bay. Generally the church was restored in line with the proposals. The crypt beneath the chancel is said to have been rebuilt (see Appendix One) but the structural evidence does not support this statement. St Aubyn's added clerestory window is a plain mullioned one and he makes not attempt to "improve" the clerestory.

Source: ICBS 2nd ser.

review for his large new church of Derby, St Alkmund of 1847 in The Ecclesiologist.[75] With Broadbent and Hawley's work at Anstey, this was the only scheme by Midland men to attract such notice in its pages. It was not until the 1860s that Leicestershire produced a significant architect and meantime London men were used for the big jobs and local ones for the less important.

MASTER BUILDERS AND PROFESSIONAL ARCHITECTS

Broadbent and Hawley were, essentially, builders, Stevens a professional architect. They represent different traditions which are met with side by side in the 1840s in church building works. The master builder-cum-church architect scarcely appears afterwards, as he succumbed to the increasing specialisation of the building trades in the nineteenth century. This "process of fragmentation, the splitting up of the idea of an architect into its component elements - the builder, the surveyor, the architect and the engineer"[76] was already well underway in the pre-Victorian period. The older tradition in Leicestershire was typified in the eighteenth century by the Wings, who, originally, were builders of North Luffenham; the new by George Richardson and S.P. Cockerell. But the vast majority of work in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was carried out by men who were, by turns, surveyor, architect, carpenter, mason and general contractor. One of the better known is William Firmadge (1755-1836) who was responsible for work at St Mary and St Margaret in Leicester about 1805 (see Appendix Three) and otherwise a "builder" of secular works and a slater, engraver, plasterer, surveyor etc.[77] A close contemporary was Christopher Staveley (1759-1827) who undertook a wide variety of engineering and surveying tasks but who was also responsible for the plan for new galleries and the relocated pulpit at Loughborough (see fig. 1.

Then there were several more shadowy figures of whom little is known. Papers of 1830 for enlarging Newbold Verdon cite a Mr Dilks of Thornton as the "architect"; he was said to have already "repaired" nine (now unknown) churches.[78] At Husband's Bosworth in 1812, the added north aisle and other works were carried out by "Joseph Vinrace, Architect" of Ashby-de-

75. Eccl 8 (1848), 113-4.

76. J.M. Crook, "The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage", Archit. Hist. 12 (1969), 62.

77. J.D. Bennett, Leicestershire Architects 1700-1850 (Leicester, 1968).

78. ICBS, 1st ser., N Box 1.

la-Zouch.[79] Nothing else is known of him except that he acted as the builder of three bridges - at Bensford between Leicestershire and Warwickshire, Welham between Leicestershire and Northamptonshire (both in 1810) and at Melton Mowbray (in 1822).[80] At Newton Harcourt in 1833 a Mr Clarkes (sic) of Lyddington is described as the "architect" for the rebuilding.[81] It is not clear if he was the builder too. Certainly he was not the carpenter (this was one Joshua Broughton of Kilby) and, on completion, the work was subject to inspection by a surveyor, Richard Hose. In the same year, at Hose, there occurs a case of local craftsmen working together on a project to repair and reseat the church. Jointly three of them put in a £355 estimate for the proposed works.[82]

The interesting church of Old Dalby, 1835 (pl. 12) was designed by a Nottingham builder, Thomas Winter. In the application for an ICBS grant he is specifically mentioned as the "architect"[83] This was quite an ambitious work and renders less surprising Broadbent and Hawley's work at Anstey. The Rev. R. Waterfield, who paid for the rebuilding of Anstey, also engaged the firm to act as architects and contractors for the very unattractive restoration at Thurcaston in 1844-5.[84] By the second half of the century the builder-cum-architect was a rare species. One of the few cases was at Stoughton where John Firn, a builder much in demand for repair and restoration work, seems to have been responsible for rebuilding the tower and spire and a new clerestory in 1861-2 and designing a new porch in 1865-6.[85]

The suspicion in which the competence of the local builder was held is nicely illustrated in the ICBS papers for the Barwell restoration of 1854 by Henry Goddard who was scarcely in the van of Ecclesiological correctness.[86] The Society enquires "It is desirable to learn whether Mr Goddard is a Builder as well as Architect." The grim results of employing local men are implied by the surveyor for the ICBS: -

> "A local Architect has been employed, and as usual under such circumstances - unless he is of sufficient standing and knowledge, the old Churchwarden way of doing things is maintained - and

79. Churchwarden's accounts, 1789-1889.
80. Bennett, op. cit.; private communication from Mr H.M. Colvin, 5 Jun. 1983.
81. ICBS 1st ser., N Box 2.
82. ICBS 1st ser., H Box 8.
83. ICBS 1st ser., D Box 1.
84. LJ 19 Jan. 1844; White, Directory (1877), 620.
85. LJ 23 Aug. 1861; 2 Nov. 1866.
86. ICBS 2nd ser.

> the better things which the present day requires in all Church works is never looked for where a local Surveyor has interest enough to get himself called a 'Church Architect' - but happily I have staved off a good deal and got the work carried out better than I feared would have been the case at first."

So much for the noble hope of The Ecclesiologist that local architects, with expert knowledge of building styles, materials, builders etc.. and more time available than the London men, would produce worthy results!

In the 1830s the specialist role of the architect was becoming clear, symbolised and given stimulus by the formation of the Institute of British Architects in 1834 (Royal Institute from 1836). But, especially until about 1850, it is likely that many of the minor works were still undertaken by men without formal architectural training.

The first case of a local professional architects being used for a church in Leicestershire is in the 1820s, but, even here, the man involved, William Parsons, also acted as County Surveyor. He designed Leicester, St George, 1823-7 and was responsible for various other church work until 1852 (see Appendix Three). Few of these (apart from St George's and Barkestone) were of much consequence but Parsons followed the general trends of his time without adopting any advanced ideas.

The slightly younger William Flint (1801-62) had a practice not dissimilar in scope from that of Parsons. He was surveyor to the Leicester Corporation and, incidentally, clerk of the works for the building of St George's.[87] His church works were limited, the most noteworthy being the new tower at Kibworth, 1832-6 (see p.28), and the restoration at St Mary de Castro which brought him into conflict with The Ecclesiologist (see p.85).

The most successful Leicestershire architectural practice was founded by Henry Goddard (1792 or 1793-1868). After an apprenticeship to his carpenter and cabinet-maker father, Joseph, he probably began practice in his own right about 1827 and from the late 1830s his firm and its successors (it still exists) were responsible for more church work than any other. In the 1840s he did no less than six restorations. They were fairly routine and did not have any serious Ecclesiological aspirations. Only when his son Joseph became a partner in 1862 did the practice start producing significant work, embodying up-to-date High Victorian principles (see Chapter Four). Henry's work at Countesthorpe has already been discussed (see p.80).

87. Bennett, op. cit.

At Leicester, All Saints in 1843 he added a gallery. In 1850 he built a transept at East Norton which the ICBS called "very objectionable",[88] presumably because the seats in it faced the pulpit in the centre of the south wall of the nave, i.e. faced south. At Twycross in 1849 he was also criticised by the ICBS for having south facing seats at the east end of the nave and he was asked to modify the design.[89] Otherwise, by 1850, his work had developed the major characteristics of a typical minor provincial architect in that it paid general respect to the new ideas without rising to distinction. He had abandoned pews and galleries and followed the tendency favouring Decorated work in church fabrics. His rebuilt chancel at Burton Lazars of 1850 is a perfectly respectable piece of copyist Decorated. Here he was sufficiently archaeologically-minded to reset worthwhile medieval pieces such as the priest's door and the low-side window, although at East Norton he may have been responsible for the destruction of a Norman doorway.

Henry Isaac Stevens (1810-73), although coming from Derby, made important contributions to the Leicestershire architectural scene. His work after his lancet phase (e.g. Donisthorpe, 1838, and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity, 1838-40) is altogether more interesting than that of the Leicestershire men. His work at Derby, St Alkmund and his Decorated chancels at Swepstone and Heather have already been mentioned (pp. 87,89). His restoration at Frisby-on-the-Wreake in 1848-9 is a mainstream Ecclesiological work, including a rather severe Early English chancel which Pevsner mistook for medieval work, apparently.[90] He went on to produce a very fine Decorated church at Blackfordy in 1858. This has excellent detail, well-balanced proportions and a fine, though by then slightly outmoded hammer-beam roof to the nave. His obituary said with some justice, he "took high rank as a church architect, his early buildings being far in advance of the architecture of that day."[91] Further biographical details are given in Appendix Three. Blackfordby is illustrated in plate 22.

Of the other local architects working on churches in the 1840s little can be said. J.G. Bland (c. 1818-98) began his career about 1846 and built the small but pleasing nave and chancel at Cranoe (see p.82) and, after 1850, went on to establish a successful architectural practice

88. ICBS 2nd ser.

89. ibid.

90. Pevsner, op. cit., 102.

91. Derby Mercury, 7 May 1873.

in Birmingham.[92] Stephen Fry (c. 1816-50) died young and, apart from his architectural earnings, acted as agent for the Birmingham Fire and Life Insurance Company.[93] He built a typically 1840s hammer-beam roof at Blaby in 1846 - tiny, thin cusps in the spandrels - but his other work in this scheme has not survived. His rebuilt chancel at Thurlaston of 1850 is more interesting and displays pre-echoes of fanciful High Victorian elements such as the Goddard's would use in the '60s. The woodwork is heavy with a brooding roof, though with rather pretentious aspirations and thin, detached wall-shafts. The stall ends are almost gross. His east window is an elaborate, five-light Geometrical affair with cinquefoiled circles in the head and contemporary Wailes glass.

It has been possible to trace eighteen schemes in the 1840s by identifiable local architects. Another fourteen were done by men from further afield, mostly, and perhaps predictably, from London. It is to them that all the best schemes (apart from Anstey) belong. The vexed question of why certain architects were chosen for particular commissions is reserved for discussion in Chapter Seven.

PAPAL AGGRESSION

The mind of the Anglican Church was much exercised in the 1840s by fears of inroads by Rome. The matter was at its height in 1850 with the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy with an archbishop and twelve suffragans. Earlier, the removal of various minor disabilities for Catholics in 1844 and 1846 and the secessions to Rome, most notably by Newman in 1845, had given the Established Church much cause for concern. The Oxford Movement and the Ecclesiologists were suspected of Romish leanings. There was much common ground both "theoretically and, more especially, liturgically", and the Ecclesiologists' close contact with their Catholic counterparts in France added fuel to the fire.[94] The Protestants, said Eastlake, "saw mischief lurking in every pointed niche, and heresy peeping from behind every Gothic pillar".[95] The first report of the newly-formed Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton was careful to deny that the revival "of Pointed Architecture is

92. Bennett, op. cit.
93. ibid.
94. G. Germann, Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain; Sources, Influences and Ideas (London, 1972), 130.
95. Eastlake, op. cit., 266.

at all likely to lead to a gradual return to those doctrines and ceremonies which the Church of England has disused for three centuries."[96] The Rev. Francis Close's famous sermon of 1844, published as The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery, expressed the underlying sense of unease and The Ecclesiologist felt obliged to produce a formal refutation at very great length, which suggests there must have been some case to answer.[97]

This important theme had particular relevance to Leicestershire and had an impact on the building and furnishing of at least some Anglican churches. Although Catholics formed only a small minority of the population, the events in Charnwood gave Anglicans good grounds for apprehension. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, converted to Rome as an undergraduate in 1825 at the age of 15, sought to revive Catholicism in the area. His house at Grace Dieu in Charnwood included a chapel by William Railton, later enlarged by Pugin, and in 1835 he founded Mount St Bernard for Cistercian monks. Here too Railton was superceded by the Catholic Pugin. Whether this activity had any effect in stimulating the building of Anglican churches at Copt Oak and Woodhouse Eaves is not clear, but the date, 1836-7 seems more than a coincidence, as is, perhaps, the choice of the displaced Railton as architect.

Once again Railton was employed for Thorpe Acre, 1844-5, and here fears of the Catholics were certainly in evidence. In a "confidential" note appended to the appeal for the new chapel, which replaced Dishley, it is clear that it was feared that when Ambrose Phillipps inherited his estate Dishley chapel, as a donative "will then be wholly in his power, and will doubtless be used in such a way as will best forward his object" (hence the need to build at Thorpe Acre, outside his control).[98] Similar fears were involved in the restoration of Whitwick church, perilously close to Mount St Bernard. In 1848 the vicar pointed to four Catholic priests having recently come to live in the parish.[99] It was felt that "The restoration of the Church .... seems to present one efficient mode of defence".[100] It is perhaps highly significant that the resultant subscription list includes the most impressive collection of contributors to any work in the county, including the Queen Dowager, the Archbishop of Canterbury, A.J. Beresford Hope and every single aristocratic personage in the county

96. Eccl 4 (1845), 74.
97. ibid., 108-22, 150-69.
98. ICBS 2nd ser.
99. ibid., letter 30 Jun. 1848.
100. Note in the appeal for funds in LJ 6 Dec. 1850

who contributed to Anglican church work at the time.[101]

Fears of Romish tendencies also lay behind a letter to the Leicester Journal on 16 May 1851, which cited the Archdeacon's fears of "Popish ornaments" and expressed disapproval of images of saints in stained glass and demanded that ornamentation be kept to a bare minimum in churches. By March 1851 a "County Anti-Papal Society" had been formed.[102] Shortly afterwards an Anglican Church Extension Fund was set up (see Chapter Nine, p. 258).

Despite the advocacy of the Ecclesiologists for piscinas, sedilia, screens, return stalls, stone altars etc. relatively few were put in in the early days of the Revival in Leicestershire. In most parishes they seemed to smack of dangerous sentiments and there is little doubt that the average parish vestry would have thought they supported Close's thesis. Thus the only examples of the introduction of sedilia and a piscina before 1850 were at Coston and Smeeton Westerby. Wymeswold, under Pugin's influence, was exceptional in acquiring returned stalls. These three places were all built or restored by High Church architects who can scarcely have represented popular opinion. The extensive use of such liturgical items did not come until much later in the century, when a new wave of ideas over church arrangements and fittings broke away from the early, Ecclesiological phase.

CHURCH RESTORATION AND CHURCH-GOING

It was frequently argued that one of the benefits of church restoration was that it increased seemliness in worship and willingness to attend services. This was no doubt what was in the minds of those who promoted restoration at Whitwick as an antidote to Roman Catholicism. It is further discussed on p.127 but this is an appropriate point to try and assess whether these serious claims which touched on the fundamental religious attitudes of the time, had any statistical basis. The only source that can shed any light on the matter locally is the 1851 Religious Census. If it could throw up any indications of the effects of restoration upon church-going, these would be a reflection of what had been happening in the 1840s. Unfortunately, there is no later body of data that allows comparative analysis.

Apparently accurate data for attendances exists for 37 churches built,

101. ICBS 2nd ser.
102. LJ 21 Mar 1851.

refitted or extensively restored between 1841 and 1850. The average attendance per service was 201 and the average accommodation was for 388 - that is 52% full. By taking the figures for the 31 churches restored later, between 1851 and 1860, the figure increases to 56%. However, the comparison is an invalid one since unrestored churches tended to have box-pews which were an inefficient way of accommodating people, as the Cambridge Camden Society was quick to point out. The restored churches paid much emphasis on increasing the numbers of seats. An extreme example of an unrestored church with limited seating was Ridlington, where the two services attracted attendances of 66 and 68, yet it only had seating for 44.[103]

Another way of looking at the question is to examine churches which were at least 75% full during the most popular service. Reasonably accurate returns exist for 257 churches. The results are: -

	A No. of churches	B No. with ≥75% attendance at most popular service	C B as % of A
Restored 1841-50	40	11	27.5
Others	217	42	19.4

It might be expected that the towns could be expected to have higher attendances than the country parishes, and as most of the town churches had been restored by 1850, there is some justification for excluding them from the analysis to avoid a biased result. On this basis, 22.2% of the country churches restored between 1841 and 1850 had attendances of at least 75%, and the others 18.0%.

This is perhaps the most meaningful data that can be presented to support the restorers' thesis and it seems mildly persuasive, especially given the point about the increased numbers of seats usually put in the restored churches. However, it is only fair to note that of the 37 churches which were under one-third full, four - Belton-in-Rutland, Cold Overton, Long Whatton and Norton-juxta-Twycross - appear to have been restored or subject to significant repairs in the previous decade! Three restored or newly built churches were completely full at the most popular service; yet the same could be said of twelve unrestored buildings.

The whole question is a very thorny one and it is not possible to give a definitive answer here. Much must have depended on the merits of individual incumbents, the views of the lord of the manor, or even, the state of the

103. LRO MF 142/HO 129/420, 1.

weather in different areas. It is interesting to note that only 200 people attended the most popular service at Pugin's correctly arranged Wymeswold, yet it had accommodation for 354 (i.e. 56% full) and Wymeswold was a large village.[104] Conversely 189 people crowded into Markfield with its multi-directional orientation of seats with capacity for 200, including 130 appropriated sittings (94% occupancy).[105]

It seems probable that the average church-goer was perfectly prepared to worship in un-Ecclesiological surroundings. However, when a church was restored the chances are that, with the amount of local fund-raising that usually went on and with the event being a big one in local life, it would encourage people to come to church, if for no other reason than the novelty of the new surroundings. Whether they continued to go must have depended on far more complex factors than the comfort of the new seats and the "correctness" of the changed surroundings. The type of community must have played a big part, for, as Thompson found when looking at the 1851 Census returns for Leicestershire, the smaller the community, the greater the amount of undivided land ownership and the proportion of agricultural occupations, the greater was the strength of Church of England attendance.[106]

SEATING IN THE 1840s

Victorian church builders and restorers laid great stress on obtaining as many seats as possible to ensure that lack of accommodation was not a reason for failure to attend worship. The ICBS tended to make grants only to places where increased seating was being provided (see pp. 253-4) and contemporary accounts were usually keen to remark on the number of "sittings" obtained. The types of seating put in in the '40s were, in the majority of cases, rather different from their predecessors. After the 1840s box-pews were virtually unknown. This final rejection of the box-pew, which had so important an impact on the interior appearance of churches, must now be charted, along with the rise of the new arrangements. The new principles were few and simple: -

1. There were to be no doors.
2. Seats should face east.

104. LRO MF 142/HO 129/415, 74.
105. LRO MF 142/HO 129/413, 48.
106. D.M. Thompson, "The Churches and Society in Leicestershire, 1851-1870" (Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation, 1969), 58.

3. Seats should not be regarded and used as private property.
4. The bench ends should be low and follow medieval precedents (though some extravagently contoured shapes were in evidence, particulary in the 1860s.
5. The preferred material was oak, but its expense made pitch pine and deal acceptable.

The demise of the box-pew

The battle against pews was one of the earliest and most easily won victories for the Ecclesiologists. As early as 1842 the ICBS stated in its Instructions that open seats were to be preferred and The Eccleiologist considered this "will probably be found to have struck the death-blow to the system, at any rate to have marked an epoch in its fall."[107] The Cambridge Camden and Ecclesiological Societies published many denunciations of pews, perhaps the best known being The History of Pews (1841) and the four-page leaflet bluntly entitled Twenty-three Reasons for Getting Rid of Church Pews or Pues (n.d.). To these was added a twenty-fourth reason, namely the "nuisance of Pue-Openers", who conducted an "illegal, irreverent and unseemly" trade.[108] The central arguments against pews were: -

1. "in the good old times .... there were no pews at all."
2. "the system of Pues is a selfish and unchristian system."
3. They exclude the poor from the church.
4. They create quarrels in the parish.[109]
5. "Pues, unless they have a faculty, (which very few have) are ILLEGAL."
6. "they prevent the congregation from seeing or being seen from the altar."
7. Pews are an inefficient form of seating. "20 per cent, or one-fifth of the 'available space' in the floor of the church, is lost by the most economical puing."

The appropriation of pews was regularly stated to be illegal, as many bishops pointed out, but The Ecclesiologist did not seem to object to the assignment of places for regular church-goers, but without monetary payment. However, appropriation lived on until the end of the century and Beresford-Hope, as late as 1874, even declared " I do not believe that

107. Eccl 2 (1843), 3.
108. ibid., 61.
109. A local example is at Melton Mowbray where a dispute involved one claimant to a pew locking his rival out of it (LJ 28 Oct. 1853).

rural parishes, as a rule, would get on without a certain fixity of seats, not as of right, but as ordered by the officers [i.e. the churchwardens] on whom the responsibility rests."[110] In towns, however, he perceived a much stronger case for completely free seating.

Seats of the approved type had never entirely vanished from Leicestershire. Croxton Kerrial, Misterton, Peatling Magna and Tixover, for instance, all still possess medieval or slightly later survivals. But they were in a distinct minority by 1840. Afterwards matters started to change. Table 2 shows that there were fifteen cases of seats with doors being introduced in the 1840s, but in the same period there were about twenty-eight instances of entirely open seating schemes (and that excludes places like Market Bosworth and Swepstone which were partly provided with seats with doors). The comparable figures for 1851-60 are no pews (apart from the one dubious example at Hungarton) and about forty-three open seating projects. The Ecclesiologist could justly claim in June 1850 that the campaign against pews "is now triumphant".[111] Figures are unavailable for just how many churches in Leicestershire had been turned over to entirely free seating in the mid-Victorian period, but the proportions published in 1861 for the Archdeaconry of Exeter may give some guide.The Rev. Canon Woollcombe reported that it was 74 out of 193 (38%).[112] His survey underlined another of the benefits of open seats, namely the increased seemliness in worship that it facilitated; at one restored church it was specifically noted that the congregation was regularly on its knees during the time of prayer.

The special treatment accorded to manorial and incumbents' pews was abandoned under Ecclesiological influence, but not, it seems, without some resistance. At Market Bosworth one row of seats was provided with a door in 1845 and at Hungarton a large pew may date from 1850. Slightly later, however, a different outcome is recorded in 1858 at Queniborough.[113] The architect, R.J. Goodacre, allowed a door on the seat of the lady of the manor and claimed he did not know the rules of the ICBS which had been approached for a grant. He pointed out that the lady was a major subscriber to the restoration work and the vicar was keen to accommodate her wishes. In the event the Society won. Close by in date and place, F.W. Ordish made the foolish mistake of including some pews in his 1857

110. A.J. Beresford Hope, Worship in the Church of England (London, 1874), 42.

111. Eccl 11 (1850), 17.

112. Eccl 22 (1861), 61.

113. ICBS 2nd ser.

scheme for Rearsby.[114] Again the ICBS objected and won. It seems possible that Pugin may have faced the same problem as Goodacre when he reseated Wymeswold. All seats are conventional open ones except for one at the east end of the bank of seats on the south side of the nave. The arrangement is illustrated in Fig. 11. The front row is reached via the one behind. The plan clearly shows a similar arrangement on the north but this has now been removed. For some reason Pugin felt it necessary to give these seats a sense of enclosure but at the same time wished to follow his own principles on the avoidance of doors. Perhaps local taste had to be appeased. "Correct" thinking did not always succeed, as a classic case from outside Leicestershire shows. At Eton, St John the Evangelist in 1852-4, doors were added contrary to the wishes of the architect, Benjamin Ferrey. However, at the consecration sermon the new principle was championed by the Bishop of New Zealand who "forcibly and eloquently" spoke against pew doors, which, The Ecclesiologist hoped, would have the appropriate effect in the church.[115]

Analysis of the returns for Leicestershire in the 1851 Religious Census affords some evidence for the relative decline of appropriated seats and, by implication, the box-pew.[116] Taking the 37 churches restored between 1841 and 1850, the data reveals that just over half (50.4%) of the seats were free or given over to children. By contrast, if one takes the 31 churches that would be restored between 1851 and 1860 (i.e. not restored on Census day), only 40% of the seats were free. The restoration movement can therefore take credit for reducing the proportion of appropriated seats.

The orientation and planning of seats

There can be no doubt that most Victorian seating schemes were an improvement on their predecessors. Most pewing schemes were dull and cumbersome; the virtue of the surviving one at Lubenham lies in its rarity and little else. An added problem was the almost arbitrary orientation of the seats. This was easily overcome by the Victorian adoption of east-facing seats as the only acceptable solution. The plans for Countesthorpe (fig. 9) and Burbage (fig. 12) show the acceptance of multi-directional orientation. By the end of the '40s this sort of thing had all but disappeared. At

114. ibid.

115. Eccl 15 (1854), 283.

116. LRO MF 141; MF 142.

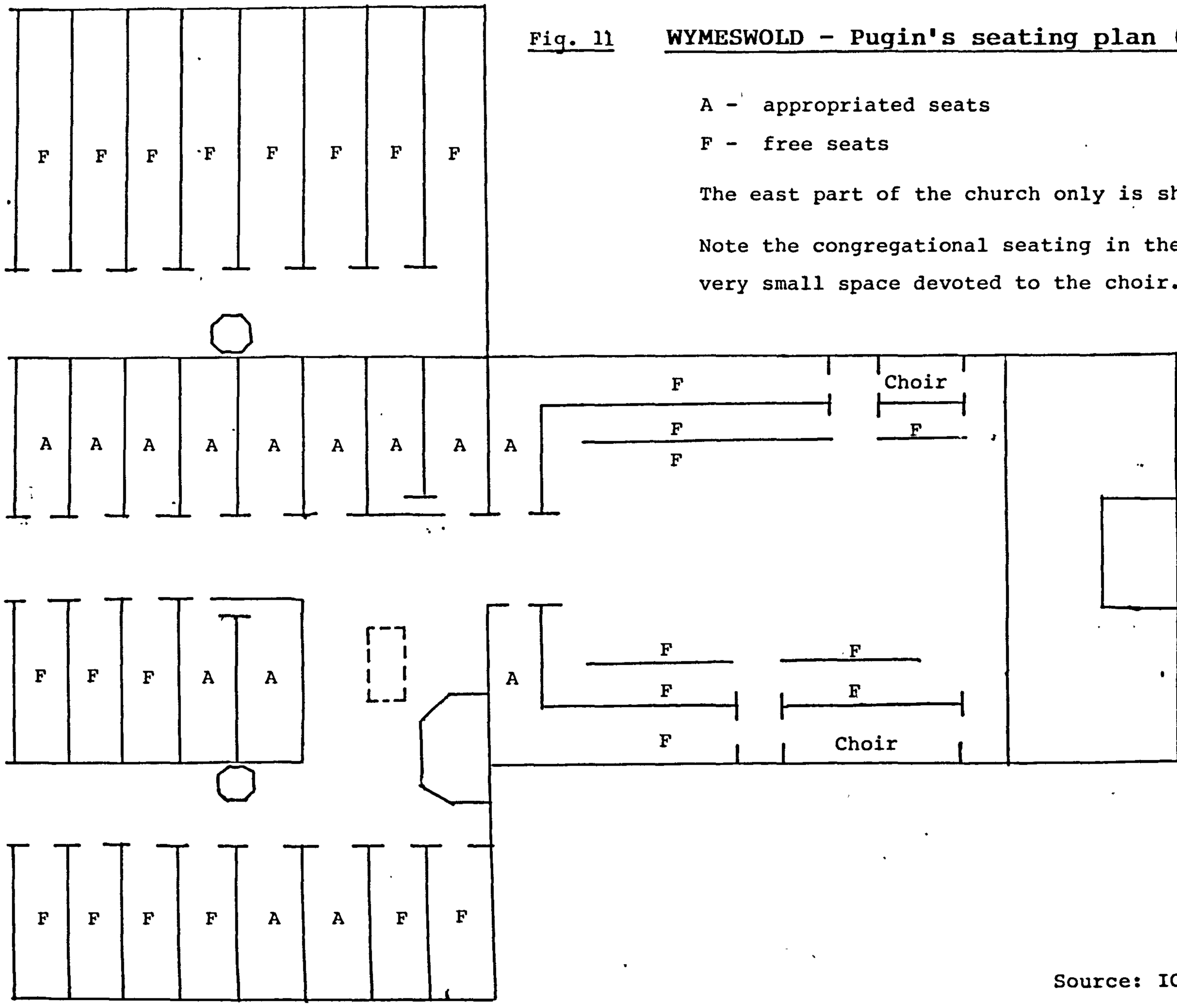
Fig. 11 **WYMESWOLD - Pugin's seating plan (redrawn)**

A - appropriated seats

F - free seats

The east part of the church only is shown here.

Note the congregational seating in the chancel and the very small space devoted to the choir.

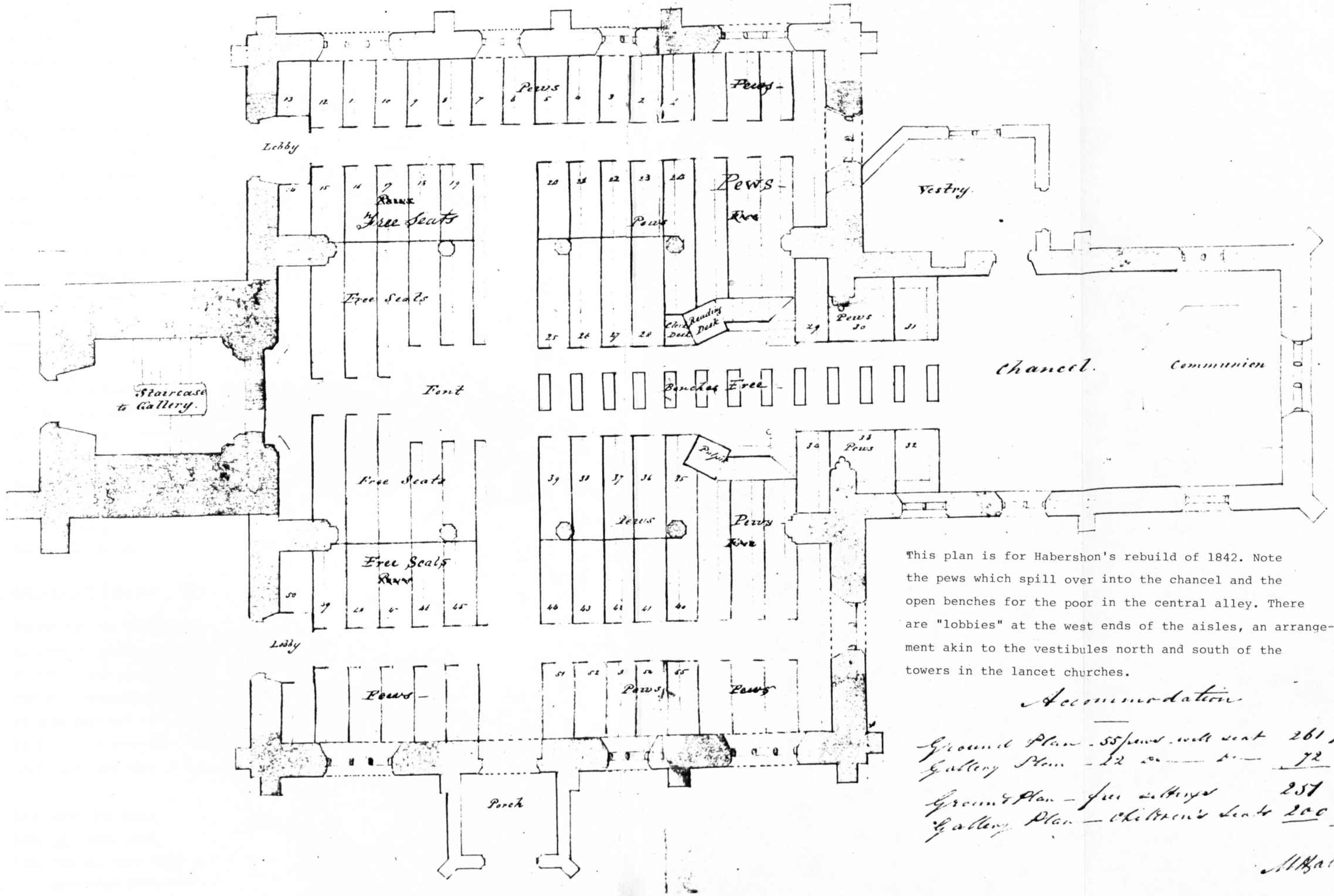


Source: ICBS 2nd ser.

No 2.

Fig. 12. Ground Plan for re-building Burbage Church

Source: ICBS 1sr ser., B Box 11.



This plan is for Habershon's rebuild of 1842. Note the pews which spill over into the chancel and the open benches for the poor in the central alley. There are "lobbies" at the west ends of the aisles, an arrangement akin to the vestibules north and south of the towers in the lancet churches.

Accommodation

Ground Plan - 55 pews with seat 261 pe
Gallery Plan - 12 " — " — 72 3
Ground Plan - free sittings 257
Gallery Plan — children's seats 200 ins
7

M Habers

Twyford in 1849 Henry Goddard proposed the inclusion of some south-facing seats at the east end of the north aisle, so that they faced the pulpit and desk.[117] The ICBS objected and insisted on east-facing seats. This was a case of the subjugation of practical planning to the dogmas of Ecclesiology. When east-facing seats are built right up to the east end of an aisle there is not a hope of the people sitting there being able to see the conduct of the service! A good example is Wymeswold where no less an authority than Pugin planned free seats in this position (see fig. 11) Such arrangements have often now been done away with. The main reason, apart from inconvenience, was the introduction of side altars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Very occasionally mid-Victorian restorers erred on the subject of orientation. At Stoughton there are two north facing benches of 1865 by Dain and Smith.[118]

Pugin's plan for Wymeswold illustrates another facet of early- and mid-Victorian seat planning. The north bank of seats is built right up to the screen. Indeed the whole floor of the church is filled with seats. This desire to maximise accommodation could lead to a cramped internal appearance - the very thing the theoreticians were trying to avoid. The most extreme case occurs at Burrough-on-the-Hill where the tiny church bulges with Henry Goddard's 140 seats of 1860; the alley from the nave to the north aisle is barely wide enough to walk up. One is tempted to think that this would have been a suitable case for a gallery but in 1850 this solution was inconceivable. This, of course, was a problem in church restoration rather than new church building. New churches were set out with specific accommodation requirements in mind, and there is no sense of crowding at, say, Smeeton Westerby (1848-9 by Henry Woodyer) or Leicester, St John the Divine (1853-4 by Scott).

Seating for the poor and children

Throughout the nineteenth century there was great emphasis on the need to provide free seating for the poor. From the outset it was a stipulation of the (I)CBS that it would only make grants if a minimum of half the new accommodation consisted of "free and unappropriated sittings for ever". At some churches the problem was so bad that there were no free sittings whatever. In the 1851 Census there were six churches in Leicestershire in this state and many more which approached it.[119] Divines, politicians and

117. ICBS 2nd ser.

118. LJ 2 Nov. 1866.

119. The six were Dadlington, Goadby, Leicester, St Nicholas, Sapcote, Scraptoft and Wardley.

members of the public all spoke out against the problem in the early part of the century and were reinforced by the fulminations of the Ecclesiologists about the "pew system".

Most churches, however, did provide at least some accommodation for the poor. It tended to be in the least desirable parts of the church - relegated to the west end of the nave and aisles, the less conspicuous parts of the gallery and to forms placed in extra wide alleys between the pews. Not surprisingly no cases of the latter survive but the provision of forms is illustrated in the plan of 1842 for Burbage (see fig. 1). Sometimes wide alleys between surviving seating indicates that forms were once in place, e.g. Appleby Magna and Sharnford. The closest approximation to such seats surviving now is the open-backed benches with crude poppy-heads of 1844 in the south aisle at Stoke Golding.

Importance was also attached to providing seating for the children. Favourite places were the ground stage of the tower (e.g. East Norton from 1850),[120] and Thurmaston from 1848[121]), the west ends of aisles (e.g. North Kilworth from 1864-5,[122] and Quorn from 1865-6[123]), galleries (e.g. as survives at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity from 1838 and Loughborough, Emmanuel from 1835-7) or the chancel (e.g. Blaby from 1846,[124] and Kimcote, noted in the 1851 Religious Census). Pugin planned moveable forms for 200 schoolchildren at the west end of Wymeswold in his 1844-6 restoration.

Separation of the sexes

The separation of men and women was rigorously observed in medieval churches and was common through the later periods and into the nineteenth century. The Ecclesiologists recommended it, favouring "for uniformity's sake the north side to be assigned to the women, and the south to the men."[125] Unfortunately, in Leicestershire there is little documentary evidence for this widespread practice. The Ecclesiologist noted it at Theddingworth,[126] and an old photograph of Peatling Magna (before 1905) shows hat pegs on the north side, clearly indicating this was the men's side. It is said that separation is still maintained at Stanford-on-Avon and Staunton Harold. It is not clear how widespread it was in the towns. Beresford-Hope said that

120. Society of Antiquaries, Drawings Collection.

121. ibid.

122. AAS 8 (1865-6), lxxi.

123. Bldr 24 (1866), 274.

124. ICBS 2nd ser.

125. Eccl 6 (1845), 41-5.

126. Eccl 19 (1858), 403.

in town churches with free seating [e.g. Leicester, St Matthew], it was indispensible.[127] As late as 1916 Cox remarked that it was still the custom "in a fair number of town churches".[128]

ORGANS

The technicalites of organs are outside the scope of this study but a few words are needed on their prevalence and location from the 1840s. Their sheer size in most cases meant that space had to be provided for them which could materially alter the interior appearance of a church. The presence of organs in a number of Leicestershire churches prior to 1840 has been mentioned on pp. 62-3). They became very popular during the 1840s and seemed to be regarded by all who claimed to be concerned about the finer points of church music to be the only suitable instrument. This is despite the fact that The Ecclesiologist did not regard them as essential and could "see no objection to the use of a violincello or horn to steady the chant in some cases".[129]

Examples of the installation of organs in the early 1840s in Leicestershire occur at Cadeby, Frolesworth, Saddington and Stoney Stanton, all in 1843, and at Cranoe and Narborough, in 1844.[130] The correspondent to the Leicester Journal in 1843 who wrote praising organs must have been typical of the time; he hoped one would be installed at Market Harborough before very long.[131]

Most Leicestershire churches have Victorian organs (sometimes modified), except where they have been replaced later or the church was unfortunate enough not to have sufficient funds to purchase one. There seem to have been several cases of the latter in small rural communities. For example Cotesbach, Great Stretton, Pickwell, Ragdale and Tixover all have harmoniums rather than organs. A cheap harmonium - the most common maker is the "Estey Organ Co., Brattleborough, Vt, USA" - might be a poor substitute for a church orchestra to late twentieth-century thinking, but it points up the keenness with which the Victorians wished to eliminate the church band.

Only rarely was an architect involved in the design of an organ case. Scott's

127. A.J. Beresford Hope, op. cit, 43.
128. J.C. Cox, Bench Ends ...., 19.
129. Eccl 3 (1844), 2.
130. LJ 16 Jun 1843, 28 Jul. 1843, 1 Sep. 1843, 31 Mar. 1843, 3 May 1844, 24 May 1844 respectively.
131. 15 Sep. 1843.

case at Theddingworth for an earlier organ is a happy exception. Usually the design seems to have been taken from a pattern book, with organ makers being little concerned with the finer points of up-to-date design. Cases therefore are hard to date; for instance the one of 1902 (presumably) at Gaddesby looks very much earlier.

A major problem was where to put the organ, a large and awkward item of furniture. West galleries were ideal places where they survived but their removal created a problem which did not admit a single or an easy solution. The Ecclesiologist addressed itself to the question on two occasions in the mid-'40s without a clear outcome.[132] On the first it "denounce[d] in strongest terms" the idea of an organ chamber attached to the chancel ("this is utterly without, and indeed against, authority" etc.) and came down in favour of a position at the west end of the nave or an aisle. In the second article the ground shifted and an organ chamber was allowed provided it did not look like a sacristy, porch, chapel or transept (not easy!). The first case of a specially built chamber in Leicestershire seems to have been the one put up by Pugin on the north side of the chancel at Wymeswold, 1844-6, which blended in well with the adjacent Perpendicular work. Otherwise they do not appear to be found before the 1850s, e.g. Barkestone and Coleorton, both of 1854-5, and Market Harborough and Market Overton, both of 1857. At the last named place the organ chamber was combined with the vestry, as frequently occurred from this time onward. Where there was a pre-existing north chapel, as at Great Bowden or Theddingworth, there was a ready-made site for an organ. A problem that arose with purpose-built chambers was whether or not to provide windows. Aesthetically this was desirable and the Market Harborough chamber in the angle between the chancel and the north aisle, harmonises very well with the rest of the structure since its mouldings and windows are made to copy work elsewhere. Where the chamber was more functionally or cheaply inspired, as at North Kilworth in 1878, the stark, bare surfaces could present a bleak appearance.

The west end of the nave was good acoustically but it tended to be an inconvenient location as it was a long way from the choir (so was the west gallery position) but more seriously it tended to block the tower arch, just as galleries had been criticised for doing. Occasional examples occur, as at Cranoe and Queniborough. Otherwise sites were generally found in the aisles. An instance of an organ divided between either side of the chancel is noted at Leicester, St Margaret in 1852.[133]

132. 3 (1844), 1-5, 4 (1845), 4-5.

133. Bldr 10 (1857), 653.

Organ makers are outside the scope of this examination but it should be noted that by far the two most popular ones in Leicestershire seem to have been Porritt and Taylor, both of Leicester.

FLOOR TILES

At the end of Chapter One the prevalance of brick floors before the middle of the nineteenth century has been stressed. Very occasionally tile quarries were used before 1840. In the 1840s fashion swung strongly in favour of tiles, under the influence of the Ecclesiologists. Stone slabs were still considered acceptable (e.g. Sewstern and Thorpe Acre) and in Rutland (an area of remarkably good stone) there are as many stone floors as tiled ones put in in the nineteenth century. But in the old county of Leicestershire (i.e. excluding Rutland) Victorian tile schemes far outweigh any others. Nearly half the churches are floored entirely with them. The impact on the appearance of churches was very considerable. The Ecclesiologist made an important point in 1848 - it pointed out that in this respect tiles were then more significant than in medieval times since overall decoration schemes were less lavish and therefore tiles were more prominent than they would have been in the Middle Ages.[134]

Unfortunately the documentary evidence is not usually specific about flooring schemes until the main wave of restorations from the 1850s. Furthermore there has been much destruction of early Victorian floors later in the century, when wooden blocks and small rectangular tiles became popular in naves and mosaics and other materials were laid in chancels. It is therefore impossible to quantify the types of flooring installed in Leicestershire churches in the '40s. There is little of distinction in this decade. The most common type was red and black quarries, such as Pugin used in the nave and aisles at Wymeswold in 1844-6 (the choir has stone flooring now: is this Pugin's scheme?). The size was often 6 inches square, as is the case at Wymeswold, but this was considered too large by The Ecclesiologist[135] and the 4½ inch size gradually became standard. Patterned tiles were confined to sanctuaries in the 1840s, examples being at Wymeswold and in Woodyer's new church at Smeeton Westerby. At Cranoe, 1847-9, there is a particularly attractive four-tile design of a foliated quatrefoil in brown, buff and blue. At Swepstone in 1842 the unusual expedient of red and black hexagonal Newcastle quarries (arranged in lines of alternate colours) was specified by H.I. Stevens.[136] At Measham in the same year,

134. Published in 1849, vol. 9, p. 80.

135. ibid., 84.

136. Society of Antiquaries, Drawings Collection. They were laid.

octagonal red quarries appear to have been laid (with small white tiles in the gaps). Usually tiles were used only in gangways but there are occasionally cases of them covering the whole floor area of the nave (and the aisles where present), as at Cranoe. Woodyer did the same thing at Smeeton Westerby; interestingly he laid the tiles in the gangways lozenge-wise and under the seats he made them square-set.[137]

Very little is mentioned about makers in the contemporary local accounts for the early years. The only name to emerge is Minton's when Herbert Minton gave and laid a set of encaustic tiles at Coalville in 1845.[138] In later decades Minton continued to be a popular supplier in Leicestershire and these tiles were patronised, for example, by Scott. Of the newer firms, Godwin of Lugwardine, Herefordshire supplied various schemes (e.g. Claybrooke, 1876-8, for Street, and Sileby, 1878-80, for Blomfield) but the local firm of Whetstone was certainly the most prolific, especially in the 1860s. Whetstone's tiles were widely used by the Goddards in numerous restorations.

It took some time before tiles were considered to have recaptured an adequate quality. In the 1840s there was much concern that they could resemble oil-cloths.[139] Design could be inferior and a particularly confused array of patterned tiles at Knipton probably dates from the 1845-6 restoration work. It was only from the 1850s that the most attractive work was executed for Leicestershire churches. Butterfield provided a sumptuous tiled floor in the sanctuary at Ashwell in 1851, incorporating among other devices the arms of his patron, Viscount Downe (see plate 29).

Tiles remained the dominant flooring material until the 1870s after which their popularity waned significantly as wood blocks started to be introduced and new materials found (see pp. 166-7).

137. A later example of all-over tiling is at Wartnaby, probably of 1867-8.

138. LJ 5 Dec. 1845.

139. Eccl 1 (1843), 36; 9 (1849), 80.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HIGH VICTORIAN DECADES, 1850-1870.

It is in the twenty or so years after 1850 that the greatest masterpieces of nineteenth-century English church building were erected. Freeing themselves from the copyism of English rural models and not yet constrained by the financial limitations of the close of the century (see Chapter Nine), architects were able to give fullest expression to the Victorian ideal of religion made manifest in church buildings. Leicestershire participated vigorously in this movement in the '60s - much less so in the '50s - and it is to these decades that many of the more striking new churches and restorations belong. During the 1850s most works are archaeologically inspired and accurate, but from 1860 new ideas, dependent on foreign and thirteenth-century influences, emerge.

There was little significant new church building in Leicestershire in the '50s. Scott's Leicester, St John the Divine, was the only major building and this followed the careful principles developed in the '40s. With Leicester, St Andrew, of 1860-62, the new tendencies are evident in a church which is of far more than local significance. There was little demand for new buildings in the area until about 1860. By 1850 rural Leicestershire had been provided with all the churches it needed. The gaps in the earlier church landscape (e.g. Charnwood, Pickworth and Smeeton Westerby) had been filled and the first phase in the provision of churches in the towns was complete. The new settlements on the coalfield had also received their initial sprinkling of churches (i.e. Coalville and Swannington) and nothing more would be done there until after 1860. In the 1850s only one new church was built (Leicester, St John the Divine) and two completely rebuilt (Blackfordby and Kilby). On the other hand there was a good deal of restoration activity. But before exploring architectural trends, it seems desirable to probe briefly possible reasons for the rate of activity between 1850 and 1870.

SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION AND ECONOMICS

England was a rather more prosperous place in the 1850s than the Hungry Forties but this had little effect on the amount of church building and restoration work, at least in Leicestershire. As Chapter Ten (figs 22, 23) shows, there was a marginal increase on the previous decade but it was not

significant. Generally it may be said that there is only a very loose link between economics and church restoration, it being a religiously-inspired movement which does not depend on normal economic laws. In this study it has not been possible to examine this point in depth since it required detailed and specialised information on the economic circumstances of all parishes in a large defined area and full data regarding the religious leanings of the clergymen and local notables. Within reason, the latter seem more important on balance than the former. Fox-hunting parsons, for instance, were not prone to church restoration. Hence the churches of Eastwell, Laughton and Lockington were not restored until their sporting incumbents had been replaced. Interestingly, one of them, the Rev. Cave Humfrey of Laughton was the man who spoke up for the old fashions of church furnishings when he condemned the new open seats at Market Harborough (see pp. 49-50). The same goes for local worthies. Those who believed in church restoration contributed towards it. Some, like the Duke of Rutland, Earl Howe and Perry Herrick were dedicated to the cause on a county-wide basis whereas others did their part on or near their own estates, such as the Earl of Gainsborough and the Earl of Stamford and Warrington. Conversely, for example, there is the case of the Cave family of Stanford Hall who did absolutely nothing to restore Stanford-on-Avon church.

The sources of finance are fully discussed in Chapter Nine but contemporary documents make little reference to prevailing local economic conditions. The two exceptions are at Hinckley and, rather later, at Mowsley. In 1863 distress in Hinckley brought the the restoration of St Mary's church to a halt.[1] The town was dependent on cotton and therefore suffered badly in the "Cotton Famine" of the early '60s. In Mowsley the cause was the agricultural depression from the mid-'70s, which led to the restoration proposed about 1878 being deferred.[2]

In the '60s the Hinckley case was probably exceptional. In fact, the 1860s saw a dramatic increase in church restoration in Leicestershire, which mirrored developments in many other counties too. In this situation it seems we are to look to improving economic fortunes at least as a partial cause. In assessing the effect of economic circumstances on church building and restoration, the rate of restoration provides a firmer indication than the level of new church provision. The latter was a response to a demand created by increasing population and could not long be resisted. Restorations, on the other hand, especially given the relatively high

1. LJ 27 Apr. 1863.
2. LJ 10 Feb. 1882.

proportion of churches which were in good condition about 1840 (see p. 21) were not usually essential and were simply one of the options open to communities when considering uses to which disposable income might be put.

There is a general consensus among economic historians that prosperity increased considerably in the 1860s. Agriculture remained buoyant until about 1874 and, even afterwards in Leicestershire, did not suffer as much as in other areas of the country. Industry boomed. In Leicestershire the number of factories doubled between 1862 and 1874. The hosiery industry grew after 1861. The boot and shoe industry becamed established in the county - the first factory was set up at Anstey in 1863 - and the amount of coal produced doubled between 1854 and 1867. Quarrying began at Bardon Hill in 1857. The 1850s, however, tended to be times of rather greater difficulties, especially in the towns (notably Loughborough and Shepshed). In Leicester the annual reports of Joseph Dare's Domestic Mission give a clear picture of recovery in the late '40s, a slump in 1850-52, a short recovery, and then a more protracted slump until the end of the decade, and steady improvement thereafter.[3] This is perhaps a major reason why only one church was built in the town in this decade.

There was great national concern in the middle of the century about "spiritual destitution", by which was meant a lack of places of Anglican worship, failure to attend the ones that did exist, and less than ideal standards of churchmanship. The Religious Census confirmed these fears by revealing that less than half the population attended an Anglican place of worship on 30 March 1851. The figures in Table 7 show Leicestershire to have been comparable or rather better than the national average. Leicester itself, despite its Nonconformist tradition, had a larger Anglican share of attendance than 34 of the 65 major towns.

Church accommodation in Leicestershire was a problem in the towns rather than the countryside. The Census showed that only 56 churches could accommodate the whole village population but, in practice, there was no real problem. The New Churches Enquiry of 1851 pointed out that four new churches were needed in Leicester and three in the county.[4] The worst problem was in Leicester but it was not until the '60s that much was done to relieve it.

3. D.M. Thompson, "The Churches and Society ...", 105-6.
4. ibid., 148.

Table 7. Church attendance revealed by the 1851 Religious Census:national and Leicestershire figures.

	% of population attending worship	% attending in Anglican churches	% Anglican share of attendances
National average	60.8	29.5	48.6
Leicestershire*	72.0	35.5	49.3
Rutland	68.4	42.5	62.1
Leicester	62.3	28.0	44.9

* excludes Rutland; includes Leicester.

Source: B.I. Coleman, The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: a Social Geography (London, 1980), 40-41.

Attempts were started in 1851 to remedy the situation and, interestingly, the stimulus came from the county. The Rev. J.P. Marriott of Cotesbach began the initiative for a Leicestershire Church Extension Fund (see p. 258) The promoters noted with horror that in 1841 there had been only sixteen clergy in Leicester for 48,000 people,[5] yet by 1851 the figures were even worse - seventeen clergy for 60,650.[6] It was maintained that there ought to be one clergyman for every 2,000 souls (instead of nearly 3,600) and the idea was even mooted of establishing a bishop in Leicester.[7] Despite the building of St John the Divine, things were still in a parlous state in 1860, the population having risen to 68,000. There were still three parishes or ecclesiastical districts with populations of about 12,000.[8] In 1863 seven of the sixteen parishes had over 4,000 people, the maximum ideal size according to the newly formed Church Extension Association (see pp. 259-62).[9] Loughborough had two churches and Melton Mowbray one. However, by 1872 the Church Extension Association was able to report progress in the numbers of churches and a fall in the numbers of people per church (see Table 8).

5. LJ 25 Apr. 1851.
6. LJ 12 Jul. 1851.
7. LJ 25 Apr. 1851.
8. LJ 14 Dec. 1860.
9. LJ 11 Dec. 1863.

Table 8. Population and Anglican churches in Leicester, 1712-1871.

	No. of churches	Population	Av. population per church
1712	5	6,540	1,308
1821	5	30,125	6,025
1841	8	50,806	6,351
1851	9	60,342	6,705
1861	9	68,186	7,576
1871	14	95,803	6,843

Source: LC 16 Nov. 1872

TRENDS IN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE HIGH VICTORIAN AGE

After 1860 the pressing need for new churches could no longer be ignored. The steadily deteriorating ratio of people to churches had to be corrected if the already unsatisfactory situation revealed by the 1851 Religious Census was not to be made worse. When the churches were commenced they were designed in an age when the architectural principles developed in the 1840s had been substantially modified. If the '40s were characterised by the ideal of the close copying of English churches, particularly rural ones from around 1300, the '50s were marked by a greater sense of freedom and simplicity of planning. The national trends, against which Leicestershire events can be set, may be briefly summarised as follows.

1. Copyism versus invention. Right up to 1850 Pugin maintained his position that what was required was a humble emulation of the past. This stimulated a most lively and celebrated debate in The Builder, starting in 1850 with a sharp retort from James Fergusson - a "struggle between archaeology and common sense" he called it.[10] He condemned the symbolic interpretations of Gothic, adding that Pugin's roof at St George's, Southwark, was only "symbolical of bad carpentry!" The arguments continued in The Builder for two years and included contributions from Kerr, Scott, Garbett and others. Viewpoints differed somewhat but the overriding conclusion was that there was room for originality. What mattered was this, said Kerr in a lecture reprinted in 1850 - " A natural style of architecture is such as can accomplish the wants of the circumstances .... in the most suitable and

10. The whole debate is splendidly summarised in N. Pevsner, Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1972), 222-37.

economical manner with the full command of all the materials and .... appliances at command." This rationalist approach led him to have a good word to say for even Nonconformist chapels as comfortable preaching houses and to question the validity of the new Gothic churches and the Houses of Parliament - a functional, practical judgment which implies the virtual inevitability a return to the old criteria in church building and planning that emerged at the end of the century. And change was coming. In 1853, the Ecclesiological Society asked its favourite architect in the 1840's, R.C. Carpenter to design an iron church, a material which had once been roundly condemned. By this time the naïve dislike of modernity and change of Pugin and Ruskin was clearly out of place in the real world. It was no longer possible to ignore new techniques, new architectural ideas and new materials. To hate the new railways and railway stations and all they stood for, as Ruskin did, was to turn one's back on reality.

2. **Massiveness.** The changing ideas embraced the concept of "massiveness", in sharp contrast to the "picturesque" favoured in the '40s. This involved strength in construction, large plain wall surfaces, an appreciation of powerfulness and a resultant severity in appearance. Commonly the clerestory was omitted. It could also involve what a later writer saw as "the glory of ugliness" (Summerson of Butterfield), but which in the contemporary jargon might have been termed "muscular" work. There were many examples in Butterfield's output and that of Street (e.g. St Philip and St James, Oxford, 1859, and his design for the Constantinople Memorial church, 1856-7). Clutton's St John, Limehouse, 1853, and Teulon's churches of St Andrew, Lambeth, 1854, or Burringham, Lincolnshire, 1856, were other works in a similar vein.

3. **Simplicity.** With massiveness went a greater simplicity of line and planning. Buttresses were reduced in importance or even eliminated (e.g. Teulon), roof-lines simplified and often made continuous over the nave and chancel, though the latter was rare in small churches until after 1860.The Puginian complexity of planning was transformed into much simpler, broader spaces which were to form a major element in the character of later nineteenth-century churches. Here Street was a leader with his emphasis in internal "grandeur" and a sense of spatial progression from west to east. He especially recommended apses as fine,eastward foci whereas this form had attracted Ecclesiological disapproval in the 1840's. In practice it only became common from around 1858.

4. **Exotic features.** The striving for originality brought with it a fascination with unusual features. Often strange medieval precedents were pressed into service. One of the most famous examples is Butterfield's

reuse of the central buttress from the east window at Dorchester, Oxfordshire, in his church of St Matthias, Stoke Newington, 1850-51. Salvin reused the Sompting helm-spire at Flixton, Suffolk, in 1856.

5. Brick. Once condemned as "a mean material", brick made a come-back being ideally suited to the sheer surfaces of the more advanced churches of the day. Here, as in so many other ways, Butterfield's model church for the Ecclesiological Society, All Saints, Margaret Street, is a key building.

6. Structural polychromy (or constructional colouration). Pugin rarely, if ever, used this mode of decoration on the exterior of his churches. Propaganda for its use was considerable from 1849 and Butterfield, to whom it appealed particularly, used brick polychrome at All Saints, Margaret Street. Polychrome lozenges in brick were a traditional English form of decoration but their late date meant their use received no endorsement from the Ecclesiologists in the '40s. The main stimulus to its use came, in fact, from foreign influences through Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture of 1848 and Butterfield's work at All Saints.

7. The break with local tradition. Street, in an article on Kent and Surrey churches in 1850 gave voice to what was becoming a clearly accepted situation. He argued that except where restoration needs required the adoption of local mannerisms, architects should give up local copying. Such a constricted frame of reference was ill-suited to modern times with widespread archaeological knowledge and rapid transport. Hence the nineteenth century saw the breakdown of regional styles and the use of local materials (for the effects on the use of building materials in Leicestershire, see Chapter Eight).

8. Foreign influence. Even more dramatic was the introduction of architectural ideas from the Continent. Continental examples had been studied before, for example, in H. Gally Knight's Saracenic and Norman Remains in Sicily (1838) and in J.L. Petit's Remarks on Church Architecture (2 vols, 1841). The Ecclesiologist had started reporting on foreign architecture in 1844 but the most significant formative works were published after the mid-'40s. There was George Truefitt's Architectural Sketches on the Continent (1847) and the extremely influential Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology (1848) by none other than Benjamin Webb. The greatest initial influence was from Italy and arose particularly from Ruskin's The Stones of Venice (1, 1851 and 2, 1853), which reflected Ruskin's admiration of Continental work in preference to English. The interest in Italian Gothic was put into practice with particularly successful results in Street's church

of St James the Less, Westminster, begun in 1858, and which included many of the features Street had seen in Italy and had published in Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy (1855). French influences came later, for example, from Petit's Architectural Studies in France (1854) and R.J. Johnson's Specimens of Early French Architecture (1861-4). By 1856 Scott was using French devices from the Sainte-Chapelle at Exeter College Chapel. German work was studied but little copied - Pugin's St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, is an exception. The foreign movement was very extensive and Eastlake, for one, seemed to think it had probably gone a little too far.[11]

9. Internal decorations. There was little colour applied internally in churches in the 1840s, even though it was advocated by the Ecclesiologists - "We would have every inch glowing [whereas the] Puritans .... would have every inch colourless."[12] Pugin was frequently very restrained in his use of colour (e.g. Wymeswold) and was only able to indulge himself fully when he had rich patrons, as at Cheadle, St Giles. All Saints, Margaret Street, led the way into the 1850s with his sumptuous scheme and in that decade colour became increasingly popular, even in many ordinary restorations.

10. GO. Side by side with the themes of simpler lines and planning, the 1850s and 1860s are characterised by the almost paradoxical fascination with elaborate detail and fantastic forms. The most extreme exponents were Goodhart-Rendel's "rogues" - E.B. Lamb, S.S. Teulon, E. Basset Keeling and others - who gave their architecture what was called GO. GO was born out of the Victorian attempts to find a style for the age but its eccentricity was to be its downfall. "The Original and Ugly School" Burges called it.[13] However, the less extreme aspects of GO were immensely popular in the mid-nineteenth century and very few architects found themselves unable to resist the High Victorian love of lavish ornament.

11. Ornament. In no age has architectural ornament been as important as in the mid-nineteenth century. Ruskin was obsessed by ornament and detail: of the six propositions he put forward in his Lectures on Architecture and Painting (1854) five deal only with ornament. It is, he declared "the principal part of architecture, that is to say, the highest nobility of a

11. Eastlake, op. cit., 131.
12. Eccl 4 (1845), 199-203.
13. Quoted in J.M. Crook, William Burges and the High Victorian Dream (London, 1981), 125. On pp. 123-5 he lists Burges' ten objections to GO.

of a building does not consist of in its being well built, but in its being nobly sculpted or painted."[14] In 1858 Street claimed that "three-fourths of the poetry of a building lay in its minor details."[15] Ruskin remained highly disapproving of the architectural products of his age yet he did as much as any man to recommend those very things which gave buildings an outward, often gaudy show. This fascination with ornament was most marked in terms of internal colour, structural polychromy and lavish and often frivolous stone and wood carving. Surfaces became restless in the search for elaboration. Riots of vegetation sprouted from capitals and the edges of furnishings were complicated by saw-tooth and other ornament. By 1870 the major architects were turning away from such things and Eastlake captured current thinking when he wrote of the florid capitals in that most Ruskinian building, the Oxford Museum of 1855-60. "We feel", he said, "that the ornaments of the leaves and flowers, however excellent in themselves, are mere additions having no sort of relation to the constructive feature which they adorn."[16] It is probable that excessive ornament, especially when applied without the masterly craftsmanship in the Oxford Museum, has done as much as anything to give Victorian architecture a bad name.

It is a curious paradox that just as the new, simpler ideas of line and planning were creeping in from about 1850, there was a parallel trend which stressed lavish decoration and ornament and architectural form as the expression of the strivings for something new. Throughout the period from 1850 to 1870 the architectural scene was in turmoil and uncertainty. The result was that by 1870 the Gothic supremacy had gone, except for church building. In churches the major architects abandoned the spiky subjectivism of GO and church architecture for the rest of the century would pursue a path of increasing simplicity.

NEW AND REBUILT CHURCHES, 1850-1860

This chapter now proceeds to examine how the key elements of High Victorian church architecture were worked out in Leicestershire. The new and rebuilt churches are dealt with first before passing on to the matter of restorations. There is less to say about the former in the '50s than in the following decade, but something must be said of Scott's first church in Leicester, Carpenter's work at Earl Shilton, the output of Raphael Brandon and the

14. Quoted in K.O. Garrigan, Ruskin on Architecture (Wisconsin, 1973), 49
15. Eccl 19 (1858), 238.
16. Eastlake, op. cit., 285.

church that was not built at Blackfordby.

Only one of the two new Leicestershire churches of the '50s is of any significance. Henry Goddard's Kilby of 1858 is a distinctly conservative, small Early English piece which is rather in the mould of the 1840s country church ideal. But Scott's Leicester, St John the Divine of 1853-4 is very different and is the first Ecclesiologically-inspired Gothic Revival church in the town. It is by no means one of his greater works but interestingly displays both conservative and novel characteristics. All its component parts are separately articulated in Puginian fashion and the interior (pl. 20) impresses by its careful purity.[17] The style is of the "best" period of around 1300, the roofs are high pitched and there is no clerestory. The aisles are under lean-to roofs. The interior lacks High Victorian artifice (apart from the absurdly florid font) but the exterior shows various aspects of the new spirit. There is the slightly novel feature of the apse,[18] and an interesting use of materials. The severe Mountsorrel granite walls are relieved by horizontal polychrome bands of sandstone (the latter now wearing very badly) and the spire (removed 1950) had bands of coloured brick. Cole considers the building as characteristic of Scott's churches for large provincial working class parishes.[19] He claims it as one of a group of ten similar churches designed in 1850-53 (including Holy Trinity, Rugby, now demolished) with planning that can be traced back to St Giles, Camberwell and leading up to All Souls, Haley Hill, Halifax, 1855-9. The fittings are unexceptional. The transepts were designed to accommodate seating (hardly an ideal location for it) and certainly not for side altars. This is a very clear illustration of how far the mid-Victorians were prepared to copy the architectural features of the Middle Ages but without being able to accept their liturgical consequences.

The remodelling (almost rebuilding) of Little Dalby by Raphael Brandon has a similar purity to the interior of St John the Divine. Everything is of 1851-2 and it affords the best example of an early '50s scheme in a Leicestershire village church. Brandon added transepts (cf. the planning of St John's) and the whole is a clear continuation of 1840s rural copyist traditions, using themes of around 1300. The interior is immensely rich in its furnishing and Brandon reveals a fascination with elaborate foliage and trails, both inside and outside the church (but it is elaborate in the

17. The church is redundant and its interior will be affected by reuse.
18. However, Scott himself was very partial to apses, e.g. Bradfield, Berkshire, 1847-8. For that at St John's, see plate 19.
19. D. Cole, Report 3307 on the church to Leicester City Council, c. 1980.

way medieval Decorated was elaborate and not in the over-exuberant Victorian sense). So often churches have much richer work in the chancel than the rest but this is not so here, for the nave seats too are treated lavishly, including the recurrent use of fleuron; (oddly, a Perpendicular motif) bands. The stonework is lavish too, for example the rich mouldings on the nave and chancel arches, shafts to the east window, and big, standing angel figures beneath the wall-posts of the nave roof. The north transept has the unusual device of stall-like seats, with a divider between each seat, presumably intended for the Hartopp family who paid for the entire work.

It is logical at this point to consider Humberstone where Brandon rebuilt the nave and aisles and remodelled the chancel. The work was costly (about £2,800) and no expense was spared on the finishing touches such as the beautiful tiles (the best in Leicestershire) and the brass coronae. But most astonishing is the liberal use of alabaster from Benjamin Broadbent's local quarries (he was one of the lay impropriators). It forms the chancel window jambs and hood-moulds, the font, pier capitals, a frieze in the chancel and the shafts to the chancel arch corbels. It gives the church an immensely rich High Victorian atmosphere. In 1863 the church also received a scheme of mural decorations (now gone) involving the Commandments and other pattern painting on the east wall of the chancel and in addition to the pre-existing texts over the nave arches.[20]

Another major rebuilding scheme of some significance in the 1850s was at Earl Shilton in 1855-6, where only the medieval tower was not replaced. The design was one of the last works of R.C. Carpenter and was continued after his death in 1855 by his successor, W. Slater. He replaced the medieval building with a long, low nave without clerestory but with aisles under separate gables in the west Leicestershire medieval tradition. In line with the new thinking the roof ridges were made continuous over the nave and chancel areas. The detail is varied early Decorated including a big, spreading east window with intersected tracery which was by no means a strict copy of a medieval precedent. The exterior impression of lowness and length is confirmed inside, for example by the long, rhythmic succession of the five-bay arcades. The church is notable for having Leicestershire's best preserved mural decorations, executed by the Rev. F.E. Tower, vicar 1854-82, father of Kempe's partner.[21] The work is entirely of various patterns (circles, crosses, stars etc.) plus a text over the

20. LC 1 May 1858; AAS 7 (1863-4), lxxii.
21. Pevsner, Buildings of England, Leicestershire ..., 96.

chancel arch, symbolically suited to its position - "ALLELUIA JESUS CHRIST CONQUERS ALLELUIA". Immediately over the arcade arches is a trail of small, delicate leaves in green. The chancel has a somewhat different decorative scheme from the nave, which, symbolically, is to be expected. Structural polychrome makes its first internal appearance in Leicestershire, with subtly contrasted buff and slightly lighter stone in the arcades.

Apart from Kilby, the only church that was totally rebuilt between 1850 and 1860 was Blackfordby in 1858. The architect was Henry Stevens and the work has already been mentioned on p. 92. Of interest now is a design that was not executed. During the initial competition for an architect, J.P. St Aubyn submitted a design in 1855 for what might have been a rather interesting building. He proposed aisles with windows only in the middle and outer bays and under transverse gables which allowed larger than normal windows to be provided. It seems this may be a particular feature of the mid-'50s for Scott used such a device at Trefnant, Denbigh, also in 1855 and at St Mary, Stoke Newington in 1855-8. It was actually put into practice in Leicester at the Baptist Church, London Road, by John Tarring in 1855-6.[22] However, St Aubyn's adoption of the idea was not liked by The Ecclesiologist which seemed to find them too idiosyncratic.[23] Such transverse gables were used later in Leicestershire at Leicester, St Mark (1870-72 by Ewan Christian) and Hinckley, Holy Trinity (1909-10 by Alexander Ellis).

NEW AND REBUILT CHURCHES, 1860-1870

As indicated earlier, the 1860s saw the building of a number of distinctive churches in Leicestershire, two of which are of far more than local significance. Of particular note are Scott's Leicester, St Andrew, and the Goddards' Tur Langton. It is in this decade that some of the most exotic work is found in new churches and in restorations (see below), as architects took up the new themes with a vengeance. St Andrew is illustrated in pl. 23.

St Andrew's was designed by Scott in a fairly uncompromising Early English, with simplified detail and the harshness of some of Butterfield's churches. It has a nave, apsidal chancel, transepts, south porch and a prominent bellcote between the nave and chancel. Scott makes use of brick in a variety of ways. Red predominates but there are bands of buff and also much blue brick diapering (nave side walls), ornamented bands in the gables of the transepts and polychrome patterning in the window arches. So much of Scott's

22. Information kindly supplied by Mr R. Gill. It is now (1984) a Seventh Day Adventist Church.

23. 16 (1855), 50, 63.

work is pervaded with his fascination for rich moulding and the consequent interplay of light and shade. Here mouldings are almost totally absent. Shafts are very few too, but make an appearance around the chancel. The south elevation best shows the simplification of detail - no hoods to the windows, very plain lancets, bold impressive circles pierced in the transept gable and no cusping in any of the windows. The vestry/organ chamber is particularly stark. Beneath the bellcote, a circular window in the nave gable casts interesting light effects into the members of the roof of the crossing inside. The interior echoes the bold qualities of the exterior and the new ideas about the greater concentration of space. The nave is broad, aisleless and the choir is not a separate volume. Only the sanctuary is separately demarcated by an arch. Bare brick reappears with polychromatic effects but the most dramatic item is the roof. Its seven principals spring at a height of only twelve feet; they consist of parallel timbers joined by light cross-braces forming diamond patterns. The roof is a powerful design of wagon shape and gives a dark, brooding appearance. Surprisingly, the fittings are rather routine. Taken as a whole the church shows Scott in his most Butterfieldian mood and to be experimenting with the concepts of bare brick and "massiveness". There is nothing else like it in his output, except for Crewe Green, Cheshire, of 1857-8 which is a smaller and less dramatic building. Strangely, neither are discussed by Cole in his book on Scott's work and clearly more needs to be known of their origin and place in the Scott canon.

A minor church which is very similar to St Andrew's in its planning and date is St Aubyn's Thringstone of 1862. The main difference was the addition of an apsidal north vestry, giving an attractive, double-apsed east end (cf. Christian's Leicester, St Mark ten years later). The Ecclesiologist thought the plan unusual but generally liked the church.[24] However, it had difficulty liking the intersection of the timbering over the crossing and would no doubt have felt the same about St Andrew's had it reviewed the church.[25] The apse was still a worry - "the roofing of the apse makes any dignified east window impossible". Brick polychrome was to have been used internally (cf. St Andrew) but in the finished work the walls were plastered.

At this point it is worth advancing a little in time to 1865-7 to consider another of Scott's churches in Leicester. St Matthew (under threat of

24. 22 (1861), 125. See plate 24.
25. Today the effect seems impressive; there were, of course, medieval examples, e.g. Luppitt, Devon, but The Ecclesiologist ignored these.

demolition as at January 1984), from its size and number of free seats for poor district, earned itself the name of the "Poor Man's Cathedral". In terms of its size and general planning it has much in common with other Scott churches of the period.[26] It remained unfinished, as other Leicester churches were to do, as the projected spire was never built, and the south-east tower which was to have carried it never rose above the eaves of the chancel. The style is again Early English (by this time, very popular), hence the bold, stepped lancets at the east and west ends. Each part of the church is under its own tall gable. The planning is very different from St John or St Andrew with broad, long aisles which are separated from the nave by the slimmest of piers, thus creating a very open space inside. The chancel arch is large. The effect is towards that of a hall church - in other words it is the alternative to the idea of a concentrated space with a vary wide nave and, at most, passage aisles. It is certainly effective in accommodating a large number of people but it lacks the sense of intimacy that was acheived by the extra wide aisle plan. The choice of materials is throughly High Victorian. The facing is pink Mountsorrel granite with brick and Bath stone dressings - a set of choices which is more enterprising than tasteful. Inside the arches have Bath stone and brick polychrome.

So far there has been no mention of foreign influences in local churches, although, polychrome is, of course, derived from Continental and, particularly Italian, rather than English precedents. The type of work Scott introduced at St Matthew is in the spirit, though scarcely the practice, of Ruskinian Venetian colouration. Early French capitals with rather flat foliage seem to have appealed to some architects. Slater and Carpenter used them in their rebuilt chancel at Edith Weston in 1865 but the most regular exponent was William Smith. He rebuilt Gilmorton in 1860-61 and used such capitals in his nave arcades. Otherwise his church is essentially English with little fanciful exuberance, and, indeed, most of his detailing can be found in local medieval work. The nave and aisles under separate gables are typical of west Leicestershire fourteenth-century church building. However, there are features which are definitely not copyist - the east window along with other windows (e.g. flush tracery in the vestry), the detailing of the gable crosses, and the gentle polychromy of the doorways, windows and arcades. Smith created this effect with Attleborough (sandstone) and Ancaster (limestone) stones.[27]

Local people were evidently well pleased with Smith's work since he was re-

26. D. Cole, The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott (London, 1980), 143.
27. LJ 19 Jul. 1861.

employed to carry out similar schemes at the nearby churches of Shawell in 1865-6 and Leire in 1867-8. At both he rebuilt all but the towers. Smith's beloved motifs of French capitals and gentle polychrome are found again in the arcades. Even the unusual device of squared syenite masonry is common to them both. The internal wall treatment is in drab natural coloured rendering (at Gilmorton the walls are whitewashed - were they originally?). Smith displays a typical High Victorian tendency to provide ornament such as notching on chamfers and foliage terminals on the tops of the priest's stall. But paradoxically and by contrast, some elements tend towards simplicity, in particular, the stalls at Shawell with punched thirteenth-century motifs, a device that Joseph Goddard was to take up with vigour. At Shawell Smith uses an interesting, almost symbolic hierarchy in the treatment of the north and south elevations. The north is less important and is much plainer, with , for example, twinned lancets whereas the south side has two-light cusped Y-tracery windows. The south elevation is also enriched by two horizontal polychrome bands of sandstone. The chancel windows are, as so often, more elaborate than those elsewhere, indicating the internal ritual hierarchy.

With theexception of the important church of Tur Langton, there is little of significance in the other churches of the 1860s. Shenton is another cruciform building, without aisles but the additon of a west tower. It is a confident piece if mid-Victorian church building with detail of around 1300 and facing in assertive rock-faced stone. Leicester, St Luke (demolished in 1950) was a routine aisled, Early English building by the Lincoln architects Bellamy and Hardy. The only feature of much interest was a spiralling stone motif on the semi-circular tower staircase, which expressed the upward progress of the stairs inside. Blaston, St Michael (now ruinous) was a small one-cell chapel.

The rebuilt church of Tur Langton, however, is of some importance since it is, after Leicester, St Andrew, the most advanced design of its time in the county, and the most striking example of High Victorian church building in it. The sources for its conception and the detail of its design will be examined after describing the background to the Goddard practice in the mid-'60s. Although it was built under the banner of H. Goddard and Son, the inspirational force was Joseph Goddard (1840-1900). He was articled to his father in 1856 and commenced practice with him in 1862. From that date a marked change comes over their church work, as seen in their numerous restorations described below. Henry's work in the late '50s and the early '60s, as exemplified at the rebuilt church of Kilby,

tends to be competent and uninspired and in no way reflects the rapidly advancing ideas of the time. Joseph, on the other hand, was keen to experiment and he threw himself wholeheartedly into the more fanciful aspects of High Victorian design; notably, in the secular sphere, his Clock Tower, Leicester, of 1868. The Midland Bank, Granby Street, Leicester, is a most accomplished piece of early '70s work and makes one regret that Joseph did not have the opportunity of building a church in the town during his High Victorian phase.

The old church at Tur Langton was very humble and dilapidated and was sited at an inconvenient distance from the modern village. In May 1864 the Trustees of the Hanbury Charity decided to entrust the Goddards with the restoration of the three churches in the Langtons.[28] Rebuilding was determined for Tur Langton and a field in the centre of the village was given by Sir Charles Isham. The initial designs were prepared in January 1865 and were subject to several important changes.[29] The earliest scheme envisaged two aisles and a slight transeptal projection on the south side. A little later this transept was abandoned and later still the south aisle was given up. At one stage a huge "catslide" roof was planned spanning the nave and both aisles. At this stage there was to have been a huge, rather French west portal. The reasons for the changes are not clear and may have been initiated either by Joseph Goddard or at the behest of the Hanbury Trustees, who finally paid out £1,500 of the £2,700 spent (that is £500 more than they had intended originally). The foundation stone was laid on 28 August 1865 and the church was consecrated on 4 October 1866.[30] To raise funds to meet the deficit, the Rev. J.H. Hill of Cranoe started his History of Gartree: the History of Langton (Leicester, 1867). He wrote grandiloquently but not without some justice when he described the book as "a lasting record of one of the greatest church restorations ever made within the memory of man, of any one parish of the Archdeaconry of Leicester, or Diocese of Peterborough" (see plate 26).

The church was built of English bonded red brick with Box stone dressings and a few courses of blue brick and blue brick also for the offsets of the buttresses and the hoods of the arches. There are thus some sharp contrasts of colour. As executed, the church has a north aisle, north-west

28. LC 14 May 1864.
29. Folio of drawings in the Goddard collection, Newton Harcourt Hall.
30. LJ 1 Sep. 1865; LC 6 Oct 1866.
31. History of Gartree ...., 5.

tower, nave, apsidal chancel, north organ chamber and south vestry. The tower has a red-brick spire with one tier of lucarnes set low down. This spire is in the local thirteenth-century idiom, transferred to brick. The church has Early English motifs, so popular in the 1860s, throughout. The north elevation is the one that faces the village whereas the south one overlooks fields and is generally seen from not less than a quarter of a mile or so, from the road to Church Langton. These circumstances led Goddard to treat then very differently. The south side of the nave has five bays with huge three-light windows with brick piers between each light and massive heads, each punched with three thinly-cusped quatrefoils. The effect is bold and best appreciated, as intended, from a distance. The north side is altogether more detailed. The aisle is fairly low and more picturesque, of four bays, each with twin lancets (the fifth bay is taken up with the tower in the angle between the aisle and the nave). Four punched quatrefoils form the clerestory windows. The transverse projection of the organ chamber is filled with a large three-light window with a large, simple rose in its head. The unbuttressed semi-circular apse (always an impressive device) has more structural enrichment than the rest with extra bands of patterned brick just above the base course and a ring of one-light windows. This hierarchical distinction between chancel and the rest is enhanced by the increased amount of elaboration in the ornamented ridge tiles over the chancel.

Inside, the church is totally different from anything else in the county. The red brick is exposed (cf. Leicester, St Andrew and very common later in the century) and is relieved by polychrome bands of blue and buff bricks. The building is suffused by warm lighting through the yellow-tinted glass. Only the sanctuary is dimly lit, due to a range of stained glass windows, by Heaton, Butler and Bayne. But the most distinctive feature is the restlessness of the detailing, which was very characteristic of Joseph Goddard in the 1860s. There are strong red, buff and black patterns in the tiling, the piers have shaft rings, the chancel furnishings are covered with floral designs and have boldy moulded corners. Most distinctive of all is the use of a order of lobed indentations in one order of the arches.

Tur Langton, although distinctive in detailing and forceful in overall design, is not wholly original but it does show a keen response to the more advanced trends of the day. In a general way it follows the Ruskinian precepts of constructional colour and flat surfaces but, more directly, it is an heir to the influential St James the Less, Westminster, by Street, begun in 1858 and completed in 1861, but without its overtly Italian elements. Tur Langton has exactly the same lobed brick as at St

James. William White's Lyndhurst, Hampshire, 1858-70 has similar strong internal brick surfaces and serrated edges to the bricks edging the arches. F. Preedy's Wythall, Worcestershire, 1862, for example, follows on from this type of work and Goddard must have been familiar with it too. The church borders on the "acrobatic Gothic" (a term apparently invented by Building News in 1864 when referring to the work of Basset Keeling) and there is nothing else to compare with it in the area. The nearest parallel is Scott's Leicester, St Matthew with its vibrant polychrome arches but the overall effect is very different and much more restrained there. By the time Goddard was called upon to build another new church - in the mid-1870s - his ideas had greatly altered and it is to his numerous restorations that one must turn for an overall appreciation of the church work of this major local architect.

RESTORATIONS, 1850-1870 - GENERAL REMARKS

The emphasis so far placed on the evolutionary phase of the 1840s obscures the fact that it was after 1850 that the greatest amount of church restoration took place in Leicestershire, rising to its peak in the 1860s. The following figures cover nothing less than a major reseating scheme, a new porch or major repairs: -

	No. of restoration schemes	No. of churches involved
1850-59	88	81
1860-69	141	119

Eighteen churches were restored both in the 1850s and 1860s and the figures make it clear that many buildings experienced more than one scheme of work during the '60s alone. By any standards this wave of activity was remarkable and the commission of enquiry despatched by the King of Prussia to examine it has been quoted in the Introduction (see p. 1). In the early 1850s the Rev. J.L. Fulford, one of the key figures in the Devon Ecclesiological movement, had remarked that "Church building and Church restoration bid fair to become, if they are not already, one of the marked features of our own times; both the number and character of the works executed, seem to stand out prominently amongst the doings of the day."[32] Appendix Two tends to underplay the volume of activity in Leicestershire. The emphasis must be placed on the phrases "sole restoration", "main restoration", and "major restoration" which crop up with great frequency in the '60s.

32. Trans. Exeter Diocesan Archit. Soc. 5 (1852-6), 124.

Despite the fact that there were many voices questioning the quality of what was being done (see Restoration or Destruction? below) most Victorians looked at what was happening with great pride. At the annual meeting of the ICBS in 1860 cheers greeted the announcement that 1,500 churches had been erected since the inception of the Society whereas only 2,000 had been put up between the Reformation and 1830.[33] By then the Society had assisted in the erection of -

1,197 new churches
697 rebuilt churches
2,376 church enlargements

They had helped create 1,092, 206 extra seats by means of grants of £559,758. At the local level, the writer of the article on the restored church of Tugby in 1858 compared the "disgraceful .... condition" of churches in living memory with the situation whereby in "the last twenty years we have seen Churches and parsonage houses in almost every parish either restored or in the process of restoration."[34]

The Bishop of Peterborough spoke in favour of church restoration at his Visitation of 1867 in Leicester, listing the rather repetitious advantages as follows: -

1. more frequent attendances at servives,
2. more fervour at worship, if only through the sympathy of minds that numbers kindle,
3. more decorous observance of rules (sic)
4. more attachment to the Church,
5. more love, therefore of Christ,
6. more fruits of love,
7. more souls made over to salvation.[35]

Since 1863, he added, 116, or about one-sixth of all the churches in his diocese had been enlarged, and partly or wholly restored. As shown on pp. 95-7, it is prodigiously difficult to quantify the validity of claims about the effect of restoration on church attendance, but it would be surprising if they did not have at least a little basis in fact. At the time there was a strong belief that well-appointed, richly built and decorated churches attracted people as a contrast to the drabness of every day existence. Many

33. LJ 7 Sep. 1860.
34. LJ 10 Dec. 1858.
35. LJ 11 Oct. 1867.

incumbents reported increased attendance to the Church Extension Association after their churches had been restored.[36] It is by no means frivolous to compare this attitude with that on the gin palaces from about 1830, with all their glitter and sparkle. Their view that such glamour would attract customers met with no small success.[37] It was devoutly hoped that the restorations of churches, and the building of fine new ones, would induce similar results. Restoration was thus a religiously based movement and as such it led to considerable changes in the fabrics and furnishing of churches. The architectural results were frequently drastic and certainly did not meet with unqualified approbation from nineteenth-century, and more especially, twentieth-century critics.

RESTORATION OR DESTRUCTION ?

Victorian church restoration has commonly been viewed as a refined form of destruction. It is appropriate to consider this point at this stage because the end of the '60s and the early '70s mark the end of the most aggressive phase of church restoration in Leicestershire. Much was done later, of course, to materially affect many churches but by the late '70s new and more cautious attitudes gradually made themselves felt. The landmark is the foundation in 1877 of William Morris's Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) and the influence of this important group is discussed later in Chapter Five.

The view of Victorian activity as destructive has been almost universally held in the twentieth century and, as such, is the heir to (and indeed a result of) ideas already vociferously expressed in the nineteenth. The restoring movement was to a large extent the consquence of the standpoint taken by the Cambridge Camden and Ecclesiological Societies and their followers. The fact that the Ecclesiologists came to dissapprove of so many of the works of ill-informed, often provincial architects is rather ironic since these restorations were but a product of the very forces they had set in motion in the early 1840s. At the very outset of its existence the Cambridge Camden Society promoted a model restoration of the Round Church in Cambridge under Anthony Salvin in 1841. This did exactly the sort of thing that later opinion would regard as disastrously destructive. It totally transformed the appearance of this important building, especially replacing the Perpendicular ring of clerestory windows with Norman style ones

36. For example, Asfordby, Croxton Kerrial, Croft, Earl Shilton, Enderby, Syston and South Kilworth (D.M. Thompson, op. cit., 180).
37. J.S. Curl, Victorian Architecture; its Practical Aspects (Newtown Abbott, 1973), 71-6.

which were considered more appropriate to the venerable Norman core of the building. The Camden Society and its successor were slow in formulating principles regulating what should be done, but since restoration as then understood was practically a new process, the learning-by-doing approach is scarcely surprising. But from the first the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture showed care on the question of restorations and as early as 1841 it was read a paper by the Rev. H.G. Liddell on the subject. He said "however much you may restore, you cannot recover the original work; and so you may be removing what is of the highest possible interest, to make room for work, correct indeed as a copy, but in itself of little or no value."[38] Another early and important tract on the subject was E.A. Freeman's Principles of Church Restoration (1846) which set out a note of caution. Freeman admitted that a case-by-case approach was inevitable but even he could appreciate the supposed virtue of removing the Geometrical and Perpendicular additions at Iffley, Oxfordshire, to leave a purer Norman fabric. Freeman's work received an enormously influential review in The Ecclesiologist in which the writer, for the first time, categorised restorations into the three types of Conservative, Destructive and Eclectic.[39] By Conservative was meant the retention of all the phases of a building whereas Destructive implied the approach common among medieval builders of not being afraid to sweep previous work away wholesale. The Eclectic approach steered a middle course by preserving where it seemed desirable to do so but not being timid about erasing parts where improvements could be introduced. The review in turn stimulated a debate at the eighth Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological Society where various people set out their own attitudes.[40] The ultra-cautious Conservative approach found few supporters but Neale, probably playing the Devil's advocate, actually announced that he could countenance the pulling down of Peterborough Cathedral if something better could replace it. On the whole it was the Eclectics who won the day and it was this position that the Society generally claimed to hold.

In the '40s and '50s there was much criticism of the current practice of restoration and one of the leading voices was that of Ruskin. As early as 1843 in Modern Painters 1 he had attacked it in an impractical way, claiming that he always felt the restored parts of a building to be inferior to the old, weathered ones. He renewed his attack in The Seven Lamps of Architecture, stating that age was the chief virtue of a building and

38. Quoted in Eastlake, op. cit., 204.
39. Eccl 7 (1847), 161-8.
40. ibid., 231-40.

that it could never be fully mature until after four or five centuries. This is a view which has been tacitly implied in most hostile reactions to Victorian work! Here Ruskin made his famous statement that "Restoration, so called, is the worst manner of Destruction".

It was next the turn of the practical architect. Scott read his paper A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches to the Architectural and Archaeological Society of the county of Buckinghamshire in 1848 and it was later published, in 1850. He set out a well-argued case for caution and stated "it is a most lamentable fact, that there has been far more done to obliterate genuine examples of pointed architecture, by the tampering caprices of well-meant restorations, than had been effected by centuries of mutilation and neglect. A restored church appears to lose all its truthfulness, and to become as little authentic, as an example of ancient art, as if it had been rebuilt on a new design. The restorer too often preserves only just what he fancies and alters even that if it does not quite suit his taste."[41] Scott maintained his position consistently (e.g. in his Recollections) and it is clear proof of the massive scale of the problem that his executed restorations so often appear to us, and his contemporaries (especially Ruskin) to fail to live up to his high ideals (see pp. 142-8).

Local architectural societies frequently took up the cause with some vigour. Typical was a letter from "An Old Member" in Archaeologia Cambriensis which spoke of "much needless destruction and rebuilding", and citing numerous cases of allegedly unnecessary work.[42] Just before the formation of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society in 1855, an interesting article appeared in the Leicester Journal.[43] The writer noted the work of the Societies in the adjacent counties of Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. "Their influence, we believe, has already been greatly perceived in the stimulus they have imparted to the desire of the fitting restoration of our village churches, and the improved tastes they have fostered alike in the clergy and the laity; so that now it would be difficult, if not impossible to perpetuate the slovenly and irreverent system of repairing and re-erecting churches, so long prevalent hitherto, and known as 'Churchwarden's Gothic' ." Clearly the author was well aware the Churchwarden Gothic was not the only problem since he goes on to remark on the type of things that go wrong in typical restorations. Particularly he condemns the removal of rood screens though he would not expect to see

41. G.G. Scott, A Plea .... (London, 1850), 20-21.
42. 5 (1859), 303-4.
43. LJ 24 Nov. 1854.

a new screen put up (a hint of Romish fears ?).

The Leicestershire Architectural Society was set up at a meeting in January 1855, chaired by Archdeacon Bonney. The gentry were prominent at a early stage, along with members of the clergy. Various names which have cropped up before in this study were among the early members - Earl Howe, W. Perry Herrick, Henry Goddard, E.B. Hartopp, Sir A.G. Hazlerigg, Benjamin Broadbent, the Rev. F.G. Burnaby, Lord John Manners, the Duke of Rutland etc. The new Society adopted in its Constitution an article "for preserving all ancient remains which the Committee may consider of value and importance". In practice, however, the Society never seems to have been so active as its neighbour in Northamptonshire, though, on occasion, clergy and architects did consult it. For example, Goddard and Son submitted their plans for the restoration of Cossington in 1864 and the following year they showed their plans for the new church at Tur Langton.[44] The Society expressed its regret at the need to rebuild Blackfordby but it did its best to record the building and to see that the new chapel was satisfactory. It was rather critical of the new church of Leicester, St Luke of 1867-8, remarking that "the details are not consonant with the progress which has been made in architectural knowledge during the late years".[45] From 1860 the Society's Transactions recorded work carried out in local churches and occasionally reported minor instances where the advice of the Society had been taken.

The ICBS could also exert a restraining influence and did so in Leicestershire at Ashby Parva in 1866. St Aubyn's initial plans involved the removal of the south doorway but the ICBS recommended the old stonework be kept and the doorway be turned into a recess.[46]

But destruction was an inevitable fact of life with so much church restoration going on at this time. In 1854 the Ecclesiological Society observed that in the previous twenty years about a quarter of all parish churches had been restored.[47] Rather later Thackeray Turner noted that no less than 7,144 churches had been restored between 1840 and 1873.[48] This was about three-quarters of the total. In Leicestershire and Rutland in the same period a similar proportion of churches underwent rebuilds and restorations,

44. Anon., The Leicestershire Archaeological Society 1855-1955 (Leicester, 1955), 15-17.
45. AAS 9 (1867-8), cxviii.
46. ICBS 3rd ser; St Aubyn's letter accepting the Society's recommendation is dated 6 Jul. 1866.
47. Eccl 15 (1854), 4.
48. Tschudi-Madsen, op. cit., 25.

the total being about 231 (a figure about which it is easier to be confident than Turner's suspiciously precise total).[49]

Obviously it is impossible to say how much of the rebuilding work was not strictly necessary in terms of structural prudence. It seems likely that a good deal of it was justified more on grounds of taste. Examination of the present walls of the workshop occupied by the Greetham building family of Halliday in the nineteenth century, reveals an array of medieval window tracery in amazingly good condition, and which can only have come from the numerous churches the firm restored (see plate 27).

There were some cases of local protest. One of the earliest seems to be in 1851 when, in an article about the repair work at Kings Norton, one "C.W." indulges in an excursus on typical restoration work In view of its early date and local nature, it is worth quoting its Ruskinian thinking in extenso:-

> "it is unfortunately evident to a critical eye that the alterations have too often been conducted by persons utterly ignorant of ecclesiastical design and whose works attest their total unacquaintance with medieval architecture .... [W]e think we may say that it is better to leave our churches as originally designed bearing all the marks of Time's wrinkle on their beauty than to restore them in a manner unworthy of their founders or allow ignorance merely to caricature their beauties by so-called Restorations."[50]

There was an interesting reply a week later by "An Amateur" who took a rather more practical line and mentions that "a few years ago" he had met Pugin at Gaddesby church. The great man is reported as saying "Never in all my travels at home or abroad, have I seen so beautiful a structure nor one in which I should love to restore the marks of 'Time's effacing figures'."[51]

There was interesting scepticism about Raphael Brandon voiced in the local press in connection with his appointment as architect for restoring Leicester St Martin.[52] A writer says "while Mr Brandon's high ability as an

49. Included in the 231 are certain churches built just before the Ecclesiological era and which were being restored in line with contemporary taste; e.g. Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity, Leicester, Holy Trinity.
50. LC 15 Feb. 1851.
51. LC 22 Feb. 1851. This alleged remark of Pugin's seems to have been hitherto unnoticed.
52. LC 23 Jun. 1860.

architect cannot be disputed, his restorations have created an impression that he has very little respect for old work; an ecclesiastical antiquary looking at them will say Mr Brandon generally makes a 'clean-sweep' of what is before him and puts a new edifice in place of an old one, leaving very little of the latter to remain." The writer goes on to say that such has been the case at Little Dalby and Humberstone (see above pp. 118-9). Certainly the fears were borne out at Leicester and, on the exterior, at least, the church looks an entirely nineteenth-century structure.

It is said that there were protests at Syston about 1861 when a fragment of dog-tooth work was "daubed over with stucco".[53] In later protests at Ratby and Long Clawson (see Chapter Five), the architects who thought rebuilding indispensible were overruled and successful restorations took place. The fact that there could be such a change of intention suggests that some of the schemes where rebuilding or drastic restoration did take place were not the result of structural necessity. In 1873 nearly one hundred churches in Leicestershire remained largely unrestored. Later only a very few of them experienced whole or nearly whole rebuilding which again implies that the numerous major schemes of earlier years cannot all have been occasioned by the near ruinous state of the churches. The following table attempts to show the fall-off in drastic action and points to needless destruction in the early years.

Table 9. The amount of rebuilding of Leicestershire churches, 1840-1914.

	Churches totally rebuilt		Churches rebuilt except for one major part (i.e. tower, or chancel, or nave).	
	No.	Average in 10 yrs	No.	Average in 10 yrs
1840-1873	6	1.3	18	4.2
1873-1900	3	1.1	3	1.1
1900-1914	0	0	1	0.7

A particularly good example of the way the Victorians swept away older work was their penchant for replacing east windows. No part of the church was so susceptible to change. There were two main reasons. Firstly, it seems that many windows were altered in the two previous centuries to a style that was no longer found acceptable. Secondly, the east window was of great importance as the east wall of the chancel formed the focal point

53. LJ 31 Aug. 1877.

of the congregation's gaze in the Victorian church and something dignified and beautiful was needed. It must be confessed that few medieval east windows in Leicestershire are or were of first rank and those at, say, Edmondthorpe or Market Harborough are exceptional. Simple intersected windows, Perpendicular and especially anything post-Reformation were all vulnerable. Scott was particularly keen on his own designs for east windows and in four of the eight Leicestershire churches where he had the opportunity to introduce a new design he did so. The criticism which met his rather unnecessary introduction of a Decorated design at Oakham was quite justified. The rest of the fenestration is Perpendicular and the new design was out of place both aesthetically and archaeologically. Table 10 summarises the introduction of newly designed east windows, including cases of rebuilt chuches where it would have been feasible to transfer tha old window design to the new church. The figures are, of necessity, indicative and cases where it is doubtful whether a window is new or not have been left out. Sometimes it is surprisingly difficult to decide about the age of a window - for example, Pevsner dwells glowingly on the east window at Wymondham which is of 1864 and not the thirteenth century as he implies.[54]

Table 10. The insertion of new east windows in Leicestershire churches.*

	Number
1800-09	0
1810-19	1
1820-29	0
1830-39	4
1840-49	17
1850-59	26
1860-69	50
1870-79	20
1880-89	18
1890-99	13
1900-14	3
Post-1914	1
Uncertain but 1800-1914	28
	181

* Dates are assigned where they are known or have a high degree of probability.

54. Pevsner, op. cit., 270.

A great many east windows appear to have been simple, post-Reformation mullioned ones (e.g. Bisbrooke, Lubenham and Willoughby Waterleys[55]), but these have now gone in most cases. Only very rarely, in still unrestored churches, do they survive (e.g. Great Dalby and Horninghold).

Similarly dramatic changes affected fonts. The pre-Ecclesiological history has been discussed in Chapter Two. The Victorians were very careful to preserve medieval fonts and the disposal of the fourteenth-century one from Market Harborough to St Mary-in-Arden in 1888 to make way for a new one is a distinct exception. Rather, they made a point of returning discarded examples to use and several examples have been given on p. 59. However, where no "decent" font existed it was usual to introduce a new one which adopted the large medieval proportions as a replacements for the small post-Reformation offerings. The medieval font was large because the method of baptism was usually immersion and, occasionally, submersion.[56] The fact that such methods were rarely, if ever, used in the nineteenth-century Anglican Church in no way diminished the Victorian desire to have a medievally-sized font. The most active time for introducing new fonts was in the 1850s and '60s (see Table 11). The approximate breakdown of the ages of fonts in Leicestershire is shown in Table 12.

Table 11. The ages of surviving fonts in Leicestershire.

Type of church	Medieval	1550-1840	After 1840	Doubtful
Leics <1550*	162	23	62	8
Rutland	40	3	6	0
>1550**	3	4	13	1
Leicester >1800	2	21	0	0

* Excludes Rutland. Includes churches which are wholly or partly medieval.

** Includes Leicestershire and Rutland

While there was great respect for medieval fonts, there was very little for post-Reformation ones. The unfortunate result was that many elegant Classical pieces were replaced. Perhaps the worst example of an insensitive Victorian font is at Withcote. An aggressive square font of 1865 with dark shafts and the ubiquitous "Suffer Little Children ...." inscription sits on top

55. Known from old photographs.

56. Immersion: the candidate's body was submerged and water poured over the remainder. Submersion: the body was completely submerged. The method usual in the nineteenth century was affusion - pouring water over the head.

of a couple of steps in a prominent position. This font, poor in itself, is ill-suited to the eighteenth-century interior at Withcote. A similar piece of disregard for an eighteenth-century building is found at Wistow.

Table 12. Post-1800 fonts in pre-1800 churches.*

Date of font	Number
1800-09	0
1810-19	1
1820-29	0
1830-39	2
1840-49	6
1850-59	20
1860-69	23
1870-79	13
1880-89	10
1890-99	5
1900-14	2
Uncertain but 1800-1914	28
	95

I.e. 29% of churches in existence in 1800 acquired a new font in the period 1800-1914.

* Almost every building had baptismal rights, though there may have isolated exceptions, such as the buildings mentioned on p. 57.

But it was not so much the restoring or renewal of individual features as the whole effect of the process which was the basis of so much nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism. Ruskin's and Scott's remarks quoted earlier concerned the fact that restoration rendered buildings lifeless, In the hands of a master like Scott, Butterfield or Pearson the result could be beautiful, engaging, imposing, or in some way creating a positive reaction. But so often minor architects or even major ones when they were working on a tight budget carried out schemes which left churches in a clinical, soulless state with sharp, recut stone surfaces, smooth wall-plaster and an uninspiring array of furnishings and fittings. A typical charter for such a result is the specification Raphael Brandon drew up for Oadby in 1848.[57] Having excavated a two feet deep channel round the church to reduce damp, he wished to rebuild the roofs, reseat, reconstruct the tracery of most windows, replace the wooden porches,

57. Report dated 29 Jun. 1848 in ICBS, 2nd ser.

erect gable crosses on the aisles, repave the building with stone or encaustic tiles, perhaps use the east end of the aisle as a vestry and to scrape and clean all the surfaces. Perhaps fortunately, this scheme was not executed - but many similar ones were.

Robert Winter Johnson is a particularly suitable example of a local man whose activities in churches gave restoration a bad name. He had a widespread practice based on Melton Mowbray but with offices in Leicester, Kettering and Northampton.[58] Apart from churches, he built and altered schools, houses, chapels and factories and was surveyor to the Melton Board of Guardians. He seems to have been responsible for no less than seventeen Leicestershire restorations between 1854 and 1883, all around Melton. One of his less unappealing works was Thorpe Arnold in 1875-6. Both he and Joseph Goddard submitted reports which indicated that much of the church was about to fall down but Johnson got the commission.[59] The church was consolidated and large parts rebuilt and Johnson seems to have taken great care to reuse medieval tracery wherever possible. However, the overall result is unexciting. Johnson was probably responsible for the upper courses of the south aisle which are much darker than the rest and create a harsh effect. The red deal of the seats makes a sharp, inappropriate contrast with the gentle limestone of the arcades. The porch has an excess of detail; it was clearly intended to impress, but the effect is overdone for this simple church. But for Johnson at his poorest one should go to Pickwell, restored in 1860-61. Fortunately the exterior was not much affected, and the south aisle and porch seem to have been rebuilt faithfully. But inside there is as miserable set of furnishings as one could wish for. The basic square-ended seats, the desk and the stalls lack any refinement whatever. The screen for a vestry at the east end of the north aisle is appalling - cheap woodwork with rectangular lights with crude depressed arches at the top. The dismal effect is worsened by the removal of the plaster from the walls.

The 1860s and early '70s were the time of many of the most destructive restorations in Leicestershire. Another grim example took place at Fenny Drayton in 1860-61 at the hand of the Leicester architect William Jackson (who, strangely, went on to carry out a fairly sensitive restoration at Scraptoft in 1867). He found the very sort of things that were ripe for removal at the time, such as a brick porch with a hipped roof, an eighteenth-

58. Architects', Engineers' and Building Trades' Directory (London, 1868), 121.

59. M.T.H. Banks, Thorpe Arnold (Melton Mowbray, 1980), 34.

century east window, a plain rectangular window on the south side of the chancel and a large plain window in the east wall of the south aisle.[60] The catalogue of change includes: -

1. harsh, plain flush-tracery windows in the south aisle,
2. brick for the lowest courses of the new work (was this ever meant to be seen?),
3. dull, slate roofs,
4. cheap, open-backed, moveable seats,
5. the insertion of a spherical triangle window in the east gable of the nave where no had existed before,
6. crudely applied texts over the arcades, spilling over from the ashlar surface on to the rougher wall fabric,
7. destruction of "haguscopes" (sic) when the new chancel arch was put in,
8. a cheap, thin iron chancel screen,
9. poor glass in the east window (which, in fairness, Jackson was probably not responsible for).

It is impossible to determine just how much old work was thrown out when refitting schemes took place. Post-Reformation pieces were, like post-Reformation architecture, particularly vulnerable and a great many Elizabethan and Jacobean pulpits and eighteenth-century fonts fell victim to Victorian replacements. The Jacobean pulpit at Belgrave was removed in 1857 and later given to the new church of St Michael and All Angels, Belgrave whence it also dissappeared.[61] Similar vandalism (to twentieth-century sensibilities) took place a little later at Barrowden when the pulpit of 1605 was sold off.[62] Perhaps more surprisingly a great many screens were removed. The list is long and therefore is presented as a separate Appendix (number Seven). Sometimes the cause of destruction was the unfortunate result of generosity. In 1865 "J.C.J." wrote to The Ecclesiologist complaing that gifts to churches caused old items to be thrown out, especially fonts.[63] Elsewhere the cause seems to have been simple lack of interest. A thirteenth-century piscina discovered at Shangton in 1851[64] has now gone, possibly at the chancel restoration of 1863. At Castle Donington some alabaster incised slabs were cut up to provide the material for an admittedly rather beautiful pulpit, probably around 1852.

60. See Nichols 4 (ii), plate xcviii.
61. E.K.L. Quine, Belgrave St. Peter's Church (Leicester, n.d.), unpaginated.
62. Kelly, Directory (1900), 377; fragments survive.
63. Eccl 26 (1865), 120-21.
64. LRO DE 837/3.

SPECIFIC RESTORATION WORKS OF THE 1850s AND 1860s (see plates 28-37)

If there is ample justification for criticising much of what was done, there are also many instances in which Victorian changes are to be admired. This section sets out to review some of the major restoration schemes of the High Victorian period and the intentions of the architects responsible. It covers particularly Ashwell, 1851, by Butterfield, Exton, 1843 and 1852-4, by Carpenter and Pearson respectively, Burley-on-the-Hill, 1869-70, also by Pearson, Street's work at various churches, a lengthy catalogue of Scott's activity and, finally, the work of Joseph Goddard.

Butterfield's only major work in the area was at Ashwell where, in 1851, he undertook what was arguably Rutland's most interesting restoration and one which embodies Ecclesiological principles to the full. His patron was Viscount Downe, who paid for everything and on whose extensive Yorkshire estates Butterfield had already worked in the 1840s. Butterfield had a great respect for the medieval work he found but, characteristically, none at all for the apparently seventeenth-century belfry windows and the "debased" clerestory.[65] The clerestory was removed and a high-pitched roof placed over the nave. Apart from Butterfield's assertive south porch little was done to the exterior and it is highly likely that the limestone and ironstone polychrome banding in the tower and chancel follows medieval precedent at the church (cf. as at the tower at Lowesby). This is also suggested by P. Thompson who points to the fact that Butterfield has been accused excessively of employing "streaky bacon" work.[66] But it is inside that the church is important. The atmosphere is remarkably sombre, stemming from the lack of a clerestory, stained glass everywhere (probably all of 1851; east window by O'Connor) and natural-coloured rendering on the walls. Such darkness, Thompson suggests, is uncharacteristic of Butterfield and he adds that it was only at Wavendon, Buckinghamshire, and Yealmpton, Devon, that gloom was deliberate.[67] However, the impression is that it was aimed for at Ashwell too. The furnishings and fittings are all by Butterfield, including the font and pulpit with lovely, simple geometrical designs. The sedilia are either by Butterfield or, less likely, very heavily restored by him. He provided a low screen with doors and an alabaster and marble reredos (rather unusual in this area at the time, perhaps because of Romish fears). The reredos is of three panels, one with

65. Known from a drawing of c. 1839.

66. P. Thompson, op. cit., 137. He adds that only two of over seventy stone-faced churches by Butterfield have colour bands.

67. ibid., 233

with the IHC symbol, one with a simple cross, the other with XPC. The benches are moveable and, as so often with Butterfield, highly uncomfortable for sitting and only slightly less so for kneeling. A sense of liturgical hierarchy is conveyed by the plain red and black tiles in the nave, yellow, black and red ones in the choir and four-tile patterned ones in the sanctuary. Similarly, the chancel roof only is decorated (with simple, stencilled designs). The decoration is more elaborate in the sanctuary and so is the structure of the roof - it has cusps on the arch-braces and these are given white, stencilled roses (on the east side only, hence they are visible only from within the sanctuary itself).

The next year, 1852, another major scheme was started in Rutland, this time at the large church of Exton under J.L. Pearson. There had already been one campaign after a serious lightning strike in 1843 and R.C. Carpenter acted as architect for the subsequent repairs. He drew up plans for a major restoration which included the removal of the clerestory[68] but all was not accomplished. What he did do must have been extensive since he claimed fees of £98 (implying £2,000 if his commission was the usual 5%).[69] Carpenter's work was probably confined to the tower and spire only. As it appeared when further restoration was proposed in December 1851, the church was an impressive structure, ranging in date from the late thirteenth century to around 1400 and involving some large Perpendicular panel tracery windows.[70] The dilapidated condition meant that much rebuilding work was needed but Pearson kept the general spacious character of the church but made various "improvements" which are hard to understand or excuse, had an archaelogically faithful (i.e. Conservative) restoration been in mind. He removed the embattled nave parapet and replaced it with a plain one, reduced the height of the aisle walls by three feet, raised the base of the chancel arch by six inches, removed traces of the south window in the south transept (and did not replace it) and altered the details of the porch. But most importantly he took out the Perpendicular windows (including the east one) and replaced them with totally new ones with elaborate pastry-cutter designs which bear only the loosest resemblence to medieval tradition. He introduced a bold hammer-beam roof - a Perpendicular form - in the nave to replace the simple tie-beam one. This restoration is clearly of the Eclectic type. Work of the "best" period - the late thirteenth-century arcades and two windows - was retained as is the cleres-

68. Drawings in the parish records (in Whitwell Rectory as at 1978)
69. "Exton Church Restoration or Rebuilding", Minute Book, 1851-4 (located as in 68.)
70. Known from surviving evidence and old drawings.

tory, presumably because such a large church would look inadequate without one, but the Perpendicular parapets and fenestration was eliminated. The interesting thing about the new tracery is that it is no longer copyist, as might have been expected in the 1840s, and it points the way to the more inventive High Victorian world.

Pearson went on to restore another Rutland church, Burley-on-the-Hill in 1869-70. It was apparently in a most "unecclesiastical" state. In 1862 it had "more the appearance of a domestic building of a very poor type .... There have been inserted in the north and south walls windows probably made by the village carpenter, apparently at the cheapest cost."[71] A small lancet at the west end of the north aisle was the only medieval window surviving and it was hoped that "when the parishioners become fully aware of the barbarism that was perpetrated here early in the century" they would use this window as a model for replacements. In fact Pearson retained this window but all the others are his own. Apart from the east window, all the others are under flat heads, mostly with a row of reticulations at the top. There was, inevitably, much rebuilding. The interior has a gloomy appearance largely due, as at Exton, to scraping and natural-coloured wall rendering. But it evidently pleased the patron for Pearl Finch, whose father had paid for much of the work, wrote with enthusiasm "Few better specimens of Mr. Pearson's work could be found" [!].[72]

G.E. Street began his work in Leicestershire in the early 1850s - South Luffenham chancel, 1852 and Normanton-le-Heath, 1854. His work at South Luffenham was completed in 1861 when he restored the rest of the church. He raised the pitch of the chancel roof which, though a common thing at the time, and indeed, even found around 1900 (last local example, Ashby Magna, 1907), created an odd effect, rising above the flat nave roof. Although eight other Leicestershire churches acquired such a roof between 1800 and 1914, it was not without medieval precedent as Nichols's drawings imply it for Aylestone, Earl Shilton, Peatling Magna and Willoughby Waterleys. Street removed the internal wall plaster in 1861 and added a pulpit of Clipsham stone. It was a good piece that might be expected of Street - a powerful semi-circular form with a base wider than the top, and large areas of plain stonework relieved only by an indented string half way up and roundels with dog-tooth surrounds and a moulded cornice. The seats are moveable. The work is structurally respectful of the medieval fabric, apart from a new, imposing east window with a five-

71. SM 4 Jul. 1862.

72. P. Finch, History of Burley-on-the-Hill 1 (London, 1901), 19.

light Geometrical design. Internally the atmosphere is sober and without charm. The pulpit though fine in itself, obtrudes in this modest village church.

It is also hard to be enthusiastic about Normanton-le-Heath. It is very much routine work and one suspects that Street was over-zealous in tidying up the stonework, particularly the now very precise north arcade and the south doorway. Street went on to restore North Luffenham in the 1870s and this is without doubt insensitive work. This is discussed on p. 197 but here it should be noted that he removed the wall-plaster, thus altering the character of the building. A.E. Street, while speaking of his father's work at St James the Less, Westminster, spoke of his "strong and masterful imagination not as yet adequately restrained by a sense of purity and beauty of form".[73] Street's corpus of restoration work has yet to be critically evaluated as a whole but the evidence from Leicestershire tends to show the traits noted by the younger Street could cause him to be less than kind to medieval buildings.

The numbers of restorations by Butterfield, Pearson and Street are not great and it is dangerous to draw too many general conclusions from them. The situation is a good deal easier in relation to George Gilbert Scott since he was responsible for a considerable number of campaigns, nearly all by about 1870 (see Appendix Three). These provide a very fruitful field of study since it is possible to assess them against Scott's clearly enunciated principles as in A Plea for the Faithful Restoration of Churches and his Recollections.

Scott's declared position can best be described as Eclectic with a tendency towards the Conservative. He was ready to admit that he had sometimes failed to live up to his own high standards but considered that much of the criticism of him was excessive. He was particularly pained by attacks (which he probably overplayed) from the Ecclesiological Society and the anti-restoration movement, e.g. Ruskin (which he certainly did not). He said that having repeatedly preached Conservatism he found it "hard to bear" the fact that he was now (1870s) made out to be "the ring-leader of destructiveness".[74] When one considers the work of Butterfield, Pearson and Street in Leicestershire, one is tempted to have a good deal of sympathy. Their works were by no means aesthetically bad but all altered the character of the churches they restored to a considerable extent and

73. Memoir of George Edmund Street (London, 1888), 37.

74. Recollections, 359.

could have been much more conservative, if judged by the standards of the 1870s and later. It is likely that Scott's problem, apart from, say, the disapproval of the Cambridge Camden Society over his designing a church for Lutherans in the Hamburg competition of 1844, was his very success. The sheer number of his works set him up as a target to be shot at. One can also perceive more than a hint of the unfortunate English trait of deprecating the successful man of business.

Scott worked in Leicestershire for the first time in 1850 at Waltham-on-the-Wolds. He was no doubt selected by the Rev. G.E. Gillett (rector 1831-71) who was a prominent enthusiast for church restoration in the county, as is indicated by the presence of his name on many subscription lists, and the fact that he was a founder member of the Leicester Architectural and Archaeological Society. He had already been the driving force behind a number of works in the '30s at Waltham (see Appendix One, plus a chandelier in 1835 and the north door to the vestry in 1839). To increase the seating and permit the removal of the gallery, Scott extended the four-bay nave west by one bay. The stonework was matched fairly carefully and the addition would not be suspected without a careful inspection. Scott continued the design of the Perpendicular clerestory but selected new designs for the additional aisle windows using designs from his favourite period of around 1300. The woodwork is good and so is the stone pulpit and the chancel tiling. There was no excessive reworking of medieval surfaces but the walls seem to have been replastered and whitened. Modest decoration was provided in the form of texts over the arches.

All this was middle-of-the-road work, displaying a respect for the medieval work combined with a practical sense of contemporary needs. As such it was typical of so much that was to follow. At Oakham in 1857-8 Scott was dealing with a very large church where the problems centred on the need for internal renewal. The pews and two dilapidated west galleries were cleared out and replaced by oak poppy-head benches. The choice between poppy-head and square-ended benches is a crucial one as they both produce markedly different effects. In a big, open church, such as Oakham, square ends create a dull, flat surface for the eye and the visual interest of the poppy-head type is welcome. Scott's woodwork at Oakham is excellent, particularly in the screens between the chancel and chapels. It uses (pl. 33) delicate, free Geometrical forms with thin shafts, with rings and cusped circles in the heads.[75] Minton provided the chancel tiles to designs

75. The carver was Francis Ruddle (1798-1882), a partner in Scott's builders Ruddle and Thompson (BN 4 (1858), 1147). He was a nationally known figure who did an impressive list of work (obit., Bldr 42 (1882), 236).

by Lord Alwyne Compton, Chairman of the influential Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton.[76] Scott thoughthighly of him, as he did of Ruddle. He spoke of Compton in his Recollections - "No one has equalled him [Pugin] in the designing of patterns, though I think Lord Alwyne Compton greatly excels him in arrangement."[77] Oakham has a good documented example of Scott's regard for the medieval fabric. Part of the north chancel arch capital had been cut away to allow the insertion of a screen. Scott left it as it was "believing that course to be preferable to inserting one which would not be a fac-simile of that chiselled in the fourteenth century." But Scott could not restrain himself over the east window and felt obliged to insert his own design in preference to the Perpendicular one he found. The Ecclesiologist was quick to criticise this arbirary decision, remarking that the new window was out of place beside the Perpendicular ones and that, if change was necessary, Scott would have done better to have sought his motif in the little Flamboyant window over the west door.[78]

At the same time Scott was busy at Theddingworth. He may have been brought in by the Rev. Thomas James, rector 1843-63 and Secretary of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society. Scott spoke warmly of James in his Recollections, describing him as the life and soul of the Society and as one of his best friends for about eighteen years.[79] Scott made many changes and displayed his usual dislike for post-medieval forms. He therefore swept away the continuous roof over the chancel and north chapel (as had also existed at Oakham) and substituted high-pitched roofs (with the same effect as Street's at South Luffenham). Not surprisingly he blocked the ringers' door in the west face of the tower (as was usually done in major nineteenth-century restorations - it was unseemly to have the ringers creeping through them and avoiding the body of the church and the service!). There was more alteration than at either Waltham or Oakham, so much so that "the church may be said, in fact, to be nearly new" wrote the Leicester Journal.[80] The north aisle was probably largely rebuilt. The north porch is new and has much timbering (is it of 1858 or later?). Inside, Scott acheived an atmosphere of sombreness - it "has a heavy appearance", said the Leicester Journal somewhat later.[81] Today this is

76. Bldr 16 (1858), 777.

77. p. 224.

78. Eccl 19 (1858), 415.

79. pp. 154-5.

80. 2 Jul. 1858.

81. 30 Jan. 1865.

enhanced by later stained glass but Scott's use of natural-coloured rendering and a brooding tie-beam roof seem to have aimed for this effect. In the same fashion as at Oakham, he left untouched the defaced capitals of the chancel arch responds and a defaced Norman abacus. He worked up fragments of a medieval screen into the fronts of the benches and used the design as the basis for the detail of his seats. But the mullioned windows shown in Nichols's illustration were replaced since they did not belong to an acceptable period. There is much refined detail in the furnishings, especially the metalwork of the lectern, and the pulpit with its variety of coloured stones let into alabaster. The tiles were again designed by Lord Alwyne Compton and made by Minton.[82] Oddly the arrangement is different between the north and south sides of the sanctuary (they include affronted birds and a fish in a vesica). The chancel contains the only surviving figurative wall-painting in a Leicestershire church with angels holding scrolls in cinquefoil surrounds. The other motifs include conventional bands with stencilled flowers and leaves, blank arcading below the eaves and coloured borders. The work may be by Clayton and Bell who provided the east window[83] but it has also been suggested that it could be by James's successor, the Rev. F.H. Sutton who was a gifted artist.[84] Sutton was a High Churchman with great interests in liturgy, decoration and organs and he certainly painted the organ case himself. He designed work at Ketton during his previous incumbency and may have been instrumental in securing the commission for Hoar Cross, staffordshire, for his friend G.F. Bodley.[85] The absence of any reference to the paintings in the 1850s makes the Sutton attribution the more likely. It is known, however, that the simple floral decorations on the roof of the south chapel and the ringing chamber are by the local artist C.J. Lea (see Appendix Three for details of his work).

Nowhere did Scott have a better opportunity to remove unacceptable work than at Leicester, St Mary de Castro where he carried out extensive changes between 1853 and 1860 after the dismissal of Joseph Mitchell. The most obvious task was the removal of the vast brick arch put up in 1800 in the south arcade and the substitution of three large late thirteenth-century style arches. He later rebuilt the north arcade and made just the sort of change he might be expected to dissapprove of. The thirteenth-

82. He also designed tiles for Earls Barton and Easton Maudit, Northampton shire, and Uppingham.
83. Eccl 19 (1858), 404.
84. Leaflet in church (n.d)
85. Anon., The Church of the Holy Angels, Hoar Cross (Hoar Cross, n.d.).

century piers are of a complex section and these Scott liked well enough to put back. The arches above, however, were altogether simpler, being of the standard double-chamfered variety and were clearly not rich enough for Scott's taste. He therefore replaced them with deeply, moulded ones, excellent in themselves, but not what the medieval builders put there. In the north clerestory the windows at the eastern end were standard three-light Perpendicular ones and these did not satisfy Scott either. They came out and the range of thirteenth-century lancets was continued all the way along. Just like Pearson at Exton, Scott was out of sympathy with the embattled parapet on the nave of St Mary's, and replaced it with a plain one. His justification was greater than Pearson's since, if one accepts the virtue of an Early English clerestory in preference to a mixed one, in archaeological terms a Perpendicular parapet might seem out of place (yet there were probably precious few plain parapets either before 1300!).

This desire to do away with embattled parapets is also exhibited in Scott's work at Ketton, where one is known on the south aisle from a drawing of around 1839. Here the decision is more difficult to accept since the aisle did and still does have Perpendicular windows. Yet he kept the battlements on the porch! The only justification is that the porch is a century later than the core of the south aisle (which is thirteenth-century) and therefore deserving an apparently later parapet type. The ultimate logic under Destructive restoration theory would have been to have obliterated the Perpendicular traces in the south aisle and reverted to the enormously steep thirteenth-century roof-line, a course so drastic that no-one would have followed it in practice.

But when it came to post-Reformation work, provided it was not of an exceptionally high standard, such problems did not exist. When Scott was chosen for the restoration of Lutterworth in 1866 he found himself faced with a tower whose lower parts were thirteenth-century and of about 1300 but a top stage which had been rebuilt in a heavy Gothick after the spire had fallen in 1703. Whilst the latter is interesting as a period piece it cannot be said to be beautiful and Scott saw no harm in replacing it and adding a parapet spire with details of about 1300. This was unexecuted but what was proposed plus his suggested additional north aisle (also unbuilt) for increased accommodation are to be seen in a wooden model of 1866 placed in the church. Presumably lack of funds precluded these ambitious schemes and another attempt to carry out Scott's plans in the 1880s met with no greater success.[86] What took place instead was a very extensive restoration scheme, including once again the removal of the

86. LJ 25 Jan. 1884.

embattled parapet on the reroofed chancel. Here the archaeological justification seems to involve the same curious logic as at Ketton. The windows are again basically Perpendicular (though very early, probably not much later than 1370) but the core of the fabric is thirteenth-century, including a lancet which Scott carefully opened up. The embattled parapet on the clerestory was retained, presumably because it was felt that it was appropriate to the Perpendicular style of the windows. Scott was careful in dealing with the north aisle, the north wall of which leaned out seriously. Rather than rebuild it, he straightened it as it stood. One curious and uncharacteristic thing was the fact that he retained the typically eighteenth-century chequered flooring in the nave and aisles, rather than replacing it with tiles as he normally would have done (it appears to date from about 1740[87]).

The rest of Scott's restoration work exhibits the same traits as those noted in the detailed discussions above. Sometimes there are things that jar on the senses like the precise, renewed stonework and the removal of the embattled parapets (again!) in the chancel and south aisle at Loughborough, 1860-63; sometimes a sweeping away of modern work as at Birstall, 1869; the use of beautiful rich mouldings which he loved so much, again at Birstall; sometimes a gentle, Conservative hand as at Asfordby, 1866-9, or Whissendine, about 1870 and (despite much renewal where it was necessary) Melton Mowbray from 1865. With Scott's enormous practice the inevitable question arises is, how much did he do himself and how much was left to assistants? This, for the present, is an unanswerable question but the impression from the documentary evidence is that Scott seems to have overseen the specifications and was responsible for the major decisions that have been discussed above. But whether he personally supervised a part of the work or not is perhaps not too relevant since, as the principal of the firm, the conduct of its affairs and the quality of the work were Scott's sole responsibility.

On the whole he seems to have lived up to his principles as they would have been generally understood at the time and would, presumably, have rejected criticisms of the Melton east window or the removal of various embattled parapets or the presence of so much renewed stonework at Loughborough. As for his interiors they are model works of the time, often including excellent detail, but inevitably involving a neatness which was a hallmark of nineteenth-century restoration activity. They can only be criticised if one totally rejects the concept and favours a Romantic

87. White, Directory (1877), 522.

untidiness. Certainly Scott was no more harmful than the other restorers of the time and, indeed, restorations continued to take place right up to the end of the century which were more drastic and/or lifeless than anything that Scott did in Leicestershire. His work has a classic quality to it for his lines and his details are always refined and the same cannot be said of so many lesser architects who worked on medieval churches in the area in the Victorian period.

This now raises the question of evaluating the work of the Goddards and, specifically, Joseph. Scott's work possesses a serenity and an elegance, the youthful work of Joseph Goddard did not. It is imbued with a stimulating exuberance which, had it been exercised by a lesser talent, could have had awful results. As it is, his work down to around 1870 occupies an important and worthwhile place in the local history of the High Victorian phase of the Gothic Revival.

Of Henry Goddard's work little can be said except that it was routine. It was generally careful, a quality that can be noted in his precise, neatly laid out drawings; by contrast, Joseph used confident, sweeping lines in many of his drawings, with a tendency towards vibrant colours until the mid-'70s. Though Joseph worked for his father from 1856, his distinctive influence cannot be seen until he became a full partner in the practice in 1862.

The first work of the new partnership was in the chancel at Stonton Wyville, 1863, and involved a new east window, a competent, though not particularly exciting, early Decorated design. At Saddington, in 1864, there came another east window (and no other work) which was more inventive. The four lights terminate in a strange composition of a tier of mandorlas and above them a cusped circle and reticulations. The font and cover at Leicester, St George date from 1865. These are now lost but the font seems to have been a typically florid High Victorian piece with panelled sides, spandrels filled with foliage, and steps of red Mansfield stone. The cover was nine feet high and "raise[d] its spiral form, with numerous arches, buttresses and pinnacles".[88]

The first major restoration where Joseph was involved was at Slawston in 1864. Little was done to the outside but inside the woodwork has a ferocious vigour. Specifically this involved: -

1. dog-tooth on the soffit of the arch-braces in the chancel and much tracery over the collar.

88. AAS 7 (1863-4), cxxvii; BN 12 (1865), 471.

2. In the screen, big, thick mullions and a tier of punched decoration near the top and a band of saw-tooth on the top rail.
3. More saw-tooth at the top of the pulpit which has two tiers of recessed crosses in panels with thick, stylised foliage between them.
4. More punched and saw-tooth decoration in the stalls.
5. Sharp dog-tooth ornament appears even in the opening ring of the south door.
6. All the members of the inner side of the south door have scooped chamfers.

When the work began at Church Langton the next year there was less of the riotous Goddard woodwork, though it does creep into the stall ends with their octagonal shafts, saw-tooth work and knobbly capitals to the shafts. But substantial, though very effective, alterations were made in the chancel by elongating the east window and introducing tall, one-light windows in its side walls.

But at the neighbouring churches of Glooston, 1867, and Stonton Wyville, 1869, Joseph Goddard gave full rein again to his favourite motifs. Both have idiosyncratic woodwork of the type at Slawston. In the benches at Glooston he was keen, as at Cadeby, 1867, and Lowesby, 1868, to clearly reveal the structure of his benches by making the diagonally-set tongue-and-groove boards clearly visible (a sort of Puginian truthfulness ?). The showy bellcote at Stonton Wyville is vintage Goddard (see plate 35) with many fussy mouldings and saw-tooth ornament over the bell-opening. It conveys that restlessness that is so characteristic of much 1860s work. But it would be wrong to imply that Joseph Goddard was prone to destruction any more than other architects of the time. At Slawston Perpendicular windows were left untouched in the chancel, and at the largely rebuilt Glooston a piscina and lancet were reset. At Stonton Wyville he heeded the advice of the Leicestershire Architectural Society by copying a medieval window.[89] The Goddards' specifications were usually careful to indicate caution should be taken over archaeological matters; that for Cossington, for example, specifies that if old wall paintings were found they should be brought to the attention of the architects and that medieval windows should be copied faithfully.[90] But in eight of the thirteen cases where Joseph Goddard had the opportunity between 1864 and 1869 to remove wall-

89. AAS 7 (1863-4), lxxi.

90. Specification in the Goddard Papers at Newton Harcourt Hall.

plaster or build without it, he did so. The effect, though distinctly characteristic of the nineteenth century, was not too disastrous in the area of main activity in the east and south-east of the county where attractive honey-coloured stone was exposed to view. But, at Cossington and Cadeby, where drab sandstone was revealed, the result is most depressing. There is no other obvious case of vandalism at this time but, in a different way from Scott, Joseph Goddard left his interiors with an entirely nineteenth-century flavour. The least satisfactory Goddard restorations occurred from the mid-'70s after they had lost their freshness and vigour and before they had achieved conservatism, but this is a theme for Chapter Six.

The spikiness and love of fanciful detailing in Goddard's designs was common currency in the late 1850s and, more prominently, in the '60s. This extremism was to have a short life-span and was doomed just as the whole Gothic Revival was doomed in the longer term. It was the sort of thing the critics of GO, such as William Burges, deplored. Even in provincial Leicester there were misgivings. In an obituary of William Flint in 1862, the writer says "Some of the younger architects .... seem bent on 'improving' Gothic by inventing what they call 'Victorian' architecture [the earliest local use of this term yet detected], which to our thinking is a mistake."[91]

But young Joseph Goddard was not alone and his work was generally more restrained than the leading exponents of GO. He never designed particularly extreme capitals (though, perhaps, because, apart from Tur Langton, he had no cause to build an aisle) though the corbels at Evington of 1867 have a good deal of foliate exuberance. In Leicestershire the capitals that Burges would have most disliked were put up when Joseph Clarke added the south aisle to North Kilworth in 1864-5. He provided polychrome piers with shaft-rings and topped them with an amazing profusion of foliage, crockets and floral ornament. This heavy vegetal clothing is deeply undercut and droops down in places, as if under its own weight. The whole design of the arcade is a piece of High Victorian fancy which has no relation to the rest of this fairly plain medieval church. When E.F. Law of Northampton came to rebuild the nave of the neighbouring church at Husband's Bosworth, 1867, it is as if he felt obliged to compete with Clarke. He too used polychrome piers and arches while his capitals seem designed to out-do Early English stiff-leaf. In places the foliage even rises above the level of the flat abaci. In the valleys between the arches Law added large

91. LC 18 Jan. 1862.

busts of winged angels.

But the most prevalent type of detailing from the late 1850s was saw-tooth (or indented) ornament which acheived a cheap and easy spiky effect. A few non-Goddard cases at random include Saxelby, 1856-7 (chancel roof) South Luffenham, 1861 (pulpit by Street), Caldecott, 1862-3 (on the shaft-rings on the altar rails), and Chadwell, 1865 (pulpit). It continued well into the 1870s on odd occasions, e.g. Thorpe Arnold, 1875-6 (pulpit), and even into the '80s as at Desford, 1884 (terminals on the stalls).

The exuberance of architectural treatment was matched by popular enthusiasm for restoration work. There must have been local enthusiasm for the type of thing that Joseph Goddard did since Church Langton, Glooston, Illston, Slawston, Stonton Wyville and Welham are all within five years of time and a radius of four miles from the centre of the group. Reopenings after restorations were often reported at great length in the local press. In the 1850s and '60s omnibuses and special excursions were arranged for the occasion. At the reopening of Tilton in December 1854 an omnibus was arranged to convey people to the opening from Leicester at a return fare of 3/-[92] - even on a chilly December day support could be expected! One of the last occasions of this type mentioned in the press is the provision of special conveyances to meet trains at Kibworth for the Stonton Wyville reopening of 1869.[93]

A further proof of the fact that restoration was not just for the professional architect and his contractor, is the considerable amount of do-it-yourself work that took place right up until 1900. It is a well-known fact that many architects subscribed to Pugin's and Ruskin's thesis that an architect should be capable of carrying out work himself. Butterfield, Street and Ruskin all attempted it on occasion. The only local case which emerges from the documents is Charles Kirk carving the pulpit at Houghton-on-the-Hill in 1860.[94] It was more usual for the architect to make a gift to the church, as Pugin and his builder did at Wymeswold when they donated the west window.[95] Often local people executed work such as the pulpit at Peatling Parva, 1879,[96] or the font and pulpit at Croxton Kerrial, before 1877[97]. However, no lady seems to have emulated the efforts of Mrs

92. LJ 15 Dec. 1854.

93. LJ 10 Jul. 1869.

94. LJ 9 Nov. 1860.

95. Eccl 4 (1845), 287.

96. Inscription.

97. White, Directory (1877), 198-9.

Matilda Charsley who carved the stone pulpit at Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, in 1869 as a memorial to her husband![98] Incumbents sometimes sought to express their faith by practical works, like the font at Teigh, 1845, and, apparently, the stripping of the wall-plaster at South Croxton, 1895.[99]. The most noted artistic clergyman was undoubtedly the Rev. F.H. Sutton, mentioned on p. 145. He designed the glass in the east and three other windows at Ketton, executed its painting and decorated some paving slabs under the tower.[100] He is said to have produced glass for Lincoln Cathedral, in addition to the work at Theddingworth already noted.

98. Inscription.

99. LJ 25 Oct. 1895.

100. Bldr 22 (1864), 138; BN 10 (1863), 51; RANHS 15 (1917), 58.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW AND REBUILT CHURCHES, 1870-1914

1870 is usually regarded as something of a milestone in nineteenth-century architectural history. By then it was becoming abundantly clear that architecture was following very different paths from what had been expected or, indeed, desired in the early Victorian years. The Gothic dominance was crumbling fast in the wake of new trends and by the end of the century it would scarcely ever be used for anything but churches. Church architecture fell increasingly into the hands of a new generation that was less steeped in the tradition of Pugin and the Ecclesiologists. This led to the use of freer forms which, while respecting the Gothic inheritance, displayed no subservience to a particular phase or style from within it. After 1870, and especially from 1880, restoration gradually moved in a divergent direction; there developed an extreme reverence for the past so that by 1900 the imposition of novel architectural forms in restoration work was rare indeed. By then, albeit after a hard battle, conservatism won the day; in new buildings, innovation within a loosely Gothic and sometimes Classical framework prevailed.

It seems sensible to divide the survey at this point into two distinct sections - one chapter dealing with new and rebuilt churches, another with restorations, and to chart the key features of each movement separately. The span of time - forty odd years - is a long one and covers a greater period than that since the publication of Pugin's Contrasts. Although it is clear that church architecture in 1914 was a very different animal from that in 1870, it is impossible to find any logical watershed within the period and the history of these years is best looked at in one sweep. There is a great range of types of church in Leicestershire in these decades and they spring from several different sources. The discussion is therefore set out with an examination of the individual churches and their national context.

THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL BACKGROUND

In 1870 there was great insecurity in the Gothic camp. That year Eastlake finished his History of the Gothic Revival. His final paragraphs on "Future Prospects of the Revival" read with all the ineffectiveness of the conclusion

of a schoolboy's essay. Eastlake had just written the first discursive account of one of the most extraordinary architectural movements ever; yet he had no real idea of where it was going. If Eastlake could not exactly bring himself to say as much, William Burges did. In 1868 he said that copyism had got nowhere and buildings that were not copies were no better: "both they and the copies want spirit. They are dead bodies; they don't live. We are at our wit's end, and do not know what to do. It is bad enough to see our faults, and to know how to correct them in future work; but there is probably no more depressing sensation than to feel the presence of faults and not to know how to correct them."[1]

Despite the fact that in 1870 some of the greatest Victorian Gothic buildings had just been built, or were shortly to be built, the doubts remained. A true "Victorian" style was felt to have eluded architects despite much soul-searching on the subject during the previous two decades. Early French architecture had been seen as a viable style and, at a local level, was used in a limited way in Leicestershire (see pp.122,125-6). But this hopeful source of inspiration seems to have dried up by 1870. The vigorous efforts of "Victorian" Gothic were petering out rapidly. The substitute, at least in secular architecture, was not of Gothic inspiration - it was the architecture of Queen Anne. Presently the Arts and Crafts movement would make some impact on church architecture (though in a limited way) and here the Gothic inspiration was very loose indeed. But the association between churches and Gothic was too deep-rooted to be easily overturned and it is possible to argue that the Puginian doctrine of "Gothic Architecture is Christian Architecture" was retained until after the Second World War, albeit with very much altered stylistic bases.

Within this disturbed scenario new churches still had to be built and, as far as Leicester was concerned, on an unprecedented scale. The forty years 1830-1870 had provided the town with six extra churches, the next thirty were to provide a further fifteen to accommodate the rapidly expanding population of the town (and this figure excluded various temporary and mission churches). New churches were also put up in the towns of Hinckley and Loughborough and on the populous coalfield area. The activity can best be summarised in a table (overleaf).

1. From "Art and Religion" in The Church and the World 3 (1868), 574-98, quoted by J.M. Crook, op. cit., 127.

Table 13. A summary of new and rebuilt churches in Leicestershire, 1870-1914.

	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-14	Total
New churches -						
Leicester*	5	3	5	2	0	15
Loughborough	1	0	0	0	1	2
Hinckley	0	0	0	0	1	1
Coalfield and area	1	0	3	1	1	6
Rural Leicestershire§	0	1	1	0	0	2
Total rebuilds+	3	0	0	0	0	3

Notes: -

The table excludes temporary and mission churches. There were at least nine of these in Leicester and seven in the county in this period.

* As defined after the 1892 boundary changes (South Wigston, 1892-3, is also included as this place is virtually joined to Leicester)

§ Burton-on-the-Wolds and Nanpantan.

+ Includes Bruntingthorpe where a small portion of the tower seems to have been left. In additon to these figures Bagworth, Croft, Shearsby and Thistleton were all rebuilt except for their towers. Chilcote and Oaks-in-Charnwood were greatly remodelled.

Architecturally the most significant activity was concentrated in Leicester, the only major building in the county being at Hugglescote. The major Gothic buildings had all been designed by 1885. As a group they show a marked diversity of style, a sure indicator of the uncertainties in architectural theory at this time. This is true particularly of the short period of time between 1870 and 1875 when four churches in Leicester, each by a different significant architect, exhibit very different characteristics.

INDIVIDUAL LEICESTERSHIRE CHURCHES AND THEIR SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

The foundation stones of St Paul's and St Mark's churches in Leicester were laid by the Bishop of Peterborough on the same day, 18 May 1870. The former was paid for by the Church Extension Association, the latter by W. Perry-Herrick. After St Andrew, St Paul is the most original church in Leicestershire. It was designed by F.W. Ordish (1821 or 1822-1885) and is probably his finest work (though his work at the Corn Exchange, Leicester, 1855, is of importance too). J.C. Traylen, who became associated

with Ordish in 1870, probably did not play a major part in the design (for biographical details of both men, see Appendix Three). Unlike the other major local churches of this period it is difficult to find a direct source for the ideas. The ground plan is conventional enough - nave, chancel with polygonal apse, aisles, porches and south-east tower - but it is the detailing which renders the church remarkable (see plates 43 and 44). In contemporary language it is "muscular". So is Ordish's later church of St Leonard (demolished November 1983), but there the strength was lost in a strange jumble of spaces and roof-lines. But at St Paul it is the good use of shapes and composition and the vigorous choice of materials which succeeds. The great pity is that the spire was never built, because of doubts about the solidity of the site.[2]

The first sight of this church is usually of the apse. The treatment is highly unconventional for the five windows are carried up beyond the eaves into prominent gables. In itself the device was not new. For example, Scott had used it in his cheap church of the Resurrection at Longton, Staffordshire in 1853 and again in the very florid work at Hampton Lucy, Warwickshire about 1857. Street had used a single projecting gable in his semi-circular apse at Firby, Lincolnshire, of 1858. It was also copied by provincial architects, e.g. T.C. Hine of Nottingham at All Saints, Nottingham, in 1864. But at St Paul Ordish makes his apse walls appear like pierced screens of glass and strips the Gothic detail back to simple forms. The windows are of three lancets with a big sexfoil above. What is particularly distinctive is that there is no hood-mould and no projecting coping over the gables.

The apse is predominantly of freestone but the rest is mostly rugged red granite. The dressings are of red Derbyshire gritstone, and Box and Forest of Dean stone and the roof is of Swithland slates.[3] The contrasted materials and the minimal Gothic create a most powerful effect. The windows are handled with a minimum of fuss - the flush tracery in the clerestory is curiously treated with different punched designs and a little polychrome in the central pair of lights. The tower has very little buttressing but the buttresses on the aisles are handled in a most unusual way for their time. They have utterly plain gabled heads which meet the wall at an incline. Similarly reduced detail is found in the stone rainwater heads which appear as simplified gargoyles. Oddly the aisles do not reach

2. J.E. Hextall and A.L. Brightman, Fifty Years of Church, Men and Things at St Paul's, Leicester, 1871-1921 (Leicester, 1921), 9.
3. ibid., 11.

quite to the west end of the nave.

The stark, simple lines are reminiscent of Brooks or Street, and are part of the common architectural currency of the 1860s. The geometry of the buttresses is reminiscent of Butterfield's adventures in some of his fonts, e.g. Horton, Oxfordshire, 1867-8 and others.[4] But the whole exterior has an individuality which reveals genuine creativity. The interior is good if less dramatic. The nave is wide and, as was becoming usual, there is little structural division between it and the chancel - only a slight narrowing and a polychrome arch set high up at the division. The focus of attention is the screen-like termination of the apse. The piers and capitals are faintly French. Above them the arches have little moulding but are decorated by bright structural polychrome in stone beneath a band of brick which acts, aesthetically, as a hood, though it is set flush with the wall. The spatial arrangement is simple, the lighting bright - both typical features in late 1860s churches. Of the fittings there is less to say, the only notable item being the font, an impressive square with minimal detailing on four stubby shafts and a central drum.

St Paul seems to spring from a complex series of sources which had been developing over the previous fifteen years. If Joseph Goddard was aiming for exotic elaboration in his work in the late 1860s (see pp. 148-50), Ordish's interest lay in geometry and studied simplicity. There would be nothing like either Tur Langton or St Paul again in Leicestershire (St Leonard's had bold spaces but more conventional detail) They represent cul-de-sacs in the Gothic Revival, a comment which cannot be made about the other church begun on 18 May 1870.

At St Mark Ewan Christian provided Leicester with its finest nineteenth-century church exterior. It occupies a focal point in the prospect up Belgrave Gate and is dominated by a massive south-eastern tower and spire and the twin, unbuttressed apses at the east end. It seems very high(pl. 45) and has the now customary unbroken roof-line over the nave and chancel - features which are best appreciated from the north side. The detailing is a free version of themes from the English thirteenth century. The dramatic quality is enhanced by the choice of materials - black slate from Perry-Herrick's own quarries which contrasts boldly with white Doulting stone used for the spire and dressings. The slate lends a powerful, brooding quality to the building which is particularly evident when the stone glistens in the rain. Christian also built schools north of the church and the whole group is a fine composition. The schools repeat various

4. P. Thompson, op. cit., 298-9 illustrates such fonts.

motifs from the church, including an apse. The south elevation of the church (largely hidden by other buildings) is rather broken up because, in order to squeeze the building on to the awkward site, Christian used transverse gables over the aisle, stepped back towards the west to follow the constricting line of the street.

Inside, St Mark gives an impression of breadth. The nave and chancel are really one unified space, with little formal division between the two. All there is is a light, double shaft and double roof ribs, rather than the single ones used elsewhere. The aisles are fairly narrow but a touch of exoticism is introduced by the treatment of the arcades. The slender piers are of polished Shap granite and the capitals have big crockets and upright leaves i.e. French and very High Victorian. The arches have buff and brown sandstone polychromy in much the same way as they do at St Paul's. The use of materials internally is a little disconcerting as the bare brick does not harmonise well with the large quantities of sandstone and the Shap piers.

It is easier to trace the sources for St Mark than it is for St Paul. In general terms it is in a line of descent from the town churches of the 1850s in which the "picturesque" and structurally compartmentalised building was replaced by the "sublime" and simple spaces. More specifically within that line of descent, Pearson's St Peter, Vauxhall (designed 1860) was a key building. It was regarded as the first completely satisfactory town church and had the same elements as St Mark - a high, integrated nave/chancel space, little demarcation between the two an apse and relatively small aisles. The major difference is that it is vaulted. In their churches the Roman Catholics seem to have evolved similar developments slightly earlier, notably Goldie's St Peter, Scarborough, 1856, and, closer still, E.W. Pugin's Our Lady of Reconciliation, Liverpool, 1859. The logic behind the Catholic developments was a desire to make the altar more visible and to bring it nearer the congregation. Inevitably this involved a reduction in the distinction between nave and chancel, an idea that Street had ventured as early as 1850 in his town church article. However, his reasons were a little different - "I .... advocate .... some unbending of the rigorous law which would oblige men invariably to make the chancel an architecturally distinct portion of the fabric, for I am convinced that greater grandeur of the building and greater dignity in the services might be frequently obtained by the infringement upon the ordinary rule.[5] Ten years later the subject was again of intense interest.

5. Eccl 11 (1850), 223.

In 1861 Beresford Hope addressed himself to the question and his solution was much the same as Pearson's.[6] He spoke in favour of large, spatially-unified churches with wide naves and small aisles. The nave should be tall, he maintained, and the eastern termination should be in the form of an apse. As he said a little later at the 24th Anniversary Meeting of the Ecclesiological Society (1863) "the complexity of medieval arrangement .... is outworn."[7] The next year he again demanded width and height and advocated centrally planned churches "magnificent in point of form, more convenient for preaching". He even put forward a strong recommendation for galleries (in the sense of a triforium) and shocked many in the process.[8]

The St Peter's, Vauxhall design was popularised in the 1860s, especially by James Brooks. His first church which involved some of the St Peter's elements was St Michael, Shoreditch, 1863-5, but it had a square east end and lacked spatial simplicity as existed at St Peter's. St Saviour's, Hoxton, 1864, was fully developed and, in a similar vein there followed several others in Haggerston, Clapton and Plaistow. The churches were exceedingly simple and relied for their effect on their fine proportions, clarity of line and strength of massing. Eastlake was most enthusiastic and pointed out that Brooks's churches undermined Ruskin's argument that "there could be no artistic quality in architecture which was not sculpturesque .... There is scarcely one of them in which decorative carving is a conspicuous feature .... The buildings may be said therefore to depend for their effect entirely on their plans and proportions."[9] This was an important observation and betokened the fact that for the younger architects the Ruskinian aesthetic was of diminishing relevance.

The Brooks interior which St Mark's seems to most closely resemble is Christ Church, Clapton, (designs 1870). They share an almost total lack of nave/chancel division, similar arcades, a wagon roof, though there are major differences too since Brooks introduced an ambulatory and no transepts.

St Mark was not completed in the 1870s due to legal difficulties over the site and was not finished until 1904. Then the westward extension was given different detailing on the inside, which does not always accord well

6. A.J. Beresford Hope, The English Cathedral in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1861), esp. pp. 213-15.
7. Eccl 24 (1863), 241.
8. Eccl 25 (1864), 223-33.
9. Eastlake, op. cit., 363-4.

well with the original building. In its heyday St Mark's had extremely lavish painting on the roofs by Heaton, Butler and Bayne, including a symbolic watery scheme and texts over the (former) baptistery (e.g. fish swimming among aquatic plants). The painting on the main roof is now much decayed.

Christian went one to built one other new church in Leicester - The Martyrs, 1889-90. It is more modest than St Mark's but is still a church of some merit. It has a plain red brick external surface inside and out, with simple Early English windows, a semi-circular apse to the chancel and a further apse for the baptistery at the west end. There is a south aisle but the north one was never built. The most dramatic feature is the south-esat tower which rises tall and sheer without any buttresses and has a faint resemblence to an Italian campanile. It carries a tall, pyramidal spire which has no broaches or chamfered corners and,as such, is the only example of its type in Leicestershire. This is a stark, effective device but by no means a new one. Butterfield had often used it, e.g. Baldersby, Yorkshire, 1856-8, Bamford, Derbyshire, 1856-60, and on the small bell-turret at Cowick, Yorkshire, 1853-4.

Chronologically, the next church after St Mark's was by G.E. Street - St Peter, of 1872-4 - a fairly conventional, serious building built of rock-faced sandstone (from Little Eaton) with Doulton limestone dressings. Once again, that Ruskinian principles do not apply is shown by the contemporary remarks in the Leicester Journal: it "is a satisfactory proof how much real beauty is independent of elaborate construction and lavish ornament and how much charm can be thrown over comparatively a plain and simple building by the harmony of its proportions."[10] The general style is Decorated but with earlier echoes in the clerestory and aisle windows. The emphasis is on steeply-pitched roofs, fairly large areas of blank masonry and solid, discrete masses. The clerestory and aisles have long, unbroken lines, punctuated by minimally detailed windows. The tower originally had a spire and the loss of this (about 1970) is unfortunate since the eye now dwells too much on the heavy angle buttresses and the stair turret. Once more there is very little division either internally or externally between the nave and chancel. Overall, this church is not Street at his best. Occasionally a little individualism comes through as in the massive gabled structures north and south of the tower; these include the porch and together with the tower itself form a sort of narthex. The rainwater heads, made to look like miniature castles, are distinctive enough to deserve notice.

10. LJ 17 Apr. 1874.

If Street is not at his greatest at St Peter, neither is Scott at his fourth and last Leicester church, St Saviour, of 1875-7. It was built at the sole expense of the Rev. F.G. Burnaby and cost him £12,000. It is a massive building of brick with Bath stone dressings. It has a nave, apsidal chancel (Scott retained his love of apses), aisles that were wider than the new fashion, transepts (fitted for seats and not for chapels, cf. St John the Divine, see p. 118), a south chapel, vestry and organ chamber on the north and a south-west tower and spire. The detailing is Early English, that is a move away from Scott's beloved Early Middle Pointed. Yet in the west façade he introduces an extraordinary Norman intersected arcaded, with finely detailed geometrical designs in the brickwork. In the pointed arches created by the intersections he places lancets (could this rather crude idea be intended to refer to the theory that intersected arches gave rise to the notion of the pointed arch?). The overall impression externally is one of bulkiness, a striving for size which is achieved at the expense of harmony and integration of the masses. Inside, the church is much more successful; it is a well-proportioned cruciform structure although the transepts are not very noticeable. The seating extends through to the east side of the crossing. The crossing itself is not as pronounced as it would be in a medieval church, where there would be large piers and wall masses. Rather the piers are marked out by their somewhat increased size and the fact that they are of polished Shap granite. The nave arcades therefore give the effect of continuing uninterrupted through to the chancel as there is no visual break and a great eastward sweep is achieved. When the eye rests on an arch it is not the chancel arch but that to the apsidal sanctuary. (See plate 46).

The four churches from the 1870s in Leicester - St Paul, St Mark, St Peter and St Saviour all display differing facets of church building at this time. No other permanent church was built in the town for another ten years and, when it was, it incorporated ideas which had not been put into practice before in the area. The church was St John the Baptist, Knighton of 1884-5, which gave Joseph Goddard (then in partnership with A.H. Paget) his first opportunity since Tur Langton to build a new church. It is arguably Leicester's finest church from the nineteenth century and certainly possesses the best interior. Externally it is very high and has the then customary continuous roof over the nave and chancel, the distinction being marked by a tall, richly detailed flêche. The fabric is red brick with freestone dressings. The east end is square and there is a mock north transept which actually serves as the organ chamber. On the south side there is a hint of a transept (i.e. a north-south gable)

but this does not project beyond the diminutive aisle. It is the north side which is the important one as it faces the road whereas the south side does not (Goddard adjusted the relative prominence of his elevations in the same way at Tur Langton, see p. 125). The overall impression is of an adaption of early French architecture, handled in nineteenth-century English materials. The essential feature is the handling of the walls so as to create internal buttresses and a gallery round all sides of the church. The source of this ingenious technique is once again Pearson, his St Augustine, Kilburn, started in 1870 and finished in 1880. In turn Pearson had derived his inspiration from Albi. St Augustine's is one of the truly great Victorian buildings and broke completely new ground. It was much admired and its concepts were often copied, notably by Bodley at St Augustine, Pendlebury, Lancashire, of 1871-4 and by Edmund Scott at St Bartholomew, Brighton, of 1872-4. (For St John, see plates 47, 48).

Quiney makes the point that St Augustine, Kilburn, is a building of apparently simple design but "the purpose is not to simplify or clarify, but the opposite; it is to give the illusion of great size .... Because the plane of the clerestory wall is not that of the main arcade but recessed from it by the width of the inner aisle, the nave seems to be wider by the width of the inner aisle, than its actual dimensions."[11] The same comments can aptly be applied to St John the Baptist, even though the building is neither as large nor as grand. The plan is of great sublety and achieves a wonderful sense of lightness and spaciousness. The interior arrangements are not what could be easily predicted from the outside - in contrast to the handling of churches in the '40s and '50s. The gallery runs across the top of the inner of the two narrow aisles and is approached by staircases at the west end. In the chancel area the liturgical space is narrowed by bringing the gallery inwards (i.e. making it wider); here it rests on stone screens which divide off "ambulatories" beneath the gallery "down which persons will return after receiving the elements."[12] The organ lies behind the chancel north gallery in a chamber and at the same level as the gallery; beneath it is a clergy vestry. From outside one passage aisle is visible but inside the full arrangement can be seen. There are two aisles, the inner one lying beneath the gallery and between the plane of the clerestory wall and the seating area (i.e. just as at St Augustine's). But unlike St Augustine's the arches are very modern in conception - low

11. A. Quiney, John Loughborough Pearson (New Haven and London, 1979), 111.
12. BN 49 (1885), 361.

segmental arches in contrast to Pearson's conventional thirteenth-century moulded ones. These are the first passage aisles built in Leicestershire. This device was first introduced by Street at All Saints, Clifton, Bristol, in 1864, and was his response to the debate on the modern needs of town churches. The emphasis was placed on the nave, and the aisles were reduced in size accordingly.

In Leicester terms another innovation at St John the Baptist was the western baptistery. This is a remarkably impressive part of the church and is totally different in character from the rest. It is divided from the nave by an arcade and lies beneath the wide, western gallery. Immediately west of the nave there is a passage and then two stocky piers and beyond these another space which extends beyond the west wall of the church (see plate 48). The area is low, because of the gallery above, and has a powerful, compressed quality that seems more in keeping with the work of the 1850s and '60s. After St John the Baptist, west baptisteries became standard in Leicestershire churches and a word needs to be said here about their history in the nineteenth century. Early on they had been opposed by the Cambridge Camden Society ("The English Church .... has .... no separated place for baptism"[13] but, later, they gradually made am appearance as Continental examples became known[14]. In Leicestershire, an area at the west end of the south aisle at Clipsham was separated (pl. 39) off by a low screen probably in 1858, but this was little more than a more refined version of the christening pew, popular in the eighteenth century. At Stoughton in 1866 the south aisle was extended west by 11 feet 6 inches to accommodate the font, but, again, this was structurally part of the aisle and not recognisably different in function when viewed from outside. J.F. Bentley's famous baptistery at the Roman Catholic church of St Francis, Notting Hill, 1860, was perhaps the first structurally separate baptistery. Though this was widely known and though there was discussion about baptisteries especially in Catholic quarters, Anglican architects seem not to have employed them until the 1880s.[15] Pearson's Truro Cathedral, begun in 1879, had a circular one in the south transept. From then on they became extremely popular.

Goddard and Paget started another church in the same year as St John the Baptist, but of a totally different character. St Barnabas (see plate 49) is an interesting building which rates

13. Eccl 3 (1844), 174.

14. Notably through Webb's Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology (1848).

15. J.G. Davies, The Architectural Setting of Baptism (London, 1962), 127-9.

highly for its adoption of modern, inventive ideas, but, sadly, rather poorly in terms of overall success. The Perpendicular style makes its first significant appearance in Leicestershire for forty years, having been banished as a suitable ecclesiastical type under Ecclesiological thinking. It was felt to show what Scott called "a want of religious feeling" and "contained some essential principle of corruption".[16] It returned in the late 1870s under the impact of the younger generation of architects such as Norman Shaw (e.g. St Michael and All Angels, Bedford Park, London, 1879-80), G.F. Bodley (e.g. St Augustine, Pendlebury, 1870-74 and Holy Angels, Hoar Cross, Staffordshire, 1872-6), J.F. Bentley (e.g. Holy Rood, Watford, 1883-90) and J.D. Sedding (e.g. Holy Trinity, Chelsea, 1888-90). Medieval Perpendicular churches tended to be spacious, light and began to minimise the structural divisions between the separate parts, e.g. tall, wide arcades, wide chancel arches, large windows, uninterrupted vistas from one part of the church to others. Victorian planning had already been moving towards such ideas from the 1850s, though the adoption of side chapels (an essential feature in late medieval churches) did not take place before the 1870s (fear of Rome, no doubt). Until the 1870s the wide and clear spaces were achieved within a stylistic clothing which took its inspiration from early work and, often, Continental rather than English precedent. Now fashion swung in favour of a later medieval style that was essentially English.

The High Victorian decades had effectively disposed of the copyist doctrines of the 1840s so that, when architects took up Perpendicular, they handled it freely. This is certainly true of St Barnabas, where another major artistic movement is to be seen stirring for the first time in a Leicestershire church - the church shows a strong impact of Arts and Crafts ideas. In summing up some of the key churches influenced by this movement, Service says neatly, "These buildings were designed in a manner that suggested a new style which retained Gothic roots."[17] The Gothic roots which the Arts and Crafts architects so often employed were Perpendicular.

Designs for St Barnabas were first drawn up in February 1884 and these were essentially as built.[18] Originally a south-west turret was planned and at one stage it was intended to top it with a rather ridiculously tall spire. As built, the octagonal turret, with open sides, was placed

16. Scott, A Plea ...., 93-4.
17. A. Service, Edwardian Architecture (London, 1977), 118.
18. Goddard Papers at Newton Harcourt Hall. As at Tur Langton the reasons for the changes are not known.

at the north-west corner. The west facade is a curiously jumbled, asymetrical affair. It has a low narthex (including the porch and west doorway) extending the width of the church. Above the lean-to roof of the narthex is a big, four-light Perpendicular window. There are lots of buttresses, windows and contrasted brick and stone, and the whole seems thrown together (as does George Vialls's slightly later west front at Belgrave (see below). The rest of the building has a continuous roof over the nave and the chancel, transepts and low, fairly narrow aisles. The exterior, apart from the west facade, is functional but has one very distinctive feature, a timber clerestory with virtually a continuous range of lights. This use of an English Tudor idiom must have appealed strongly to Goddard at the time. Quite apart from using Tudor themes, often quite ambitiously, in his large output of residences, he also used timber windows in the side of the porch at Ibstock in 1884-5.

As at St John the Baptist, the interior is not to be predicted from the outside. The remarkable feature is the arches to the seven-bay arcades - they are of timber, but sadly rather cheap in appearance. There are beams extending from the capitals of the piers across the aisles, which break up the aspect in the aisles. The roof is of the crown-post type (plate and has heavy, unpierced braces extending from the tie-beam to the collar. This roof, combined with the woodwork of the arches gives a rather ponderous appearance, quite the opposite effect from that at St John the Baptist. Nothing like it was attempted again in Leicester. Since it is not of the type of result usual in most late nineteenth-century churches, it is possible that it was not liked very much.

St John the Baptist and St Barnabas raise another important late nineteenth-century theme, namely, the raising of the choir and sanctuary. The Ecclesiologists sought to express the hierarchy between nave and chancel by a prominent arch and one or two steps at this point and a few more at the entrance to or within the sanctuary. They often sought to improve on the medieval builders who were much less particular on the subject of levels.[19] These were tidied up by the restorers and architects always

19. There are only two churches in Leicestershire (Aston Flamville and Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake) where the chancel floor is below that of the nave. The evidence of piscinas and sedilia suggest that at least 51 cases of level flooring existed, plus, no doubt, a step for the altar. At Shepshed the floor level sloped from the chancel to the west end (presumably down) in 1832 (LRO 245'50/1, 153), as still occurs at, for example, Banningham and East Dereham (both in Norfolk) to this day.

introduced steps in new churches. What changed in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century was the number of steps. The logic behind this that as the chancel and nave spaces were ceasing to be rigidly demarcated by an arch, some kind of emphasis needed to be given to the chancel space and the altar and fittings within it. The steps enhanced the visual focus and the place of the altar as the liturgical centre. At St Barnabas, therefore, the heightening at the east end is rather greater than would have occurred twenty or thirty years before. The most extreme case occurs at Bardon Hill, by J.B. Everard, 1898-9.

Another theme raised for the first time by St John the Baptist and St Barnabas is a new type of flooring material which had a material effect upon the appearance of churches from this time onwards. In the previous forty years tiles of various types had replaced brick floors in old churches, though stone flags remained acceptable. This supremacy was challenged in the 1880s and the material in question, as far as naves and aisles were concerned, was wooden blocks. This medium seems to have made its first appearance in the area at Ewan Christian's remodelled Oaks-in-Charnwood church in 1883 and was commented upon in the Leicester Journal as "somewhat novel".[20] Both of Goddard's new churches in Leicester had them and he also used them in the Ibstock restoration of 1884-5. The effect was utterly different from that created by tiles since the colour, an even brown one, was new and created a warmer surface and contributed to a more intimate atmosphere.

Table 14. Types of flooring in new, permanent churches, 1870-1914.

	NAVE					CHANCEL								
	Tiles	Wood blocks	Stone	Wood boards	Uncertain	Tiles	Wood blocks	Stone	Wood boards	Stone & tile	Black & white stone or marble	Marble mosaic	Composition	Uncertain
1870-79	7	0	1	0	1	8	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0
1880-89	0	7	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
1890-91	1	4	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1
1900-14	0	5	0	2	1	0	2	3	1	0	1	1	0	2

20. 3 Aug. 1883.

Table 14 shows the types of flooring placed in new churches from 1870 to 1914. It makes it clear that in nave tiles tended to to superceded by wood block floors and in chancels by a variety of materials.[21] The greater diversity in chancels is not surprising, as fine materials were often sought. The reappearance of black and white flooring is interesting since it marks the return to the eighteenth-century type, as survives at Kings Norton. Composition tiles were used occasionally, as at South Wigston in 1892-3. Where plain tiles were used they were usually small and laid herring-bone wise, e.g. as at the restored church of Prestwold in 1890.

To return to the subject of overall design, there remains one type of plan, very popular in the mid- and late-nineteenth century which has not yet occurred in this study. It is a variant on the cruciform idea and derives from Butterfield's pioneering design for St Matthias, Stoke Newington (1849-53). In addition to his contemporaneous All Saints, Margaret Street, St Matthias made a major contribution to the debate about appropriate plans for town churches. It was large, built of brick, had a prominent clerestory and was cheap (under £7,000). Yet the effect was fine and was much praised by The Ecclesiologist.[22] What was new was the placing of the "central" tower over the choir, whereas in medieval parish churches the crossing tower practically separates the nave from the choir, and is placed approximately half way along the length of the church. At St Matthias the tower is three-quarters of the way along towards the east end and uses his crossing piers to demarcate a clearly defined liturgical space but not one that creates a sense of strong separation from the congregation in the nave. The conventional crossing tower was grand to the eye, especially externally, but was most inconvenient for Anglican worship and the nineteenth-century needed a new solution which Butterfield provided. The idea was taken up widely by other architects (e.g. Street) and was in common currency by the 1860s.

No-one took it up in Leicestershire until quite late in the history of this type of plan. It would have been particularly suitable for a town church in Leicester but it was never adopted there. Instead it appeared first at Glenfield in 1876-7 and was yet another case of innovation by Joseph Goddard. It was his first new church since Tur Langton and his High

21. The only cases where wood blocks seem to have been used in chancels are at Nanpantan, 1888, St Augustine, 1889, Ellistown, 1895-6, Whetstone (restored by Goddard, Paget and Goddard), 1895-7 and The Martyrs, probably 1904. At Aston Flamville they almost certainly post-date the 1873-4 restoration.

22. Eccl 11 (1850), 233-6, 14 (1853), 267-9.

Victorian elaboration had clearly been replaced by stern simplicity. The material is crazy-paved red granite with strongly contrasted limestone dressings. The detail is all very simple and is based, very loosely, on Early English. It includes windows punched into the walls without hoods. The nave is aisleless, there are transepts (which spring from the nave, not the tower) and the tower is placed over the western part of the chancel. Inside one would scarcely imagine that a tower stands over this area. The planning and simple detail of Glenfield derives from the High Victorian developments of the 1850s and it clearly indicates that the florid phase of the period had run its course in Leicestershire. Only in the font do the Early English capitals and shafts hark back to more elaborate tendencies. (See plate 50 for the exterior).

The St Matthias plan was used in Leicestershire on two subsequent occasions, both within a couple of years of one another. Immediately after Glenfield came Hugglescote, started in 1878 and designed by J.B. Everard. It is a very powerful building and is certainly the most imposing modern village church in the county. The walls are faced with dark Bardon Hill stone laid in crazy-paving fashion with sharply contrasted dressings of Doulting and Ancaster stone.[23] Outside, the concentration of masses at the east end is particularly striking when viewed from the east; the tower is flanked by a square-ended chancel, a vestry (south), south chapel, organ chamber/ vestry (north) and a semi-circular stair-turret at the north-east angle. There are many varied visual effects, especially on the south, such as different roof heights, a hipped roof and a powerful chimney with short, squat details. The vestry has plain, square-headed windows, as occurred at many other churches at this period. This is another hierarchical idea since the parts of a church used for services had Gothic windows whereas the more worldly parts like vestries and church rooms received something more domestic. The tower has a low pyramidal roof but was originally intended to carry a saddleback roof and a small spirelet.[24] The latter would certainly have trivialised the design but Everard evidently liked the idea as he introduced it at Bardon Hill in 1898-9. The detailing is of the thirteenth century which accords well with the severe effect sought by Everard (see plate 51).

The interior is a very pure conception but a close examination reveals several asymetrical features to delight the eye and intellect. The overall design is of a wide, high nave with narrow aisles and a great sense of

23. BN 37 (1879), 564.

24. Drawing in the church vestry.

rhythmic movement towards the east. The horizontal element is stressed in the low, wide arches and friezes and stone bands above them. Concentration is focused on the chancel where the western crossing arch appears as an ordinary chancel arch. The tower does not in an way disrupt the impression of a conventional chancel. The polished Shap granite piers, a terra-cotta foliage frieze below the clerestory and an extensive use of shafts create a rich effect (see plate 52). The transeptal arrangements give varied vistas. from the west end one can just glimpse into the south chapel whose two-bay arcade to the chancel is not matched on the north. The existence of a western entrance precludes a baptistery there and it is placed to the west of the north transept.

The other church that was built on a cruciform plan was Blomfield's **Loughborough, Holy Trinity**, a dull building faced with Mountsorrel granite and built in 1877-8. There is no tower and the crossing is placed at the east end of the nave. Internally the chancel is visually subordinated to the crossing which has impressive hammer-beam supports to the crossing members in the roof. Apart from this and the nave roof (a variant on the hammer-beam type) the church is very conventional and has as little interest as most of the red-brick churches of the late nineteenth century (see below).

One church which is really in a category of its own is G.F. Bodley's **Leicester, All Souls** of 1904-6 (under threat of redundancy as at 1984). It is a long building with aisles and chapels and its plan and detail illustrate Bodley's love of the free use of Perpendicular. The east and west ends have three gables and the general impression is of a late medieval hall church. Pevsner could muster little enthusiasm for it - "A dull building, competent and serious, but not more", he called it.[25] It is hard to disagree with this judgement, at least as regards the exterior. It is really quite routine with long, low walls, no tower but a bellcote with very free detail that is too small in scale in relation to the adjacent nave gable. What is original for Leicestershire - although not, of course, for Bodley - is the east wall of the chancel. It has no windows for the internal surface is practically filled with a huge reredos.[26] Bodley also provided a splendid large reredos at St Mary de Castro in 1899, very

25. Pevsner, op. cit., 161.
26. Eastlake claimed the Catholic church of Scarborough, St Peter, by Goldie to be the first to have no windows at the east end. However, same could be said of All Saints, Margaret Street, with which Eastlake was very familiar.

much in the tradition of turn-of-the-century Anglo-Catholic church furnishings, a theme discussed separately in the next chapter. As with so many churches of the period there is much more to admire inside than outside, and reflects the trend to concentrate effort and expense on the parts used for worship rather than those purely used for show. It is dominated by tall, square stone piers and lightly-moulded arches which reach up to the springing of the roof, which is typical of Bodley's favourite type - a wagon shape covered with decoration. Only a Perpendicular screen marks the division between the nave and chancel.

THE RETURN TO PRE-VICTORIAN PRINCIPLES

The churches discussed above all have some architectural merit. In most cases their plans and details were born out of ideas that had been evolving from about 1850 and which in turn were developments of the architectural principles worked out by Pugin and his followers. It is noticeable that in these later nineteenth-century Leicestershire churches there is a tendency towards broad naves and a breakdown of compartmentalisation although the care taken in design and the handling of materials was as great, albeit different, from what would have been expected at the start of th Ecclesiological Revival. But the increase in population at the end of the nineteenth century and the tightness of funds for church building forced a situation in which grand churches could no longer be considered as the norm. There thus developed a very much simplified version, distilled out of the vast body of ideas relating to church architecture after 1850. The key elements can be summarised as follows: -

1. A wide nave.
2. A relatively small chancel with the chancel arch absent or very wide.
3. A continuous ridge over the nave and chancel.
4. The aisles are either absent or not very significant.
5. The use of minimal Gothic detailing.
6. No tower.
7. Vestries and/or an organ chamber beside the chancel.
8. The chancel area is raised by several steps above the nave.
9. A west baptistery is common.
10. Built cheaply (in Leicestershire brick is used).

The first five points could be said to apply with equal validity to the standard cheap churches immediately preceding the Victorian era. They all applied to the various lancet style churches discussed on pp. 39-40. The essential common principle was that people show be able to see and

hear the service with ease and without a major capital outlay on the building. Such objectives were not met by the lavish copies of aisled medieval churches. Beyond these fundamental points, there was a great deal of difference between the position around 1900 and that around 1830. Galleries and box-pews had gone, the choir was installed in the chancel, there was now an organ chamber and a vestry and worship sometimes tended towards distinctly High Church ideas, with the lavishness of the altar and chancel treatment that this involved. There was an emphasis on craftsmanship which was rare in 1830 and which led to many fine pieces being provided for churches (see especially the section on woodwork in the next chapter). But there was enough in common with the pre-Victorian architectural values to bring about a rather more than purely superficial resemblence between the church buildings of the two periods.

In all there are eleven churches of this type in the county.[27] There are many variations some of which attempt a degree of elaboration, not so far removed from that at Bodley's All Souls. To take a basic example, **St Michael and All Angels, Knighton**, by Everard and Pick in 1897-8 cost £4,500. By comparison the eastern parts alone of St James the Greater (see below) cost £7,900 just two years later. There are diminutive aisles, a lancet clerestory, an organ chamber/vestry, west baptistery and no chancel arch. The only device which gives the church any distinction whatever is the concave shape of the buttresses, a motif the architects reused at the much more imposing St Philip, North Evington.

This basic pattern which often became routine and mediocre emerged for the first time at **St Michael and All Angels, Belgrave** by George Vialls of Ealing in 1885-7. This church does display an attempt at a little elegance, though on the outside this is only in the west front. Unfortunately this is so confused with turrets (with an open-work parapet between), buttresses, miniscule baptistery and varied window styles that it must be judged a pretentious failure. Inside, however, things are of a different order. Here are five and a half large semi-circular arches stretching up to the eaves level. Each arch is divided horizontally into slightly unequal halves: above are two sets of twin lancets, each under a well-detailed super-arch. The lower part is, in effect, a triple-arched brick screen which leads into the (incomplete) passage aisles. The east end of the nave is canted inwards (as was that at St Leonard), thereby reducing the

27. In date order, Leicester, St Michael and All Angels, Belgrave, St Hilda (demolished), St James Aylestone Park, St Stephen, St Michael and All Angels, Knighton, St Augustine, St Alban, St Philip; in the county, South Wigston, Ellistown, Loughborough, St Peter. For details of dates, architects etc. see Appendix One.

PAGE

MISSING

IN

ORIGINAL

knowledge of the materials being used and must work in very close collaboration with his workmen. Although it was William Morris who was the guiding spirit behind the movement, it was Philip Webb who was the leader on its architectural matters. In architecture the Arts and Crafts spirit still has traditional roots - whether these be vernacular Tudor or ecclesiastical Gothic - and it draws freely on these to create designs with a freshness and simplicity that is far removed from the main stream of the mid-nineteenth-century Gothic Revival architecture.

There are relatively few Arts and Crafts churches of the first rank in Britain. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Arts and Crafts architects were not much called upon to design churches, and, for those that were being built, a rather traditional or simple cheap Gothic was required. There were not many buildings being erected which had a goodly budget for a high level of craftsmanship; these economic problems are discussed further in Chapter Nine. What does or does not constitute Arts and Crafts church architecture is somewhat elastic and it is very possible to argue that some of its elements existed before the movement inspired by Morris and his friends had much impact on architecture. Perhaps the most remarkable instance on church work is the shafting in Butterfield's porch at Bamford, Derbyshire, 1856-60, which bears an uncanny resemblence to Lethaby's internal treatment of his windows at Brockhampton, Herefordshire, 1901-2. Similarly, the characteristic chunky geometry of much Arts and Crafts work can also be traced in other pieces by Butterfield and, occasionally, others. Ordish's buttresses, south porch and other details at Leicester, St Paul are not far removed from the wide vocabulary of Arts and Crafts.

Like most counties, Leicestershire acquired no major church erected under the direct influence of the movement. There are a few instances of the Arts and Crafts spirit in lesser buildings and these need to be mentioned. In view of the rarity of such work the opportunity has been taken to also review examples in restored churches, rather than leaving this to the next chapter.

Leicester, St Alban is quite an accomplished building, designed by Howard H. Thompson of Leicester and built in 1905-6. It is similar in plan to several others in the town and, like them, is built of red brick with minimal thirteenth-century inspired detail. It has the customary continuous ridge over the nave and chancel and has narrow aisle. At the time it was remarked that "The architecture is simple and severe, and although there is a certain Gothic feeling in many of the features, there has been no attempt to reproduce a style of architecture, which was a living art

in past ages."[29] The arcade arches are very flat segmental ones (cf. those at St John the Baptist, Knighton). The east window is reduced to a row of minute lancets. The parapets and buttresses are like nothing else in the county. The former have low peaks halfway along each bay, like an extraordinarily flattened printer's bracket.Alternate buttresses have at the top a triangular section, terminating in little peaks in the parapet. The interior is delightfully fresh. It is light, has clear lines which have no sense of the routine and a feeling of functionalism that owes little nothing to the past. The western half of the nave is now partitioned off for community purposes and this results in the present area for worship being a compact intimate space. Originally it might have been a little barn-like.[30] (See plate 54 for the exterior).

The last of the group of brick churches was Leicester, St Philip, North Evington by Everard, Son and Pick and built in 1909-13, but it is as interesting as any. The exterior is characteristically plain but does have an odd mixture of sub-Gothic and sub-Classical ideas. The gable ends appear as broken pediments but the windows are lancets with Perpendicular tracery. The buttresses have bold, sweeping concave curves. But the really exciting feature is inside (see plate 55) where the bays are demarcated by great brick arches rising from flat pilasters. This dramatic technique was no doubt derived from the work in the Arts and Crafts churches of Brockhampton, by Lethaby, 1901-2 and Roker, St Andrew by Edward Prior, 1904-7.Along the side walls the passage aisles are reached through low segmental arches (as at St Alban). Reinforced concrete seems to make its first appearance in a Leicestershire church at this building; it is used for the roof purlins and the ridge piece.

The Goddard practice was always anxious to use interesting modern themes, so its adoption of Arts-and-Crafts-based ideas is no surprise. The work of Goddard and Paget at St Barnabas has already been noted (see pp. 163-5). At exactly the same time they used a similar vernacular timber design in the side walls of the porch at Ibstock. Rather later, in 1902, Goddard and Co. (no doubt led by H.L. Goddard) planned a big timbered dormer window for the new organ chamber/vestry at Whetstone.[31] Also projected were slanting buttresses. In the event the work put up in 1903 was much less adventurous. It was exceedingly plain but the square, rather domestic window in the east wall is worth mentioning.

29. AAS 28 (1905-6), cx-cxi.

30. As at Jan. 1984 there is the possibility that the worship area will be further reduced in size.

31. LRO DE 1722, bundle 8.

The only other work of any scale whatever is at Newtown Linford where work, proposed in 1914 and executed in 1915, provided a new organ/chamber. It is in a free Edwardian style, rather than being particularly derived from Arts and Crafts architecture. The doorways are most distinctive with flattened bracket heads. The only concession to ecclesiastical tradition is a little tracery in the windows. Otherwise the structure could be mistaken for part of a public building in the 1920s. The contemporary woodwork in the chancel is very much in an Arts and Crafts vein, especially the reredos with its carved flowers and grapes. The reredos at Broughton Astley, dated by its inscription to 1907, can also be mentioned. Its three panels have coloured carving which achieves a calculated innocence that was admired by the followers of the Arts and Crafts movement.

Perhaps the best place to find Arts-and-Crafts-inspired architecture is in lych-gates, rather than the main structure of churches. They lent themselves ideally to the possibilities of picturesque roofs and a timber superstructure. Two good examples are at Harston, with big chunky buttresses, and Thornton, with a large sweeping roof and figure carving over the tie-beams.[32]

ART NOUVEAU

If there is little Arts and Crafts work in Leicestershire churches, there is very much less Art Nouveau work. This hardly seems surprising because, no doubt, it would have seemed too decadent, too sensuous to have appealed to church builders and furnishers. Yet its influence is not totally absent, as a couple of examples show, minor as they are. In 1902 there was much tracery renewal at Aylestone; the forms were conventional Gothic but the leading in the tops of the chancel windows has an interesting, sinuous Art Nouveau spirit. Similar leading occurs in the clerestory windows at Leicester, St Alban where there are some most unusual art Nouveau light fittings. They are globes made up of metal strips (i.e. not solid) and bear blue enamel panels. They are utterly characteristic of advanced secular work of the time.

THE DEMISE OF GOTHIC

By 1900 Gothic was used only for churches. Its form was free but the fact that it was used at all indicates the depth of the association that had been established during the century between churches and medieval architecture. The will of the Ecclesiologists in establishing Gothic of the copyist

32. The Thornton example is a First World War memorial.

kind was immensely successful and the experiments that took place from the late 1840s were all conducted within a Gothic framework. These experiments took two main forms - one, the development of new detail and ornamental forms from medieval roots, the other, a return to functionalism. The Puginian doctrines were really anything but practical, despite what he claimed about the suitability of Gothic architecture and medieval models to the contemporary needs of worship. These doctrines stopped Georgian architecture in its tracks and forced an adoption of arrangements which had been used only infrequently in the previous century or so. What the early Ecclesiologists hoped for was that after the successful reestablishment of Gothic copyism, church architecture would devlop into a splendid new path which it had failed to take after about 1400. Men like Beresford-Hope strongly promoted the idea of such progress for the new age and saw in the developments of Butterfield or Street clear evidence of the success of the cause. The achievements in decoration and the grandeur of the new generation of town churches pointed in this direction. The brick church of All Saints, Margaret Street, the wide, open interiors of All Saints, Clifton, the mighty spaces of Brooks's churches and the splendour of Pearson's experiments were all hailed as triumphs of the development of Gothic. Yet at the same time these works can all be seen as carrying within them the seeds of the eventual demise of the Gothic Revival.

It can be argued that whatever the success of these experiments, they were leading church architecture back towards the very ideas that the events of the late 1830s and the 1840s interrupted. By the end of the century so many of the pre-Victorian values in church building had become firmly re-established. The evidence of the routine late nineteenth-century brick churches in Leicester is clear proof of that (see above). So often churches were remarkably plain outside with the real attention being focused on the internal arrangements, the fittings and their suitability for Anglican worship as it was practised around the turn of the century. This was influenced at many churches by the Anglo-Catholic revival, a High Church Movement discussed more fully on pp. 202-10. Yet, apart from the provision of side chapels, the material influence of this movement concerned such items as the English altar, greater numbers of sedilia, piscinas and aumbries, an increasing use of candles etc., rather than elaborate planning and architectural treatment. Simplicity of structure was the tendency of the time.

The ghosts of Gothic copyism had been effectively exorcised by the turn of the century and with them went the notion that the only truly Christian architecture was Gothic architecture. It took until well after the Second World War to totally dispel this idea but already it was becoming acceptable

to build a church without reference to Gothic motifs. In the 1840s there had been an abortive attempt to re-establish a Rundbogenstil Revival in England but, though Wyatt and Brandon's Wilton, St Mary of 1840-46 or Wild's Streatham, Christ Church of 1840-42 were impressive achievements, the movement came to nothing in the face of the overwhelming pressure from the Goths. It was only in the last quarter of the century that there was a renewed move towards post-medieval or early Christian forms. At Bedford Park, St Michael and All Angels of 1879-82, Norman Shaw was bold enough to introduce a variety of vernacular Renaissance details. Sedding designed the simple early Renaissance church of the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell (1887). As already mentioned, Goddard and Paget took up such thinking with the use of English vernacular forms at Leicester, St Barnabas and at Ibstock in the middle of the 1880s. Furthermore the detail of the font and pulpit at St Barnabas is close to Renaissance styling.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century the use of Renaissance detail in fittings and furnishings was becoming quite common, even in churches which had a Gothic-derived architectural garb. This suggests that many architects were intrigued by the post-medieval possiblities but could not commit themselves (or were not allowed to commit themselves) to a complete change of direction. The examples in Leicestershire are as follows:

1892-3 South Wigston by Stockdale Harrison: pulpit and font.

1893 Beeby. W.D. Caröe added doors with seventeeth-century detail to the fourteenth-century screen in this medieval church.

1895-6 Ellistown by Goddard, Paget and Goddard: font and stalls. Font cover with Jacobean detailing.

1897 Leicester, St Stephen by Stockdale Harrison (cf. South Wigston above); font (incorporates a cherub's head on the east side).

1897-8 Leicester, St Michael and All Angels, Knighton, by Everard and Pick; font.

1898 Thorpe Acre; pulpit, placed in a church of 1844-5.

1900-01 Leicester, St Augustine by R.J. and J. Goodacre; font.

1909 Leicester, St Hilda by Goddard and Co.; screen and stalls, which were referred to at the time as "Renaissance Perpendicular",[33] a description which could also be applied to the sixteenth-century ideas embodied in the font at St Augustine.

1911-12 Loughborough, St Peter by Barrowcliff and Allcock; pulpit.

The great acheivement of this period is the church of St James the Greater, Leicester by Goddard and Co. It built in two phases; started 1899-1900 and completed in 1914. The inspiration came from Bishop Creighton of

33. LRO DE 1722/11.

Peterborough who knew the churches of Italy.[34] H.L. Goddard recorded that one day, while visiting his father, Creighton "expressed a wish that the church should be of the Basilican type, similar to the Cathedral at Torcello .... which he particularly admired. It was arranged there and then that I should go to Italy." This he duly did, and made notes on a number of churches, including Torcello which provided him with "the general plan". It was an expensive church, totally different in style from anything else in the area. "Perfectly frank modern 'free Renaissance' ", Goodhart-Rendel calls it.[35] The original conception was even grander than the church as built. The first phase was put up in 1899-1901 but the west front and the three western bays of the nave were left unbuilt. Bishop Creighton hoped there would be a campanile and H.L. Goddard planned to have one, 130 feet high and rising out of the centre of the west front. Hementioned, rightly, that the campanile would give "proportion to the length of the nave".

The only part of the exterior seen easily is the west front as the other sides are obscured by buildings. Sadly this front does not have a great deal to commend it and is the unfortunate result of compromise because the projected campanile was never built when the church was completed in 1914. It has loosely Renaissance and Byzantine elements. The Byzantine manner had made little impact on English churches but was one of the options to be considered as the old spirit of the Gothic Revival waned. Byzantine ideas had been used as early as 1886 by R. Rowland Anderson for the Roman Catholic church of Galston, Ayrshire. William Morris had lectured on Byzantine art in 1879 and Lethaby published a book on Santa Sophia in 1894.[36] But the real impetus came from Bentley's Westminster Cathedral of 1895-1903. The Byzantine influence at St James's is not strong, being restricted chiefly to the two towers at the angles of the west front, topped by shallow domes. The rest is an odd mixture of Renaissance doorways, friezes, Corinthian columns, a pedimented gable (broken by a vase) over the centre part and, between this and the portals, semi-circular staircases. This facade and the space behind it were built in such a way that the pedimented gable could be swept away and the campanile raised if funds presented themselves. (See plate 56 for the west front, as completed).

34. This and other details following are from [G.F. Smith], Church of St. James the Greater, Leicester, 1881-1931; a souvenir book of the Jubilee Festival April 26th to May 3rd, 1931 (Leicester, n.d. [1931]), 22.
35. Goodhart-Rendel Index in the RIBA Library.
36. Service. op. cit., 81.

But inside St James is impressive (see plate 57). It is here that the Torcello model is most apparent. Early Christian architecture had been used before but infrequently, e.q. J.H. Pollen's St Stephen's University Church, Dublin, 1856, for Cardinal Newman (who did not favour Gothic) and Wild's Christ Church, Streatham. The nave is long and leads up to a chancel with substantially raised floor levels. This idea of the raised choir was claimed by Goddard to have been taken from San Miniato, Florence, and Santa Maria dei Miracoli, Venice. There is no chancel arch, only a different section to the piers at the junction. But, as at Torcello, it is the arcades which are of key aesthetic importance. The nave has eight narrow bays with tall sandstone columns (with entasis), prominent capitals and plain round arches. In the chancel the rhythmic progression is continued by three further bays up to the east end. Here the eye focuses on an impressive apse in which the altar is viewed through a round-headed arch. All the detail is based loosely on Renaissance work with strong turn-of-the-century overtones. The materials are bare brick with a further display of stone and terra-cotta. The aisles have blind arches along the side walls, pierced only by small medallion-shaped windows, over which angels drape themselves. The heads of the clerestory windows, the frieze below, the pulpit and other features are all of terra-cotta. Striking buff figures set against a deep blue majolica background enliven the apse and cancelli. The ideas for the majolica work were taken from the work of della Robbia, Goddard said.

The novelty of the style obscures the fact that St James's incorporates in the most delightful architectural form, most of the desiderata of late nineteenth-century churches - a light, spacious interior, little or no structural division between the nave and chancel, a raised area for the choir, a baptistery (in the space that was to have been beneath the campanile), a wood-block floor in the nave, and black and white marble for the chancel pavement. There is the customary organ chamber on the north side but on the south there is a morning chapel, a sure sign of Anglo-Catholic influence. Despite the controlled richness, the building is highly functional in conception. There can be no church in Leicestershire which demonstrates so well the enormous change in church architecture since the time of the Cambridge Camden Society.

CHAPTER SIX

RESTORATION AND FURNISHINGS, 1870-1914.

Despite the crises in architectural theory and the architectural profession around 1870, there was, of course, no question of not building the badly-needed churches. Similarly, there was no question of churches remaining unrestored and, in nineteenth-century terms, there was still a great deal still to do. Nearly one hundred medieval churches in Leicestershire were still largely untouched in 1873 and, in addition, there were several buildings erected just before the Ecclesiological era which needed updating. However, after the great burst of activity up to the end of the 1860s, there were fewer and fewer churches requiring major schemes. It is clear from Appendix Two, which lists restoration chronologically, that as the century drew to its close, there were less very extensive schemes and many more minor ones. Typical such works were a new porch, partial reroofing, a new floor or new choir stalls. Many of this type were undertaken to commemorate Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees.[1] But this eventual decline in activity was related also to what is certainly the most significant theme in restoration during these decades - the development of the concept that restoration should be conservation. Ever since the 1840s people had questioned the virtue of extensive restoration but despite the unco-ordinated protests of Ruskin, the local architectural societies and of architects who professed concern, restoration carried on for some while in much the same way as it had done during the three previous decades. However, by the end of the century William Morris's Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings was effectively combating many far-reaching proposals which might previously have been carried out virtually unnoticed apart from an approving notice in the local press. Its influence was certainly felt in Leicestershire by the 1890s. Another phenomenon that will need to be explored is the rise of the Anglo-Catholic movement. Although this was mostly concerned with liturgy, vestments and ceremonial in general, it did have some effect on the physical arrangements within churches. So did the Arts and Crafts movement, the main impact of which

1. E.g. in 1887 an organ at Leire, a screen at Leicester, St Luke, a clock at Sileby and rehung bells at Dunton Bassett; in 1897 a porch at Gilmorton, four windows restored at Diseworth, the tower restored at Thurlaston, the tower restored and a new stained window at Houghton.

has been discussed in the previous chapter. It was probably also responsible for encouraging the development of rich wood-carving, which had a notable effect on church furnishings in the closing part of the nineteenth century.

THE STATE OF CHURCHES IN THE 1870s

Before proceeding to examine these major themes, this is a good point at which to review briefly the general state of churches as they existed in the '70s. When assessing the condition of churches at the start of the Victorian age, the information in Archdeacon Bonney's Visitations was found to be very detailed and allowed a fairly clear picture to be drawn. In the 1870s the data is by no means so good. The returns for Bishop W.C. Magee's Primary Visitation of 1872 cover the whole area but the articles of enquiry have more to do with pastoral and religious matters than the state of the fabrics.[2] There are two which relate to the buildings themselves - one asks if the church is in good condition, the other whether any work has been carried out since the previous Visitation. 302 churches made responses to the first question that may be used here. In all but 37 cases the incumbents or their nominees replied that their churches were in good condition. It is tempting to think that these 78% may have erred on the side of giving favourable remarks but the general impression, as one might expect, is that churches were in a better state than around 1840. Some twenty churches seem to have been in what may loosely be described as "fair" condition - like those said to be "tolerable" (e.g. Horninghold) or "fair" (e.g. Foxton). Seventeen churches seem to have been in a very poor state - for example, Ibstock "should be rebuilt" and Stonesby was "In very bad repair". Sometimes there is, through the factual remarks, a hint of incumbents embracing the desirability of restoration. At Sileby it was the vicar who had offered to contribute liberally but these overtures "meet with little response in the Parish". At Thrussington there had been a "so-called " restoration about 36 years previously but "it much needs a real [vicar's emphasis] Restoration" (which it got under Goddard and Paget in 1877).

The improving state of affairs in the Church of England is mirrored in other ways. In Chapter Two (pp. 25, 27) it was shown that Communion was celebrated only four times a year or less in three-quarters of Leicestershire churches in 1842. By 1872 this had changed markedly. The figures derived from the 300 churches that submitted usable returns are shown overleaf:

2. NRO 594 and 595 (pages not numbered). 594 deals with the Archdeaconry of Leicester, 595 includes the Archdeaconry of Rutland.

3 celebrations a year	0%[3]
4 " " "	12%
5 - 11 " " "	29%
12 - 23 " " "	51%
24 plus " " "	7%

A few churches, and not just town ones, had celebrations once a week or even more frequently.[4] Some incumbents who held few celebrations, including the only one with three, said they intended to increase the frequency. These figures clearly show a great change from the pre-Victorian position and help explain the return as the main liturgical focus in a church. Non-residence of clergy was not a major problem any more. There were very few parishes where the incumbent lived more than a few miles away.[5] Usually the only situation in which clergymen were non-resident, apart from cases of illness, was where they held two geographically close parishes, and did not reside in one of them.[6]

For good data on the condition of churches at this time one must turn to a slightly later source. This is the Primary Visitation of Lord Alwyne Compton as Archdeacon of Northampton in 1876. The only part of Leicestershire that it covers is Rutland.[7] The returns cover 47 churches, not less than 43 of which (over 90%) can be said to be in good condition. The four problem churches were: -

Empingham - steeple in poor condition.

Manton - roofs poor.

Stretton - generally poor (eventually restored in 1881-2: the 1876 report helps explain why so much rebuilding was needed).

Wing - generally poor, apart from the chancel which had been restored in 1875 (the rest was eventually restored in 1885).

3. The accurate figure is 0.3% as one church - Newtown Linford - held only three celebrations a year.
4. These were Earl Shilton, Ketton, Leicester St Matthew, St Paul, St Andrew, Stathern and Swepstone. The greatest number was 72 at Earl Shilton: "about 70" were held at St Matthew's.
5. The incumbent of Thistleton resided at Grantham, the one for Tickencote at Glatton, Huntingdonshire, the one for Wardley at Bristol, the one for Little Bowden at Chelsea, and the one for Whitwell at Threckham, Lincolnshire. Four of these five churches were in Rutland.
6. Hardly worse than joined parishes like Hoby-cum-Rotherby.
7. NRO ML 826. Glaston and Wing were omitted in 1876 so I have taken details from the returns made in 1877; the other churches did not report fully then.

Such a generally satisfactory state of affairs would no doubt have pleased Compton in particular, in view of his efforts as Chairman of the local architectural society and his interest in designs for churches (see p. 144). It is really to be expected that things would be much better than around 1840, in view of the amount of restoration and the general interest in churches over the previous four decades. Of the 47 churches covered by the Visitation their structural history since about 1840 had been: -

Significant restorations involving the whole church or a major part (not less than the chancel)	32	68%
Apparently extensive repairs	4	9%
Unrestored	11	23%

The article in the Visitation about "trees on the walls" revealed no arboreal growth, and churchwardens at places with ivy on their buildings were at pains to stress that they did not let it injure the fabrics. Edith Weston boasted a "creeper" on the chancel walls. Clearly the vegetal situation had much improved from pre-Victorian times, when a total of six churches possessed often thick mantles of ivy.[8] Interments within churches had also been a major cause of floor subsidence and nauseous smells. There had been considerable pressure to have this practice stopped and in Rutland at this time, only the return for Normanton claimed that it was continuing.[9]

By this time the location of the font caused no problems, it seems, since in the 31 churches where its position is stated it was placed somewhere at the west end. Only seven (15%) churches declared that all their seats were free but it is probably significant that all but one of these (Teigh) had undergone major restoration schemes at some time in the previous 25 years. It was no doubt on these occasions that the change was made.

Clearly Rutlanders in the 1870s desired greater comfort than their Leicestershire counterparts around 1840. Only four churches (9%) appear to have had no form of heating. Where a method was specified stoves were by far the most popular, followed by hot-water pipes. However, as many as sixteen (34%) had no provision for a vestry.

One interesting point emerges regarding the existence of Commandment boards. Bonney's Visitations noted they were absent in only about 10% of the churches in the archdeaconry of Leicester. Compton's returns are clear in all but one case and in the 46 churches in question the Commandments were displayed in only seventeen (37%). The practice gradually waned during

8. Illustrated in GD.
9. The cryptic Normanton response "some in" may refer to the past however.

the nineteenth century, probably after the Liddell v. Beal judgement in 1857 which declared that the Decalogue could legally be omitted from the chancel. This may have been taken popularly to mean that it could be omitted from elsewhere. Probably, as restorations took place, the Commandments were not replaced. In Rutland now only four churches have Commandment boards: pro-rata Leicestershire (without Rutland) churches have fared a little better, with 45 churches displaying the Commandments (often in a reredos). The blunt pre-1840 technique of large lettered texts on simple boards held little appeal in restored Victorian churches and the concept of such boards as instructional aids seems to have disappeared. When they were erected, they tended to be small and relegated to the east end of the chancel where there was little prospect of anyone reading them without some effort.[10] Sometimes the old practice of placing them over the chancel arch survived.[11] In the second half of the century very few, if any, new churches were provided with them.[12]

THE REMODELLING OF EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHURCHES

The 1870s opened with a couple of schemes which radically affected two churches built in the late 1830s, so this subject can serve as an introduction to the general subject of late Victorian church restoration. Leicester, Holy Trinity was a modest, but, to modern eyes, not unappealing Georgian structure. The mid-Victorians thought otherwise and S.S. Teulon was brought in to correct matters. This was to be "The last of [his] great recastings",[13] and was Teulon's only executed church work in Leicestershire.[14] It bears a family likeness to Teulon's rebuilt church of St Mary, Ealing which was largely complete in 1866. The work at Ealing is on a much larger scale but both churches share Teulon's ferocious vision of Gothic. He cased the old building and added new parts in purply-blue Luton brick which contrasts strongly with the Bath stone dressings. As at Ealing the main entrance is at the (ritually) west end and there is a tower with a spire

10. E.g. in the reredoses at Church Langton, 1892 and Kirby Muxloe, 1856.
11. E.g. Waltham-on-the-Wolds, 1850, by Scott or the superbly painted ones (now lost) of 1860 at Market Harborough by C.J. Lea.
12. Loughborough, Holy Trinity, is a possible exception. The latest dates for Commandments that I have come across are at Swinford, 1904 (LRO DE 882/10; placed, oddly, round the baptistery), Mountsorrel, Christ Church, 1890 (AAS 25 (1899-1900), xxxviii) and Leicester, Holy Trinity, 1901 (AAS 26 (1901-2), liii).
13. M. Saunders, The Churches of S.S. Teulon (London, 1982), 39.
14. Work at Misterton (Eccl 18 (1857), 395 and 20 (1859) 77-8) was not executed.

rising out of the main façade. The tower at Ealing is flanked by turrets with staircases to the galleries and at Leicester a similar device is employed except that the turrets are relatively bigger and topped by pavilion roofs The details clearly reveal Teulon as one of Goodhart-Rendel's "rogue Goths". It is an extraordinary, free conception (see plate 59) derived out of Early English (as at Ealing). The most dramatic device is the spire which grows out of the tower via a host of gables.

The work at Woodhouse Eaves was on a much smaller and conventional scale, namely, the enlargement of the chancel to proportions more in accord with Victorian taste. The architect was probably Ewan Christian[15] and care was taken to follow the existing lancet design of the church. Christian was certainly the architect for the addition of the transepts nine years later in 1880 and here again the lancet model is followed. Usually alterations to pre-Victorian churches made not attempt to harmonise with the earlier work. The chancel at Woodhouse Eaves, and also St Aubyn's chancel of 1866 at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, are interesting exceptions to the rule.

By 1914 there was only one Georgian or lancet church (Donisthorpe) which had not experienced a major change. Hinckley Holy Trinity had been replaced by a new Gothic building in 1909-10. New chancels had been provided at Coalville in 1854, Leicester St George in 1879, Copt Oak in 1889, Mountsorrel Christ Church in 1899 and, finally, at Groby in 1912. Ewan Christian remodelled Oaks-in-Charnwood in 1883. This is a dull work though his use of Perpendicular forms at this relatively early date is of minor interest. So too is his chancel as it is well along the road towards the typical late nineteenth-century treatment - fairly short but with many steps up to the east end. There was little of quality to jeopardise at the Oaks but the changes at the pretty little 1820s church at Swannington were something of a disaster (see fig. 2 for the church before 1900). The detail of the timing of the work is not fully clear but it seems that G.H. Fellowes Prynne was brought in to rebuild the east end. This is poorly linked to the nave and there was evidently intended to be a structure north of the chancel. The arrangements south of the chancel are odd too and it is clear that the work was unfinished. Prynne cut away the east bay of the 1825 church and built at large chancel. However the restricted nature of the site meant that the new chancel was not on the same axis as the nave and the chancel arch sits awkwardly displaced towards the south side of the nave. The new work is intrinsically not appealing. Fellowes Prynne is noted for

15. The attribution to Christian is based on the fact he was there in 1880 and the use of dated rainwater heads, a Christian speciality, e.g. Nailstone and Leicester, St Mark.

woodwork but here only the roof bosses are of interest. Otherwise his general approach here is freely treated Perpendicular, typical of around 1900. The east window is particularly personal; it is of five lights under a Tudor head and combines Perpendicular and Decorated motifs in an extremely fussy, close-set design.

Clearly Fellowes Prynne had little respect for the early nineteenth-century fabric. Sibson suffered badly in 1877 under Alfred Bickerdike for similar reasons. The tower and nave had been rebuilt in 1726 by Francis Smith of Warwick and this, inevitably, involved large, plain windows in the nave. Bickerdike preserved the rounded tops of the windows but filled them with incongruous tracery. Inside the atmosphere is a strange mixture of Victorian and eighteenth-century work. The nave is wide and spacious and the seats are of the eighteenth century (with doors removed) but all this is in opposition to the High Victorian organ of large size, the pulpit and the (later) spidery Gothic screen.

A greater tragedy was wrought by Joseph Goddard at Saxby in 1874. This was one of the three important churches rebuilt or remodelled by the fourth Earl of Harborough in the late eighteenth century (see p. 10). Fortunately the exterior was left untouched but the interior was gutted of its eighteenth-century work.The pews, gallery and plaster ceiling were removed and the floor level was lowered by two feet. The new fittings and roof are very ordinary work and simply do not accord with the fabric. From an archaeological point of view the changes are particularly regrettable since the interiors at Stapleford and Teigh survive virtually intact and Saxby, if untouched, would have made the group complete and even more valuable.

Although the events at Sibson and Saxby show a cavalier treatment of post-medieval work, there are instances where the Victorians did show some respect for it. The survival of Teigh and Stapleford are significant. The work was of a very high standard and there was no large local population which needed to be housed in more efficient seating (nor was there at Saxby for that matter!). The only modification at Teigh was made at the end of the century when the rector replaced the round-headed windows with pointed, Decorated ones. However, these are such that no previous writers seem to have noticed the fact that they are not contemporary with the fabric; they certainly fooled Pevsner.[16] The nationally important work at

16. Op. cit., 326. The documentation for the change is obscure and seems confined to AAS 22 (1893-4), 38. The pictorial evidence from the 1830s was not generally known until the publication of GD.

Staunton Harold and Kings Norton survived to the twentieth century unscathed although ample opportunity to make alterations was provided at the latter after the damage caused by the fall of the spire in 1850. All that was new was a font (the old one had been crushed by falling masonry) and a few changes in the roof. The font is rather fussy but does attempt to capture a little of the eighteenth-century spirit. Brooke church is also of considerable importance having been remodelled about 1579 and containing much, probably early seventeenth-century furnishing. It was restored jointly by James Tait (nave and aisles) and Ewan Christian (chancel), the latter not normally noted for Conservative restorations. They did nothing to modify the late sixteenth-century work and they retained the furnishings. The latter seem, however, to have been rearranged but in a very careful way, which does not seem to have led to the loss of anything.

"RESTORATION IS CONSERVATION"

There had been many voices speaking out against what was involved in so many Victorian restorations, but until 1877 there was no unified body to channel the protests and put forward constructive alternatives. William Morris had long felt horror at what was being done. In 1855 he had visited Ely Cathedral and found it "so horribly spoilt with well meant restorations, as they facetiously term them".[17] He made his move to do something practical about the matter after visiting Lichfield Cathedral in 1876 which Scott was then restoring. Later that year he visited Windrush, Oxfordshire, and is said to have got the idea on that day to establish a society for the protection of ancient monuments.[18] The resulting Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) was set up at a meeting on 2 March the following year. Its foundation brought the debate into the open once again and a vigorous discussion ensued in The Times and the architectural press. Morris attacked Scott particularly as the person who had done so much to alter buildings and as the figure-head of the restoration movement. Despite Scott's protestations of being a conservative restorer, he did not strike Morris as such and nor is he regarded that way by the twentieth century (see pp. 142-8 for a less hostile view). For Morris ancient fabrics were "picturesque and beautiful" and gave a record of "the development of man's ideas".[19] These ideas were closely allied to Romantic associationism but there was also a practical advantage in a more conservative approach - it was demonstrably cheaper. However, the movement now formalised under

17. Quoted by R. Spence in 'A Rational School of Builders' (London, 1982), 5.
18. Tschudi-Madsen, op. cit., 67
19. Morris at the SPAB Annual Meeting, 1884, quoted by Spence, ibid.

the SPAB banner was by no means universally accepted, as the vigorous restorations which persisted to the end of the century and beyond amply demonstrate. Scott attacked it as a "do nothing system",[20] but the tide gradually came to run so strong that its changed direction was unstoppable and formed the basis of twentieth-century attitudes.

The views of the Society were strongly promoted by its members, especially Philip Webb. The initial Committee included only three architects, but in the 1880s and '90s SPAB attracted a body of younger architects who carried out its ideas. The energetic Thackeray Turner joined it as Secretary in 1883 and other important late nineteenth-century figures rather later - Detmar Blow and Ernest Gimson in 1890, W.R. Lethaby in 1893 and C.R. Ashbee in 1894. A crucial event was the restoration of East Knoyle church tower (Wiltshire) in 1892-3 by Detmar Blow working under Webb's direction. This proved to the world that the Society's principles could be put into action.

The Society made its first mark in Leicestershire in the early 1890s. The first campaign was a successful one and involved Long Clawson church.[21] A letter from John Howitt of S. Dutton, Walker and Howitt of Nottingham recommended rebuilding. The west wall was in danger of collapse and he remarked "The Church is practically devoid of any architectural details worth preserving ... Personally I should be sorry to destroy anything of the least architectural or archaeological interest but beyond certain limits it is money foolishly spent .... Would it not be the wiser plan to build a new Church?" These are astonishing comments in view of the fact that the church was a moderately imposing cruciform structure and contained robust Norman crossing piers. Howitt put forward a new design with a plan of the St Matthias, Stoke Newington type. The vicar got in touch with SPAB for advice and Thackeray Turner and J.T. Micklethwaite opposed rebuilding (Micklethwaite was not actually a member of SPAB but was obviously friendly to its ideas and was used to give "independent" judgment). By 1891 a faculty had been granted for rebuilding and an offer of £2,000 from the patrons was conditional upon this taking place. By 1892 the restoration lobby was gaining ground and SPAB sought help from the Bishop of Peterborough. He pointed out that he had no legal power in the matter since a faculty had been granted but he added "I will see if I can exercise any influence".[22] The decision to restore was finally taken

20. Archit. 18 (1877), 386.

21. The following paragraphs drawn from material in the SPAB archives.

22. Letter 15 Feb. 1892.

and the work was given to the Leicestershire architects, R.J. and J. Goodacre. This was probably not an ideal choice from SPAB's point of view since this firm tended to be rather aggressive in its restorations (e.g. Rearsby). The main problem was R.J. Goodacre. George T. Bankart, who became involved in the issue, wrote to Thackeray Turner "Mr J. Goodacre is a very nice man, and would I think take more notice of the Society than either his brother, or the "Reverend" [?] gentleman."[23] When the restoration was eventually carried out in 1893 there was a great deal of renewal, probably rather more than the Society would have wished. However, its economic claims were fully justified since the work cost about £3,100 rather than the £4,500 Howitt had estimated for the new church.

Ironically Goodacre (presumably R.J.) had been engaged in a much earlier (1879) rebuilding versus restoration debate at Ratby, which, in fact, did not involve SPAB. The circumstances were much the same as at Long Clawson. Lord Stamford, the patron, had offered £1,000 towards a new church but the parishioners convened a meeting and wished to have the old one restored.[24] They called for another architect to examine the building and if he agreed that rebuilding was necessary they would assist Lord Stamford with his plans. Evidently he did not agree since restoration took place in 1881 under Nicholas Joyce of Stafford and the rebuilding recommendation by Goodacre was overturned.

SPAB was unsuccessful or too late at Gaddesby in 1892 in disapproving of the work in the chancel. The vicar, R. Quarry, ruefully recorded "I think the scraping of the walls a mistake and the Bishop of Peterborough agrees with me."[25]

The Society relied upon approaches from local people but also took the initiative at times as it did over Market Harborough in 1895, on seeing notices of impending work in the press. Thackeray Turner wrote to the vicar that SPAB "cannot help think that it is somewhat rash to say that the upper portion of the spire must be rebuilt and not repaired."[26] Such phraseology is a demonstration of SPAB's interest in detail and concern about even minor architectural change.

The Goodacres again figure in debate involving SPAB and St Mary de Castro in 1899-1900. The Society thought the proposals (it is not clear what

23. Letter 19 Jul. 1892.

24. LC 4 Jan 1879.

25. Letter 5 Dec. 1892.

26. Letter 26 Jul. 1895.

they were) "far too drastic".[27] The vicar apparently sided with it and wrote suggesting that John Goodacre would be willing to talk matters through whereas his brother would not.[28] John Goodacre paid a visit to SPAB and was willing to follow its advice.[29] Subsequent correspondence indicates that despite good intentions the advice of SPAB was not followed and in 1903 Turner complained that although the tower had been pointed and decayed stonework replaced, cracks in the stair turret and steps had not been attended to nor had the stonework inside.

But the most celebrated case involving SPAB in Leicestershire concerned Leicester, St Nicholas and resulted in the Society being soundly defeated. However, the debate surrounding the work - the restoration of the tower - does illustrate widespread concern about destructive restoration activity and this case was one of the last where really drastic action seems to have been taken. Proposals to restore the tower in 1893 came to nothing and the matter was dormant until the spring of 1903. The controversy centred on how much replacement of ancient stones and tiles would take place and whether the recent (?1830) brick parapet and brick infilling of the windows and blind arches should be removed. Turner was in favour of leaving the tower exactly as it was, claiming that the proposals which involved new shafts etc. to the belfry window arches "to the ordinary beholder it will appear as a new tower".[30] The proposals for restoration had been drawn up by Charles Baker of Leicester and were aimed to restore the tower to its apparently original Norman state and the chief visual change would be the removal of the modern bricks which covered 160 square feet on each face of the tower.[31] These can hardly have been regarded as anything but ugly and one senses that SPAB may have tried too hard in its attempt to have little done. Turner, supported by Micklethwaite, the Society of Antiquaries and the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, found his protests unsuccessful. Examining the tower today, the work may be regarded as a little more drastic than one would wish but the Archaeological Society did have to admit that "The architect has been careful to preserve all the old stone that could be used again, and the panelling of the Norman arcade ... is composed mainly of the old stonework uncovered

27. Letter from Turner 1 Jan. 1900.
28. Letter 26 Jan. 1900.
29. Letter to the vicar from Turner 26 Jan. 1900.
30. Report from Turner 30 Apr. 1903. He had this reprinted in Builders' J. and Archit. Record 17 (1903), 261, most local newspapers, and probably elsewhere too, in order to gain support for the SPAB cause.
31. LJ 26 May 1905.

by the removal of the bricks".[32] But, it added, "At the same time, the tower now looks like a new building".

The repercussions of the St Nicholas controversy were felt at St Margaret in 1905-6 when proposals to restore the tower under W.D. Caröe attracted the notice of SPAB. The vicar was urged to consult the Society and was reminded of "that atrocious bit of vandalism known as the restoration of St Nicholas Tower".[33] Nothing happened until 1910 when the project, still with Caröe as architect, was revived. Thackeray Turner suggested that the estimated £3,000 was excessive, visited the church, and engaged in a discussion with Caröe as to how to preserve the stonework. As a result of this Caröe did modify certain of his plans.[34]

The value of SPAB's message and the need for professional advice is well illustrated in the correspondence regarding Belton-in-Rutland. In response to an enquiry from SPAB, the Rev. C.J. Rowland Berkeley says, "I am fully alive to the great mischief that has been done to so many of our Ancient Churches".[35] He lists the intended works as including a new nave roof, opening the tower arch, removal of the pews and gallery, replastering the walls and various repair works. He then adds the amazing remark "In all this you will see that there is very little necessity for the opinions of an expert" - but he will contact the Society if he thinks further advice desirable! SPAB was not involved further other than a suggestion from Turner that complete replastering was "a somewhat serious proposal". The work went ahead later in the year under W. Talbot Brown and Fisher of Wellingborough. Despite the renewal of the plaster, the work was carefully done: little happened outside and, inside, a high quality set of furnishings was provided.

At Ashby-de-la-Zouch, St Helen, Thackeray Turner's zealous efforts in following up reports of intended work perhaps bore belated fruit. In fact his enquiry in 1893 received the answer that the church had already been restored but in 1878-80 by St Aubyn and that nothing was now planned. But in 1911 SPAB was consulted over repairs to the nave roof and tower. The Building Commmittee appointed by the church resolved to entrust the work to the Society. It was carried out in 1912 by A.R. Powys on behalf of SPAB.[36]

32. AAS 28 (1905-6), xlv.
33. Letter 31 May 1906 from H.H. Peach to the Rev. A.M. Rendell.
34. Letters 23 Sep., 28 Oct. 1910.
35. Letter 9 Feb. 1897.
36. AAS 31 (1911-12), xcv; SPAB archive.

Even where it was not involved directly, the ideas espoused by SPAB were taken up by various younger architects working in the area. Perhaps the most important of these was J.C. Traylen who for many years acted as Diocesan Architect to the Dioceses of Lincoln and Peterborough. His series of restorations in Rutland are models of conservatism. There is nothing obtrusive about his first recorded Rutland restoration at Essendine in 1888, but the documentary evidence does suggest a fairly far-reaching undertaking. The floor levels were lowered by one foot and he rebuilt the west wall and the thirteenth-century bellcote stone by stone and one would not now think that the nineteenth century had had anything to do with it. The next year he started work on the aisles and nave at Lyddington. At the same time Ewan Christian was employed on the chancel. There is quite a contrast because Christian stripped the wall plaster, a thing Traylen never did. Traylen was not over-zealous in tidying up stonework to give a precise, even effect. He was careful at Lyddington to retain the scars of the north and south doorways. Naturally, he preserved the late medieval wall paintings. In reflooring the church he used stone which helps create a soft-coloured surface. This effect is far-removed in spirit from strongly coloured tiles, which were declining rapidly in popularity at this time. Similar sensitive work took place at Braunston in 1890, including the preservation of mural paintings once more and the return to use of the Norman font whose broken pieces were put back together.However, conservatism did not extend to the west gallery and box-pews and these were ejected.

Another Rutland restoration along similar lines was by J. Arthur Reeve at Stoke Dry in 1898. This church, with its richness of wall-paintings (including post-Reformation work), woodwork, a low p ster wall between the south aisle and the chapel (a sure target for a mid-Victorian restorer), bears no trace of a heavy Victorian hand. There was a considerable amount of work on the south side in the seventeenth century but the resultant porch and fenestration has been left intact. Work of such a period would have been most unlikely to survive a mid-Victorian restorer and this respect for post-Reformation work was a major advance in the later years of the nineteenth century. It is a fortunate fact about Rutland churches that a high number have pre-1700 wall paintings of some distinction. The particularly significant ones are Braunston, Little Casterton, Lyddington and Stoke Dry and worthwhile, but more fragmentary ones survive at Ayston, Great Casterton, Ketton and Uppingham. Of these groups only Ketton and Uppingham were restored in a major way in the period 1840-85 (and in these cases the paintings are only foliage decoration on the arches). This may reveal

something about the destructiveness of mid-Victorian treatment of old wall plaster. A similar pattern emerges in Leicestershire, excluding Rutland, where wall paintings of some significance occur in the late-restored churches of Brentingby,[37] Cold Overton. Great Bowden and Lubenham. However, this total is much smaller than for the tiny area of Rutland and despite the fact that between 1885 and 1900 28 restorations were of an extent or type that might have been expected to bring paintings to light. Of the earlier work only Scott's restoration at Lutterworth in the 1860s produced major wall paintings that may still be seen. Quite why Rutland is so rich in old wall paintings and Leicestershire so poor is a question that cannot be answered at present but the late date of some of the work in Rutland is likely to have been a factor.

Brooke, in 1879, was probably the first of the conservative restorations of the type that SPAB might be expected to have approved of. Apart from the others discussed above, examples may be cited at Manton in 1887, Holwell in 1889, Orton-on-the-Hill in 1890, Little Stretton in 1899 and Burton Lazars in 1900. What begins to come across is a willingness to retain pre-Victorian fittings - or, at least, an unwillingness to pay for their replacement. At Orton the pews and the pulpit in the centre of the north side are retained. Bow-pews escaped destruction in the work at Lubenham about 1900, though the flat ceiling of the chancel was destroyed and the square-headed east window was replaced by a design transitional between Decorated and Perpendicular. It is significant that none of the conservative works mentioned are in populous places and they are nearly all small villages whose churches had escaped the main tide of nineteenth-century restoration. In the towns the great restorations had all been done.

OTHER RESTORATIONS UNTIL 1914

The desirability of altering pre-Victorian arrangements and the gradual, but slow, introduction of the concept of very conservative methods in church restoration only affected a relatively small number of churches. Despite the fact that there was a slackening off in the numbers of major schemes, in absolute terms the late Victorian and Edwardian periods were still ones of active restoration. Taking Leicestershire restorations as a whole in the 1870s and '80s, these are, to the late twentieth century mind, the least attractive works of the entire Victorian or Edwardian years. The great period of rediscovery of medieval forms was over, as was the

37. The Brentingby paintings have now been removed to the Newarke Houses Museum, Leicester. The church has now been turned into a house.

vigorous excitement of the most flamboyant High Victorian developments. The rich fancy of, say, the Husband's Bosworth arcades and the Lyndon floor and pulpit had gone. The loss was not yet replaced by chasteness; it was first replaced by dullness.

But first of all something needs to be said to quantify the amount of activity. Using the criteria for inclusion in the following list of a minimum of a new porch, a major reseating scheme or a substantial restoration of a major part of a church, it is clear that there was a definite decrease in activity at the end of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth:-

	No. of restoration schemes	No. of churches involved
1860-69	141	119
1870-79	103	96
1880-89	85	80
1890-99	79	78
1900-09	55	49
1910-14	34*	34*

Note: * indicates pro-rata for a ten-year period.

The work of Joseph Goddard, and from 1874, his partner, A.H. Paget, provides a good illustration of the fact that there was still a good deal of church restoration going on but that it tended to be of a rather routine nature. Despite the fact that they were responsible for some exciting new church architecture in the 1880s, the same cannot be said for their restorations. In the 1860s Goddard pursued a vigorous High Victorianism. In the early '70s he did little church work . His activity at St Mary de Castro in 1871 was minor, that at Shearsby in 1872 amounted to little more than rebuilding the walls in rather inappropriate red granite,[38] and that at Leicester, Christ Church has vanished since the church was pulled down in 1957.[39] In 1874 came the refitting of Saxby, a scheme which has nothing to recommend it (see p. 186). The next scheme of importance was a thorough-going restoration at Leicester, All Saints. Some of the fabric is Norman (west doorway, lower part of the tower and probably some of the walling) though most of it is of around 1300. The brick chancel was built in 1831. The windows had simple intersected tracery designs. Goddard and Paget felt they could improve on these and provided the nave and aisles with bold Geometrical designs. The choice of period was "correct" for the fabric but the new windows seem over-emphatic for this relatively

38. The roof was jacked up and the walls rebuilt beneath it.
39. The fabric was repaired, the interior refitted, and an organ gallery made.

modest church. They impose the will of the architects to a greater extent than one might wish. Inside, the nave roof was renewed, the aisles re-seated, and the church refloored, but, oddly, the box-pews in the nave seem to have been retained. Goddard may well have been responsible for some plaster removal inside but he cannot be blamed for it all and the drab effect it creates since it is known that some wall plaster was taken off as late as 1920.[40]

The restoration at Thrussington in 1877 contains little that is praise-worthy. Goddard rebuilt the north aisle with ungainly lancets, flush with the wall surface (cf. Jackson at Fenny Drayton, 1860). Inside the plaster was removed from the nave and new roofs and woodwork provided throughout. It is all most undistinguished and has none of the elaboration that Goddard was capable a little earlier. Whereas in the 1860s he might have been expected to introduce a great deal of spirited tracery into the roofs, the chancel roof has a simple wagon-shape with longitudinal boarding. He did, however, return to a remarkably florid nave roof at Kirby Bellars in 1885; this is of the tie-beam variety and in the spandrels over the arch-braces there is impressive pierced work.

The restoration of the nave and aisles at Ibstock in 1884-5 is also dis-appointing. A watercolour of 1832 in the church shows a light interior with box-pews. The interior today is drab. The only points of interest provided by Goddard and Paget are the early use of timber, vernacular windows in the porch and wood blocks as a flooring material. The woodwork is all very conventional and falls awkwardly between elaboration and chaste refinement. It seems that, as so often, Goddard removed the plaster in the nave, though in the aisles he added natural-coloured rendering (as he did at Thrussington). The only virtue in the nave is the archaeological one that the masonry differences between the clerestory fabric and that below is clearly seen. Aesthetically the result is a disaster - dull, grey sandstone contrasted with Goddard's strongly coloured pine seating.

The other local architect whose work needs consideration in the present context is F.W. Ordish. His work at Leicester, St Paul shows him to have had a fine grasp of severe geometry and a tendency towards starkness. These are qualities that can impress in a new building but they do not necessarily auger well when an ancient church is to be restored. Such fears are well justified in Ordish's case. His replacement of the north aisle at Leicester, St Nicholas is distinctly unlovely and has little relevance to the rest of the structure. It has a harsh granite facing

40. AAS 35 (1919-20), lxxiii.

and red sandstone intersected windows. His major restoration was at Syston in 1881. The south porch is a very ungainly piece and Ordish fills his aisle windows with strange, uncusped tracery; there are no curves at all. The east window is a fierce version of Perpendicular panel tracery, and, again, a very personal design. This is all strong stuff and the hardness is accentuated by the facing material on the walls - crazy-paved red granite (again!). This work is as individual as any church architecture in Leicestershire in the last quarter of the century. But, however, fascinating it is one is left questioning whether in 1881 Ordish should have permitted himself such a personal statement in a large medieval church.

Whether this useof Perpendicular-derived forms is part of the reawakening if interest in this style or whether he simply chose it because of the pre-existing fifteenth-century appearance of Syston is a moot point. Perhaps the latter is more likely. This is almost certainly the case with St Aubyn's new outer aisles at Ashby-de-la-Zouch - they had to harmonise with a large Perpendicular church.

Perhaps the best restoration of this period was at Narborough in 1883 by F. Bacon. Like Ordish, his individualism in the rebuilt chancel could produce a striking effect. The south elevation is a careful design using late thirteenth-century detail but the north side is quite dramatic in a minor way. The roof sweeps down over a low vestry. This has two tiny, sharply pointed lancets and a little further west a shallow transeptal projection, this time with three tall lancets of similar strange shape. The east window has a minimally detailed geometrical design. Inside the chancel are a number of points that command attention; a large arch (to the vestry) with enormous cusps, the drop-sill sedilia (two seats) above which the rere-arch repeats the tracery of the window and has a thin shaft descending between the seats, the head-stops at the east end of the arcades with primitive, exaggerated features and strongly cusped principals in the chancel roof. The difference in reaction to Ordish's work and to Bacon's stems from the fact that Ordish, though creative, seems to be imposing himself on the building, whereas Bacon provides an imaginative chancel that enhances the pre-existing structure.

Minor architects were therefore responsible for work of varying quality, but with much of it lacking distinction. It might be hoped that major London architects would have provided more worthwhile work. Unfortunately this does not seem to be the case. There is nothing by which to judge Scott; his work is either very minor, vanished or designed at an earlier date. Of Street, there is a good deal more to say, and he reveals himself in the '70s to be capable of making the sort of changes that the younger

school of conservation-minded architects would disapprove of.

Street was at work at North Luffenham in 1870-71 (chancel) and again in 1874-5 (the rest). The result is hard and, in many details, insensitive towards this major church of around 1300/early fourteenth century. The visitors from the Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural Society had some reservations in 1895.[41] The plaster removal was "rather a pity, as the very rough stones were never intended to be seen" in pre-Victorian times. The alteration of the east window was also criticised: the old one was "more delicate in detail than the modern work; why the old one was not reproduced it is difficult to say". Had the architect not been "the late eminent architect, Mr Street" one feels the words would have been stronger. To these criticisms I would add others: -

1. The woodwork in the stalls and nave seats contains bold, inventive forms, of almost willful ugliness. The designs are of interest and some fascination but here they obtrude inappropriately.

2. The red marble step and the tiling in the sanctuary are in hard colours, which jar with the gentle local stone.

3. The reredos is also a bold design but the colours are insensitive. Also the colouration on either side is not balanced, a somewhat unnecessary piece of eccentricity.

4. Quite incredibly the medieval screen has disappeared, but, of course, Street is hardly likely to have been responsible for this himself.

5. There is a great deal of recutting.

Street's work here can be fruitfully contrasted to that at Ketton by Scott, ten years earlier. Scott altered more than we would find allowable today but he did so with a gentleness and plasticity of form which Street's work at North Luffenham did not possess. It seems as though the scheme was thought out in London without detailed consideration of the site - the very antithesis of the approach advocated by SPAB.

Street's next restoration was at Claybrooke, 1876-8, which possesses in the chancel some of the finest Decorated work in Leicestershire. He was probably responsible for adding the gabled heads to the buttresses and also the parapet to this chancel. The fine east window is his too and replaced a humble, probably eighteenth-century one. All this is archaeologically incorrect but it is visually effective. In the nave and aisles there is little of note and the Caen stone pulpit is a routine piece (conventional tracery of about 1300 set in sunk,square panels). The font is rather more striking: it has a heavy octagonal bowl with a little unusual detail.

41. AAS 23 (1895-6), 100.

In 1880 Street was in Leicester for a major restoration at St Margaret. Essentially this was a stonework renewal scheme but Street also provided new roofs in the nave and aisles and added the stone vaulting in the tower. The latter was sufficiently convincing for Pevsner to mistake it for medieval work.[42] Also in 1880 he worked on the north aisle and porch at St Martin and was thus responsible for some of the final touches which gave the outside of this church a totally modern appearance.

Pearson was responsible for a most curious restoration at Mowsley in 1882-3. He left the outside almost untouched but inside gave the church a barn-like appearance - bare rubble walls, chairs for seating, a bold, spare king-post roof. Unlike Street, however, he did not tidy up damaged stonework, e.g. the rough seating in the porch. Such work by major architects like Street and Pearson is curious and displays an anachronistic approach by brilliant men, but old-school restorers, working with what were becoming discredited methods.

Blomfield's work is generally not held in high regard and is commonly described as "dull". However, his work at Knossington in 1882-3 shows an unusual degree of sensitivity. This is a small, homely church which has retained its sense of intimacy. The fittings are on a small , appropriate scale though the way Blomfield set the stepped lancet east windows at a high level seems to aim at a somewhat unjustified grandeur. He managed an eastward extension of the aisles to create an organ chamber (north) and vestry (south) very carefully. The three-light aperture in the wall between the north aisle and the organ chamber is rather delightful. Outside the extensions continue the pattern of the medieval aisles and are in no way obtrusive.

The same praise cannot be extended to Blomfield's restoration at Prestwold in 1890. The nave of 1743 was totally rebuilt and the chancel restored. The nave has standard Decorated forms, the new east window Decorated/ Perpendicular transitional. Everywhere the cutting of the stone is brutally sharp. Inside this creates hard lines, coupled with a sombre air due to the rendering on the walls. The only colour to enliven the church is the east window (by Powell, 1890) and the mosaic of the reredos. For some reason Blomfield uses incongruous red Dumfries sandstone for his font. The whole activity at this church is most unappealing and strikes a strangely harsh note at so late a date.

After about 1890 there were few drastic restorations of the Prestwold type. In part this was a matter of changing attitudes, partly it was due

42. Op. cit., 144.

to increasing difficulties in raising cash (see pp. 262-5), and partly because few churches had not yet undergone a major restoration since 1840. Orton-on-the-Hill was one such church and a most conservative restoration took place in 1892. By a vote of seven to six the vestry decided not to replace the box-pews, a decision which would have been almost unthinkable during the previous fifty years.[43] Similarly at Sutton Cheney the vestry had received an offer of £400 for repairs and restoration but insufficient funds were forthcoming to produce a worthwhile programme and hence the nave and aisle retain the appearance given them in 1826.[44] The main reason why these schemes failed was obviously financial, but underlying this the cause was the fact that the fire had gone out of the restoration movement. Generally people still seem to have been prepared to reject box-pews (e.g. Wigston Parva, 1900, Eaton, 1905, Peatling Magna, 1905-6), Cosby, 1909, and Leicester, All Saints, 1920) but it seems they were not viewed with the horror of thirty or forty years before. The reluctance with which people dug into their pockets for new seating probably saved many of the pews that now survive. What happened at Beeby in 1893 in W.D. Caröe's restoration is quite revealing. The conservationist principle was upheld with the restoration of the early fourteenth-century screen-work but they could only manage to reseat the north side of the church. Normally, a few decades before, the other side could be expected to follow a year or two later, but this never happened at Beeby. Hence, the north side has typical Victorian benches and the south, high box-pews.

One of the few disastrous schemes was in 1890-91 when Temple Moore restored the little chapel at Worthington. He left this Norman/thirteenth-century building looking like a village hall inside - seated with chairs, plaster removed from the walls, a crude attempt at a depressed timber arch at the entrance to the chancel and a tawdry sub-Perpendicular screen. The ideas are unco-ordinated and if the aim was to create an Arts and Crafts village church interior with abundant timbering, it is a total failure. The only objects of quality are the stalls, which are simple and, like much work from the 1890s, have minimal pierced designs in the frontals (cf. Belton-in-Rutland stalls, 1901).

FURNISHINGS AND THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC REVIVAL

In the early phases of Victorian church building as much emphasis was laid upon the proper appearance of the outside of a church as on its

43. LJ 24 Apr. 1892.
44. ibid.

interior. The latter part of the nineteenth-century saw a marked shift in emphasis and it was the internal arrangements that came to be stressed - hence the plainness of many exteriors, as in the red-brick churches in Leicester around the turn of the century. The tendency was towards architectural purity and the only direction in which there was much room for elaborate expression was in carved woodwork. Until the 1870s enrichmenttook many forms - coloured tiles, structural polychrome, complex shapes, mural paintings and so on. From the '70s the simple structural lines that had been evolving from the 1850s ceased to feature such elaborate ornamental devices and architectural purity became a vitally important objective. Perfect illustrations of such interiors are Pearson's St Augustine, Kilburn, and Bodley's St Augustine, Pendlebury. But it could be all too easy for purity to be Spartan. However clean the lines, however clear the spaces some enriched focal points are needed to make a church building succeed as a whole. For example, at Pendlebury there is a screen in front of the chancel and a magnificent carved reredos. If the taste for wall paintings, polychrome, florid capitals and brightly coloured tiles waned, this restricted the possibilities and the desire for a degree of enrichment was met in the treatment of reredoses, screens, stalls, font covers etc., rather than in or on the fabric itself. Wood, because it was much cheaper than stone, was by far the most popular medium, but where it could be afforded stone was used, often with magnificent results. For example, Bodley excelled in stone reredoses and Leicester is fortunate in possessing two - one at St Mary de Castro, 1899, the other at All Souls, 1904-6. The other Bodley masterpiece of this period locally was the Theddingworth font cover of 1893 (in wood, of course), a soaring canopy with crockets, pinnacles, buttresses and doors to gain access to the bowl. It is in natural-coloured wood, which was usual in the carved work of the end of the nineteenth century and during the next. This may well be a revulsion from High Victorian colour, rather than having much to do with the idea of the truthful expression of materials. The lack of varnish and polish is not likely to be due to economic considerations. Rather one must look to the desire to have a degree of simplicity and chasteness in designs for churches.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century does seem to be something of a golden age in ecclesiastical wood carving, at least in Leicestershire. No doubt some of the roots lie in the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement. William Morris and his circle placed great emphasis on skilfully crafted designs both for use and ornament, honest workamnship, and an avoidance of machine-made products. The connection lies in the love

of carefully hand-carved wood and the fact that the Gothic employed was sometimes a very free version of late medieval work, a characteristic of Arts and Crafts church architecture.

Such wood-carving could be extraordinarily rich with deep cutting, projecting canopies and a mass of careful ornament. A rare early example of such a style is J. Richardson's reredos with its Biblical scenes at Clipsham of 1864. Such a work could easily be mistaken for the work of the '90s. Rather later is the pulpit at Leicester, St Margaret, 1875, designed by W. Jackson.[45] It is an extremely rich combination of Decorated and early Perpendicular forms in high relief. It was made to harmonise with the chancel screen, which therefore pre-dates it. Perhaps the most popular local carver (of wood and stone) in the 1880s was Sylvanus Wilmot of Leicester, although little of his work seems to rise above the competent. He was much patronised by Goddard and Paget, e.g. at Evington, 1884, Ibstock, 1884-5, Kirby Bellars, 1885, and Leicester, St Barnabas, 1884-6.

The best examples of turn-of-the-century woodwork in Leicestershire churches may be cited as follows

1. Melton Mowbray has stalls, panelling all the way round the chancel and a reredos, all of 1890. The tiered rear row of stalls has dividers between the seats. All this is extremely rich in appearance as befits a big church. The three wooden sedilia are a continuation of the sanctuary panelling and, interestingly, their dividers rise into rather un-Gothic twisted, reeded columns. In 1906 an intricately-carved vaulted screen was placed in the chancel arch.[46]

2. Hambleton. Some of the most lavish woodwork in the area dates from or immediately after J.T. Lee's remodelling of the chancel in 1892. The lectern is encrusted with scrolly ornament which it is hard to characterise, but has a loose seventeenth-century flavour. The pulpit reuses a few seventeenth-century panels and takes up ornamental themes from that period. It has detached, deeply-cut shafts at the angles and which are linked to the body of the pulpit by pierced scroll-work. The organ, which projects into the chancel from an arch on the north, is another powerful, but overbearing piece of heavy carpentry. The pipes are supported on the shoulders of three angels which seem as though they would be more appropriate as figure-heads on sailing ships!

3. Foxton. The pulpit of 1893 has three sides with deeply recessed panels. There are large figures of saints at the angles and pinnacled, crocketted

45. Bldr 33 (1875), 335.

46. Anon., Melton Mowbray Parish Church (Gloucester, n.d. [c. 1965]), 12.

gables above.

4. Market Bosworth. The pulpit, screen, altar rail and reredos were carved by Harry Hems of Exeter and put in in 1895. On the pulpit each panel has figures beneath rich gables. The reredos is a typical piece of its time and the design remained popular well into the 1920s and beyond. It has five panels but no figure sculpture, only blind panels with Perpendicular tracery. The stalls are relatively plain.

5. Castle Donington. The stalls, reredos and panelling are of 1901 and/or 1902. As at Market Bosworth there are five panels in the reredos, each with blind tracery.

6. Belgrave. The stalls date from 1903 and no doubt the panelling round the sanctuary is of the same date. The details are Perpendicular and the assemblage is a lavish one.

7. Waltham-on-the-Wolds. This is an expensive scheme and resembles those at Belgrave or Market Bosworth. The date is uncertain but it probably is of the 1890s.

THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC REVIVAL

The woodwork at Hambleton is part of a comprehensive scheme paid for by W. Gore Marshall of Hambleton House. The new chancel is an elegant piece of remodelling. It follows the pre-existing Perpendicular forms but with the addition of attractive tall, one-light windows on the north and south sides. The interior is expensively fitted out. Individually the items are not exceptional but taken as a group are an excellent expression of High Anglican tendencies towards the turn of the century. They comprise: -

1. a piscina with credence shelf beside.
2. Fine triple sedilia in late thirteenth-century style and under large canopies.
3. Rich textile hangings either side of the reredos.
4. Reredos with a stone surround, again, in a lavish thirteenth-century style. The triptych was painted by J. Egan and includes a rood group.
5. The altar is raised five steps above the nave floor.
6. Impressive, free-standing candelabra with seven branches.
7. Simple, tasteful flooring. The choir has stone slabs but with small black lozenges at the angles. The sanctuary has quite dramatic black marble.
8. A rich black wrought-iron screen to the chancel. It is low and has gates.
9. The side walls are tiled in their lower parts.

A drawing of 1905 (pl. 60) by J.T. Lee shows his full intentions.

Such an interior would have been unthinkable in most parish churches around 1850. It would have been construed as being redolent of Rome. Crucifixes (apart from illustrating Biblical scenes) and rood groups were viewed with great distrust and did not appear widely until the 1890s in Anglican churches. Despite the fact that they were legally allowable sedilia, piscinas, screens and reredoses did not become popular until towards the end of the century. This is perhaps a somewhat surprising conclusion in view of the emphasis that the mid-Victorians placed upon dignified interiors, elaboration and a return to medieval arrangements. Yet the typical mid-nineteenth-century church was not provided with the full panoply of revived medieval fittings, other than new fonts, pulpits, lecterns and wooden holy tables, all of which had never ceased to be in use. It is difficult to determine dates, but the following table gives figures for items where dates are known or there is a very high degree of probability for them.

Table 15. Dates of fittings in Leicestershire churches.

	Essential items		Optional items			
	Pulpits*	Fonts placed in pre-1800 churches	Chancel screens+	Piscinas	Reredoses°	Sedilia
1840-49	13	6	3	2	2	3
1850-59	27	20	4	2	4	2
1860-69	58	23	8	5	14	7
1870-79	29	13	9	5	8	13
1880-89	26	10	9	4	15	6
1890-99	22	5	17	6	21	7
1900-14	12	2	17	8	23	5
After 1914	19	0	8	0	23	0
Uncertain	49	28	19¶	?§	69	3¶

Notes:

* These are the dates for all surviving pulpits in pre-1800 churches. 43 have pre-1800 pulpits and fifteen have no pulpit at all.

\+ Includes low screens.

° Excludes panelling round the chancel and cloth hangings. Includes the Ten Commandments behind the altar and also tiles.

¶ It is unlikely that if dates could be assigned for these the trends for 1840-1914 would be seriously disturbed.

§ It is impracticable to indicate a figure since it is impossible to tell in many cases whether a piscina is nineteenth-century or a restored medieval one.

The table makes it abundantly clear that the introduction of pulpits and fonts in the nineteenth century was most common during the periods of most active restoration. By the latter part of the century those churches that needed replacements had received them and the emphasis in refurnishing schemes switched to providing those items which were not essential for the conduct of worship, but merely extra refinements adding to dignity and ritual.

Enormous controversy surrounded ritualistic questions. The 1840s were taken up with the firm establishment of Ecclesiological principles on the architectural front and also a desire to do away with the laxity of the early nineteenth century on matters affecting the conduct of worship. But whereas architecture was free to develop into new directions from the late 1840s, those who wished to take worship down a ritualistic road met with stiff resistance. Much of the controversy surrounded vestments, incense, processional lights, altar lights, reservation of the sacrament and so on. Most of these had no architectural expression and are not directly the concern of the present study. However, the very first ritual controversy was over the Cambridge Camden Society's decision to install a stone altar at the Round Church in Cambridge. After a long and acrimonious quarrel, the Court of Arches ruled against such an altar as a communion table. Both it and the credence were duly ejected in 1845. The judgment was based on the interpretation of the rubrics and questions of legality, and not ones of decorum and aesthetic appeal. The Victorian Church had inherited a set of rules known as the Ornaments Rubric, set out in ambiguous language in the 1559 Prayer Book and re-enacted by Parliament in 1604 and 1662. Down to about 1840 the Church had tended to ignore the detail of the rubrics, and, in typical latitudinarian fashion, evolved its worship to suit modern needs. But the regeneration of Church life from the mid-1830s forced the question into the open amid fears of Papal aggression, illegal practices and a general concern about change in time-honoured, official ways of doing things. Changes in legally authorised procedures and practices were (and still are) so cumbersome in the Church of England that they were rendered nigh impossible - and totally impossible in the middle of the nineteenth century so far as the rubrics were concerned.

The result was a series of widely publicised and highly unedifying disputes. The first disturbances were in Exeter in 1843 over "the trivial question of white or black gown in the pulpit".[47] There were the celebrated riots of 1859-60 at St George's in the East, London, and as a result a typically

47. A.J. Beresford Hope, Worship in the Church of England (London, 1874), 35-6.

half-hearted attempt to have white surplices enforced was made. One of the curates at St George's, A.H. Mackonochie, became vicar at St Alban, Holborn and with him went a pugilistic attitude over ritualism which led to a string of disputes. In Brighton, the High Church principles of Father A.D. Wagner and the Rev. John Purchas brought the town into notoriety on the ritual question and culminated with Purchas being condemned for illegal practices by the Privy Council in 1871. In Manchester Bishop James Prince Lee fulminated against anything having High Church implications, and, in fear of what he might do, the building committee at Swinton removed the cross from the reredos before the consecration in 1869.[48] In 1867 a Royal Commission on ritual was established. As a result of its four reports, the Public Worship Regulation Act became law on 31 August 1874. Far from regulating worship, the long term effect was the very reverse of what was intended. Four ritualistic clergymen were sent to prison between 1876 and 1882 under the Act, for periods of up to twenty months. Martyrs are always a benefit to a cause and the victims of the Public Worship Regulation Act were no exception. This was clearly recognised by the bishops who had the power of veto to stop prosecution. Few were prepared to allow their priests to stand trial on such matters of conscience and even a low churchman like Archbishop Tait was prepared to adopt such a line over Mackonochie.[49] The prosecution of Bell Cox in Liverpool in 1887 and his sixteen-day imprisonment was the last. Thereafter it was realised that prosecution would be ineffective because of the bishops' veto and "This decision to stop prosecution gave liberty".[50]

On the face of it such controversies had little to do with church fabrics. In practice, they had a great deal to do with furnishings and fittings. The whole ritualistic question was a source of great debate and concern until well into the '80s and the average parish was not likely to adopt any items that could be regarded as in the least suspect. This certainly seems to be the underlying explanation behind the figures in table 13.

The knowledge that prosecution under the Public Worship Regulation Act would not take place was certainly a very considerable influence in ritual developments at the end of the century. Those to do with the conduct of services, and matters of vestments are outside the scope of this survey, but the rapid increase in certain types of furnishings is not. This development may also be viewed as part of the increased attention paid to interiors, in relation to the effort and expense put into exteriors. In a general

48. P.F. Anson, Fashions in Church Furnishings (London, 1965), 206.
49. Chadwick, op. cit., vol. 2 (2nd ed., London, 1972), 349.
50. ibid.

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Rubric (2nd ed., London, 1898). J.N. Comper also contributed important work on the subject, particularly in connection with the "English altar".[53] But the new knowledge and ideas were popularised by Pearcy Dearmer's The Parson's Handbook, first published in 1899 and running to its much enlarged sixth edition in 1907. These works all stressed correctness and there is a parallel here with the early days of the Ecclesiological movement, which stressed accurate copying of previous forms. In time architecture developed into new channels and similarly there was a gradual move to ignore the stultifying and seemingly unalterable legalities of the Church. This was particularly true after the First World War, and Dearmer, probably as a result of his experiences during the War, grew weary of such narrow views.[54] Naturally, all this was not unchallenged. For example, W.E. Bowen's Contemporary Ritualism (London, 1902) attacks the Anglo-Catholics vehemently and urged legal proceedings against ritualistic "outrages". At Melton Mowbray the proposal for a chancel screen in 1905 could still provoke one gentleman to suggest at the vestry meeting that it was the "thin edge of the wedge of Popery";[55] however, the screen was erected in 1906.

Inevitably some High Church elements took hold. The grave question about eucharistic vestments now seems trivial. But the use of the chasuble at the High Church of Little Bowden, St Hugh, on 16 September 1900 was the first such occasion in the area since the Reformation and was preceded by much heart-searching.[56] St Hugh's was only a mission church but great efforts were made to adorn the chancel with hangings, free-standing candle-sticks before the altar, and a screen.

The evidence presented to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1906 is largely outside the scope of this study, but such goings on as at St Hugh's might have attracted attention from those who submitted comments. These were put forward for five Leicestershire churches, usually rather furtively and without the knowledge (and to the annoyance) of the incumbents.[57] The cases were often overstated and this led the vicar of

53. In Trans. St Paul's Ecclesiological Soc. 3 (1895), 195-224.

54. This idea was suggested by M. Draper in a lecture "Percy Dearmer and the Principles of Worship" to the Ecclesiological Society, 10 Nov. 1982.

55. LJ 24 Mar. 1905.

56. Anon., A Short Sketch of the History of S. Hugh's mission, in the Parish of Little Bowden, Northamptonshire (1914), 4-5. Requiem mass was introduced in 1901.

57. Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, 1 (London, 1906), 331-33, 431; 2 (London, 1906), 33.

Leicester, St Mark to reply, "Our ideal .... is what is Catholic and English, with a careful following of the Prayer Book". Stations of the Cross,[58] altar lights,[59], a screen with a rood group,[60] and altar cards[61] were found at Leicester, St Paul, the church where illegal practices were most visibly in evidence. At Bagworth a marble slab formed the top of the communion table, the front of which was painted to resemble marble. It also supported six candles and a cross under a canopy standing on a tabernacle.

One of the great "re-discoveries" was the method of treating the altar (the very emotive term "altar" was back in use by now). This was largely due to the efforts of Comper and Micklethwaite and the "English altar" became popularised. This consisted of hangings on three sides. Those on the sides hung on riddel posts on which were frequently perched standing figures of angels. There are a number of English altars in Leicestershire but unfortunately the dates are not generally clear. Many are after 1914. Quality, of course, varied. That at Cold Overton has a wooden reredos and the altar itself is carved. The angels on the riddel posts hold candles and are, like the rest of the work, well coloured. On the other hand the arrangements at Hungarton are cheap, including unpleasant metal angels. At Loughborough, St Peter, 1911-12, the scheme was further elaborated with a tester over the altar.

Stone altars were outlawed by judgments in 1845, 1855 and 1857 although Anglo-Catholic researchers were to prove they had been in use in the post-medieval period. They gradually made a reappearance early in the twentieth century, the best example being in St Ann's chapel in St Mary de Castro. The raising of altars to give them prominence has already been discussed on pp. 165-6. The altar was also given prominence in a somewhat different way. There was a trend towards large reredoses, the best of which are the stone ones by Bodley at St Mary de Castro and All Souls.

These reredoses illustrate changing tastes in what was depicted in church art. Both feature angels and a rood group. Neither would have received such prominence before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Angels seem to have acquired a particular affection at this time, not least with William Morris who used the image increasingly in his later writings.

58. Declared illegal in the Clifton v. Ridsdale (1876) judgment and later.
59. Considered illegal if not required for lighting; e.g. Martin v. Mackonochie (no. 1) (1868) and many subsequent judgments.
60. Declared illegal in a series of judgments from 1895, starting with St John the Baptist, Timberhill (Vicar) v. Rectors of Same (1895).
61. Declared illegal in Markham v. Shirebrook Overseers (1906).

In medieval times angels frequently appeared in corbels, fonts, roofs and paintings but now they proliferated further. Holy Angels was the dedication of Bodley's church at Hoar Cross for Mrs Meynell Ingram, a lady of distinctly High Church persuasion. Their use on riddel posts and reredoses has been noted, but they also occur in almost any other conceivable position. Full-length figures of angels are rare in medieval carving but not so around 1900. St James the Greater (1899-1900) has them "supporting" a corbel for a beam at the entrance to the chancel and they also carry texts on the cancelli and appear on the altar. At Leicester, St Alban two angels stand on the low screen wall, as if guarding the entrance to the chancel (1905-6). At Evington (date uncertain) and Leicester, St Philip (1910)[62] a large angel serves as a lectern. The angels often have a resemblance to the sentimental creatures which figure in the pictures of the time but nowhere is this more true than at Kirkby Mallory. This church possesses an absurd font. The contemporary description reads, it "is an extremely beautiful design, consisting of a full size angelic figure, kneeling on one knee, and supporting on the other a basin [a large shell], which is to hold the baptismal water. The angel is looking upwards as if imploring the Divine care and protection for the baptised member of Christ's Church."[63] A remarkable similar font was put up at Barmouth, St John (Merioneth) rather earlier (1894). Newman , speaking of what appears to be a similar piece at Beckenham, St Paul (Kent), points to the original model being Thorwaldsen's font carved in Rome in 1823.[64] The Kirkby Mallory font was made by Jones and Willis and this may be a standard design of theirs (but the Barmouth example is inscribed "Davidson Sc. Inverness").[65]

Rood groups were most common on reredoses but a particularly early example on a screen occurs at Market Bosworth, apparently of 1893. They were erected despite the fact that roods were declared illegal in a series of judgments from 1895 onwards.[66] A plain cross on a screen was more usual but even these were note common until the 1890s. One was added to the screen at Leicester, St Margaret in 1897.[67] Not surprisingly fears of the Papacy meant that representations of the Virgin were non-existent except in

62. Inscription.

63. AAS 28(1905-6), cix.

64. J. Newman., The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald (Harmondsworth, 1969), 143.

65. Information on the Barmouth font supplied by the Rev. D.G. Richards.

66. Starting with St John the Baptist, Timberhill (Vicar) v. Rectors of Same (1895).

67. AAS 24 (1897-8), li.

rood groups. However, it is extraordinary to find in the 1907 reredos at Broughton Astley angels parying either side of a crowned "M", i.e. a revival of the medieval symbol for the Virgin.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SELECTION OF ARCHITECTS.

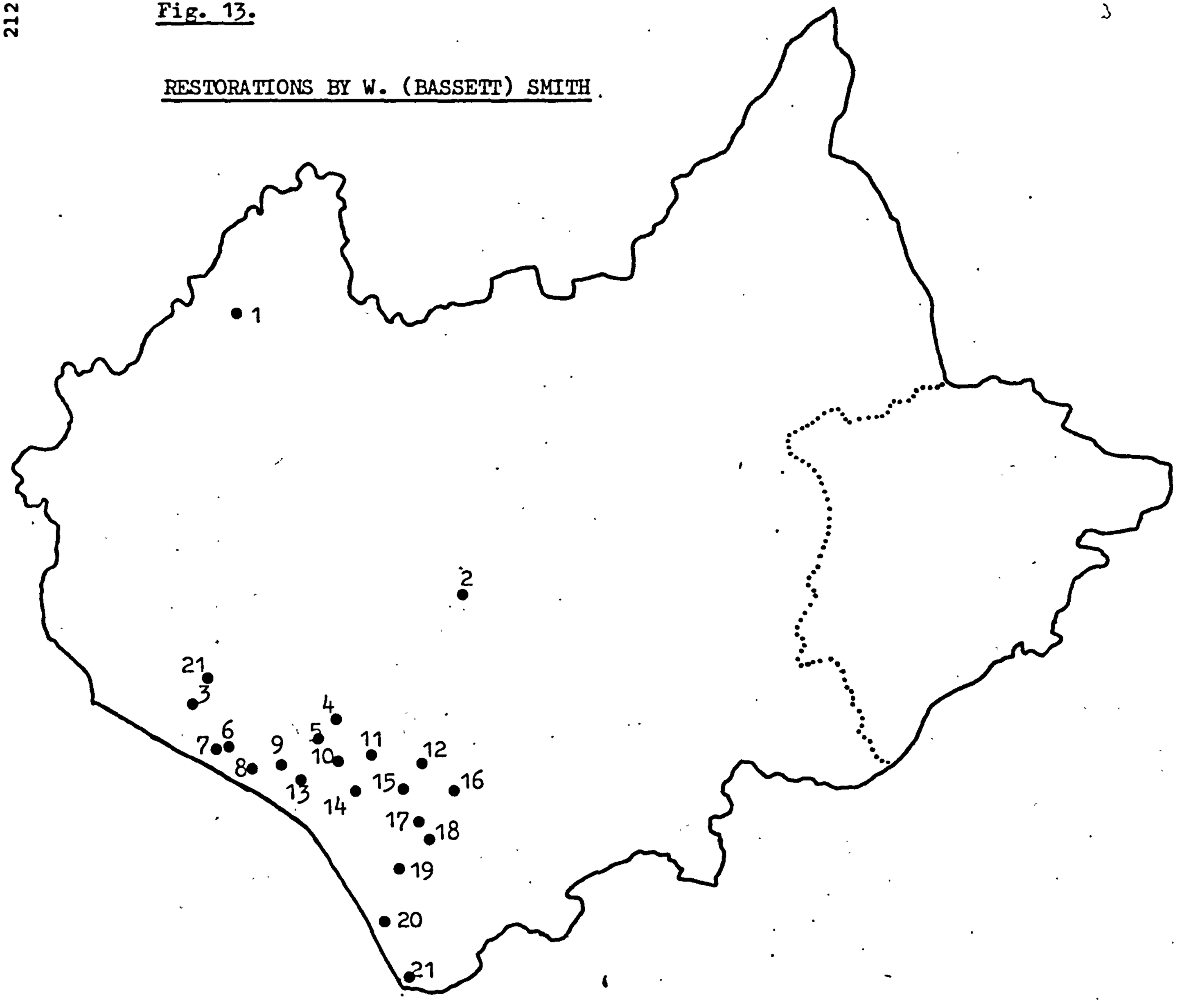
Almost every case of church building and major church restoration in Leicestershire between 1840 and 1914 involved the services of a professional architect - the rise of such men has been discussed on pp. 89-93. By 1850 it was rare indeed for the duties of builder and designer to be combined, and the rebuilding of the nave and chancel at Anstey by Broadbent and Hawley in 1845-6 was one of the last major cases of this practice. At some stage in the planning of a restoration or building scheme an acceptable architect had to be found to prepare the designs, and this raises the thorny question of why particular men were selected for particular works. The answers should reveal much about the reputation of the architects themselves, how their work was appreciated, and the attitudes of those paving for the work. Unfortunately, in the vast majority of cases, there is a total lack of documentation about the selection procedure, and one is reduced to a state of ignorance or intelligent quesswork.

It is probable that in a great number of cases the choice was based less on an objective consideration of the relative merits of different architects than a process based on word of mouth. Very few parishes could have had sufficient information on which to base a critical judgment and there was no formal mechanism like a Diocesan Advisory Committee to help them. They could consult the Ecclesiogical Society or the local architectural society butthere is no documentary evidence of them having done so and answers to such a sensitive question are unlikely to be committed to writing, even if the question had been asked.

There is strong stylistic and documentary evidence that in medieval times parishes decided to emulate work that had been carried out at nearby churches and there is little doubt that similar processes operated in choosing architects during the nineteenth century. If it had been felt that a neighbouring parish had carried out a successful restoration, it was very natural for the same architect to be chosen for the new work. There can be no better illustration of this than in the activities of William (Bassett-) Smith. In Leicestershire he seems to have been used first for the rebuilding of the nave and chancel at Gilmorton in

Fig. 13.

RESTORATIONS BY W. (BASSETT) SMITH.



1 Castle Donington
2 Leicester, All Saints
3 Stoke Golding
4 Croft
5 Stoney Stanton
6 Hinckley, St. Mary
7 Hinckley, Holy Trinity
8 Burbage
9 Aston Flamville
10 Sapcote
11 Broughton Astley
12 Willoughby Waterleys
13 Sharnford
14 Froleworth
15 Leire
16 Bruntingthorpe
17 Gilmorton
18 Kimcote
19 Shawell
20 Catthorpe
21 Dadlington

1860-61, after which he was employed on a steady stream of works in south-west Leicestershire. Fig. 13 shows the remarkably tight distribution of his works in this area. The only exceptions to this close geographic pattern are Castle Donington and, towards the end of Smith's career, Leicester, All Saints. Not surprisingly, Smith's work spilled over into the adjacent parts of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. Detailed work on these areas remains to be done but Smith's earliest appearance seems to be in Northamptonshire since he signs the faculty plan for Great Creaton in August 1857.[1] He also crops up at Ravensthorpe in 1865.[2] At the end of his career he was working at Churchover in Warwickshire in 1896-7.[3] Presumably, as Smith added more works to his credit, he became better and better known and came to be regarded as the "obvious choice".

A similar situation seems to arise with the work of the minor local architect, R.W. Johnson of Melton Mowbray. He was active in and around Melton and the Wreake valley for nearly thirty years between 1854 and 1883. Strangely his church work seems to have been confined to Leicestershire and did not even spill over into Rutland (a different archdeaconry). As a local man, he must have been an obvious choice. See Fig. 14.

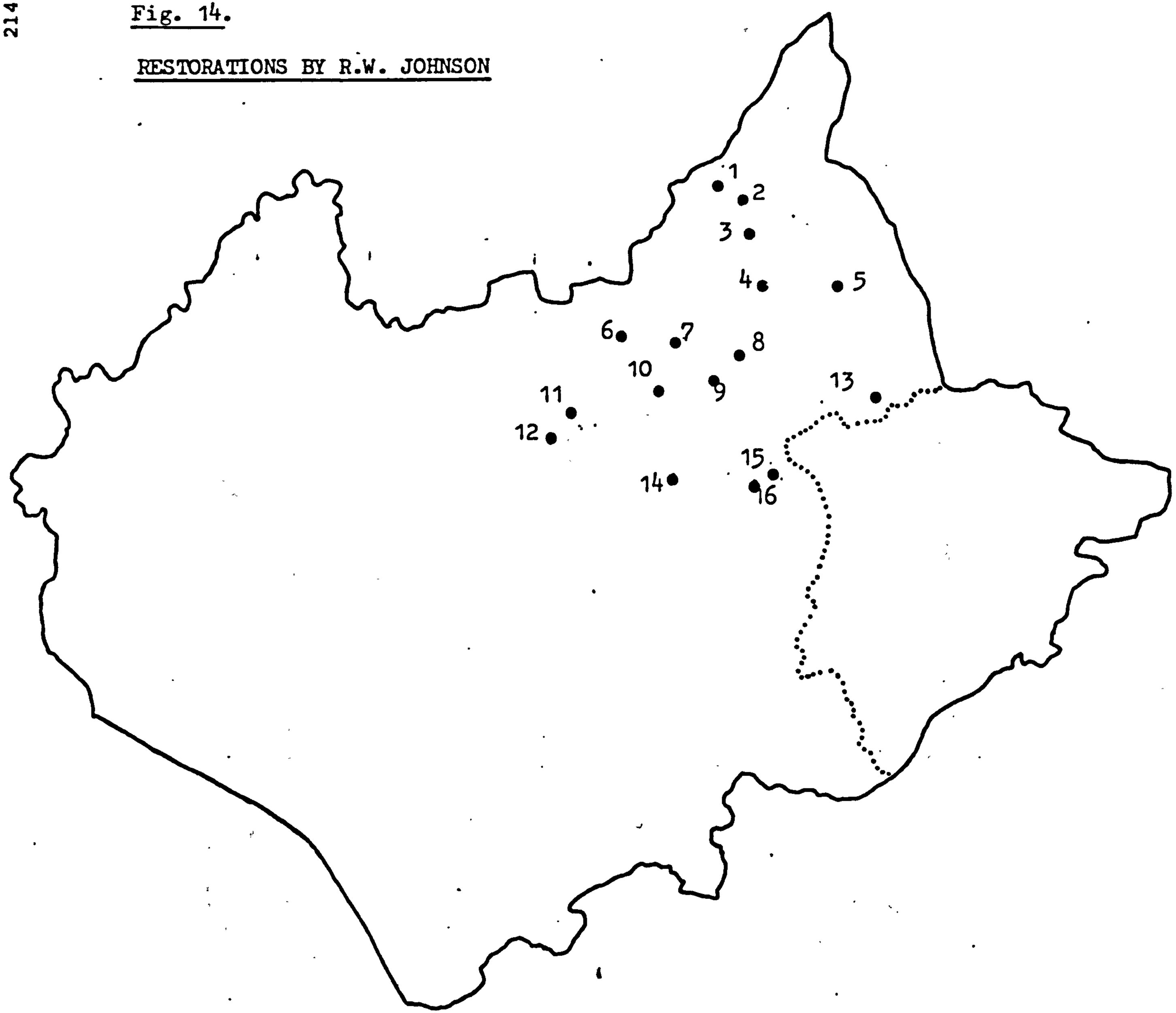
The work of another local man, J.C. Traylen of Stamford was much more widely spread. He was architect and surveyor to the dioceses of Peterborough and Lincoln but his official capacity does not seem to have brought him commissions beyond the Rutland border into the Archdeaconry of Leicester. Early in his career he worked with F.W. Ordish which explains his involvement in and around Leicester during the 1870s. His main work was in the Archdeaconry of Northampton (which included Rutland). See Fig. 15.

What is much less obvious is the spread of work of other local architects. Fig. 16 shows the distribution of Henry Goddard'sactivity between 1838 and 1861. It covers a fairly wide area, though there is a belt east of Leicester between 1850 and 1861.This belt also re-emerges in considering the work of Joseph Goddard, either as a partner of Henry or working in his own right (Fig. 17). He was well favoured with commissions in south-east Leicestershire and acquired a near monopoly on work in this small area between the mid-'60s and mid-'70s.

1. NRO ML 1116.
2. ibid.
3. N. Pevsner and A. Wedgwood, The Buildings of England: Warwickshire (Harmondsworth, 1966), 232.

Fig. 14.

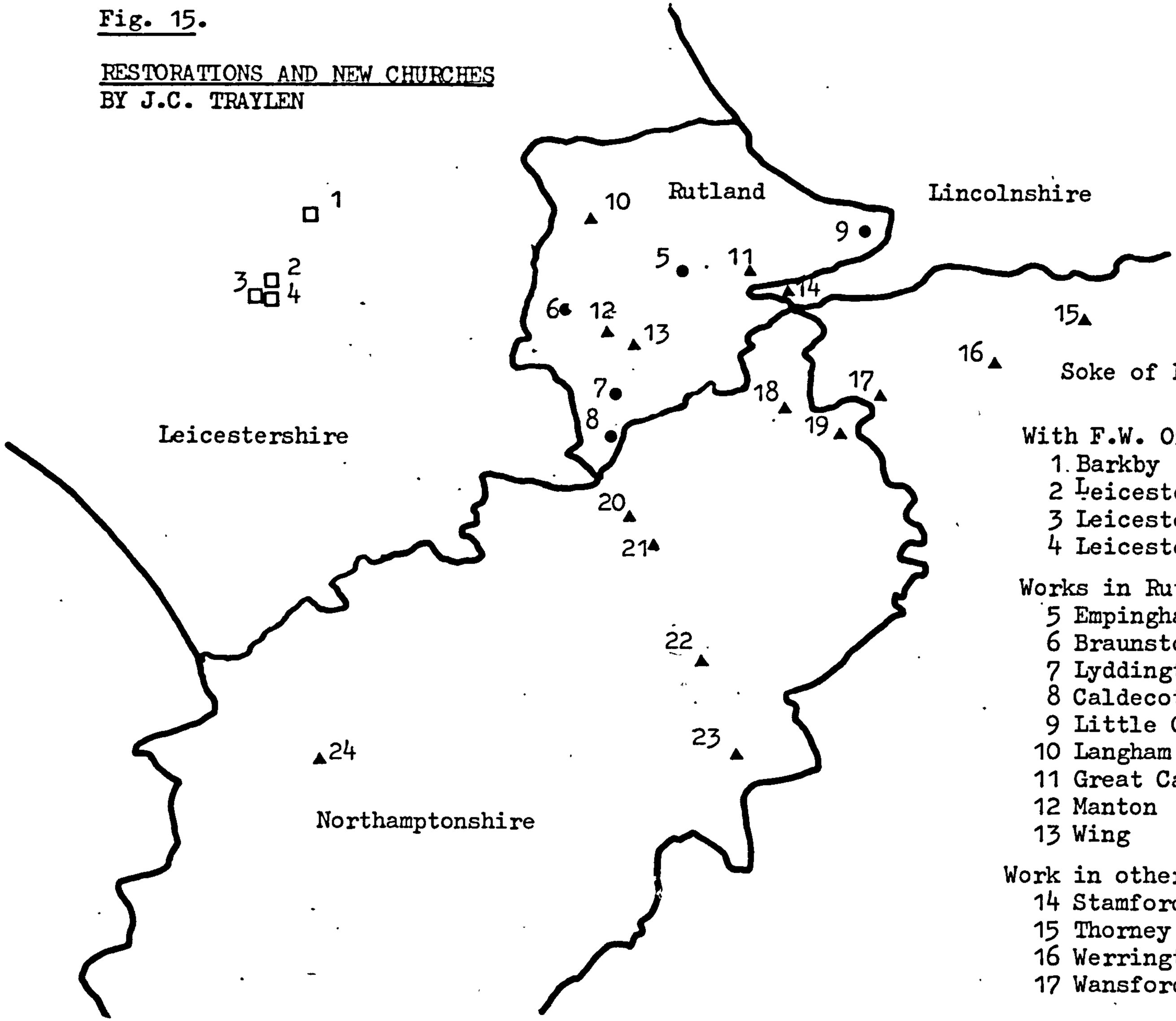
RESTORATIONS BY R.W. JOHNSON



1 Harby
2 Stathern
3 Eastwell
4 Chadwell
5 Stonesby
6 Grimston
7 Welby
8 Thorpe Arnold
9 Melton Mowbray
10 Kirby Bellars
11 Brooksby
12 Rearsby
13 Edmondthrrpe
14 Thorpe Satchville
15 Pickwell
16 Somerby

Fig. 15.

RESTORATIONS AND NEW CHURCHES
BY J.C. TRAYLEN



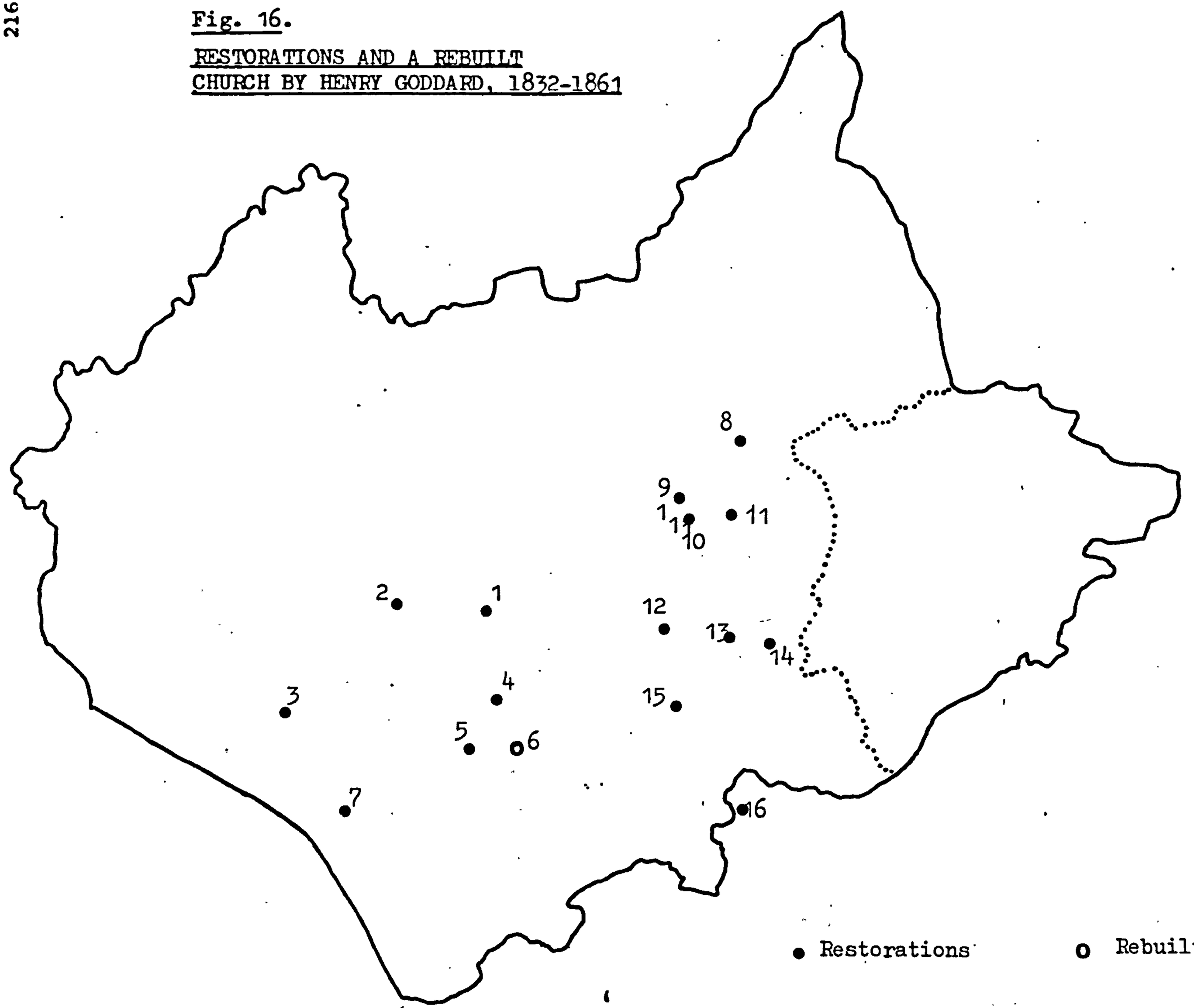
With F.W. Ordish
1 Barkby
2 Leicester, St Leonard
3 Leicester, St Paul
4 Leicester, St Nicholas

Works in Rutland
5 Empingham
6 Braunston
7 Lyddington
8 Caldecott
9 Little Casterton
10 Langham
11 Great Casterton
12 Manton
13 Wing

Work in other areas
14 Stamford, St John
15 Thorney
16 Werrington
17 Wansford
18 Kings Cliffe
19 Nassington
20 Corby
21 Stanion
22 Twywell
23 Stanwick
24 West or East Haddon

Fig. 16.

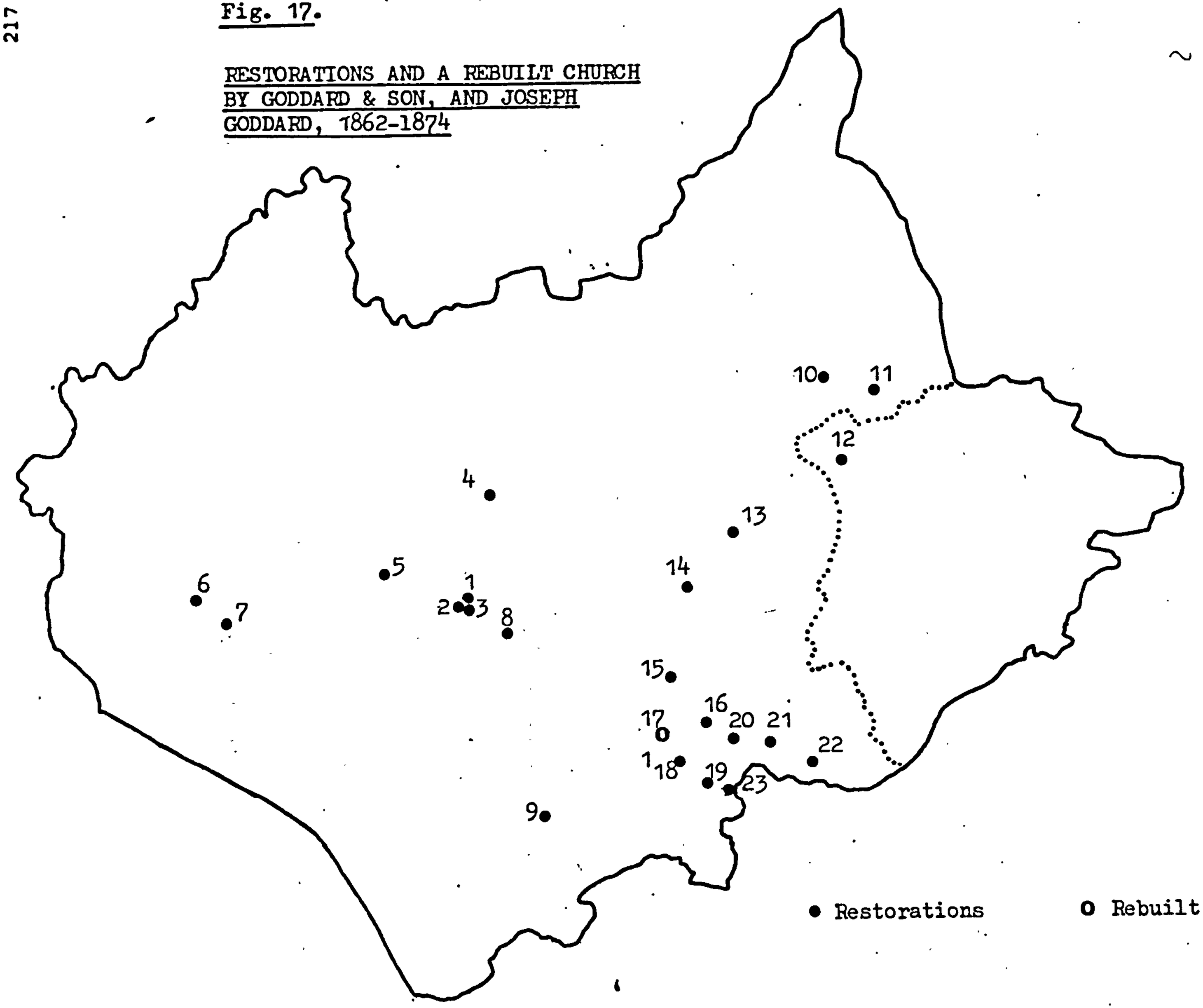
RESTORATIONS AND A REBUILT CHURCH BY HENRY GODDARD, 1832-1861



1 Leicester, All Saints
2 Kirby Muxloe
3 Barwell
4 Wigston Magna
5 Countesthorpe
6 Kilby
7 Sharnford
8 Burton Lazars
9 Thorpe Satchville
10 Twyford
11 Burrough-on-the-Hill
12 Billesdon
13 Tugby
14 East Norton
15 Shangton
16 Sutton Bassett, Northamptonshire

Fig. 17.

RESTORATIONS AND A REBUILT CHURCH BY GODDARD & SON, AND JOSEPH GODDARD, 1862-1874



1 Leicester, Christ Church
2 Leicester, St Mary de Castro
3 Leicester, St George
4 Cossington
5 Anstey
6 Carlton
7 Cadeby
8 Evington
9 Shearsby
10 Saxby
11 Wymondham
12 Whissendine
13 Burrough-on-the-Hill
14 Lowseby
15 Illston-on-the-Hill
16 Stonton Wyville
17 Tur Langton
18 Church Langton
19 Thorpe Langton
20 Glooston
21 Slawston
22 Nevill Holt
23 Welham

The list of architects in Appendix Three reveals three types of names - local architects, national ones (mainly from London), and occasional works by lesser men from distant parts of the country. It is something of a mystery why most of the latter were chosen. Exceptionally, the apparent reason for the choice of Joseph Mitchell of Sheffield for the work at St Mary de Castro in the late 1840s was that he was a relative of an early nineteenth-century vicar, the Rev. George Berkeley Mitchell. Whether he approached the restoration committee or vice versa is not clear. Shortly after, he was commissioned for the restoration of Belton and, thereafter, three more adjacent churches. So having established himself in the area, the word of mouth process probably brought him further work. There is a logic in the use of local men in that their names were probably known to some local people or they could be chosen, if all else failed, from the current Directory. Similarly the choice of a national figure, such as Scott or Pearson, was understandable as it was, undoubtedly, felt that a good job would be done and a prestigious result obtained.

There were advantages and disadvantages in either course. The Ecclesiologist pointed out in 1845 that London architects lacked local knowledge and would often hurry to the provinces with insufficient time to study local churches.[4] Local men were said to have local knowledge of building styles, materials, costs and builders. This speed on the part of the busy London men perhaps explains some of the wholesale changes that occurred, for example, when Pearson was employed at Exton and made such sweeping alterations. On 5 December 1851 the "committee of Management" for the work wrote to Pearson (why Pearson?) saying mysteriously, "the opinion of many persons [professional architects?] has been taken .... but [it] .... would be glad to have another opinion, throwing all former plans aside and commence upon a new scheme of proceeding altogether."[5] Pearson was invited to pay a visit to the church at no cost to the parish. He replied the next day and nine days later he put forward his report. The report contains nothing like the eventual changes. On 1 March Pearson remarked that he had been asked to estimate for making the windows with new tracery, so it is probable that he himself was not responsible for this decision, but there is no hint that he objected. Originally, it seems, he intended only to provide a new east window. He

4. 4 (1845), 203-5.
5. This letter and the subsequent correspondence are in the parish records in the custody of the Rev. G.V. James, Whitwell Rectory (as at 1983).

admitted that more repairs were needed than expected and that these had "escaped [his] hasty inspection". On 11 June he added that the fabric was in a very poor state, "much worse indeed than I have ever seen old walls" and this would involve more rebuilding than he seems to have envisaged originally.

The report by Frederick Peck, a minor London architect, on Saddington in 1872 seems rather off-hand and does not betray a great deal of sympathetic concern for the building. He had visited the church following a letter from one of the churchwardens and noted, "The church does not present any particular features of interest and from its irregularity of plan and varied architecture must have been rebuilt at different periods."[6] It seems to augur badly for what he was about to do and the result is as depressing as any in the nineteenth century. The surviving evidence and the illustration in Nichols show a perfectly ordinary village church and there is no hint of "irregularity of plan". Peck took over the two-light reticulated design from the west window and used it to sweep away all others; his nave roof was a meagre affair with no ornamentation and two thin tie-beams which appear to be sagging slightly now. By any standards this was cheap, dull work and it is perhaps significant that no-one else employed Peck again in the district.

Local architects, on the other hand, were often accused of second-rate work, and the fears of such men are summed up by the remarks passed by the surveyor of the ICBS, quoted on pp. 90-91.

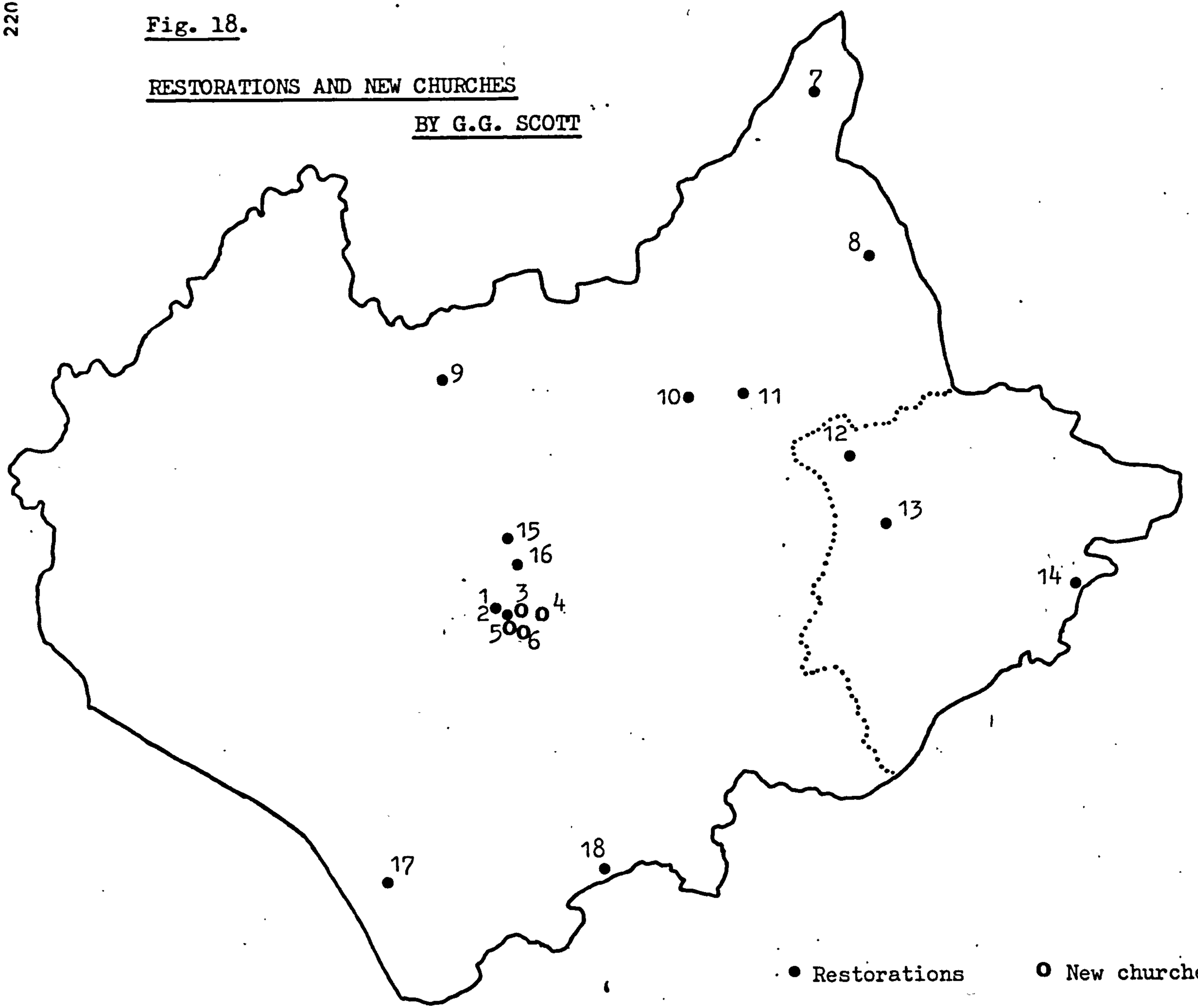
It would have been strange indeed if parishes had not sought to engage leading national architects, particularly for major churches, and they no doubt expected better things than the ICBS thought might arise from minor local ones. The list of restorations by G.G. Scott includes most of the churches in the larger towns in Leicestershire, and some of the most important country ones as well - St Mary de Castro, Ketton, Lutterworth, Melton Mowbray, Oakham and Whissendine (Fig 18). Other major centres of population with the exception of Market Harborough all employed London men - St Aubyn at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, William Bassett-Smith at Castle Donington and Hinckley, and Blomfield at Sileby. Those who were influential in promoting church building and restoration in the county might naturally turn to the nationally known architects, especially as there was no significant church architect locally until the rise of Joseph Goddard. Thus, when they came to restore their own

6. LRO DE 489/64.

Fig. 18.

RESTORATIONS AND NEW CHURCHES

BY G.G. SCOTT



1 Leicester, St Margaret
2 Leicester, St Mary de Castro
3 Leicester, St Matthew
4 Leicester, St Saviour
5 Leicester, St Andrew
6 Leicester, St John the Divine

7 Bottesford
8 Croxton Kerrial
9 Loughborough
10 Asfordby
11 Melton Mowbray
12 Whissendine
13 Oakham
14 Ketton
15 Birstall
16 Belgrave, St Peter
17 Lutterworth
18 Theddingworth

churches, Scott was an obvious choice for the Rev. G.E. Gillett (Waltham-on-the-Wolds, 1850), the Rev. T. James (Theddingworth, 1857-8) and the Rev. F.H. Sutton (Ketton, 1862). For the Rev. Henry Alford, a notable High Churchman (see p. 75), none other than Pugin was the man to undertake the restoration of his church at Wymeswold in 1844-6.

Apart from these examples there seems to have been a complete lack of an Ecclesiological coterie in Leicestershire, a point evident from the very small numbers of local members of the Cambridge Camden and Ecclesiological Societies noted on pp. 73-7. Leicestershire thus makes a marked contrast to what was happening in Devon.[7] Here there was an Ecclesiological élite, particularly round Exeter, which dispensed a sort of cultural patronage by word of mouth and advice to prospective benefactors, whereas no such group existed in Leicestershire. It would be highly instructive to have a detailed examination of the situation in the adjacent county of Northamptonshire, where there was an early, strong architectural society including men like James and Lord Alwyne Compton. Both these men were friendly with Scott and it would be worthwhile to know the extent to which Scott and other advanced architects were brought in.

Rich patrons also exercised their influence on the choice of architects. After inheriting the family estates in Yorkshire and Rutland, the seventh Viscount Downe employed William Butterfield for numerous works on them, especially in the 1850s. When restoration atAshwell was decided upon Butterfield was the inevitable choice and he provided Rutland with its most distinctive restoration (see pp. 139-40). The whole work was paid for by Viscount Downe. While Butterfield was at Ashwell, the neighbouring parish of Cottesmore seems to have decided to rebuild its south porch and, not surprisingly, Butterfield was called in to do it.

Sir George Beaumont of Coleorton Hall is said to have been friendly with St Aubyn and this is, no doubt, what led to the latter's appointment for the restoration at Whitwick in 1848 where Sir George was patron. His local influence may well have been a major factor in the selection of St Aubyn in a number of later works in the area, coupled with the "contagious" factor that once an architect was known in an area he tended to be re-selected.

In some instances a benefactor paid for the restoration or building of an entire church; more often he paid for the restoration of a major part of a building (especially the chancel). He might therefore be expected to have had sole or major influence on the choice of architect.

7. A suggestion made to me by Dr M. Cherry.

The most notable cases are at the two new Leicester churches of St Mark and St Saviour where, respectively, Ewan Christian and Sir G.G. Scott were selected by William Perry-Herrick and the Rev. F.G. Burnaby. Even if a benefactor did not make the choice entirely by himself he would certainly have made sure the architect selected acted in accordance with his wishes. But in the majority of cases the benefactors were probably more concerned with spiritual welfare than architectural niceties. Beyond such general statements, not much can be gained from this line of enquiry. There are not enough cases in the area where one man paid for two or more works within a reasonably short time-scale for conclusions to be drawn. Earl Howe restored or rebuilt the churches on his estates around Gopsall in the 1830s and early 1840s but, except in the case of Congerstone, the name of the architect is not known and the stylistic variety tends to suggest that different hands may have been involved. The Dukes of Rutland were the patrons of no less than fifteen churches restored in varying degrees between 1840 and 1895 and they often made very substantial contributions to the work. The names of ten different architects are known and they cover no less than eleven churches.

Patronage is a singularly arid source for investigating the choice of architects. As architect to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Ewan Christian was an obvious choice for them. This happened at Dadlington where the Commissioners held the advowson jointly with the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; the Commissioners paid for the entire cost of the chancel restoration in 1887. Similarly they employed Christian for the work on the chancel at Bringhurst in 1862 (they had become the impropriators in 1854).[8] The parish continued the good work by engaging Christian for the restoration of the remainder of the church the same year.

What happened at Bringhurst was the usual arrangement, in that one architect was used for the work on the entire church. Where the chancel was restored at a different time from the rest, it was, of course, quite common for different men to be used. However, there are three odd cases where two different architects were used at the same time for different parts of the church. These are: -

Brooke, 1879, where Christian did the chancel and James Tait the remainder.

Foxton, 1893, where H. Hardwicke Langston restored the chancel and William White the rest.

8. VCH 5, 57.

Lyddington, 1889-90, where Christian restored the chancel and J.C. Traylen the rest.

One would dearly love to know the reasons behind these split responsibilities, which seem redolent of some disagreements between parishes and rectors! The patron at Brooke was G.H. Finch and he may have been influenced in his choice by the fact that Christian had restored the chancel at Langham in 1876-8, where Finch was also the patron.

Where there was no obvious candidate one way of solving the problem, or at least putting off a decision, was to hold a competition. Competitions were much reviled by the RIBA and the architectural profession at large, but they flourished and there was no shortage of participants. The rebuilding committee for Blackfordby found itself acutely embarrassed when it advertised for an architect. There were 32 applications and the committee received immense packages of plans.[9] These included designs from an important figure like St Aubyn,[10] who, perhaps, thought he had an advantage from being known in the area (through Sir George Beaumont). In the event, designs by the local, but not undistinguished architect, Henry Stevens were selected.

A competition was used to decide the architect for Leicester, St Luke which was being paid for by the Leicester Church Extension Association.[11] This was intended to be a fairly cheap church costing under £5,000, but eventually it cost nearly £1,000 more. The winning architects were Bellamy and Hardy of Lincoln. For St Paul the CEA also held a competition and sought designs from eight local architects. It chose the one furnished by F.W. Ordish.[12] The competition for St Leonard is particularly interesting in that the successful design was chosen out of eight by J.L. Pearson.[13] He selected the very angular, powerful design submitted under the title of "Excalibur" by Ordish and Traylen. The church, now demolished, was most unloveable but Pearson's choice must reflect an interest in boldness and strong lines, often a characteristic in his own buildings.

Unfortunately this whole discussion is rather inconclusive, as it is extremely hard to discover the detailed processes or motives behind the selection of individual architects for particular works. However, it is possible to add a list of some half dozen further examples about

9. LJ 29 Oct. 1858.
10. Eccl. 13 (1855), 50, 63.
11. LC 16 Jun. 1866.
12. LJ 6 May 1870.
13. LJ 30 Jul. 1875.

which it is possible to say something positive.

Bruntingthorpe. At the time of issuing the 1872 faculty for rebuilding no architect had been chosen and it was stated "a competent Architect be requested to report".[14] It is perhaps surprising to find things so far advanced without an architect having put forward some proposals. The faculty was dated 19 December. As the memorial stone was laid on 25 March the next year,[15] things must have advanced very rapidly. There certainly would not have been time for a lengthy selection process and William Smith was appointed, no doubt having become well known from his prolific work in south-west Leicestershire in general, and his restoration in 1869 at Kimcote (three miles distant) in particular.

Humberstone. E.B. Hartopp paid for the entire work at Little Dalby in 1851-2 under Raphael Brandon. Brandon was probably well-known from his work at Leicester, St Martin in the late 1840s. When the decision was taken to restore Humberstone (carried out 1857-8) Brandon was again chosen. It is probably more than coincidence that Hartopp was one of the major landowners in the parish and no doubt put forward a powerful recommendation.

Ridlington/Uppingham. These two churches received uninspiring restorations under Henry Parsons of London, otherwise unknown in the area. They took place in 1860 and 1860-61 respectively. The churches are barely two miles apart, and the convenience/knowing-who-to-ask motive must have been at work at one of them.

Sheepy. Robert Jennings built the rectory at Sheepy in 1856.[16] When church restoration was desired in 1859, he was known and the choice was a natural one.[17]

Stapleton. The work between 1904 and 1906 was under the direction of W.T. Grewcock of Leicester, otherwise unknown as a church architect. This was a fine piece of nepotism! The Grewcock family were prominent local farmers and at least one of them had been a churchwarden in the late nineteenth century.

Thurcaston/Anstey. Broadbent and Hawley repaired Thurcaston in 1844-5, the chief benefactor being the Rev. R. Waterfield. When Waterfield came to pay entirely for the rebuilding at Anstey he also used the same firm.

14. NRO ML 1116, 641.

15. R.W. Higginbottom, St Mary's Bruntingthorpe (Bruntingthorpe, 1973).

16. Bldr 14 (1856), 224.

17. Bldr 17 (1859), 244.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MATERIALS.

This chapter does not attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of the subject of building materials but aims to highlight certain key points, some of which do not seem to have been discussed previously in the published literature.

Before the nineteenth century Leicestershire churches were built of local, traditional materials. These were rarely used more than a few miles away from their source, except in the case of the fine Rutland limestones and the sandstones of the west of the area. The diversity of the geology of Leicestershire means that its churches display as great a variety of walling materials as in any county of comparable size. The west is dominated by grey Triassic sandstone, mostly quarried in Warwickshire (e.g. Attleborough), but with a little red material from around Coventry. The east has a band of brown marl- and ironstone running as an escarpment from where it enters the county at Market Harborough to where it leaves it in the Vale of Belvoir. Further east still come the fine white limestones from such famous quarries as those at Clipsham and Ketton. In the middle of Leicestershire there is a lack of good building materials as the area is made up of soft clays and marls of the Upper Trias and the Lower Jurassic, often heavily overlain by extensive glacial deposits. Consequently the builders used almost any material - chiefly rubble - that was to hand.

Against this background of a diversity of materials, it is possible to test out some of the ideas of the nineteenth-century church builders. An early theoretical view was expressed in The Ecclesiologist which stated that local materials should be used wherever possible; even brick was allowable in a poor stone area, "only let the brick be honestly and intelligently used".[1] Street agreed with this viewpoint, but also argued, very sensibly, that in view of the improved state of nineteenth-century communications, it was rather pointless to try and reproduce specific regional architectural styles.[2] The treatment of surface was, rightly, felt to be of immense importance. For Pugin and many others rough masonry was desirable, and was a marked contrast to the smoothness characteristic of

1. Eccl 6 (1846), 45.
2. Eccl 11 (1850), 31-42, 227-33.

stonework immediately preceding Victorian times. Pugin argued against regularly-cut large stones and regularity in jointing. Material, he believed, should be clearly exposed and to be seen for what it is (i.e. "truthful" expression). Gradually the emphasis shifted in leading architectural circles away from texture and focused upon a rather aspect of surface treatment - that of colour. This opened the door for the extensive reintroduction of brick which had little texture but possessed the ideal possibilities for structural polychrome. Except in parts of East Anglia and the south of England, brick had rarely been a traditional church-building material in medieval times and its revived usage reflects the growing interest in new materials and the improved communications of the mid-Victorian age.

Over most of Leicestershire there could be little controversy over what walling fabric should be used. In the west the obvious choice was grey sandstone. This could be cut into the regular, large square blocks that Pugin so disliked, and was applied in this way in such early building schemes as Congerstone, 1834 or Heather, 1842. In the east the choice was even more clear cut. It would have been unthinkable, both aesthetically and financially, to import materials from elsewhere, so with very few exceptions (e.g. Old Dalby, 1835, built of brick, clad with a thin veneer of sandstone) limestone and marlstone were used.

Where the problem of choice of materials arose was in the area bounded, roughly, by Claybrooke, the south-west tip of the county, Lubenham and Leicester. This was the area of no good local stone and where the usual medieval church fabrics were built of rubble, especially until the end of the thirteenth century. By the nineteenth century rubble was not a very practical material to use since it was laborious to collect, construction took longer than dressed or semi-dressed stone, and there was really no need to use it in an era of cheaper communications. Only where it was a question of adding a part to a church did architects tend to use rubble masonry, as with Scott's organ chamber/vestry added on the north side of Lutterworth. Architects did not consider themselves bound to use only locally available material, the more so because the later medieval builders had, themselves, imported sandstone ashlar from some distance to build, for instance, Kimcote tower and Stanford-on-Avon. Limestone ashlar was brought to Theddingworth and Husband's Bosworth, for example. The only new church (though Kilby was rebuilt and faced with granite) in this area was by the Ecclesiologically-acceptable Henry Woodyer at Smeeton Westerby, 1848-9. His sandstone masonry was exactly of the type advocated by Pugin, but, interestingly, this seems to be only

a facing. Behind a missing piece of wainscot some brick is visible. Therefore the facing is something of a "sham" yet it is one that none other than Pugin himself could accept since much of his Roman Catholic chapel of 1842 at Shepshed is built in this way. Apart from Henry Goddard's use of granite at Kilby in 1858, it was also imported into this barren area by William Smith for work at Gilmorton, Leire and Shawell in the 1860s. However, when Smith rebuilt much of Bruntingthorpe in the early '70s he respected local tradition by using (presumably reusing) field stone rubble.

What happened in Leicester is of some interest because the town lies more or less at the junction various building material traditions. In medieval times sandstone was the usual one. Architects in the nineteenth century, however, could justify a variety of materials, although limestone and marlstone tended to be avoided since they had to be brought from further than competing materials. Brick was the most common, used for reasons of economy in the '30s and again late in the century, but for aesthetic reasons at Scott's churches, starting with St Andrew, 1860-62. The summary of building materials is given in Table 16.

Table 16. Building materials used in Leicester churches.*

	Brick	Granite	Slate	Sandstone
1800-29	-	-	-	1
1830-39	2	-	-	-
1840-49	-	-	-	-
1850-59	-	1	-	-
1860-69	1	2	-	-
1870-79	1	2	1	1
1880-89	4	-	-	-
1890-99	5	-	-	-
1900-14	5	-	-	-
	18	5	1	2

Note: this table refers to facing materials, not the cores of walls.

Although materials were moved greater distances than they had been before, stone for the main fabric (excluding dressings) was not moved more than twenty or thirty miles from the source. Both for reasons of economy and architectural theory, local stones (and bricks) were invariably chosen. To have done otherwise would have produced structures that would have looked out of place. A rare case of this was at Packington where the south porch was added by two Cheltenham architects in 1902

and using Bath stone and a late Perpendicular style.[3] It is thoroughly out of place in west Leicestershire and looks as though it might have been transported there from a West Country church.

However, for details and dressings there was no reluctance by architects to draw upon a wide variety of materials, often from far afield, to enhance the beauty of their churches. Bath and Doulting stones were particularly popular materials for external dressings. An example of the variety possible comes from Hugglescote where J.B. Everard used Doulton dressings outside (a sharp contrast to the dark local stone of the rest of the fabric) and Corsham Down and Ancaster dressings in his Ibstock brick interior.[4] He also used more exotic materials such as a terra-cotta frieze and polished columns of Shap granite and smaller ones of Red Mansfield and Green Moor stones.[5]

Polished granite piers were fashionable in the 1870s and were also employed at Leicester, St Mark, 1870-72, and St Saviour, 1875-7. What seems to be the earliest case in Leicestershire of "exotic" materials being used is at Scott's St John the Divine, 1853-4. Here the font is of Caen stone with four shafts of polished, dark Penzance marble.[6] The pulpit also has the same materials. It would be tedious and unnecessary to list out all the numerous examples of the use of such materials but a few of the more unusual or spectacular examples are worth citing: -

1. Slater and Carpenter's chancel at Thurnby, 1870-73, has fine blank arcading round the sanctuary walls. The shafts are of polished black marble which creates a striking effect against the light background.

2. Street's font at Blaston St Giles, 1878, has a red octagonal bowl and shafted green base, both in polished serpentine.[7]

3. The young T.G. Jackson made spectacular, if vulgar, use of imported materials in his chancel restoration at Lyndon (see plates 41 and 42). The pulpit and reredos are of alabaster with green trim (probably antique verde marble) and the chancel pavements have tiles (by Godwin) and slabs of Lanquedoc and Irish marbles.[8]

4. A.W. Blomfield used red Dumfries sandstone for his font at Prestwold,

3. AAS 26 (1901-2), xciv. They were Prothero and Phillott.

4. BN 35 (1878), 66.

5. BN 37 (1879), 564.

6. White, Directory (1877), 297.

7. Kindly identified for me by Mr D. Potter.

8. Bldr 24 (1866), 392.

1890.[9] It is a most uninteresting stone and it is hard to understand the reasons for the choice.

Leicestershire itself produced one lavish material which was popular with High Victorian architects. This was alabaster. It seems attention has not previously been directed to this subject. The alabaster came from Humberstone where the successful builder Benjamin Broadbent owned a quarry. The site is not identified but may have been associated with the former Humberstone Brick and Tile Works (grid ref. SK 611059).[10] It is unclear when the industry started or finished and Greenhill makes no mention of Leicestershire alabaster being used for incised slabs.[11] It would seem that the earliest reference is in the Leicester Journal for 30 April 1858 in which Broadbent's quarries were cited as the source for the alabaster that Brandon used extensively in his restoration at Humberstone itself. He used it most lavishly for the font, pier capitals, a frieze in the chancel and linings to the chancel windows. The extent of the work and the tone of the reference give no reason to doubt that the alabaster trade was already well-established. However, it must be said that it is probably no coincidence that Broadbent owned a third of the Humberstone rectory! Shortly afterwards, Humberstone alabaster is specifically mentioned as being used in Scott's pulpit at Theddingworth of 1858,[12] and Slater's pulpit at Market Harborough of 1860.[13] There seem to be no later references and it is possible that the veins may have been worked out in the 1860s. Other alabaster came from the more traditional and well-known sources of Staffordshire and Chellaston, Derbyshire: for example, the font at Blackfordby, 1858,[14] and the piscina and sedilia at Leicester, St John the Baptist, Knighton, 1885.[15]

Alabaster, marble and stones resembling marble were frequently used for enriching fonts, pulpits, reredoses etc., especially from the mid-1850s. By the '60s they were so widespread that Beresford Hope spoke of "marble mania" becoming dangerous; he condemned "pulpits made like marble

9. Kelly, Directory (1900), 320.
10. I am grateful to Mr J.G. Martin, Keeper of Earth Sciences. Leicestershire Museums for help on this matter.
11. F.A. Greenhill, The Incised Slabs of Leicestershire and Rutland (Leicester, 1958).
12. LJ 5 Oct. 1861.
13. LJ 27 Oct. 1861.
14. BN 4 (1858), 1099.
15. BN 49 (1885), 267.

boxes or .... gigantic fonts set on tall marble legs".[16] The enthusiasm for the medium was such that at Castle Donington, probably in the 1850s, some incised slabs were vandalously, albeit rather beautifully, turned into a pulpit. After the decorative extravagancies of the '60s "marble mania" did wane somewhat as simpler tastes prevailed from the '70s. However, it was in the 1880s that two of the most impressive alabaster pieces were produced - the pulpit and font at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, St Helen. Both were by Earp of Lambeth (to St Aubyn's designs?). The powerful pulpit is semi-circular, ornamented with bold, late thirteenth-century arched designs. The arches and the base have polished granite shafts. The tapering octagonal font bears various sacred emblems, and, like the pulpit, has stocky granite shafts at the base.

By the 1890s the development of lavish woodcarving seems to have virtually displaced the interest in exotic stonework. Late examples are the pulpit at Newtown Linford, 1893, with its marble shafts, and the font at Tinwell (a memorial; date of death, 1893). The latter is a particularly old-fashioned piece, both in terms of its red marble shafts and the style of the carving. Marble and alabaster retained a certain popularity, for example the Higham-on-the-Hill reredos, 1911, and the panelling and reredos at Leicester, St John the Divine, 1905.

Terra-cotta was never used as a material for the main fabric of a church in the way that, for instance Edmund Sharpe used it in Lancashire in the 1840s.[17] Apart from its fairly extensive use at Leicester, St James the Greater (started 1899) for some facings, moulded work and faience panels in the clerestory, its use was confined to only three minor cases. These were flowers in a frieze at Humberstone, a panel set in an alabaster font at Scalford (both 1858), and two friezes at Hugglescote, 1878-88. It was used much more widely in secular buildings at the end of the nineteenth century, for example, Goddard, Paget and Goddard's Thomas Cook Building, Gallowtree Gate, Leicester, of 1894.

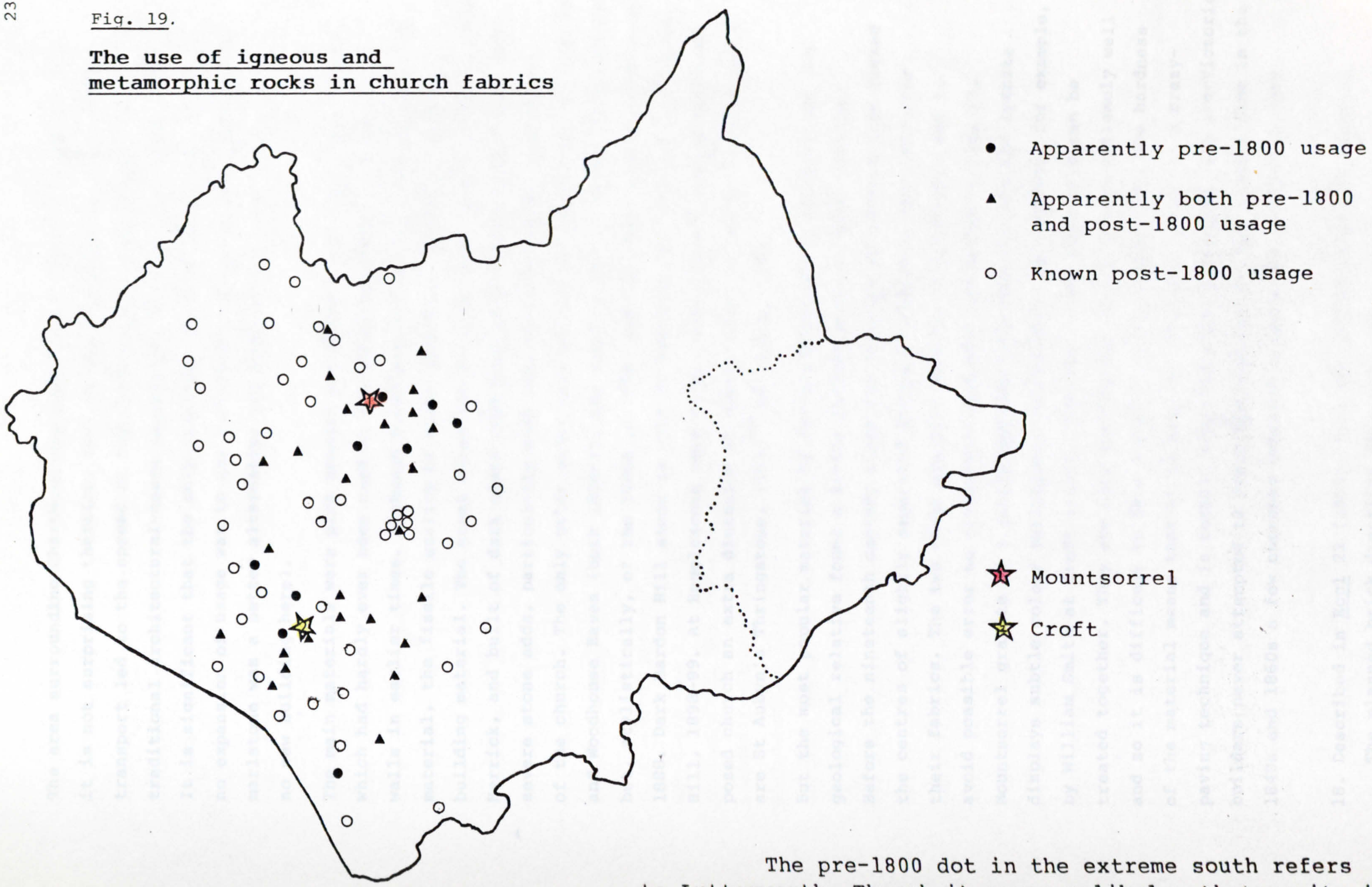
Of far greater significance was the use of the various rocks outcropping in Charnwood. All are very hard to work and some split too easily. Hence until the cult of rugged, honest materials arose in the nineteenth century, they were less favoured than other building stones. Their usage was confined to the vicinity of the quarries. Fig. 19 shows the distribution of Charnian rocks in what appear to be pre-1800 fabrics.

16. BN 10 (1863), 785.

17. The first was St Stephen, Lever Bridge, Halgh, Bolton, 1842-5, the second Holy Trinity, Fallowfield, Manchester, 1845-6.

Fig. 19.

The use of igneous and metamorphic rocks in church fabrics



The pre-1800 dot in the extreme south refers to Lutterworth. Though it seems unlikely, the granite in the clerestory seems to be old.

The area surrounding Charnwood has even poorer building materials and it is not surprising therefore that in the Victorian period cheaper transport led to the spread of the Charnian materials beyond their traditional architectural-usage boundaries. This is also shown in Fig. 19. It is significant that the only direction in which there was almost no expansion of usage was to the north-east; here, up the Wreake valley, marlstone was a better alternative for restoration work (there was no new building here).

The main materials were pink granite and syenite but there were others which had hardly ever been used as the main constituents of church walls in earlier times. Although Swithland slates were a superb roofing material, the fissile quality of slate made it a generally uncommon building material. The great exception is at St Mark, paid for by W. Perry-Herrick, and built of dark slate from Herrick's own quarries. This dark, severe stone adds, particularly when wet, to the dramatic qualities of the church. The only other major uses of this material were at Copt Oak and Woodhouse Eaves (both 1836-7), the south aisle at Barkby (date unknown but, stylistically, of the 1840s or '50s) and the small chapel at Nanpantan, 1888. Dark Bardon Hill stone is used at Hugglescote, 1878-88, and Bardon Hill, 1898-99. At Hugglescote this stone lends Everard's massively-composed church an extra dimension of power. Cases of mixed Charnian rocks are St Aubyn's Thringstone, 1862,[18] and Groby, 1840.

But the most popular material by far was Mountsorrel granite, and its geological relative found a little further south - Croft syenite. Before the nineteenth century these two outcrops of igneous rock formed the centres of slightly separated groups of churches using them for their fabrics. The two rocks are very similar in appearance and to avoid possible error no distinction has been attempted in Fig. 19. Mountsorrel granite is a fairly homogeneous pink whereas the syenite displays subtle colour variations, exploited to good effect, for example, by William Smith at Croft itself. Otherwise these materials can be treated together. They are both exceedingly hard and wear extremely well and so it is difficult to date a fabric by its appearance. The hardness of the material means that it is usually used for facings in a crazy-paving technique and is totally unsuitable for dressings. The pre-Victorian builders never attempted to dress the granite but for a short time in the 1840s and 1860s a few churches received unusual and, no doubt, very

18. Described in Eccl 22 (1861), 125. For illustration see plate 24 The planned brick dressings were not used.

expensive square blocks as a facing material. Parsons rebuilt the north aisle at Quorn in this way in 1842. Mountsorrel, Christ Church, 1844, is faced with such blocks, though the chancel, by Goddard and Co. in 1899, has the more economical, crazy-paved technique.[19] In the 1860s William Smith used squared syenite at Shawell, 1865-6, and Leire, 1867-8.

Pink granite is a highly distinctive facing stone. Especially when used in crazy-paved fashion it creates a harsh, rugged surface quite unlike anything else in lowland England. It is therefore not surprising that it appears to have fascinated nineteenth-century architect . Scott, alive to local materials, used it at Leicester, St John the Divine and again at St Matthew, along with a strident display of brick and limestone. For that phase of nineteenth-century church architecture which tended towards starkness and bordered on the cultivation of the brutal, it was ideally suitable. It was therefore an irresistable choice for Ordish and Traylen's two Leicester churches. It was never exposed in bare internal walls, being too extreme even for lovers of visible stonework.

In a limited number of churches pink granite can be an exciting medium, but there was a regrettable tendency to use it inappropriately in certain restorations. The worst case was when the Goodacres (R.J. was always an insensitive churcharchitect) refaced the west part of the north aisle at Rearsby in 1891.[20] The pink contrasts horribly with the gentle rust-coloured marlstone used by the medieval builders. Slater and Carpenter's granite chancel at Thurnby, 1870-73, and beyond the traditional granite-building area, also looks out of place. The same may be said of the chancel at Evington, a quirky mixture of ironstone and granite by Goddard and Son, 1867, and the replacement of rubble by granite on the north and south faces of the Sileby tower[21]. But it would be wrong to suppose that such insensitivity to materials was a Victorian monopoly. The facing of the clerestory at clerestory at Queniborough and the tower at Seagrave both seem much earlier.

Apart from the granite examples, there is only one other church in Leicestershire which displays crazy-paved facing. This is at Saxelby where

19. Squared blocks are also known in other 1840s buildings, e.g. a cottage designed in 1841 by Henry Goddard and now 424 Loughborough Road, Birstall (GPNH), and the front of the parish room. Mountsorrel, 1847. There was obviously no technical difficulty and Mountsorrel was the centre of a thriving industry making "sets" for paving roads.
20. LJ 22 Jan. 1892.
21. AAS 32 (1913-14), cxxvi.

the porch and chancel of 1856-7 (architect unknown) are faced with ironstone applied in this fashion.[22]

THE EXPOSURE OF WALL MATERIALS

Interiors

Pre-Victorian churches were, almost without exception, plastered internally. A few medieval walls such as the fourteenth-century chancel at Claybrooke may have lacked plaster but this was rare and only occurred where high-quality ashlar masonry was involved. Certainly rubble or semi-dressed fabrics were never meant to be seen. With the Ecclesiologists there arose the belief in the "truthful" expression of building materials and the associated desire to expose them to view. It was also linked to a desire to remove the accumulated coats of whitewash which had been applied in the two or three centuries before, and which had given churches a light, clear appearance. Any scheme of importance after about 1840 required the exposing of dressed stonework in piers, arches and elsewhere. The concept was often extended to removing plaster from wall fabrics and then leaving them bare. Although one can speculate about motives it is strange that nineteenth-century sources seem singularly silent about the aesthetic theory of internal plaster stripping, and I have found no contemporary references until the disapproving ones late in the century. It is possible that money was another factor. At Owston the faculty of 1860 specifies replastering but at Henry Goddard's ensuing restoration the stonework was bared.[23] Perhaps lack of funds led to this change of heart but since the masonry would have to be carefully cleaned and repointed for permanent exposure to take place, it is hard to believe that there would have been much of a cost difference.

Whatever the motives, the new concept produced a dramatic change in the internal atmosphere of the churches affected, and promoted the "dim obscure" so beloved by the Victorians.[24] The practice seems to have been adopted by great numbers of architects, including major figures like Pearson (Burley-on-the-Hill, 1869-70), probably Scott (Croxton Kerrial,

22. There are a few other examples in the area, e.g. the schools at Ab Kettleby, c. 1870 and the Methodist chapel at Holwell, 1877.
23. LRO DE 1266/11.
24. Their motives were totally different from those at Thurlaston where, in very recent times the plaster was removed after it had started to fall off the walls.

1866-8) and Street (South Luffenham, 1861). Its value in revealing archaeological detail was obvious and a very early example of its recommendation for this purpose is at St Mary de Castro by William Flint in 1844.[25] However, exponents of such treatment do not seem to have totally eschewed other ways of handling wall surfaces. This is to be seen in the work of the Goddards between 1862 and 1899 and in that of William Smith. The figures, for the churches they restored are as follows (as far as reasonable indications of the original intentions are available): -

	Goddards	Smith
No. of churches where plaster was removed	11	1
" " " with natural-coloured rendering	1	3
" " " with plaster and whitewash	12	6

The practice continued right through past 1900, but beginning in the 1840s at St Mary de Castro, 1844-6, Coston, 1846 by Weightman and Hadfield, and, probably, at Measham, 1842. The statistics for churches existing in 1840 and for which dates can be securely or probably assigned are as follows: -

1840-49	3
1850-59	5
1860-69	27
1870-79	16
1880-89	15
1890-99	11
1900-14	4
Post-1914	3
Uncertain date	19
	103

Note: these figures include places where only part of the church, e.g. the chancel, has been stripped.

It is clear from the figures that the practice was at its height in the 1860s - the time of the most vigorous and drastic restorations - but at no time was it entirely out of favour. Such cavalier treatment of walls encountered disapproval towards the end of the century from archaeologically-minded bodies such as the Leicestershire Archaeological and Architectural Society, which regretted the work at Sproxton, for example.[26] The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings was, as might be

25. LRO CM1/4, 197.

26. AAS 22 (1893-4), 51.

expected, strong in its condemnation, as one finds at St Nicholas in 1903 and Gaddesby in 1892.[27] The scraping of the Gaddesby chancel walls was opposed, too late, by the vicar and the Bishop of Peterborough (see p. 189).

The technique was not just applied to old walls but also to newly built ones which were left bare, as at Skeffington, 1860, Medbourne, 1876, and Laughton, 1879-80.

As suggested above, Joseph Goddard was quite keen on the method, sometimes with reasonable results (e.g. Lowesby where the attractive honey-coloured ironstone is exposed), sometimes with grim ones (e.g. Cossington where very poor, drab stone is visible, or Ibstock, where a cold, lifeless interior arises from the exposure of grey sandstone).

Another fashionable and peculiarly Victorian form of wall treatment was, on removing the old plasterwork, to replace it with uncoloured rendering. This is to be seen as another way of producing the desired sombre effect and major architects were just as responsible for this as other, more minor ones. Examples are Butterfield at Ashwell, 1851, Carpenter at Exton, 1852-4 and Scott at Theddingworth, 1857-8. In Leicestershire, at least, it seems to have waned in popularity after the 1870s, and the last case may be at Prestwold in 1890 where Blomfield was responsible. The cases where dates are known or can be reasonably surmised for restored churches are as follows: -

1840-49	0
1850-59	4
1860-69	6
1870-79	3
1880-89	2
1890-99	1
1900-14	0
Uncertain date	7
	23

In choosing the wall treatment for new churches, architects had no constraints of existing materials as they had when they were carrying out restorations. On average plaster was more popular during the nineteenth century in Leicestershire. But, between 1860 and 1900, exposed building materials were just as popular, as Table 17 shows.

27. SPAB archive.

Table 17. Internal wall treatment in new and totally rebuilt churches, 1840-1914.

	Plaster	Natural-coloured rendering	Exposed building materials
1840-49	6	-	--
1850-59	3	-	--
1860-69	3	1	3
1870-79	6	-	4
1880-89	1	-	4
1890-99	2	-	5
1900-14	5	2	1
	26	3	17

In the 1860s brick was left exposed for aesthetic reasons at Leicester, St Andrew and Tur Langton. The results were effective and dramatic. Curiously G.E. Street seems to have left the chancel walls bare at Blaston, St Giles, 1867-8, whereas he plastered the nave. Later the aesthetic considerations may have been partly subsumed by economic ones. Many of the cheaper churches of the last quarter of the century had bare brick inside, for example, St James, Aylestone Park, and Ellistown. But there was no general rule since there were other, not dissimilar buildings like St Michael and All Angels, Knighton, which were plastered. At Leicester, St Stephen the lower parts of the walls are bare, the upper ones plastered. It was common to enliven the surfaces of brick interiors by various devices. The most popular was structural polychrome. The red-brick walls at Tur Langton have black brick and white stone bands. Goddard's later and much more gentle interior at Leicester, St John the Baptist used white Whitwick and buff Ruabon bricks to create a subtle colour contrast.[28] At Hugglescote Everard used an ornamented terra-cotta frieze to add visual interest and enhance the longitudinal dimension.

Exteriors

The Ecclesiologists were unanimimous in their condemnation of external stucco. The fact that it was commonplace on the exterior of medieval churches in no way mitigated their dislike of it. It was probably more frequent before the Reformation than they would have liked to admit; most Saxon churches were so treated and it is apparent that most medieval churches inareas of poor building stone, such as Norfolk, were not intended

28. BN 49 (1885), 361.

to have their rubble walls on display. Stucco was certainly used as a protection against the weather and often survives for this purpose in western Britain on the sides of churches facing the prevailing wind.[29]

But the Golden Age of stucco was undoubtedly the late Georgian era. It was applied to the exteriors of the remodelled churches of Isley Walton, 1819, Newton Harcourt, 1834-5, and Cotesbach, 1812. It concealed cheap brick walling, and, for this reason, has not been removed since in these cases. It was also applied to the outside walls of Barkby church in 1826,[30] and knocked off them again in 1864, by which time fashions had altered markedly.[31] At Barkestone it was put on the south side and on the north face of the clerestory in 1832, no doubt to impress Archdeacon Bonney, who noted at his 1832 Visitation, "all this has been done for my Inspection".[32] In all, thirty churches in Leicestershire are known to have had external stucco but this figure is, no doubt, a considerable understatement.[33]

Much effort was expended in the Victorian period on ridding churches of the offending stucco. The Leicestershire Archaeological and Architectural Society was vigorous in its denunciation. At Oadby, it reported, "The churchwardens there have had the bad taste and will learn the eventual bad economy [why?] of daubing a portion of the walls [south aisle] with stucco".[34] This was at the extraordinarily late date of 1862. Matters were righted two years later for the stucco "has been knocked off, [and] the walls properly pointed".[35] 1864 was a good year for the anti-stucco party. The local architectural society, pleased with its success at Oadby joyously reported victory at nearby Burton Overy. "The war against stucco has broken out here," it said.[36] Such activity was standard during restorations and it is probable that, as with box-pews, no-one thought it even mentioning so obvious a happening when describing what was done. There is no record of the loss of stucco at most of the thirty churches mentioned

29. Even the Victorian church of Llangaffo, Anglesey, by Weightman and Hadfield, 1847, has it.

30. ICBS, 1st ser., B Box 1.

31. AAS 7 (1863-4), cxxv.

32. LRO 245'50/5,11.

33. The list includes the other surviving examples at Belgrave, Bitteswell, Caldecott, Galby, Markfield, Tugby and Welham.

34. AAS 6 (1861-2), cxlv.

35. AAS 7 (1863-4), cxxv.

36. ibid., cxxvi.

above. At Willoughby Waterleys there is a rare case of exterior stucco removal being specified in the faculty of 1874.[37]

THE REMOVAL OF PRE-VICTORIAN BRICKWORK

"We abhor brick as a mean material" wrote The Ecclesiologist in 1844.[38] The fact that by 1850 it was starting to be used for the fabric of the Ecclesiological Society's model church of All Saints, Margaret Street did not invalidate the comment as far as the average parish was concerned. Brick was regarded and continued to be regarded as an unacceptable medium for repairs, flooring, windows, arches etc., although its use in new buildings gained ground.

Brick was thus removed from churches at restorations, whenever possible, and of the vast numbers of brick floors mentioned on pp. 66-7, very few survive today. What was particularly condemned was the way brick had been used for cheap repairs. Typical work of this type does survive occasionally, as, for example, the linings to the windows at Keyham, brick patching in the south aisle of Leicester, St Nicholas (probably of 1829-30) or the east end of Worthington, and the awkward top of the tower at Sutton Cheney.

The most frequent use of brick (other than floors) was to block tower arches to a) provide a wall behind the west gallery, and b) prevent the cold air from the tower entering the church.[39] Such infillings were invariably swept away when the west galleries were removed and the survivor at Horninghold is something of a rarity.

Much cheap, insensitive brickwork has gone and all that is known about much of it comes from occasional documentary references. Instances include the upper part of the nave at Hathern in 1832,[40] a brick arcade at Somerby until 1866,[41] and a brick bellcote and buttresses to the chancel at Stonton Wyville, also in 1832.[42]

37. NRO ML 1116, 708.
38. Eccl 3 (1844), 87.
39. There is little documentary evidence for their insertion but an exception is the provision for one in the 1834 faculty at Congerstone (LRO DE 1104/31).
40. LRO DE 245'50/1, 101.
41. LJ 13 Apr. 1866.
42. LRO 245'50/3, 251.

ROOFING MATERIALS

The type of roof covering exerts a major influence upon the external appearance of a building. It is difficult to produce a statistical assessment of the different types in use around 1800 but it is likely from the rather spasmodic documentary evidence that lead, slates and tiles were all common. Locally Swithland slates (around Charnwood) and Collyweston tiles (Rutland) may have predominated. There may have been isolated cases of thatch on churches, but, one suspects, its use had all but died out for ecclesiastical buildings in this area.

Reduced transport costs in the nineteenth century had a profound impact on roofing materials, just as they did in encouraging the use of wall fabric and ornamental stonework from further afield. The most important change was the availability of cheap slates from North Wales and the Lake District, and these were to become the most common - and least attractive - of all roof coverings. They did have the constructional advantage of being the lightest of all the commonly available materials and their lightness probably had a not insignificant part to play in the development of thin, spindly roofs of the type so common in the 1830s and 1840s.

Swithland and Collyweston slates continued to be used and were employed in an area which almost certainly extended beyond the pre-1800 one. The use of Swithland slates at Thorpe Satchville and Collyweston ones on the porch at Lubenham is ample demonstration of this. The locations for the use of these two materials are shown in Figs 20 and 21 for places where I have data (about 90% of the total). It is surprising that Swithland slates were not used more extensively locally. For example they were not used when Mountsorrel, Christ Church and Thringstone were built, but this was, no doubt, due to their considerable cost.[43] This is borne out by the fact that in the new Leicester churches only two of the cheaper ones had Swithland slates whereas seven costly buildings had them.[44] Both Swithland and Collyweston slates have the visually attractive feature of courses diminishing in width up to the ridge. A similar feature occurs in ordinary slates at Mowsley.

43. The data presented in the maps is probably fairly accurate because both Swithland and Collyweston tile schemes have a life-expectancy of over a hundred years, given adequate maintenance. There will not, as yet have been a major programme of renewal of Victorian roof coverings.
44. The two are St Augustine and St Michael and All Angels, Knighton.

Fig. 20.

The use of Swithland slates as a roofing material

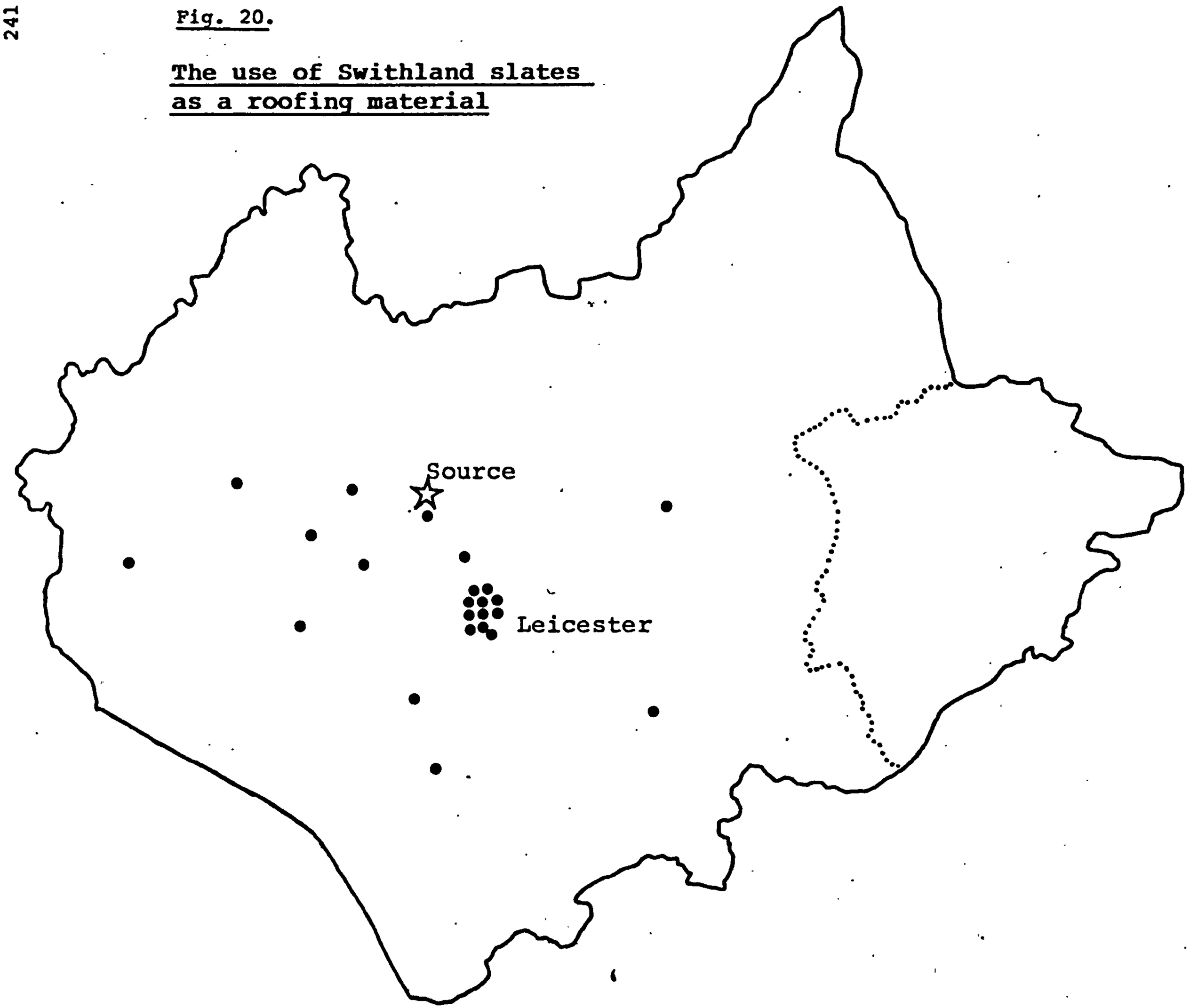
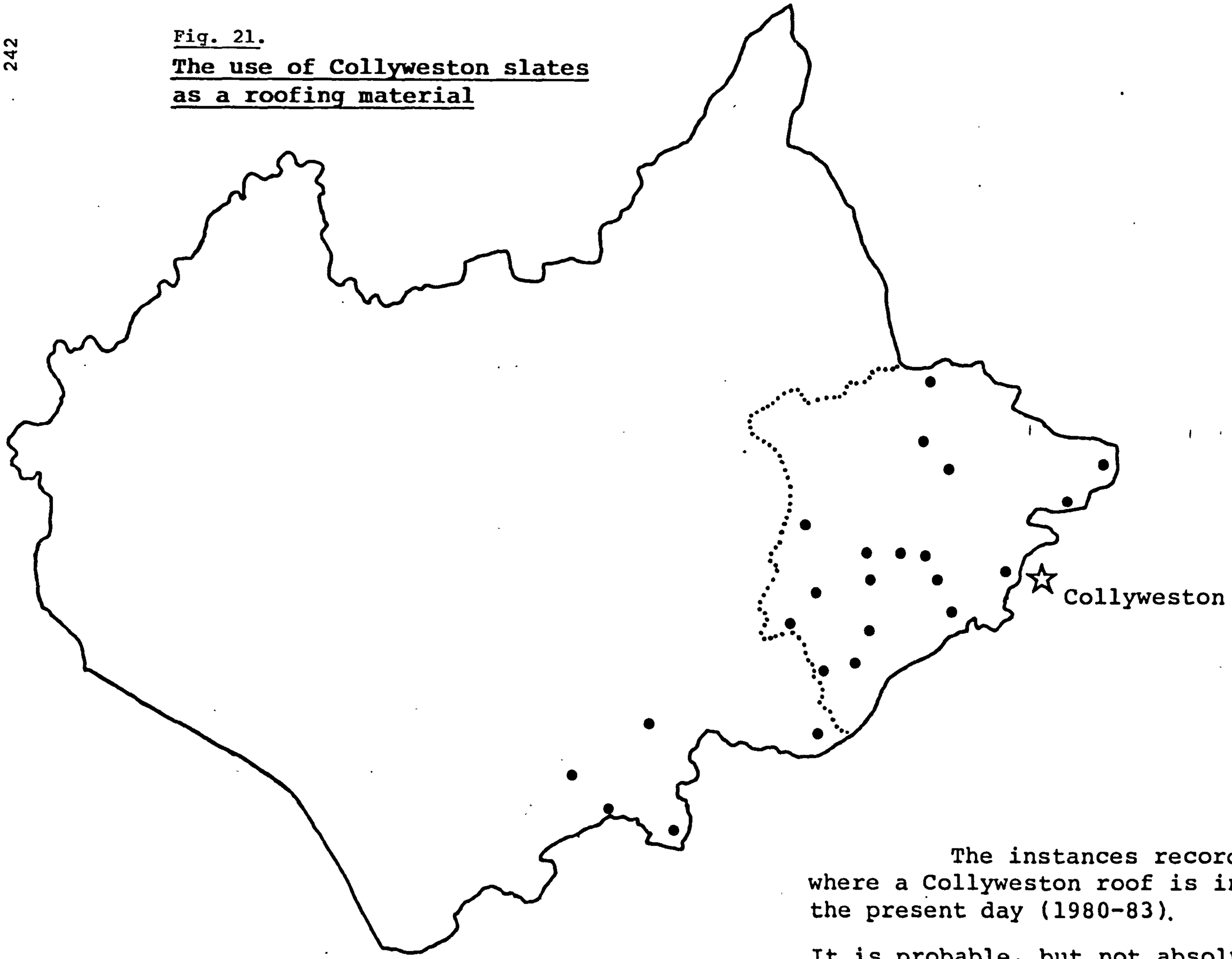


Fig. 21.
The use of Collyweston slates as a roofing material



The instances recorded are those where a Collyweston roof is in existence in the present day (1980-83).

It is probable, but not absolutely certain, that all the schemes are nineteenth-century.

Where there is a large expanse of roof visible, cheap slates can lead to a grim appearance, as at Thurmaston, though occasionally efforts were made to relieve this. For example, at Thringstone St Aubyn uses two slightly different coloured slates in broad bands. Similar banding is used in the tiled chancel roof at Leire. At Wymondham a rather garish effect is created by tiles with round lobes on their lower edges. In two instances, Leicester, The Martyrs and South Wigston, green Westmorland slates, a singularly attractive material, are used.

Ridge treatments

Victorian and Edwardian architects were occasionally prone to elaborate the outline of their churches by means of ornamented ridge tiles. These do not necessarily run along all the roof ridges on a church; Chadwell, for example, has spiky red tiles (probably of 1866) over the nave and south porch only, Rotherby, 1882, has ridges with the fairly common section on the chancel, vestry and south porch only. The effects of these silhouettes can sometimes be very frilly indeed, such as the trefoils at Mountsorrel, St Peter, of 1906 or Sibson, of 1907-8,[45] or very sharp as in the pattern at Ravenstone. Occasionally, as at Kimcote, 1869, or Chadwell the raised portions are pierced for added effect. The most charming ornamented ridge tiles occur on the vestry at Wing where tiny, two-light aedicules imitate two-light windows and occur at intervals below the apex. Ridge tiles are always either black or red, the latter often forming a sharp contrast to the grey of slate roofs.

The contemporary documentary material is silent about ridge tiles in Leicestershire but there seem to be no examples before the 1860s. This is, perhaps, to be expected since it was at that time that superficial fanciness seems to have become more prevalent. This type of roof treatment was not suitable for long, unbroken ridges and therefore it is absent in such new churches as, say, Leicester, St Mark or St John the Baptist.

45. Sibson is the latest case of ornamented ridge tiles I have met in Leicestershire churches.

CHAPTER NINE

FINANCE

The funding of church building and restoration has, probably, never been as easy as popular belief might suggest, and, at least in the nineteenth century, many different devices were used to raise the necessary cash. Prior to about 1868 the money for repairs was usually raised from the parishioners under the church rate, which, once "laid", was, like tithe, legally enforceable. All other methods were voluntary and therefore competed for people's disposable incomes. There have been a few periods of prodigious church building in Europe, at which times people were willing to devote their incomes to such work in large amounts. Examples are the foundation of monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and, in England, the building of the great Wool Churches in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. For such activity three conditions are needed - piety, a desire to express that piety in architecture, and sufficient disposable wealth to realise that desire.

In the period between the Reformation and 1840 there was no conjunction of these three conditions on a general scale in England. They only occurred at particular times and in particular places. Leicestershire examples include some significant cases, such as Staunton Harold, the churches built by the fourth Earl of Harborough on his east Leicestershire estates, and the two churches paid for by William Fortrey at Galby and Kings Norton. After 1840 conditions began to approach the imagined medieval ideal once again, and, by the '60s, there was more church building and alteration activity than at <u>any</u> time in Leicestershire, the Middle Ages included. People were willing to spend large sums on churches, far beyond the needs of structural necessity. Many gave to the cause in general and not just to a specific scheme.[1] But to suppose that funds were unlimited would be a misrepresentation of the facts; there are plenty of schemes still unfinished to testify accordingly.

This chapter considers the question of funding through the whole of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to produce a continuous thread and to avoid wearisome detail in the chapters dealing with the

1. Peel was one of the most famous; he gave £4,000 to church building in 1843. (O. Chadwick, <u>The Victorian Church</u> 1 (London, 3rd ed. 1971), 223).

architectural and cultural questions.

Early in the nineteenth century fund-raising was essentially a local affair, there being no national or county-wide organisation to turn to nor any patrons to take an interest except in places where they had personal interests. The only mechanism for obtaining funds was the outworn and financially unrewarding system of briefs. There is no case of the system being used for Leicestershire work after 1800. Only after 1818 were there national organisations which took a prominent role in funding church building and restoration, and, for a time they contributed the greater part of the money spent. After the great wave of work started in the late 1830s, local efforts gained in importance once more. Figures published in The Church Builder in 1862 show this important switch, as far as new churches are concerned. The main reason for it is the reduction in funds provided by the Church Building Commissioners.[2] See Table 18.

Table 18. Sources of money for church building, 1800-51 (£'000s)

	1 Public benefactions	2 Private benefactions	Total	1 as % of 2
1800-30	1,800	1,200	3,000	150
1830-51	500	5,500	6,000	9

In 1876 a major survey was published of the amount spent on church building and restoration schemes since 1840 and costing over £500. It showed a total of £25,600,000 spread among 8,545.[3] Assuming the figures are broadly accurate, it is possible to estimate the annual amount spent. It shows a marked increase through time.(see Table 19).

Table 19. Rough estimate of annual expenditure on churches, 1800-75.
(£'000s)

	Total for period	Average per year
1800-30	3,000	97
1830-51	6,000	272
1840-75	25,600	711

Note: the 1800-30 and 1830-51 figures do not include restorations

The figure for the Peterborough Diocese for 1840-75 was £674,081, involving 323 churches.[4] It is not possible to say exactly how much of this was

2. ChBldr (1862), 40. For a further discussion of briefs see above pp. 14-15.
3. Quoted in ChBldr (1876), 80.
4. Also £209,139 had been spent on endowments (including parsonage houses and land) and £229,328 on schools, i.e. an overall total of £1,112,548.

spent in Leicestershire, but I would reckon it to be very approximately half. An accurate figure is probably unknowable. The estimate for the seven years to 1859 for restoration work in Leicestershire (excluding Rutland) was £25,260.[5] This money was raised from a considerable variety of sources, a fact which probably did not aid accurate recording of total expenditure over a wide area.

SOURCES OF FINANCE: PAROCHIAL AND VOLUNTARY

Church rates

Since time immemorial the parish accepted the responsibility of repairing its church, apart from the chancel which was the responsibility of the rector. This custom was enshrined in ecclesiastical law by the late thirteenth century at the latest. Rates were levied for the purpose and if the parish refused a rate it was liable at law in the ecclesiastical courts. Generally there was no problem until the 1820s and '30s and, indeed, some parishes found rates a convenient way of raising money for repairs long after they were legally abolished in 1868. Rates became a source of great contention with Dissenters, and Leicester, with its strong Nonconformist history, was in the forefront of the acrimonious debates of the '30s. By 1838, when William Baines was imprisoned for refusal to pay his rates, his parish, St Margaret's, was the only one in which rates could still be levied regularly.[6] Rates were very nearly abolished (they had been already in Ireland in 1833) under Lord Althorp's bill of 1834, and they would have been had not Grey's Ministry fallen. The alternative method proposed was a land tax generating £250,000 a year for the Church Building Commission and would have "nationalised" the finances of church repairing. It might have had most interesting consequences for churches in England.

In Leicestershire repairs were invariably paid for out of the rates in the early part of the nineteenth century. In a typical small village a typical rate of between 1d. and 4d. in the pound generated between £10 and £50 a year. Rates were often increased to acheive some specific scheme. At Stoke Golding a 2d. rate was granted in 1843 to produce £160 for the refurbishing scheme that took place in 1844.[7] At Barwell a particularly heavy rate of 10d. was laid in 1853 and paid for the restoration carried out under Henry Goddard the next year.[8] Other cases of very heavy rates

5. Return on Expenditure on Church Repairs, HC 1859 (1), XX, 282.
6. O. Chadwick, op. cit., 150. Sometimes other churches did get one. A 3d. rate for repairs in 1843, was followed by failure in 1844 (LRO 8D59/5).
7. ICBS 1st ser., S Box 8.
8. LC 29 Oct. 1853.

were at Frisby-on-the-Wreake (1/-) for the 1849 restoration[9] and at East Norton (1/8) for the work in 1849-50.[10] In 1853 at Tilton a typically mixed technique of funding was employed, coupled with a little gentle blackmail. Lord Berners agreed to subscribe £100 towards Hussey's restoration provided a 6d. rate was accepted to help with the balance.[11] Similarly the £3,000 rebuild of Shenton was accomplished by a levy on the rates for three years as support for the large sums donated by the Rev. H.J. Wollaston and his family.[12] At Scalford rates generated £500 towards the £1,050 required.[13]

Generally there was no problem in levying rates in rural parishes. For Rutland churches the Visitation returns of 1857 show that in 46 parishes, rates were the sole source of income for repairs for 39 and were not raised at all for this purpose in only three.[14] Most parishes whose finances I have examined gave up rates in or shortly after 1868. Hambleton is typical and the income shows a fall as a result of the lack of rate. For the years 1865-68 the rate brought in a consistent £16.13s. £16.14s. but in 1868-9 voluntary contributions produced only £11.17s.3d, but picked up thereafter to about £13.[15] At Foxton rates produced an average of £19.0s. in 1859-69 but six years of voluntary contributions to 1875 only averaged £12.12s.[16] Oddly, at Belton the reverse happened. The rate produced £6.14s. in 1868-9 and voluntary contributions £8.1s/£9.9s. in the two succeeding years. A number of parishes retained the rate after 1869. Examples are Tinwell (till 1872-3 when the income dropped 30% to £20),[17] Clipsham (till 1895),[18] and Normanton-le-Heath (till 1874-5)[19].

Loans

When cash was not available at the time of the restoration, a parish might decide to borrow money, usually against the security of the church rates. Under 59 Geo. III, chap. 45, section 59 churchwardens could borrow money for increased accommodation, provided half the extra seats were free and unenclosed.[20] This method of financing was probably relatively

9. Churchwarden's accounts (held in parish).
10. LRO DE 1145/8.
11. LC 12 Mar. 1853.
12. N. Robinson, St John's Church, Shenton (leaflet, n.d.[c. 1975]).
13. LJ 21 May 1858.
14. NRO ML 589.
15. Churchwarden's accounts, 1759-1879 (in parish church at 1981).
16. Churchwarden's accounts, 1853-1954 (in vicarage at 1981).
17. LRO DE 2271/29.
18. Churchwarden's accounts, 1875-1922 (in church).
19. LRO DE 1061/17.
20. LJ 2. Jun. 1854.

little used but I have encountered nine examples. The best documented case is at Normanton-le-Heath. The parish went to the Public Works Loan Office and borrowed £200 towards G.E. Street's £1,200 restoration in 1854, on the security of the church rates. It took until 1870-71 to repay all the money.[21] The other cases of loans are as follows: -

1. Ab Kettleby. £200 loan for the 1852 restoration.[22]
2. Burton Lazars. £240 loan for the 1850 restoration.[23]
3. Croxton Kerrial. Loan of £700 for (presumably) the 1866-8 work.[24]
4. Fleckney. £250 borrowed on the security of the rates for the 1869-70 restoration.[25] (Approx. 15% of the cost.)
5. Frisby-on-the-Wreake. £300 loan for the 1849 restoration.[26] (Approx. 20% of the cost.)
6. Heather. Loan for the 1846 restoration; repayments in 1849-53 suggest £100 was advanced and paid off by 1853.[27] (Approx. 8% of the cost.)
7. Higham-on-the-Hill. Decision to apply for a Government loan of £500 in 1853.[28] Not certain if it was obtained.
8. Uppingham. Loan of £1,500 for the 1861 restoration. Interest charged at 4%. A rate was established to cover the loan.[29] (Approx. 25% of the cost.)

Subscriptions

For major works, subscriptions were by far the most popular form of fund-raising throughout the nineteenth century. It would have been impossible to undertake most of the larger restorations without them. The technique was simple and remains effective today. Subscribers came forward, or were persuaded to come forward, with a monetary commitment which was called upon at some time in the future when cash was needed. The subscriptions were often published in the local press or were printed on publically distributed lists. Such publicity must have had the dual function of trying to persuade others to emulate the generosity shown and to ensure that there could be no chance whatever of people withdrawing from their

21. LRO DE 1061/17.
22. LRO DE 1747/23/1.
23. LRO DE 746/6/2.
24. LRO DE 468/19.
25. LJ 19 Jul. 1868.
26. Parish records (in parish).
27. Parish records (in church).
28. Churchwarden's accounts, 1790-1905 (in church).
29. LRO DE 1784/22.

commitment!

The earliest list I have met with is for repewing Syston church in 1801.[30] In four respects it is different from the usual Victorian lists: 1. there are no very large contributors, 2. there are no very tiny contributions, 3. all the people seem local and 4. there are no contributions from the aristocracy. The largest single contribution is £20 (i.e. 10% of the cost).

Probably the most impressive subscription list of all was for the Whitwick restoration of 1848 by St Aubyn.[31] All the most famous Leicestershire contributors are there plus the Archbishop of Canterbury with £20, A.J. Beresford Hope with £5 and the Queen Dowager with £20. Thirty-five clergymen proffered subscriptions. Probably what stimulated this singular degree of interest was the threat of Papal Aggression in the area (see Oddly, however, the individual sums were not large, apart from £100 from the vicar, the Rev. F. Merewether.

It was often the case that local magnates contributed very large sums indeed. Sometimes they paid for the entire work, e.g. Viscount Downe at Ashwell in 1851, the Duchess Sforza-Cesarini at Ragdale in 1874, and H.L. Powys-Keck at Thurnby in 1870-73. More usual was the situation as at Seaton for the 1874-5 restoration. The Monckton family of Seaton and Fineshade paid £1,132 (60%) of the £1,886 spent on the nave and aisles.[32] At Stretton Lord and Lady Aveland headed the subscription list for the £1,646 works in 1881-2 with £560 (34% of the total).[33] Baroness Willoughby de Eresby added a further £400 (24%), Lord and Lady Cecil £200 (12%), W.C. Brooks MP £100 (6%), and the rector and his wife £224 (14%).

Occassionally it is possible to analyse the geographical source of subscriptions. The list covering £1,635 raised towards the rebuilding of the tower at Barrow-on-Soar in 1869 can be broken down as follows[34] -

Barrow-on-Soar	c. £950	(58%)
Rest of Leicestershire	£520	(32%)
Outside Leicestershire	£165	(10%)
	£1,635	

Usually most contributions came from the parish in which the church was situated or those adjacent. The exception was new churches in Leicester,

30. LRO 1D57/43.
31. ICBS 2nd ser.
32. LRO DE 1883/57.
33. E. Bradley, "A Short Account of the Church of St Nicholas, Stretton, Rutland and its restoration, 1881" (MS hanging in church as at 1977).
34. LJ 21 May 1869.

where D.M. Thompson shows, the funding from the county was of crucial importance.[35] This is illustrated by the case of St Peter where the private contributions up to March 1871 can be broken down as follows from the printed subscription list[36] -

Leicester and adjacent villages (incl. Wigston)	£382	(14%)
Leicestershire beyond the above area	£1,840	(69%)
Uncertain provenance	£438	(17%)
	£2,660	

Finally it is worth mentioning the wide range of support that could be obtained for the restoration of a major church - in the case here Melton Mowbray by G.G. Scott. The subscription list in LRO DE 36/86 seems to date from 1868 and totals £4,097. 209 different contributors are listed plus funds from collecting cards, bazaars, a tea party, a concert and a lecture. The 209 contributors include

14 titled persons

5 MPs

23 clergymen plus the Bishop of Peterborough (who gave £125)

26 subscriptions from outside the county.

There was a total of 45 subscriptions of not less than £20 each.

Other local sources of funds

1. In the early nineteenth century it was notorious that items of value could be sold to pay for repairs. I have not encountered any such cases in Leicestershire but a thorough search of the income side of churchwarden's accounts might well generate examples.

2. Annual pew rents were an important source of income for many churches in the nineteenth century. There was rarely any statutory authorisation for them, except for churches built under the Church Building Acts, which allowed pew rents as a means either of paying the cost of the building, or of providing a stipend for the clergymen.[37] The practice of appropriated seats and charging pew rents was roundly condemned by all who did not benefit from the practice but it was slow to wane. The value of the rents is exemplified at St Martin, Leicester, where , after they were raised in the mid-nineteenth century, the income generated was about £250, which nearly matched the general expenses of around £300.[38]

35. D.M. Thompson, "Church Extension ...."

36. LJ 24 Feb. 1871.

37. K.J.T. Elphinstone, A Handbook of Parish Property (London, 1973), 10.

38. Churchwarden's accounts, 1852-95 in LRO (but no LRO numbering).

3. Rents from parish lands provided the upkeep for church fabrics on occasion. In 1857 among the Rutland churches this was the sole source of such income at Braunston and a contributory one at Great Casteron and Lyddington.[39]

4. The churchwardens at Uppingham had a convenient system for financing routine repairs. In 1828 it was agreed that the fees from burials were to be retained to pay for improvements. Up to 1854 about £57 was received each year and about £60 spent.[40]

SOURCES OF FINANCE: OUTSIDE ORGANISATIONS

The sums of money raised by the methods outlined above could not be entirely adequate for the national needs of church building and renewal, especially in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. The woeful lack of Anglican churches in the newly populous areas was something of a scandal early in the century but nothing positive was acheived until 1818. Early that year the Prince Regent referred to the lack of accommodation in a speech from the throne. In February the Church Building Society(CBS) was set up, supported by the Prince and the Duke of York. Perhaps shamed into action by this voluntary body, Parliament voted £1 million for the building of new churches under the supervision of Commissioners. The CBS was incorporated by Parliament in 1828 (thereafter Incorporated Church Building Society (ICBS) and retained its existence until recent times. But after 1856, £1,675,000 of public funds and 612 churches to its credit the Church Building Commissioners had outlived their usefulness as church building was by then well catered for by voluntary means. In total it had contributed over £3 million (the public funds having been supplemented by sums from subscriptions, donations and rates). Its remaining £15,000 of assets were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The (I)CBS and the Commissioners were exceedingly important sources of funds in the period before local societies and local generosity began to develop in the late 1830s in the wake of renewal in the Anglican church.

The Church Building Commissioners in Leicestershire

The commissioners built one church and contributed to three others in Leicestershire. They had also agreed to grant £1,000-£1,500 towards Leicester, Christ Church but local support was very strong and, in the event, the money was not needed.[41]

39. NRO ML 589.

40. LRO DE 1784/21/22.

41. LJ 8 Sep. 1854.

The grants were:-

Table	Grant	Total Cost	% from CBC
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Holy Trinity	£400	c. £7,000	c. 6
Leicester, St George	£16,600	£16,600	100
Leicester, St John	£1,000	£3,643	27
Loughborough, Emmanuel	£2,143	c. £7,000	c. 31

It was not usual for the Commissioners or the (I)CBS to provide the largest part of the funds for a scheme. Usually they augmented local effort though the Commissioners did build many churches themselves before the 1830s. The case of St John the Divine is a good example of how the Commissioners worked towards the end of their existence and provides another case of gentle blackmail. The Commissioners grant was said in April 1852 to be conditional upon the parish raising £2,000 by 31 May.[42] Needless to say the parish did not raise the £2,000 in the allotted time and only acheived £1,577.7s.0d. by 4 June.[43] But, of course the church was built and the grant paid!

In the 1820s things were quite different and public support was not what it would become later. The Commissioners therefore paid the whole of the cost of St George's. The £16,600 spent was the largest sum spent on any Leicestershire church during the century. Such a sum scarcely agrees with the view of the much maligned Commissioners churches being designed chiefly with an eye on economy (e.g. Eastlake and K. Clark). In fact church building was an expensive business at this time. Nationally the average cost of a new church between 1800 and 1830 was put at £6,000 but fell to £3,000 between 1830 and 1851.[44] This was put down at the time to increased experience, skill, economy and, perhaps, [and I suspect certainly!] competition.

The (Incorporated) Church Building Society (hereafter ICBS)

Apart from the Commissioners the only national body to which fund-raisers could turn was the ICBS. It was much more broadly based than the activities of the Commissioners, which concerned itself exclusively with the provision of new churches. The ICBS gave the majority of its grants to restoration and extension work (87% of the numbers and 65% of the cash in Leicestershire). Of the 57 new churches in Leicestershire and Rutland between 1818 and 1914 the Society contributed to only 18 of them (only six of them were in Leicester itself). Unlike the Commissioners in their early days, the ICBS never contributed more than a small proportion of the cost of

42. LJ 23 Apr. 1852.
43. LJ 4 Jun. 1852.
44. ChBldr (1862), 40.

a scheme. Appendix Four lists all the grants made to churches in Leicestershire (it is curious that none were made before 1914 to Rutland churches). No grant for a new church exceeded £500 (Loughborough, Emmanuel), apart from an exceptional £1,000 for Leicester, St Augustine, which was paid under a special legacy. The maximum for a rebuilding or restoration was £300 for Hugglescote. The sums, especially in the later period were often very small.

The initial concern of the Society was over the provision of extra accommodation, an interest which remained, but with diminishing zeal, throughout the nineteenth century. The rules of the Society clearly stated that grants would only be made if "one-half, at least, of the increased area and accommodation proposed, be secured for additional free and unappropriated sittings for ever".

The following table summarises the Society's work in Leicestershire.

Table 20. The work of the ICBS in Leicestershire, 1818-1914 [45]

	1 No. of grants	2 Extra seats obtained	3 No. of free seats	4 3 as a % of 2	5 £ granted	6 Av. cost per scheme[a]	7 % of grants £50 or less
1818-29	12	1746	1464	84	1320	£79.1	45
1830-39	13	4448	3584	81	2338	£76.4	56
1840-49	24	4188	4030	96	2235	£89.8	23
1850-59	25	4284	3650	85	2265	£90.6	28
1860-69	23	3647	3530	97	1895	£57.3	80
1870-79	19	3106	3139	101[b]	1436	£63.7	67
1880-89	8	1391	1391	100	465	£30.8	100
1890-99	5	337	337	100	365	£76.3	75
1900-14	9	2742	2742	100	1520[c]	£55.0	50
	138	25889	23867	92	13769	£73.5	53

Notes: a - excludes grants to new churches, in order to given greater comparability between each period.

b - 3 exceeds 2, which means the elimination of more appropriated seats than the increase in total numbers.

c - inflated by a £1,000 grant from the Wheatley Balme legacy for Leicester, St Augustine.

The table clearly shows that by 1870 appropriated seats were not being included at all in church extension schemes. Very exceptionally in 1840 the

45. Derived from the ICBS Yearbook (1927), 114, 130.

ICBS contributed to the reseating at Diseworth when no extra seats were added or any appropriated seats freed. Thereafter no comparable case occurs until 1873 at Walton-le-Wolds.

A grant from the ICBS was regarded as a useful and prestigious addition to fund-raising. No doubt it was spur to local effort. Most applications seem to have resulted in a grant but quite why more parishes did not apply is unclear. One of the rare cases of a grant not being given is at East Norton where the planned enlargement by means of a north transept was disapproved of by the Society. It thought the proposal "very objectionable", presumably in the new Ecclesiological age an aisle was to be preferred. But, rather than modify its plans and build an aisle, the parish decided to relinquish the £20 grant.[46] A little later the parish changed its mind and asked for the grant to be renewed and, indeed, increased. The lack of further correspondence and the absence of the church in the 1927 summary list proves that the ICBS stuck to its principles. The parish had clearly burned its boats but, at Thurmaston, persistence on the stylistic suitability of the roof by the architect, H.I. Stevens, seems to have won the day after an acrimonious debate (see pp. 86-7). The existence of Thurmaston in the 1927 list of grants implies that it was paid. Only rarely were there such disputes between the ICBS and the prospective recipients of grants. Apart from East Norton, one of the few cases where a grant was passed up was at Old Dalby in 1835. Here the rector and lord of the manor, the Rev. W.G. Sawyer, was intent on rebuilding his church (see p. 90). He thought the grant (value not known) "so trifling" that he considered the Society miscalled for "promoting" church building.[47] He chose instead to pay for all the work himself. However, the Society did score one victory here since its surveyor, J.H. Good, successfully objected to the absence of tie-beams in the roof. Later the rules of the Society were changed so that tie-beams were not insisted upon (it was the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society which claimed the credit for this particular piece of Ecclesiological progress[48]). At Congerstone the grant was relinquished in 1834 because the parish proceeded "on a different and less expensive plan".[49] In 1847 it was decided not to call upon the funds of the ICBS for the repairs at Leicester, St George following the lightning strike since sufficient local resources were available.[50]

46. ICBS, 2nd ser.

47. Letter 13 Jun. 1836 in ICBS 1st ser., D Box 1.

48. Trans. Exeter Diocesan Archit. Soc. NS 5 (1882-91), 233.

49. Letter 29 Jul. 1834 in ICBS 1st ser., C Box 7.

50. Letter 20 Jun. 1847 in ICBS 1st ser., L Box 2.

Applications to the ICBS were meant to say what local support had been obtained. If this was forthcoming, especially from the county society (see below), it greatly improved the chances of a grant. This could pose problems as those filling in the application forms for Stoney Stanton found out. They complained that they could not answer the question satisfactorily since the county society did not meet often and they would not know the success of the local application for some while. Eventually, this dilemma was solved and the ICBS and the county society gave £100 each.[51]

It is noticeable in the summary table of grants to Leicestershire, the money granted declined from the 1850s. This seems to reflect the general fortunes of the ICBS. These were at their height in 1840 when £24,997 was granted nationally.[52] In 1896 the ICBS looked back to the period 1835-47 as the most active period of church building. This was not true since the most active period was after about 1860 in most places. What was no doubt meant was that this was the most active period for the Society. Despite the record amounts forthcoming for church work in the 1860s, the Society itself was experiencing difficulties in raising funds from that time. This must reflect the trend to local effort, in just the same way as the Church Building Commissioners were less needed from the 1850s. In 1864 the ICBS complained that "it is a source of deep regret .... that during the past year - owing to the great diminution of the Society's funds - [it has] been compelled in most instances to reduce the amount of the grants".[53] By that time the annual grants had dropped to half the 1840 level and even this was about £3,000 in excess of income (by 1878 the income for the previous year was stated as only £5,800[54]). In the 1870s and 1880s the total annual grants dropped to well below £10,000 and in the decade 1885-94 the average granted was only £5,059. In 1889 the problem was put down to a decline in legacies.[55] Consequently the sums granted to a typical Leicestershire scheme were only £20-£45.

The importance of the ICBS as a source of funds gradually fell and this may be demonstrated statistically from 1870 when useful, accessible data becomes available. In various years the ICBS published details of how much was spent in total on the schemes to which it had contributed. The table shows a clear fall in the proportion of the ICBS involvement.

51. ICBS 1st ser., S Box 9; LJ 1 Jul. 1842.
52. ChBldr NS 17 (1896), 56.
53. ChBldr (1864), 114.
54. ChBldr (1878), 117.
55. ICBS 71st annual meeting reported in LJ 24 May 1889.

Table 21. Proportion of funds for restoration schemes provided by the ICBS to 1895. National figures.
(£'000s)

	1 Total ICBS grants to date.	2 Amount received from other sources for these schemes	Col. 1 as a % of col. 2
To 1870	777	7,191	10.8
To 1876	830	8,865	9.4
To 1885	918	12,000	7.6
To 1892	960	13,219	7.3
To 1895	972	13,763	7.1

Source: ChBldr, various editions.

Other, local, societies sprang up for raising money and, in time, took over the roles of the Commissioners and of the ICBS as major sources of funds. In Leicestershire the most effective of these was established in the mid-1860s, just when the ICBS grants were diminishing.

The Church Building Society of the County and Town of Leicester (CBSCTL)

The rapidly increasing interest in church building and restoration from the late 1830s stimulated the formation of local societies to promote it further. The Leicester society was set up at a meeting on 5 Oct. 1838.[56] Funds came from a galaxy of notables - the Duke of Rutland, Earl Howe, the Bishop of Lincoln, C.W. Packe and Archdeacon Bonney to name but a few. It started with a momentum which was not continued beyond the 1840s. In less than a month over £1,000 had been donated plus annual subscriptions of £120.[57] By March the following year, the donations approached £1,300 and the subscriptions had risen to £176.[58] The first grants appear to have been made in 1840 and ranged from £10 to Diseworth to £100 at Countesthorpe, Sewstern and Overseale (the latter no longer in Leicestershire) and £200 to the new church in Ashby-de-la-Zouch.[59] Branches appear to have been set up in the countryside, e.g. that in Sparkenhoe hundred in 1843.[60] In twelve years £3,523 had been granted to 56 churches.[61]

56. LJ 12 Oct. 1838.
57. LJ 2 Nov. 1838.
58. LC 30 Mar. 1839.
59. LJ 30 Oct. 1840.
60. LJ 1 Sep. 1843. In 1873 there were four local committees, reduced to three by 1877 (PDC 1873 and 1877).
61. LJ 5 Jul. 1850.

Like the ICBS, the CBSCTL never contributed more than a small proportion of the cost of any scheme. It simply assisted and, no doubt, thereby gave stimulus to local efforts. It sought to obtain a wide basis of support and there were collections at various churches for its work.[62] There were, however, frequent complaints that the churches aided did little to offer help to the Society. After 1850 it seems to have found it harder to obtain cash and the size of the grants fell. The £3,523 for 1838-50 was enhanced by only another £3,160 in the next 29 years.[63] Even by 1848 an £80 grant to Frisby-on-the-Wreake was reduced to £70 for want of funds and the complaints about lack of support for the Society continued.[64] By 1865 liabilities exceeded the cash available.[65] The next year subscriptions dropped to £130, and of this £50 came from three individuals.[66] By this time the Society seems to have been rather moribund and its efforts to revive itself half-hearted. In the early '70s it could only find £100 for the memorial church to Earl Howe (St Peter's) and in 1875 it complained it was "compelled to make smaller grants than [it] would like".[67] Typical grants to typical restorations had sunk from £40-£80 in the 1840s to £15-£25. A letter to the ICBS appealing for funds for Walton-le-Wolds in 1875 mentions that the CBSCTL had "no funds".[68] The last mention of grants I have found is in 1879 when the Society was said by the Archdeacon to be little known. By that time it had aided 109 churches (including nine in Leicester) with grants totalling £6,683 (average = £61). Thereafter it seems to have been dormant but did formally continue in existence at least until 1887.[69] It may have been swallowed up by the Church Extension Society which rapidly proved itself a more efficient body for raising funds.

Rutland

Such was the fate of the Rutland Church Building Society which amalgamated with the Peterborough Diocesan Church Building Association some time between 1867 and 1871.[70] The history of fund raising societies in

62. E.g. at Market Harborough, Goadby Marwood in 1848 (LC 1 Jul. 1848)
63. LJ 13 Jun. 1879.
64. LC 1 Jul. 1848.
65. LJ 3 Mar. 1865.
66. LJ 26 Oct. 1866.
67. LJ 2 Jul. 1875.
68. ICBS 3rd ser.
69. PDC 1887
70. Peterborough Diocesan Church Building Association, 32nd anniversary report in NRO NAS/P/16.

Rutland is, to say the least, shadowy. A Rutland District Committee was set up on 17 Dec. 1838, but its main function may have been to raise funds for the ICBS.[71] There was clearly no need for new churches in Rutland and the function of the Rutland Church Building Society (something of a misnomer!) must have been limited to restoration work. It is not clear if it was related to the body set up in 1838. I am aware of only one grant and that was of a modest £10 to Glaston in 1864, though it contributed £38 to the ICBS in 1865.[72]

The Church Extension Fund (CEF)

It was clear at an early stage that the CBSCTL would never make a major contribution towards funding new churches. Its limited role is probably a prime reason why no new church was built in Leicester between 1838 and 1850. It was claimed that a third of the adult labouring poor was without religion at all. About 16,000 people in one of the districts of Leicester had only one church and school.[73] The Rev. G.E. Gillett, who wrote about these alarming facts in the press, reveals the contemporary fears of Roman Catholicism and this was probably a significant factor in establishing a new church building organisation. On 17 March 1851 a new body, the Church Extension Fund, was set up at a meeting in Leicester. The driving force seems to have been the Rev. J.P. Marriott, rector of Cotesbach (interestingly, the incumbent of a small rural parish, rather than a man from the town of Leicester). The five resolutions passed were summarised in the overall aim to relieve the "Spiritual Destitution" in the county.[74] Subscriptions (for three or five years) and donations of significant sums were obtained from the leading promoters of the cause.[75] The immediate effect was to give practical support for a new church in the St George's area in collaboration with the Church Building Commisioners. This was to become the church of St John the Divine (1853-4). The Fund paid for the site (£700) and also granted £1,000 towards the building (by contrast the CBSCTL only provided £250).[76]

71. Personal communication from J. Fellows of the ICBS, 20 Mar. 1978.
72. PDC 1867, 88.
73. LJ 21 Mar. 1851.
74. ibid.
75. Predictably the major names included the Duke of Rutland (£100 subscription), the Bishop (£100 donation), C.W. Packe (£105 subscription, £210 donation), Earl Howe (£30 subscription, £100 donation) and W. Herrick (£25 subscription, £50 donation) (LJ 18 Apr. 1851).
76. LJ 15 Apr. 1853 and White, Directory (1877), 297).

Little else is known of the Fund's work but its objectives seem to have been much more selective than the CBSCTL's. It assisted the rebuilding of Earl Shilton (1855-6) but its next (and, apparently, only other) major project was St Andrew's (1860-62). The building cost £5,000, of which the Fund provided £2,000 plus £400 towards the cost of the site and £500 towards the endowment.[77] But even the CEF was inadequate to the challenge of the '60s and beyond. It was claimed there were 40,000 people in Leicester alone "beyond pastoral superintendence" in 1865.[78] As usual in such situations, it was easier to start with another, new organisation than to remodel the old.

The Church Extension Association (CEA) or Church Extension Board (CEB) from 1889

The new body was set up at a public meeting on 1 Feb. 1865 and was known, in full, as the Leicester Archdeaconry Church Extension Association. It took over at once the role of the CEF. It was funded mainly from private contributions but also received money from collections and subscriptions from various parishes (sometimes fund-raising sermons were held for its work). Although the CEA ostensibly covered both town and country, in practice it devoted almost all its efforts to the problem of accommodation in Leicester. The voluntary efforts had produced only two churches since 1840 and a more dynamic and well-funded effort was badly needed. Subscriptions were sought over an eight-year term and the initial list includes the usual big names and some very substantial contributions. By early March nearly £12,000 had been subscribed.[7] The Bishop of Peterborough became President and most of the county nobility and gentry Vice-Presidents.

The first task was to bring to a successful conclusion the project for St Matthew's, which had been planned before the CEA came into existence, but which had run into trouble when the contractor went bankrupt and funds fell short of what was needed.[80] The successful outcome was in large measure due to the efforts of the Secretary of the CEA, Canon Fry. Thereafter, church building in Leicester involved the overall supervision of the CEA, though, of course, it did not necessarily provide all the funds, and, in some cases, it provided none of them.

The first church which it initiated was St Luke's (1867-8). The committee was sufficiently confident in its purpose that it decided to borrow money

77. White, Directory (1877), 296.

78. LC 25 Feb. 1865.

79. LJ 10 Mar. 1865.

80. D.M. Thompson, "Church Extension ...", 430

for the project.[81] One of its members, the munificent W. Perry-Herrick, offered £500 provided the CEA could raise a further £3,500 for a special fund for St Luke.[82] This immediately elicited £500 from Earl Howe and £100 from the Bishop in addition to their previous subscriptions of £500 each.

Despite the fact that St Matthew's was an unexpected drain on resources and that St Luke had taken most of the remaining funds, the CEA pushed forward with a project for a church in Belgrave Gate. Prepartions to create a new district here had begun as early as 1867[83] with a church to be called St Matthias. At the annual meeting in 1869 the new Bishop of Peterborough, Dr W.C. Magee, spoke out strongly on behalf of church extension. he pointed out that in an area of Ireland where he had just come from, £34,000 had been raised in five years along with £12,000 in six months for a new cathedral.[84] His call for £25,000 in four or five years was answered with donations of £3,625 there and then. The most generous was Earl Howe who gave £1,000 and the Bishop himself and H.L. Powys-Keck, each of whom gave £500. Earlier in 1869 Perry Herrick had offered to build St Mark (the renamed St Matthias), on condition that the CEA build a second church. Fuelled by the enthusiasm of the meeting, funds for St Paul seem to have posed no problems and the church was consecrated in November 1872, but the impressive tower planned by F.W. Ordish was left imcomplete in the same way as that at St Matthew's. Perry-Herrick, however, whose church was built at the same time, completed his spire.

Eastlake pointed to "one marked particular" of church building in his time (c. 1870).[85] He says that twenty or thirty years before a church would be completed as soon as possible to provide the maximum accommodation and the "structure .... became simple or ornate in proportion to the amount of funds available". By 1870 the tendency was to build with the required degree of elaboration and to complete at a later date that which the initial lack of funds precluded. Such was the case at St Matthew, St Paul, and, a little later at St Peter and St Leonard. Except at St Peter none of these schemes was ever finished. Similarly, the privately funded The Martyrs (1889-90) never received the projected north aisle.

81. ibid.
82. LJ 27 Sep. 1867.
83. LJ 4 May 1867.
84. LJ 2 Oct. 1869.
85. Eastlake, op. cit., 325.

Eastlake could not have realised it but 1870 was something of a turning point in the finances of church building. The difficulties experienced by the ICBS were reflected at a local level in Leicester. Earl Howe died in 1870 and this must have been a major blow. His son contributed little beyond the minimum that could be expected from a Victorian nobleman. The other great patron, W. Perry Herrick died in 1876, and though his sister continued a high level of giving, it was by no means on the scale of William's. Howe and Herrick were described by Bishop Jeune as "twin brothers of philanthropy and generosity".[86] C.W. Packe, another important contributor, had died in 1867.

Both St Peter and St Leonard caused the CEA difficulties. In June 1873 the Association's funds were not even sufficient to meet the £1,500 promised for St Peter, let alone the £2,300 needed to complete the work.[87] The church had been planned by a committee which had been given assistance by the CEA. The committee was clearly undersubscribed for this ambitious church, and sought in vain for the CEA to complete the project. A strike held up completion but at the consecration in April 1874 £2,000 was still needed. Characteristically Herrick came to the rescue with £1,000 if the balance could be raised by subscription. The final debt was paid off in January 1875.[88]

The problems with St Leonard's, a church planned by the CEA, were even more wearisome. It seems that by now the CEA was aware that completion in one campaign would be difficult. It stipulated in the rules for the competition to select an architect, that if funds were inadequate for a tower and spire in the first instance, an unfinished appearance was to be avoided.[89] When the foundation stone was laid only £3,000 had been subscribed towards the original estimate of £5,500. This figure was overshot substantially and, the Committee learned to its horror, by a far greater amount than it had thought. The deficit was finally made up in 1878 by borrowing £1,200 from Pares Bank at 5% interest to pay off the contractors who were pressing for their money.[90] This meant a virtual suspension of new grants. The CEA was so preoccupied with its difficulties in Leicester, that it apparently made no contribution to the new church of Loughborough, Holy Trinity, nor, to the rebuilt church of Hugglescote.

85. ibid.
86. Herrick's obituary in HPM (1876), 11.
87. LJ 13 Jun. 1873.
88. Thompson, op. cit., 432.
89. LJ 30 Jul. 1875.
90. LJ 3 Jan. 1879.

But oddly, in 1876 the CEA changed its rules to give money for other purposes than building new churches (perhaps because it could not afford big grants to them).[91] In 1876-7 it paid out grants to Hinckley (£200), Rothley (£40), Sileby (£50), Glenfield (£50), Shepshed (£105), and Wigston Magna (£50).

About 1883 the CEA became a member of an umbrella organisation known as the Peterborough Diocesan Finance Association, which looked after the total financial affairs of the Diocese. The CEA continued as a separate body within the Finance Association and obtained subscriptions and money from collections in its own right.

FUND RAISING AFTER THE 1870s

Until the '70s the CEA and the CBSCTL could rely for a guaranteed level of support from certain major landowners. The death of Howe, Herrick, Packe and others withdrew this support in the same way as the ICBS was finding its basic source of funds diminishing. The problem was further aggravated by the effects of the depression in agriculture from the 1870s, with its falling prices and unlet acreages. Landowners had less to give. The failure to restore Mowsley about 1878 was specifically put down to the problems in agriculture.[92] The national difficulties were reflected in Leicestershire. The Royal Commission on Agriculture reported numbers of unlet farms. Landlords had difficulty in collecting rents. The County Chamber of Agriculture reported rent remissions of 10-15% and the Duke of Rutland cut his rents by 25-30%.[93] Against this it was argued that small farms could profit from the growth of the towns. But it takes a great many small farmers to build a church! It had always been expected that the county would assist with fund-raising for the towns, a point made quite clearly by the Bishop of Peterborough when addressing the CEA annual meeting in 1869.[94] But shortfalls in landowners' contributions were not made up by the manufacturers and entrepreneurs. Many, especially in hosiery and footwear were self-made men who would have lacked the traditional sense of obligation to the cause of church building. Also, many were Nonconformists. There were a few identifiable contributors who made their wealth in the towns - for example, Joseph Harris who had prospered through land speculation in Leicester, and Miss Corah of the clothing business of that name.

91. LJ 7 Jul. 1876.
92. LJ 10 Feb. 1882.
93. Thompson, "Church Extension ....", 95.
94. LJ 21 May 1869.

After the success of church building and restoration until the 1870s, the events at St Peter and St Leonard must have come as something of a rude shock. The implications for church architecture in Leicester were fundamental. Thereafter the CEA limited its contributions to fairly modest buildings, working on the sensible principle that a cheap church was better than no church at all. It was left to individual patrons and districts to provide something more lavish if they wished. It is possible to see the period as a return to a more traditional pattern of funding, such as existed before the Victorian era. There were occasional gifts of entire churches - by Miss Sarah Barlow at St John the Baptist, Knighton (1884-5), and the Harris Brothers at The Martyrs. These were usually located in an area where the donor had an association, in just the same way as William Fortrey had provided funds for Galby and Kings Norton and, apparently, nowhere else. Such acts of generosity were rare in the 1880s and there are few other instances I have met with where a major restoration was paid for by a sole benefactor. The restoration of the Ashby-de-la-Zouch chancel and Hastings chapel by Abney Hastings[95] and the rebuilding of the Hambleton chancel are highly exceptional.

Examination of late nineteenth-century subscription lists tends to suggest there were few people to contribute sums to distant places in the county. The list for Burbage in 1879 illustrates the point.[96] The recognisably "long distance" contributions (e.g. Miss Perry Herrick (£5), W.U. Heygate MP (£2), the Duke of Rutland (£5), and Joseph Harris (£2) are smaller than might have been expected ten or twenty years before, and the main burden of the £1,500 restoration fell on the local area. Even for so important work as replacing the north aisle at Leicester, St Nicholas, there are only local names.[97] A similar story is repeated in the lists for Willoughby Waterleys, 1874,[98] and Leicester, All Saints, 1874-6.[99]

There seems to have been a significant growth of self-help within parishes for restoration schemes, just as the parish was expected to fund work from the rates in pre-Victorian days. Bazaars, sales of work, concerts etc. became extremely popular towards the end of the century. Many were very lavish events and bore little resemblence to the emasculated Saturday afternoon affairs of the present day! The bazaar at St Nicholas lasted six days and three-day sales and fêtes were the norm. The three-

96. LJ 22 Aug. 1879.
97. LJ 27 Aug. 1875.
98. LJ 30 Jan. 1874.
99. LJ 29 May 1874

day Oadby bazaar of 1882 was patronised by the aristocracy from all over the county and to get in cost not less than 3d. and as much as 1/-.[100] Such events were used chiefly to gather funds before work started but, occasionally, they were held to clear of the remaining debt. At Rotherby they tried both expedients - a bazaar in 1882 for the work that took place that year and a fete in 1884 which raised £180 towards the 1882 debt.[101] A bazaar took place at Ratby in 1890 to clear off what seems to have been the very persistent debt from the 1880 restoration.[102]

The general impression from the available data is that funds were becoming increasingly hard to obtain for major projects. This must explain the increasing number of mission rooms and temporary churches. Although seven mission rooms had been opened between 1850 and 1873 in Leicester with seating for 1,025,[103] the temporary church was unknown in Leicestershire before 1878. The first such precursor to a permanent building was an iron church for St Michael and All Angels, Belgrave. Eleven others followed, some brick (e.g. St Hugh, Little Bowden), some wooden (e.g. St James the Greater) and some iron (e.g. St Anne). They were replaced by permanent churches at intervals that ranged from five to forty years. Some of the temporary buildings survive as convenient parish halls, meeting rooms etc.[104]

It was clear that church building alone would be insufficient for the needs of the Church. In 1889 the CEA was reconstituted under the name of the Archdeaconry Church Extension Board and broadened the basis of activity. It was split into a Building Fund, a General Fund and also a Spiritual Aid Fund to provide more clergymen. It provided eleven new clergymen in Leicester, so bringing down the ratio from one clergymen to every 3,500 people to one to under 3,000.[105]

At the end of the century the CEB seems to have been stretched as it tried to help on many fronts. In 1897 St Stephen was left without a chancel (until 1903) and attention switched to the urgent need for a new building in Newfoundpool to replace a mission church of 1889. The CEB was simultaneously occupied with St Michael and All Angels, Knighton (it had £3,100 of the £4,000 subscribed) and Huncote (for which it did not have funds to make a grant at the time). It estimated its needs at £9,400 for the next

100. LJ 4 Jul. 1882.
101. LJ 19 May 1882 and LC 6 Sep. 1884.
102. LJ 15 Aug. 1890.
103. LC 22 Mar. 1873.
104. The survivors known to me are Leicester Holy Apostles, St Anne, St James Aylestone Park, St Philip; Loughborough, St Peter; Little Bowden.
105. LJ 6 Nov. 1891.

five years, including £3,900 for Newfoundpool.[106] By 1900 the cost of the latter had risen to £5,600 but the CES had £3,000 in hand and felt able to start building the chancel and part of the nave. The problems of the time are exemplified by the fact that £1,000 of the money had been put up by the ICBS as part of the Wheatley Balme legacy. This was to assist the building of twelve new churches on condition that they were built before the end of the century.[107] In 1903 the ICBS was insisting the church be completed by the end of 1905.[108] It was still pressing in 1906[109] but in fact completion did nor occur until 1912. However, despite the threats the £1,000 grant seems to have been paid.

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that red-brick churches like St Augustine's were relatively cheap, it still seems to have been exceedingly difficult to get them finished off. The work of the CEA may have been hampered by rescue operations such as it had to perform at St Matthew's. Things changed little, even in the twentieth century, as the builders of St Faith, Snibstone ran into trouble financially and the CEB had to take over the site and the temporary building and clear the debt.[110] St James the Greater, begun in 1899, was not completed until 1914. Other churches were left unfinished in 1914. The catalogue of churches started since 1885 reads: St Michael and All Angels, Belgrave (aisles incomplete), The Martyrs (incomplete on the N side), Huncote (west end not built), and Stanton-under-Bardon and Leicester St Guthlac (the same problem as at Huncote). After 1918 the waning spirit of church building and restoration meant that the problems were even greater than before 1914. Only two significant buildings were put up in the inter-War years, namely Holy Apostles (1923-4) and the fine church of St Anne (1933-4). The latter took five years to get under way and its west end is still unfinished. Now changing attitudes towards religion and the lack of money facing the Church make it all the more unlikely that any of these buildings will ever be completed.

But cash shortages probably worked to the advantage of ancient churches in that drastic restoration schemes were completely halted after 1918. Sancta paupertas probably did as much for the aims of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings as any ideological teaching.

106. LC 20 Nov. 1897.
107. LJ 2 Feb. 1900.
108. LJ 16 Oct. 1903.
109. LJ 9 Nov. 1906.
110. LJ 2 Nov. 1906.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The seventy years from about 1840 brought about as many fundamental changes in church architecture and arrangements as in any comparable time-span. In Leicestershire, the only the decades around 1300 were in any way comparable. Even the effects of the Reformation were felt rather in terms of the conduct of services and selected items of furnishings and fittings than church structures as a whole. By analysing the source material - both in documents and in the field - this study has attempted to measure and evaluate the scale and nature of these dramatic changes and the means by which they were brought about. How far the area may be considered typical it is impossible to say since no comparable work has been done on a defined part of England. In Leicestershire very few churches were left without a strong Victorian or Edwardian imprint, but the effect is nothing like that to be found, to quote an extreme example, in Surrey. There, almost every church looks new; out of some 262 churches, no less than 147 are entirely new or totally rebuilt and the rest are mostly extensively restored.[1] Conversely, the rural churches of Norfolk do not seem to have acquired the same amount of Victorian changes possessed by the Leicestershire ones. But, even there, close examination does reveal a good deal of activity and much of the patina of age that might have delighted Ruskin is as much to do with twentieth-century impoverishment and neglect as anything else![2]

It has been shown that, as might be expected, church-building and restoration took off rapidly from about 1840 and reached its peak during the late '50s, '60s and early '70s. This is the point to summarise this position statistically and present a definitive graphical view. Fig. 22 shows the amount of significant restoration or rebuilding work started each year. There are considerable fluctuations but the peaks are clear. In order to present the trends more meaningfully the data is presented in Fig. 23 in the form of five-year moving averages, which iron out

1. Figures extracted from I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England; Surrey (2nd ed. revised by B. Cherry, Harmondsworth, 1971) and Kelly's Directory of Surrey (London, 1882 and 1938).
2. Cautley certainly found enough to dislike; see p. 2.

the year-by-year fluctuations. The main criteria for inclusion has been that work must "positively influence the appearance of a church in a significant way and/or involve a large sum of money (not usually less than £250)". This latter proviso is built in because, although restoration might be extensive, especially in the later decades, the conservative principle or the very nature of the work often meant little or no visual change.[3] While it is obvious that a Scott restoration should be included, though a routine cleaning or reslating should not, there are many borderline decisions. The most modest items for inclusion are: -

building a porch,
or building a vestry outside the pre-existing church,
or repewing or reseating,
or the provision of a ceiling,
or the erection of a gallery,
or a major decoration scheme,
or the removal of plaster internally,
or a large number of minor works done at the same time and adding up to a significant scheme (e.g. Market Harborough, 1860)

Destructive schemes, such as the removal of the spire at Wing in the 1840s are excluded. The other parameters used in the compilation of the graphs are: -

1. When a scheme extended into the following year(s), the first date only has been included, since it is the decision to restore and the bringing of this decision to fulfilment that matters. It is not very important that a scheme spilled over to another, or , even, two years.

2. Where an approximate date only is known (e.g. Peatling Magna, c. 1805), it has been necessary to exclude the work, unfortunately.

3. Where it is uncertain whether a scheme was carried out in one year or the next (e.g. 1860 or 1861), half a "unit" has been allowed for each year.

4. When a date is known only from a faculty, and where the work is known to have been carried out, the faculty date is used.

The phases that emerge are: -

1. a low, but not insignificant level of activity until the mid-1830s.

2. Rapid expansion after about 1835 until the mid-'40s.

3. An almost insignificant slackening at the end of the decade.

3. As, for example, at Gilmorton and Melton Mowbray in 1909.

Fig. 22.
Numbers of restoration and total rebuilding schemes begun in each year, 1800-1914, (Leicestershire)

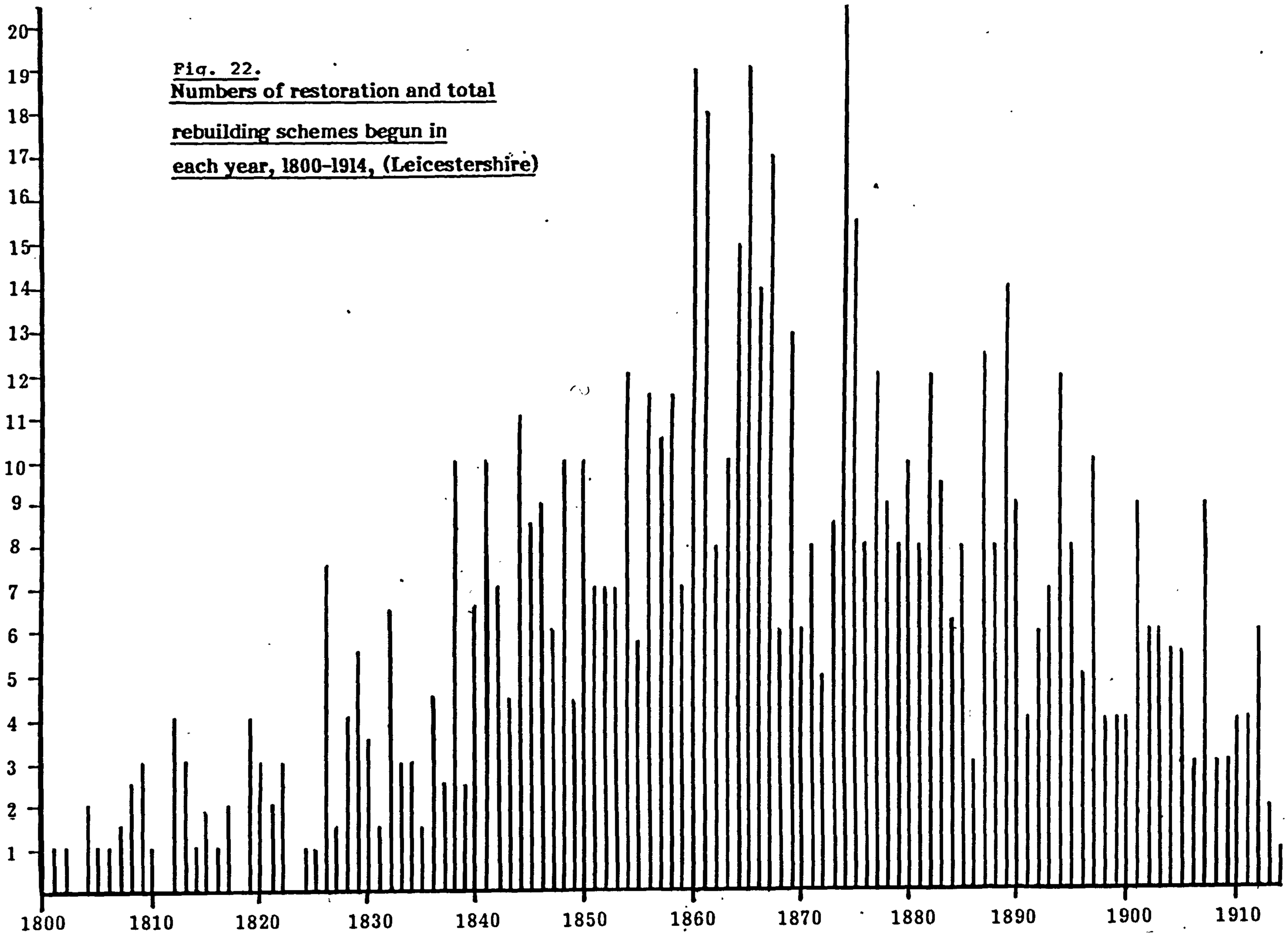
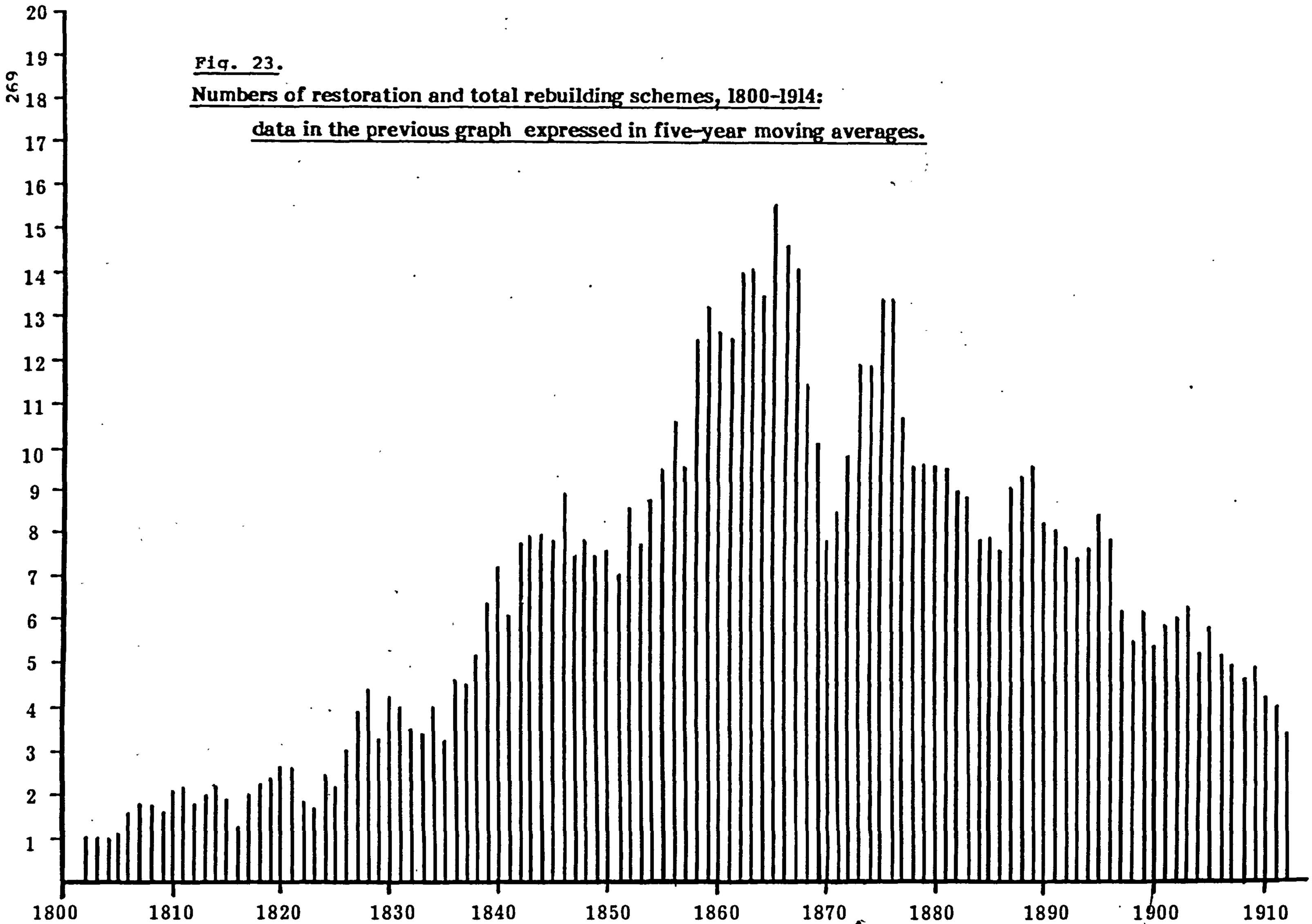


Fig. 23.

Numbers of restoration and total rebuilding schemes, 1800-1914: data in the previous graph expressed in five-year moving averages.



4. Then a rapid rise throughout the 1850s, culminating in the prodigious amount of activity during the first two-thirds of the 1860s.

5. In the very late '60s and until about 1873, there is a very pronounced dip in the amount of work started. The reasons for this are far from clear.

6. There then follows a new peak rising to near the level of the 60s.

7. Thereafter a more or less steady decline, almost to pre-Victorian levels of activity.

It is tempting to try and compare Leicestershire activity with that of other counties, but in no case is there much detailed published data on which to draw (apart from Suffolk, see Appendix Eight). I have therefore taken a selection of counties for which Directory material seemed informative and assembled the results for three-year periods between 1800 and 1914. The results are presented in Appendix Eight. The slightly different format has been used, partly because there is not so much data as for Leicestershire, and partly so as not to invite too close a comparison with Leicestershire, lest spurious conclusions be drawn. The comparisons can only be made on the basis of general trends, and the fact that a particular county shows an apparent lack of activity in a given three-year period cannot be taken to be significant.

The great period of church-building and restoration corresponds very closely with Victoria's reign. But the story is so much more than one of sheer numbers. It has to do with the total overthrow, within a space of not much more than ten years, of pre-Victorian values in church-building and internal arrangements; the imposition of these new ideas, often to the detriment of ancient fabrics, in almost every single scheme after about 1850; the attempt to produce an exciting new Gothic-based architecture for the new age; and finally the exhaustion of inspiration among church architects and the successful challenge to the whole basis of the restoration movement.

This study has tried to place in perspective the question of pre-Victorian neglect (or lack of it) and to assess whether the restoration movement was as destructive as its detractors claimed. No black and white answers can be expected, and none are found. Evidently, churches were not all as unkempt as Victorian accounts would suggest and about half of them would be considered as in good condition if judged by late twentieth century standards. Nor was every restoration as harmful as critics, particularly in the early twentieth century supposed. Yet, although Scott exercised

caution, as at Oakham and Theddinqworth, his espoused conservatism was not what later ages would understand by the term. But he did make efforts in the quality of workmanship and the attempt to preserve old features was more sincere than many of his contemporaries, especially minor local architects, such as the Goodacres and R.W. Johnson. Gradually, the impact of new ideas came to be felt, and the direct influence of SPAB in Leicestershire is evidence of this. Undoubtedly the Victorian work was often dull. But, it is hard to realise now that if most churches still had their box-pews, ceilings, brick floors and missing tracery, they would probably be duller still, and the architectural landscape would be all the poorer for the lack of such thrilling work as Butterfield's restoration at Ashwell, Joseph Goddard's new church at Tur Langton.

This study reveals what is something of a full circle during this period in attitudes towards altering buildings. Not a great deal was changed before the 1830s, due chiefly to the fact that the main preoccupation was with maintaining existing buildings. Only with the coming of Pugin and the Cambridge movement as the architectural arm of the Anglican Church Revival, was there a popular desire to "improve" them. From about the 1890s there was a return to the earlier pattern - few major restorations but a concern with maintainence and repair - as "restoration" became unfashionable. Also, as Chapter Nine has shown, less money was available for church work and fund raising was becoming harder. The age of the great patrons and the spending of huge sums had passed, as the simpler new churches in Leicester and the more limited nature of furnishing and renovation schemes demonstrate.

The other full circle turned relates to architectural design. After the late 1830s Gothic was used exclusively in church building in Leicestershire until the Goddards' St James the Greater (from 1899). The self-confident revival of Gothic was proclaimed as triumphantly in Leicestershire as elsewhere. The early part of the Victorian era was marked by an initial desire to recapture medieval perfection through copying it (e.g. Anstey), but this soon developed into a freer spirit which sought to develop the lessons learned. Thus, there began around 1850 the most creative, High Victorian phase of church architecture. Leicestershire's response to the process is one of assimilation and regurgitation, rather than a significantly creative and original one. There are many church buildings of quality, especially in Leicester, but only one - Scott's St Andrew - can claim a significant degree of originality. But there is ample evidence of the main, often divergent, themes of mid-Victorian architecture being taken up and Tur Langton, Hugglescote, and the Leicester

churches of St John the Baptist, St Mark and St Paul all display a sensitive and confident handling of the various facets of the time. By the end of Victoria's reign the Gothic Revival was virtually dead in all spheres other than church work, and even in this area it was rapidly running out of steam. Few buildings thereafter were imbued with the vitality of former years. But Gothic lingered on in an attenuated form in various Leicester churches.

The growth, flowering and decay of the Gothic Revival in Leicestershire churches mirrors the national pattern. As a self-concious revival of a ancient style in a new industrial age, the reassertion of Gothic is often seen as a movement, bearing within itself inevitable long-term failure.[4] Such a criticism (if criticism it be) is not entirely a fair one - nor, indeed, a helpful one - since no architectural style lives for ever and Gothic did satisfy Victorian aspirations at least until the break-up of the style around 1870, and, in churches, a good deal longer. Even until very recent times a church was not a church without a degree of Gothic clothing. The Revival drew on a complex series of Romantic associations, moral beliefs and archaeological and literary sources. This self-conciousness, recognised by the twentieth century, troubled the Victorians too since they were acutely aware of the fact that they had no new style for their own age. The history of the period, as clearly exemplified in Leicestershire, was one of architects running very rapidly through a gamut of styles and variations thereon. Curiously, they ended up revisiting the very period that brought the architectural history of the Middle Ages to a close - Perpendicular - and which had been so condemned by the originators of the Ecclesiological movement.

Nowhere is this development better seen in Leicestershire than in the work of the Goddard practice. Henry Goddard's early work displays a blissful ignorance of Ecclesiology (e.g. Countesthorpe, 1841 and/or 1842; see plate 13), and passes into a phase of medieval copyism (e.g. Kilby, 1858). Then comes the adoption of High Victorian values by his son, the classic example being Tur Langton. This too passed away after 1870 and Joseph took up more sober ideas (e.g. Glenfield, 1877). There then follow a number of works which show a very catholic architectural interest. Joseph adopted Pearson's magnificent plan from St Augustine, Kilburn, and refined it to produce Leicester's finest church interior. This building echoes the increasing values of chastness and simplicity that characterised

4. E.g. K. Clark, op. cit., esp. 218-19.

late Victorian work. At St Barnabas Perpendicular was brought back into use and in the remarkable building of St James the Greater Gothic was overthrown altogether.

Apart from G.G. Scott's activity, the Goddard practice is the only one which produced enough work over a sufficiently long period of time to enable a close comparison to be made with national trends. However, what is apparent from Appendix Three is that a tremendous number of architects contributed at least a little work in the area. The only men of major national significance who are entirely absent are Brooks, Burges, Clutton, J.O. Scott and Sedding.[5]

I would suggest that Leicestershire mirrors what is known about the broad national pattern of church building and restoration between 1800 and 1914. The general impression is that it was a "typical" county - without extremes of churchmanship;the acceptance of changing fashions but without in any way pioneering them; a fair degree of prosperity to support the building of new churches and the restoration of the older ones;the use of many architects whose work ranges from the magnificent to the downright bad. There seems nothing remarkable about the way in which these architects were chosen, nor in the way their works were financed. But whether Leicestershire was really typical cannot be decided here, as the work on other places is yet to be done. Until it is the results presented here remain isolated, but it is to be hoped that they will serve as a body of information that may be of some assistance for any future local studies of one of the most remarkable phases of the architectural and cultural history of the British Isles.

5. This, of course, ignores men who produced little Anglican church like the Arts and Crafts architects, and, say, Bentley or Goldie.