

Frederick Herbert Mansford

Citizen and Architect of London

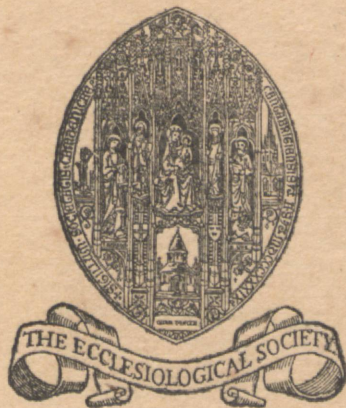
Selections from his papers

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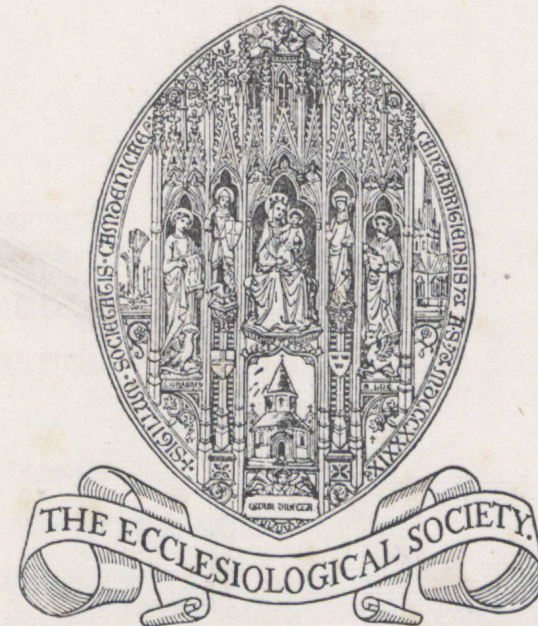
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F. H. MANSFORD
By DOROTHEA LANDAU



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FOREWORD

THIS Part, No. V, Vol. 1, New Series, of the Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society, is issued as a memorial number to the late Frederick Herbert Mansford, for many years a valued member of the Society. It has been compiled from his MSS., of which he left an extensive collection, and consists of notes and comments prepared by him from time to time for talks and lectures to the Society and to his students.

The selection and arrangement of these notes for publication have been devotedly undertaken by Mrs. A. R. Hatley, B.Sc., F.R.G.S., Hon. Secretary of the Society's Editorial and Publications Committee, whose task was by no means a light and easy one, and to whom the Council, on behalf of the Society, wishes to express its cordial appreciation and thanks.

The Council desires also to acknowledge its indebtedness to the Mansford family for generous contributions towards the cost of printing and publishing this memorial number, and to the friend who has provided the block for the frontispiece.

As in the case of other parts, the Council must not be assumed as subscribing to every statement or opinion contained in the Society's Transactions; all such expressions are made on the responsibility of the authors of the several contributions.

FREDERICK HERBERT MANSFORD

F.R.I.B.A. (1871-1946)

OUR Society is proud to recall among its past members many who have given loyal service to its work in scholarship and time and with these, Mr. F. H. Mansford, the subject of this memoir, must take a high place.

At the beginning of his last illness he wrote, in reply to a letter of sympathy from the Council: "As I lay in bed I reflected on my early association with the Society. I must have been about twenty-five when I first addressed the members in the old Chapter House. Canon Lewis Gilbertson was then Chairman but I do not remember if he presided. The subject was 'Notes on City Churches,' which had not then been so carefully researched. The walls of the room were panelled high in oak and it was excellent for sound. There was a very large cat curled up on an oak table in the hall and he received, but I might say ignored, the strokes from various members before ascending. The walls of the landing were hung with large framed schemes for cathedral decoration, some by a pupil of Alfred Stevens, whose name escapes me at the moment." Actually the Rev. E. Hoskins was the Chairman and the date of the meeting, 16th January, 1901, so he was rather more than twenty-five at the time. And so, for nearly fifty years, he gave his services, without stint or question, reading many Papers and conducting a long series of visits, only giving up a year or so before his death under stress of ill-health.

The care taken in the preparation of his talks is evidenced by the fact that this memoir is compiled from Notes selected from the large bulk of material prepared for lectures and visits.

A Londoner, born in Aldersgate Street on the 10th April, 1871, his love for London buildings coloured his life's outlook. After schooldays at Lenham, in Kent, and at Morley Grammar School, he entered the architectural profession, first through the office of George Hubbard, F.R.I.B.A., and then in that of Alfred Waterhouse, President of the R.I.B.A., and architect of so many great Victorian buildings, where Mansford became chief draughtsman, before setting up his own practice in 1906 at Ruislip. Here he built for himself "Walden," in Kingsend, which provided him with a home and an office for the rest of his life. Other houses of considerable interest followed at Ruislip, at Petersfield, and elsewhere. All are noteworthy as examples of clever planning and contriving to meet the wishes of clients with definite views.

Mansford's greatest work, however, was the South Place Ethical Society's premises, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. As a member of the Ethical Society he embarked on this work with enthusiasm, with the result that, when it was completed in 1929,

the music critic of the *Daily Telegraph* said, with regard to the large meeting hall, "owing to its excellent acoustic properties, it is the best hall in London for the appreciation of chamber music." In the 1920's he served on the Library Committee of the Royal Institute of British Architects and, in 1931, soon after its inception, he became the very active honorary secretary of the Architectural Graphic Records Committee, carrying on until its transformation in 1940 into the National Building Record. It should never be forgotten that, despite a grievous lack of funds, during this period 36,500 references, together with the measured drawings and a number of catalogues from some fifty libraries, were dealt with by voluntary effort and much of the credit is due to Mansford.

He was a frequent contributor to the architectural press of America, as well as of England, during the first forty or so years of this century. He was also a keen member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings and derived much pleasure from lecturing at the Central School of Arts and Crafts. But, of all his activities, there can be no doubt that ecclesiology was his chief interest. To a profound understanding of mediaeval architecture he united a wide knowledge of modern churches and, up to within a few months of his death, which occurred on the 13th June, 1946, he usually had some new discovery to report.

The Papers which he read before the Society were the result of very careful preparation and usually threw fresh light on some aspect of the subject, and this applied with even more force to the talks given at "visits." These were given after a detailed study of the literature of the subject, one or more personal visits and, usually, correspondence with those most likely to be able to clear up doubtful points. The resulting Notes are consequently full of such matters of interest as the unexpected irregularities in Wren's plans which, in several instances, Mansford traced to the re-use of mediaeval foundations.

Membership of our Society brought him many friends, of whom the present writer is proud to have been one. For nearly twenty years we travelled about the country at every possible holiday or week-end, visiting cathedrals, abbeys, parish churches, schools and private houses, under every condition of weather and road and with many adventures. Yet, through all the stresses and strains, Mansford remained the kindly, considerate companion, the planner of routes and the negotiator of problems. Ripon, Norwich, Bristol, Ampleforth, Lichfield, Marlborough, Llandaff, Downside, Birmingham, Bath, Leeds, Nottingham, Portsmouth, and Leicester are a few names which conjure up glowing memories of the fascination of the English scene. Turning over the record of these pilgrimages one can but repeat the words of the old Chinese poet, Li-Po, "Dawn reddens in the wake of night; but the days of our life return not."

W.W.B.

ELY

GREY scudding clouds across the sky,
A distant heron's lonely cry,
The upturned earth be-dyked and black.
A sluggish river's straightened track,
Gay butterflies amidst the sedge,
Willows upon the water's edge.
A windmill's sails that hang forlorn,
Furrows all lined with sprouting corn,
The rutty drove that crossed the flood
With now a crust of sun-baked mud
In noon-day glare that heats and tires,
And drifting smoke of rubbish fires—
These memories recall to me
The fen-bound Isle of Ely.

A gently rising lonely hill,
An ancient city calm and still,
The streets unpaved for horses' hoofs,
Grey tiles upon the huddled roofs.
Hoary, serene and crowning all
The lofty tower and buttressed wall;
A roof's impressive height and length
And stones that speak of age and strength;
A wooden lantern's fretted crest;
Th' embrasured turrets at the west,
The gardened precincts sheltering round.
Southwards—the meadow's sloping ground,
Golden with buttercups of spring,
Jackdaws and rooks upon the wing.
Such memories recall to me
The grey-roofed town of Ely.

That vista from the western door
Of painted roof and marble floor,
The Norman pillars rising clear
Without an intervening chair.
The octagon's amazing span,
That daring thought of Walsingham.
And then the choir—beyond the screen,
What miracles of craft are seen!
What miracles of sound are heard
And feelings deep within me stirred!

Prayer and praise have here arisen,
 Since these stones from rocks were riven,
 For more than twice six hundred years.
 Here men have voiced their hopes and fears,
 Monk and abbot, bishop and prior,
 Canon and priest and preaching friar,
 Since the days of Etheldreda,
 Abbess-queen and Ely's founder.

I close my eyes and see meanwhile
 A long procession fill the aisle,
 Smoking incense, bell and candles,
 Mitred prelates, monks in sandals,
 Also days of priestly thunders,
 Sainly relics working wonders,
 'Till through mists of superstition
 Wycliffe had a clearer vision—
 No longer now the fast and scourge,
 Brighter years upon us surge,
 Man will find his heaven below,
 Although his progress may be slow.

Next the organ's deep vibration
 Comes the drowsy intonation,
 And the chorused *long AMEN.*

May, 1920.

F.H.M.

(Reprinted from the "Monthly Record" of the South Place Ethical Society)

ON CHURCHYARDS

IN Roman times no citizen was allowed to be buried within the walls, but in the Middle Ages nearly every citizen was buried in his own parish. Therefore in walled cities there must have been great difficulty in finding room for the dead. In London this was partly overcome by clearing portions of the churchyards from time to time and placing the bones in a charnel house, or if such did not exist, in the great charnel house near St. Paul's. In a few instances crypts remain under the churches, and these were probably used for the purpose. The one opened not long ago at St. Olave's, Hart Street, rather surprisingly contains a well. It is significant that the only opening in the wall of this crypt is on the south, the side of the churchyard, so that it would have been possible to transfer bones directly from the yard to the crypt. This would doubtless have been more convenient and more seemly than carrying them down a steep and narrow stair.

The city churchyards have often been curtailed and sometimes altogether absorbed by streets and buildings; yet there are many unexpected little plots remaining and they provide shady corners and resting places for city folk amid the wear and tear of business life. One of the prettiest was that existing until a decade or so ago in the Bank of England, which had grown up around it. There was a fountain, a fine plane tree and rhododendrons well cared for and very pleasant. The churchyard from three united parishes forms a little oasis in Aldersgate Street; here again is a fountain. A little wooden cloister commemorates the brave deeds of ordinary people, mainly of those who have sacrificed their lives in saving others.

Several churchyards contain fragments of the ancient city wall, the finest being the corner bastion at St. Giles's, Cripplegate. (The pleasant strip remaining, complete with seat, beneath the shelter of the wall on the site of St. Alphege, London Wall, provides special interest from the crenellations and diaper patterning of the late mediaeval brickwork of the wall as well as from two contiguous boundary marks of adjacent parishes. ED.)

A century ago there was a rookery at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East and a house opposite the church was charged "a yearly rent of £3 for the purpose of furnishing the rooks with osier twigs to enable them to build their nests without trouble, and for other sustenance." To-day we have hundreds of pigeons, fed by the citizens, and nesting in the foliage of Wren's corinthian capitals, not without damage to the masonry. Flocks of starlings chatter and bestir themselves as they prepare, in their foraging, to set out for warmer climes. For many a year they have provided a familiar touch for the London nature-lover.

ON BELLS AND BELL-RINGERS

THERE are several peals of eight or twelve bells within the City of London, but they are not now all rung. The most famous are those of St. Mary-le-Bow, rung ceremonially on Lord Mayor's Day, and St. Bride's, Fleet Street, where a peal of twelve bells was completed in 1724, the first in the City*. That was the time when bell-ringing was very fashionable and some of the ringers returned to the West End in their carriages. A year later there is an entry in the churchwardens' accounts at St. Giles's Cripplegate: "Paid for a leg of mutton for ye ringers on Ascension Day—2s. 1d." . . . At a time when the houses were mostly of wood the curfew was an important matter, but old custom retained the curfew long after the need to extinguish fires had passed, even into the last century.

* Both these peals were silenced by enemy action through fire: the bells fell and were considerably damaged, also some of them suffered by the intense heat.—A.R.H.

The great bell at St. Sepulchre's was rung at the execution of criminals at Newgate. In the aisle of the church is, or was, a small hand-bell which was rung outside the condemned cell the night before the execution, the ringer chanting meanwhile an exhortation to repentance.

Six or seven churches possessed bells which date from before the Great Fire (1666) but none so famous as some of those which were melted in its heat. I am thinking of those of Bow Church whose message almost miraculously wafted to Highgate, rang "Turn again Whittington, Lord Mayor of London."

CITY SWORD-RESTS

NEARLY all the City churches provided a corporation pew and a sword-rest or stand. The number of the rests now remaining in London is seventy, several churches having two or three. This is sometimes accounted for by the transference of the sword-rest from a demolished church to the church of united parishes. The only church I can call to mind without one is St. Mary Aldermanbury, which was almost cleared of its original fittings about sixty years ago. I believe that the unnamed example at the Victoria and Albert Museum came from that church. A friend and I are tracing these relics as far as we can, and as the result of an interesting investigation I think that we have established this fact. Nearly all the sword-rests are wrought iron, although there are wooden examples. The rests usually bear the arms of Great Britain, the City of London and the livery company to which the Lord Mayor belonged in whose honour they were erected. I am not sure at whose expense they were put up, whether the livery company or the parish. I should be inclined to think that when a livery company attended an annual service in the church of the parish in which its hall was situated, and the sword-rest bears the arms of that company, they were the donors. Lord Mayors in the past frequently attended City churches in state, accompanied by the sheriffs. Living in the City as a boy, I can vividly recall the clanking of many horses' hoofs in the sabbath-silent streets, which indicated to us that the picturesque procession was approaching, headed by the City Marshal on horseback.

JOHN STOW TAILOR AND CHRONICLER

WRITERS on Stow generally express surprise that so famous a man should have received so little encouragement, and have become so poor that in the eightieth year of his age collections were made on his behalf by special licence from the king. I think that the explanation is that he offended many

powerful persons by his outspokenness and also dispelled many cherished traditions. If in his search among old documents he discovered that individuals, or even corporations, had been faithless to their trusteeship, he did not fail to denounce them. He mercilessly exposed fashionable quack physicians and other impostors. He railed against the Marquis of Winchester for his destruction of the steeple of the Augustinian church. "London had lost a goodly monument for one man's commodity. Time hereafter might talk of it." He poured scorn on some other writers on Antiquities whom he styled plagiarists, and proved that they quoted statements without verification. He refuted the tradition that the dagger in the City's arms had anything to do with the stabbing of Wat Tyler, but showed that it was the sword of St. Paul and had been in use before the reign of Richard the Second. Men in our time have asserted that Dick Whittington never owned a cat nor King Arthur a Round Table, but their discoveries are not popular. However, old Stow must have won the esteem of his fellow citizens at last, if we can judge by the fine alabaster monument, erected not long after his death in the church of St. Andrew Under-shaft. When we pay our respects we should remember that he was the friend of Camden, that our society was first launched under the name of the Cambridge Camden Society, and only changed the title after the original members had left Cambridge.

INIGO JONES

ONE wonders whether Wren had to fight for the designs of his parish churches as he had to do for the cathedral plans. Presumably in each case he would have to satisfy the incumbents and the leading parishioners. Before the Great Fire all the churches in London were of Gothic character with one exception—that of Inigo Jones's church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Inigo Jones was an innovator, but then he had a duke for his client, and not a very ecclesiastically minded duke either. Knowing that his tenant leaseholders would require a conveniently situated place of worship, he asked the Court architect to design "something better than a barn." For a generation or two St. Paul's, Covent Garden, must have been one of the most fashionably attended places of worship in the capital and no doubt its complete abandonment of mediaeval tradition helped Wren to impose his classic taste upon the citizens, although we know that in a few instances he had to adopt the Gothic style.

Let us imagine ourselves about three hundred years ago, after crossing the bridge over the Fleet River and before beginning the steep and narrow ascent of Ludgate Hill, gazing at the ships discharging fish and sea-coal. About half-way up the hill stands Ludgate, used as a prison for debtors and ornamented with the statue of Queen Elizabeth which is now over the porch of

St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. We push our way through the thronged and narrow arch. The vista of the thoroughfare is completely blocked by the scaffolding which encloses the great portico arising in front of St. Paul's cathedral. The like of this portico, from the design of Inigo Jones, has never before been seen in England. That portico, in the heart of the city, paved the way for Wren in the minds of the leading citizens.

[There is a memorial to Inigo Jones in the church of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, now used by the Welsh.]

WREN'S CITY CHURCHES

GR^{EAT} changes came over English architecture during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, between the Reformation and the Commonwealth. Foreign artists were invited to England or fled here from the Continent. There was the Italian Torrigiano, the French Le Soeur, the German Holbein, and, later, the Dutch Van Dyck. These, and many other artists and craftsmen, helped to change completely the fashion of all the arts. Noblemen and others travelled to foreign cities, and some returned with sculptures and marbles to adorn their town palaces or country mansions. Sir Christopher Wren himself went to Paris in 1665, the year of the plague; he visited buildings in course of erection such as the Louvre, and doubtless made note of the recently completed domed church of Val de Grace, where our King Charles the First's Queen had been buried.

Only one parish church had been built in the City of London during the period which we are considering—St. Katharine Cree, in Leadenhall Street. That was erected as late as the reign of Charles the First, yet, apart from the Renaissance details of the arcades which separate nave from aisles, the general effect is largely Gothic because of the traceried windows and the pattern of the ribs on the plaster vault. Inigo Jones had built St. Paul's, Covent Garden, in a purely Italian style, but that was a private chapel-of-ease for the convenience of residents on the Duke of Bedford's estate then in course of development.

This is, briefly, the setting of the stage on which Wren was asked to perform. But he had to consider other factors. The impulse which Archbishop Laud had given in favour of a ceremonial liturgy had died down during the reign of Puritanism at the time of the Commonwealth. Long sermons had become the chief feature of the Sunday services and the communion table was overshadowed by the pulpit. Even the word "altar" had almost fallen into disuse. Choirs only existed in cathedrals, royal chapels and a few other churches. The increase of population resulted in many churches being overcrowded, especially as all worshippers expected to be seated and were no longer content

to stand or kneel. After the Great Fire many parishes were amalgamated on grounds of economy and this made it imperative that the new churches should be as commodious as possible. The necessary extra accommodation caused Wren to resort to galleries in many instances and these required spacious staircases and lofty pulpits. Motives of economy made it desirable to use existing foundations where feasible and old masonry and other materials. In a few cases portions of walls could be embodied in the new structures; especially was this the case with the lower portions of towers.

Wren seems, with his usual commonsense, to have accepted all these factors willingly, for the only instances in which he appears to be clinging to the out-moded "Gothick" were those where the wishes of a donor or of the parishioners had to be met (St. Mary Aldermary and St. Michael, Cornhill, are cases in point). His mathematical mind played upon various plan-shapes—square and oblong with one aisle, with two aisles or aisleless; with ceilings flat, coved, groined or barrel-shaped; also with domes on walls only, on barrel vaults, on four or eight columns, and a ten-sided church with six columns carrying the dome.

The cost of the fabrics only was met by a duty of one shilling on every ton of coal entering the metropolis; the parishioners subscribed the money for the furnishings and fittings. In spite of Wren's longevity and industry he cannot have designed all the details of the fittings, for besides the fifty churches and the cathedral he was employed upon Greenwich and Chelsea Hospitals, palaces at Hampton, Winchester and Kensington, several City livery companies' halls, the Monument, Temple Bar and college work at Oxford, Cambridge, Eton and Winchester. We know that the French smith Tijou designed his wrought iron screens, grilles and gates, although Wren doubtless gave him ideas as to size and character. The name of Grinling Gibbons is associated with most of the carved woodwork in the churches, but here again it would have been physically impossible for one man to have executed all this work, especially when accounts prove that he was engaged at the cathedral and various palaces at the same time.

Wren was pre-eminent as an astronomer and a leader in the realms of physics, mechanics, meteorology and chemistry. My old master and principal had this in mind when he paid tribute to Wren on the occasion of the celebration of his bi-centenary. As President of the R.I.B.A. it fell to Mr. Waterhouse to lay the ceremonial wreath on Wren's tomb in St. Paul's. At the commemoration banquet the same evening he concluded his speech with the following words: "We to-day pay reverent homage to a man so dowered with the gifts of genius and with the spirit of industry that his leadership in the fields of natural science found no equal save in his supremacy as an architect: one, moreover, whose culture in classic literature was gracefully balanced

by a character so gentle and alluring as to win this outburst from a contemporary: 'It is doubtful whether he was most to be commended for the divine felicity of his genius or for the sweet humanity of his disposition.'"

NOTES ON BOMBED CHURCHES IN LONDON

FOR two hundred and fifty years London afforded such a panorama of domes, towers and spires as was equalled by no city in Europe. Continental cities usually had, and have, several large parish churches. In England, on the other hand, cities of ancient foundation, such as London, Bristol, Exeter, York and Norwich, contained many small ones.

Within the area of the City of London—one square mile—there have been one hundred and fifteen separate parishes, each with its own church, besides the cathedral, priories and nunneries. Several of these disappeared in the spiritual flames of Reformation and many more in the material flames of 1666, so that at the end of the seventeenth century many parishes had been amalgamated and there were only seventy-two churches in the City itself. This practice of uniting parishes dates from the reign of Henry the First and, finally, prior to 1939, there were forty-eight churches intact, including those within the extension of the city boundary to the west and north.

Of the forty-eight churches eight were mediaeval, thirty-two by Wren, and eight of subsequent date. What has been the fate of Wren's churches? He designed churches adapted to family worship and the hearing of long sermons. Consequently, there were spacious pews and imposing pulpits, generally centrally placed, and, to some extent, hiding the communion tables. Populous parishes required galleries; there were no structural sanctuaries, nor choir stalls. There were, however, handsome reredoses inscribed with the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and, usually, with paintings of Moses and Aaron. The organs were mostly added later, but often in Wren's lifetime; they invariably occupied the west galleries.

The Oxford Movement altered a great deal of this during the nineteenth century. Pulpits were shifted to afford a better view of the altars. Choir stalls were provided and organs moved to the east end where they often destroyed the symmetry of the aisles and exposed awkward looking flanks. Pews were lowered and rearranged to suit the altered conditions. Stone-flagged floors were relaid with red and black encaustic tiles. Stained glass was introduced into the windows and obscured the light, already much reduced by the increased height of neighbouring buildings. The influence of the Gothic Revival did not stop there for in St. Michael's, Cornhill,

St. Swithin's, Cannon Street and St. Mary Aldermary bastard plate-tracery was introduced into the windows. Sir Gilbert Scott added Gothic porches to All-Hallows-by-the-Tower and St. Michael's, Cornhill, a middle pointed Gothic apse to St. Alban's, Wood Street. Some of these were good in themselves but were seldom in harmony with the spirit of Wren. Perhaps the most extraordinary evidence of change of taste was that Street, the architect of the Law Courts, was employed to make a design for the re-building of St. Dionis Backchurch in red-brick Gothic. This was in 1860 and I surmise that it did not materialise because the Corporation required the site for the widening of Fenchurch Street. Only a narrow strip of garden recalls the position of Wren's fine church.*

You may wonder why I refer to some of these matters, but they are relevant to the future of these churches. There are other points to be taken into consideration. The fabrics of Wren's churches were, with one exception, built at the cost of all the citizens of London and its suburbs by means of a tax on coal: the fittings only were paid for by parishioners. Again the population of the city has declined during the last hundred years. The congregations of the destroyed churches were mostly very small and the incumbents and choir usually lived at a distance from the parish. We should remember, too, that the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars once received an offer of a million pounds for the site of their church and two or three houses adjoining. The City and South London Railway Company offered three quarters of a million pounds for the site of St. Mary Woolnoth. Both of these tempting offers were honourably declined. What of the future?

First, there are the "clean sweepers" who consider that the remaining churches suffice for the whole area of the city, that the ruined churches stand in the way of proper reconstruction of roads and buildings, that if the sites were disposed of many new churches could be built and endowed in the suburbs.

Secondly, there are those who advocate the removal of the ruins leaving only the towers and spires, with small gardens attached. Some of the memorials could doubtless be recovered and placed in the towers.

Thirdly, others would reconstruct the churches themselves in the suburbs.

Lastly, there is the proposal advocated in the *Times* to restore the fabrics where practicable and to postpone the matter of fittings indefinitely.

There is much to be said for the policy of retaining the towers and spires and I expect that in many cases it will be carried out. It would give little satisfaction to the shade of Sir Christopher for he had designed his churches as a wonderful group, balanced as

* The panelled Vestry Hall also served to retain the name of the parish and was used for elections and other local matters.—A.R.H.

to mass and contrasted in outline. To see a few isolated specimens overtopped by tall buildings would fill him with dismay. He was sometimes able to incorporate portions of mediaeval towers as at St. Lawrence Jewry, where there is one angle acute, but not noticeable while the body of the church stood. The destroyed lantern was made square and not parallel with the oblique parapets. Again the lower parts of towers were very often plain, being little seen in narrow courts and streets until they rose clear above the adjoining roofs.

When we come to the proposal to remove the churches to the suburbs and reconstruct them there as far as possible stone by stone let us reflect on the case of St. Andrew's, Well Street, which was so re-erected at Kingsbury. The cost was about £50,000 and the late Bishop of London said "Never again." Wren's designs were for particular sites, often so hemmed in that the side elevations were negligible or almost non-existent. Many of his best churches had galleries and these were an integral part of the design and built with the high pulpits. The congregations in these galleries would hardly be able to see the altar unless seated in the front, hence much space would be wasted.

As regards the last proposition, to rebuild or restore the fabric in situ and leave the fittings to the future, we know nothing of the new town plan for the City but we may be quite sure that the narrow streets and alleys that Wren wished unavailingly to suppress will not survive. Wren's churches were adapted to the lines of these frontages and only in a few instances were suited to stand free like St. Clement Danes or St. James's, Piccadilly.

Is it likely that the church authorities will forgo all these site values and rebuild churches which they regard as redundant and maintain them when they would be practically useless for services?

It is not possible to lay down general rules applicable to all the destroyed churches. Each must be considered on its merits—its artistic value, its condition and how it fits into the new town-plan for the City. I would suggest that St. Bride's Church, whose walls are fairly intact, be used as a Wren Museum. There will be many pieces of finely carved oakwork, ironwork and masonry which cannot be re-used. These could be collected and arranged on the floor space. In reconstructed level galleries, drawings, plans, photographs and paintings of all Wren's works could be displayed. Only by such means can the genius of Wren be preserved and appreciated. St. Nicholas Cole Abbey would make a fine concert and lecture hall, its low flat ceiling and unobstructed interior being particularly good for sound. The east wall of St. Lawrence Jewry should be preserved even if the whole of this most elaborate of Wren's churches be not restored as the "Corporation Church."

But much will depend upon whether we get Peace with Security or only Peace with Anxiety.

THOUGHTS ON NINETEENTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

(From Lectures to Students)

ROBERT ADAM'S visit to Italy had notable effects on English architecture. Continental travel became fashionable and a club was formed in London for membership of which only those were eligible who had visited lands, at first five hundred but, later, one thousand miles away. Explorations in Greece and the arrival in London of the marbles from the Parthenon directed cultivated taste to Hellenic art. The struggle for Greek independence (and the death of Byron) helped to sustain the interest. Hence the desire to create buildings of Greek design in a movement which became known as "the Greek Revival." There were, at least, three clubs formed as a result of this or influenced by it, the Atheneum, the Parthenon and the Erectheum. The first of these has become one of the premier clubs of the world and still occupies the building, of date 1830, ornamented with a reproduction of the parthenaic frieze. The Doric gateway to Euston Station is an example of this phase as is also St. Pancras Church nearby. The exterior of this church is based on the temple at Athens known as the Erectheum and in order to satisfy the demand for a steeple, a composition based on a mixture of motifs and details from the Temple of the Winds and of the Choragic monument to Lysicrates rises from behind the portico. The climax of the movement may be said to be the unfinished reproduction of part of the Parthenon which adorns the Calton Hill at Edinburgh.

Archaeological research was not confined to the antiquities of Greece and Rome for the embers of Gothic were still smouldering in the closing years of the eighteenth century, bursting into flames at Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey, fanned by those romantics, Horace Walpole and William Beckford. In the early years of the nineteenth century there was a literary movement led by Sir Walter Scott and the poet Wordsworth which turned men's thoughts to the ancient monuments of our own country. "Ruins" became fashionable and "Gothic" ceased to be a word of reproach . . . and even amateurs become experts in distinctions of style.

Then the Oxford Movement took place in the Church, and gradually the ritual of the services in many of the churches reverted more and more to the ceremonial of the Middle Ages. The literary and ecclesiastical movements, combined with the work of artists like Carter, Britton and Cotman, combined to produce the Gothic Revival which permeated not only building, but all the kindred crafts. A great number of new churches was required to meet the rapidly growing population of the industrial towns. These were almost invariably built in a Gothic style, most of the schools and the vicarages following suit. Municipal buildings, law courts, museums and even railway stations made a brave show of buttresses,

pinnacles and pointed arches, culminating in Sir Gilbert Scott's pile at St. Pancras. Revivalists began by picking up the dropped threads of the Gothic garment in its latest style and "Perpendicular" became fashionable. Then it was discovered that the fourteenth century had seen the summit of Gothic art, and "Decorated" was the only wear. The backward trend soon reached the thirteenth century and two of the leading church architects, Pearson and Brooks, soon worked almost exclusively in the Early Pointed style. I do not say "Early English," for both men were influenced by the churches of Northern France, as was Street by the brick and marble churches of North Italy. Tiring of native Gothic, some domestic architects found inspiration in Flanders, Holland and the chateaux of the Loire.

Yet all the time other influences were maintained. The Prince Consort showed the breadth of his taste by sponsoring an Italian villa at Osborne, a tower of German outline to Whippingham Church, a Scottish baronial castle at Balmoral and a vast structure of iron and glass in Hyde Park. He reposes in an Italo-Byzantine mausoleum at Frogmore. Gothic made little headway in the City. We never had a Gothic Coal Exchange or Stock Exchange and people shook their heads when Baring's chose the Queen Anne period for their new head office. They came to grief and bankers have never since departed even thus far from the Classic.

Sedding followed on with Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, where his Perpendicular Gothic church contains a pulpit and a baldachino as Italian as they make them.

Finally towards the end of the century, chaos was reached when architects took to mixing the styles, using old materials in new ways, introducing new materials like steel and terra-cotta, ornamenting private buildings with domes and towers and ignoring what had hitherto been considered rules of architecture.

As regards the mixture of styles, Norman Shaw intrigued the architectural world with his Gothic-Queen Anne church at Bedford Park. Colcutt, in the Imperial Institute used free classic details on a structure which is Gothic in outline and with steep roofs and lofty elaborated dormers. There is even a faint suggestion of India in the towers and finials. The same building illustrates a novel use of red brick for ornamental bands between courses of stone.

Vaulting in Gothic churches had hitherto been of stone or plastered laths in imitation of masonry. It was left to Pearson to vault an English church throughout in brickwork. He even used common yellow stock bricks for this purpose in the church of St. John, Red Lion Square. Terra-cotta was re-introduced, and Waterhouse was the first to employ it for the entire external facing of an important building, namely the Natural History Museum. It made quite an impression, and I have traced its echoes as far as Milan. Bentley was equally bold in employing brick for his

cathedral at Westminster. The inspiration for his design is to be sought in Ravenna and Byzantium. The reverberation of his triumph is still felt in ecclesiastical circles for reasons not entirely aesthetic. Brick as a material is cheaper than stone nearly everywhere, and a good deal of ornamental effect can be obtained by laying bricks in herring-bone or vertical panels, and by a discreet use of various kinds of courses. All these effects can be obtained without any further work upon the material itself. A little added expense produces bricks of special shapes. All of these expedients Bentley employed with skill upon the exterior of his great work. A masonry church equally ornamented would have been vastly more expensive.

You may not be so familiar with examples of broken rules or conventions. Belcher designed a fine building near Moorgate for the Institute of Chartered Accountants. The crowning feature is an enriched architrave and cornice supported upon Ionic columns. There is no frieze between the architrave and the cornice; thus the entablature (if one may still so term it) lacks one of its three orthodox members. There is, however, a band of fine sculpture below the upper windows. It is as if the frieze had been divorced from its usual place for this purpose. At New Scotland Yard, Norman Shaw built his red brick superstructure upon a lofty grey granite plinth without the intervention of the usual stringcourse to mark the junction. And, finally, we have Mr. Wade's School of Needlework at South Kensington, with its three-quarter engaged columns on the upper part, supported upon corbels only. It was a healthy sign of public interest that questions on these last instances were asked and replied to in the House of Commons. Scotland Yard was compared to a jam or pickle factory, which probably was a delicate compliment to a building belonging to Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell, not long since demolished.

We may sum up the conclusions of the nineteenth century in the following generalisations. The century opens with a fashionable Greek Revival, and Gothic struggling to find expression. Then the Greek enthusiasm is exhausted and a Gothic Revival is in full swing; but its supremacy is always challenged by the classic school which is in most favour for civic and commercial buildings. Finally, Gothic influence fades although still felt in matters ecclesiastical. Architects work mostly in a more or less free classic. A few like Shaw, Macintosh and Voysey strike out in new directions, but most do what they think will appear right in other people's eyes.

As a result, London affords the greatest variety of architectural designs, for nine-tenths of it dates from the nineteenth century. Rome and Paris are monotonous in comparison.

What attitude should one take in criticising modern buildings designed in the fashion of past centuries and of other climes? We must surely feel that the principle of appropriateness is doubly violated. But the point is not always so simply dealt with. Supposing that an architect is making an addition to an old building, or erecting

a new one in close proximity to an ancient monument, what attitude should he adopt with regard to his design? It was curious, and almost amusing, that while Sir Horace Jones was dressing up the steel frame of the Tower Bridge in pseudo-Gothic masonry to harmonise with the Tower, within the Tower itself a red brick Guard House was built without any Gothic features other than a gabled roof, and a few mullioned windows. The Tower Bridge was at first rapturously received and became very popular. The popularity was mainly due to the fact that, although only a privileged few could see the wheels go round, all could see the bascules move up and down. The Guard House was stigmatised in the House of Commons, but is now quietly accepted or ignored. Most architects, I think, agree with the policy of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, which, while striving to preserve as conservatively as is practicable, genuine work of interest, deprecates any deceptive copying of bygone forms and details. We see how Sir Aston Webb tackled the job at St. Bartholomew the Great.

Another example is Pennethorne's addition to Somerset House, the portion facing Wellington Street. This was considered to be such a successful attempt to be harmonious, without exact copying of the original work, that a public dinner was given to Pennethorne by his brother architects. In designing the north front of the British Museum, Sir John Burnet is generally thought to have been successful. How it will link up with the front when the wings are completed I do not know, but doubtless that has been considered. Supposing it was decided to enlarge the Houses of Parliament by enclosing New Palace Yard with buildings. Well, we have Barry's drawings for this very thing, with a fine gateway tower at the corner towards Parliament Street. Only I would suggest that the elaborate detail of the present building should not be reproduced to that extent or quite in the same form. There might be just enough modification to denote the different periods of erection, and to express the stringent times in which we are living.

Let us return to the appraisal of buildings of Revival movements. Having admitted the inappropriateness of past styles to our own age, let us not be blind to qualities of good proportion, good composition of mass and parts and good planning, all of which are practically independent of style. Then there are such points to be borne in mind as the use of good materials in the best way; consistent scale; dignity and repose, which are nearly identical, and effects of colour and light and shade, which are nearly as closely connected. Thus, if we consider a Doric propyleum or gateway to be an inappropriate entrance to a railway station, we can still admire the magnificent masonry, with single blocks (at Euston) weighing thirteen tons. If we think that groups of Romanesque towers are uncalled for in a museum, and even if we do not care for terra-cotta, we can admire the planning of the Natural History Museum and the excellently modelled and appropriate ornament. I am not thinking of the Norman chevrons, but those delightful

monkeys that are for ever climbing up the piers of the great hall, and many other cleverly conventionalised birds, animals and reptiles.

If the nineteenth century was characterised as a century of Revivals, there were certain sociological developments which had more permanent effect on the appearance of our towns. Until the construction of canals, buildings were usually erected of local materials. The exceptions were churches, castles and mansions, which were often built of stone even if it had to be brought by sea or river from a distance. In the beginning of the last century London was still mainly a brick-built city roofed with tiles. Two of Wren's churches had red-tiled roofs. When slates could be brought cheaply from Wales, they became the chief roofing material. Under the Regency it became usual to hide brickwork beneath stucco. Later in the century marbles and timbers were imported from all parts of the world in ever-increasing variety. Cast iron came to the front in Paddington Station where Brunel allowed Digby Wyatt to devise some original but not very successful ornamental details. The Crystal Palace carried that kind of development a stage further and steel was employed at St. Pancras and Olympia.

The extended and cheapened facilities for travel enabled architects and draughtsmen to fill their sketchbooks with features noted abroad especially in France, Italy, Holland, Germany and Belgium. In the latter part of the century buildings frequently embodied picturesque bits from these sources and occasionally were modelled entirely on foreign examples. For the first time England felt the influence of America, not by copying any aesthetic element, but by the adoption of the elevator or lift. Buildings had been restricted as to the number of their floors by the ordinary limits of human endurance. After the introduction of the lift, the limit only depended on the thickness of the walls necessary to carry the increased floor loads and to resist the force of gales. Thick walls are not only expensive to build, but occupy more space and restrict the outlook from the rooms. Queen Anne's Mansions, Westminster was the first London block to exploit the new conditions and the owner did this so brutally, and with so little regard to the amenities of his neighbours, that new clauses of the Building Act were formulated to prevent anyone else following suit to the same extent. These clauses, which are still in force, restrict the height to 80 ft. but permit two storeys in the roof in addition.

TWENTIETH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

(From Lectures to Students)

IN attempting to judge or describe architecture of the twentieth century we are beset with difficulties, for within only one-third of the century there were more conflicting aims and new problems than in any which preceded it.

On the one hand we see builders nailing deal boards to the fronts of brick or concrete houses that they may label them "Tudor," while excellent architects restrict themselves to the traditional materials of a locality and produce beautiful houses harmonious with their surroundings and with the texture of antiquity, beloved of their clients. We see one of our leading architects, designing headquarters for the Y.W.C.A., using the manner of the early Georges, so well suited to the period of crinolines and powdered wigs, but scarcely appropriate to the young women of today, who have discarded the wigs but not the powder. We see buildings which are outwardly clothed with brick or stone but are really constructed of steel. At Selfridge's, stone columns are built up around steel stanchions because otherwise the superstructure could not be sustained.

Some architects have struggled with the proper uses of concrete when employed instead of brick or stone. There are instances where the concrete has been freed from the surface cement so as to expose the aggregate of which the mass is composed. In other instances the concrete has been covered with large, thin slabs of marble or granite frankly treated as veneer, with metal rivets showing at the corners of the slabs. At the Dorchester House Hotel the outer walls are faced with precast concrete blocks, the outer skin of which is composed of marble; the blocks being so shaped and disposed that no one should be deceived into thinking that the walls are structural in the old sense of supporting floors and roof. Floors and roof, and the loads which come upon them, are carried by the steel framework, which has to be concealed to comply with the Building Act and restrictions against fire.

Then we have experiments in reinforced concrete—a material which not only opens out new possibilities of construction, but is almost imperishable and requires practically no upkeep. This material is revolutionising the shapes of openings and all our traditional ideas of proportion. Developments in electric lighting are beginning to affect the design of buildings. Central heating has given an impetus to the use of ply and laminated woods to resist the otherwise certain warping and shrinkage. The invention of plywood as now developed enables us to use slabs of wood in one piece up to about 40 ft. super, making the method of framed panelling unnecessary, and enabling woods of the finest grain and quality to be used without extravagance.

Not only wood but metals can now be planed by machinery. Rustless metal can be extruded from a machine in a variety of forms and be mounted on hardwood to make doors and shopfronts, or even a housefront if desired. The bronze-faced doors of Imperial Chemical House, Millbank, are 20 ft. high, but owing to modern methods of construction can be operated by one man. Glass is now used for a variety of purposes, both on the exterior and in the interior of buildings. Frascati's Restaurant in Oxford Street is an example of an elevation which has been successfully

transformed by the skilful use of glass for lamps and canopies. The *Daily Express* building is an instance of a different sort. Here the walling between the continuous windows of each storey is faced with black glass. A squad of window cleaners will be able to maintain the elevations fresh in all their hard and remorseless efficiency.

Rubber has become a recognised material for flooring. The beautiful War Memorial Chapel at St. Michael's Church, Chester Square, designed by Sir Giles Scott, is paved with black and white rubber. It does not offer the clear surface of marble, but the squares will wear level, and the distracting noise of scraping chair legs is avoided; besides, rubber is warmer than marble to the feet and knees. Asphalt properly laid provides a water-resisting surface that makes a sloping roof unnecessary. Can we doubt but that most self-respecting blocks of flats will provide a flat roof for the landing of aeroplanes in the near future? There is already a motor track on the roof of a factory in Turin for testing the running of motor cars. The output of synthetic materials is enormous and increasing, and many of them can be obtained in a variety of colours. And as if all these novelties were not sufficient for architects to assimilate, we have such revolutionary ideas as those put forward by the French architects, Corbusier and August Perret.

We are still confronted with the problems involved in the clash of ideals, the variety of new materials at hand, and the fresh purposes for which buildings have already been required in this century. Cinemas, film studios, crematoria, aerodromes, broadcasting stations, electric transforming stations, bathing pools and pavilions are becoming frequent manifestations of our civilisation. We have to prepare ourselves to do what we can to resolve these conflicts, to preserve some scale and harmony with what has gone before and still persists. We may dislike the trend of modern architecture, but on reflection we must admit that the Lamp of Truth often burns most brightly in the Modernist camp. Or, on the other hand, we may admire the clean, polished elevations of the Ideal Radiator building in Great Marlborough Street, or Drage's in Oxford Street, but should we erect similar buildings facing Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's? These are some of the difficulties to be faced up to. I have explained something of past tradition. I cannot sufficiently emphasise that all good building should continue to be expressive of its own period, that revival and copying are mistakes. The appropriate and artistic use of new materials requires much thought. There is the old saying that "Art is long, life is short"! The architectural art was never longer than now, if by length we mean the variety of its phases and the complexity of its forms, but, fortunately, life is longer, too, and the end is not yet.

Most of you students will enjoy five years more of life than your grandparents. Spend some of this extra time in

preparation and absorb all you can contrive of the beauty of the old England which is passing. It will help to inspire you to the creation of new structures, different in form, but not necessarily less beautiful in the eyes of succeeding generations.

PRE-WREN CHURCHES

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, SMITHFIELD

FROM the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries work was constantly going on with the building or rebuilding of the Smithfield priory. If we try to visualise the church about the year 1550, we must imagine that not only the windows but the walls were full of colour, the voussoirs of the arches were painted red, black and yellow in alternation, and other parts were diapered, checkered or gilded. Across the first bay of the nave, immediately west of the crossing, was the pulpitum, a stone screen bearing the Rood, with the attendant figures and candles; possibly also a small organ. The High Altar stood at a higher level than at present, for the sanctuary had been raised when the Norman apse was altered. The dim, flickering light of candles burning on the side altars would be discernible through some of the arches.

Successive acquisitions of property in the last half century have enabled much to be done. In designing the work of restoration Sir Aston Webb took as his guiding principle to preserve and re-use all the old material that he possibly could, and to carry on the main lines of existing work. Where nothing remained, he so designed the new that no student in the future could be deceived. Hence the use of a grey stone internally and the extensive use of flints for the new facings of the west end of the nave, transepts and Lady Chapel. Many of his details and mouldings have an individual character not purely mediaeval.

ST. OLAVE, HART STREET

This is a typical town church of the fifteenth century, of irregular plan, made to utilise every available space. The piers are of Purbeck marble, which may have been selected to enable the size to be reduced to a minimum. Curiously, the bases of those on the north are nearly a foot lower than those on the south. Another remarkable fact is that the windows of the south aisle are set out without any relation to the piers and arches. The door to the vestry must have led to a former sacristy. Had it been merely a priest's door to the churchyard, with no roof beyond, there seems to be no reason why the window in the aisle should not have been set out in its normal relation to the arch opposite. The oldest part of the church, only recently discovered (and now all that is left intact), is the thirteenth-century crypt of two

approximately square bays vaulted in chalk upon ribs of hard freestone, thought to be Chilmark stone. Why such a stone should be brought from the inland county of Wiltshire in the thirteenth century I do not know. The walls are of chalk. There is a well, said to be Roman. The position of the crypt raises two questions. Does the crypt represent the length of the earlier church? If so, it was very small and probably aisleless. If the crypt was under the chancel of the earlier church, must we assume the whole church was rebuilt further east?

ST. HELEN, BISHOPSGATE

Originally there were two churches, parochial and conventual, separated by a wall. Twenty-one mediaeval churches in the City survived the Great Fire and of these five remain. In not one instance is there an arch separating the nave from the choir. When a chancel was roofed at a lower level than the nave, an arch was necessary to support the gable wall, but even when the roofs were at the same level a dividing arch was desirable, for usually the rector was liable for the upkeep of the chancel and parishioners for the nave. If no structural division were obvious the apportionment of roof repairs would prove difficult. How can we account for the absence of chancel arches in this City of London and in St. Helen's in particular? It seems to have been the custom in the old City for the parishioners to be responsible for the whole fabric.

About two decades ago, when a house to the north of the church was demolished, the foundations of an ancient apse were discovered, and this led to the surmise that the original church of St. Helen did not stand on the present site. Why was it moved? I will hazard a conjecture. It is that when the convent was founded in 1212 the boundaries of the estate which it desired to possess made it necessary that the parish church be removed, as otherwise the church would be encircled by the conventual buildings, clearly an impossibility. Perhaps the church had become too small for the parishioners and the convent offered to build a finer and larger church alongside their own on the boundary of the estate. Anyway, the present building has evidences of thirteenth-century construction. The roofs are known to have been of about the year 1430. They are of straightforward carpentry, with no ceiling boards or false ribs. In 1888 Mr. John Pearson was called in to advise and the present aspect of the interior is largely due to that distinguished architect.

ST. KATHARINE CREE, LEADENHALL STREET

Very little can be said about the former church on this site. It dated from the fourteenth century, the time when the parishioners ceased to worship in the great church of Holy Trinity Priory nearby. The church consisted of a nave and two aisles. The

tower was not built until about 1500. There is a fragment of one of the nave piers considerably buried (for the ground in London is said to have risen, on the average, a foot in a century). On the north side of the old church was a narrow cloister overlooking the churchyard. This was possibly connected with the performance of morality and miracle plays. The erection of the cloister may have been a consequence and not a cause. We do not know whether it was of stone, brick or wood: only that it was 7 ft. wide. There is an entry among the parish records of the receipt of 27s. 8d. for a licence to perform.

The shapes of the windows are unusual. The east window presents the form of a rose within a square. The only other instances of this design occurring in London are, I think, the transept windows of Westminster Abbey, but when this church was built the old Cathedral possessed an east window of this form. The remainder of the windows have each three lights with cusped, pointed heads; although the centre lights are carried up higher, all have flat heads. The vaulted ceiling is reminiscent of Gothic design, but of a flatness only possible in plaster. The two easternmost bays display more ribs than the others, and equal about two-fifths of the length of the church; surely a symptom of the high-church revival under Laud, who was bishop of London at the time of building this church. The columns and arches have a purely classical character. The two eastern columns were painted blue with veins of gold to represent lapis lazuli, quite in the Italian fashion. The arches of the western bay are narrower than the others, and are much stilted so that their summits may reach the same height. As the west end of the church was built right up to the street pavement, it was not practicable to have external buttresses. Consequently the device of the narrow arches reduced the thrust of the arcades where those thrusts reached the outer wall, and this narrow bay worked in conveniently with the narrow mediaeval tower which was retained.

It has often been stated that Inigo Jones was the architect of this church. As there were very few architects then and Inigo Jones was far and away the most important, it seems quite probable that the tradition is correct, although there appears to be no foundation for this apart from tradition and the church's resemblance to some of his known work.

ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT, LEADENHALL STREET

The depressed arches of the windows and arcades would suggest that this church was the latest to be built in the City before the Reformation, even later than St. Giles, Cripplegate. The plan consists of a clerestoried nave, with wide aisles and no structural chancel, the tower being at the south-west corner. On the north wall there exists a rood stair turret which originally also gave access to the roof of the aisle. There was probably a richly

painted rood screen right across the church. In 1723 the church was wainscoted and pewed in oak, a reredos erected with painted figures of Moses and Aaron, also altar rails enclosing marble pavement, and an organ gallery was formed at the west end. It has been stated that the paintings in the spandrels of the arches and those of the Apostles which formerly existed between the clerestory windows were executed in 1726. They are not in full colour but chiaroscuro. Restorers have wisely left them as representing the survival in the eighteenth century of a mediaeval tradition.

For a century the structure of the interior was left in peace. We can imagine ourselves entering from the noisy, muddy street, passing under the house which then stood in front of the tower and porch, and finding ourselves in a capacious lobby beneath. Passing through one of the pair of swing doors, we enter the passage aisle between the tall, straight oak pews, mostly furnished with cushions, hassocks and carpets. The pulpit stands on a wooden base, probably higher than the present one, and behind it the reredos with the commandments in gold on black, Moses and Aaron painted, and, above, carved cherubim and the old stained window.

In 1875 the church caught the full blast of the Gothic Revival. Under the supervision of Ewan Christian and Arthur Blomfield the gallery was removed, the organ installed in its present position and the Georgian pews gave place to the present benches.

WREN CHURCHES

MOST of the old City churches were small, and as the tradesmen and merchants were responsible for the attendance of their apprentices and household at the parish church (and there were no nonconformist chapels) we can realise how familiar most members of a congregation must have been with each other. The parish church had, therefore, something of the character of a social meeting-place. It must have been this aspect of affairs that accounts for as many as fifty-one churches being rebuilt after the Great Fire. It would have been cheaper and more expeditious to have built a smaller number of larger churches. The economic loss was tremendous for that age, and the strain was so great that some churches were not rebuilt for twenty-five years.

Wren was designing for a generation which had outgrown mediaeval simplicity, a generation of which the leaders, at least, had become sophisticated (liking long sermons if they could listen in comfort) and wished to build in the latest fashion of western Europe. Wren's generation was more concerned with obtaining sufficient seating accommodation for a growing population than any elaboration of ceremonial.

(a) GOTHIC

ST. MARY ALDERMARY

This church had been extensively repaired, redecorated and fitted for the revived ceremonial in the time when Laud was Bishop of London. Almost all the body of the church and the upper part of the tower disappeared in the flames of 1666. Traces of the former west door and of the south aisle windows seem to have remained to give the keynote for Wren's design. He was limited here by the terms of a bequest. Nowhere else did he plan a completely Gothic church. In all probability he adopted the old foundations. The outlines are balanced and rectangular except for the oblique east wall. The tower is nearly isolated with its sixteenth-century arch on the north side. He used the bases of the mediaeval piers and the arches seem to be reproductions of the earlier ones. The plaster enrichments of the spandrels with their renaissance scrolls and cartouches are due to him. To Wren must be given the credit, or otherwise, of the plaster fan vault with its unduly emphasised circles and ovals enriched by ornament which seems almost to belong to the realm of the confectioner. Whether the former church had a fan vault of masonry we do not know, but as it would have been contemporary with Henry VII's chapel it is not unlikely, especially bearing in mind the Rogers bequest under which Wren worked. The furnishings were in Wren's usual style, probably because they were paid for by the parishioners and not under the will.

(b) HYBRID

ST. MICHAEL, CORNHILL

St. Michael had more honour in this city than any other saint except the Virgin. Six churches dedicated to him within the one square mile have been destroyed for various reasons. This church, when I was a boy, was regarded as most sumptuous in furniture and decoration; many thousands of pounds had been spent upon it. With its situation, its musical services, its tower and its bells, it enjoyed a prestige not excelled by any other city church.

We know little of the former church. There was a cloister on the south side with rooms over to house the choristers who sang mass daily. Wren's walls seem to rest upon the older foundations, as they are not parallel. The church is one of his earliest, dedicated in 1672. The old tower was patched up and served for another half century. The present tower was executed when Wren was in his ninetieth year and is his latest work in the city. Curiously hybrid in detail, but most successful in outline and proportions, this church becomes less visible every year on account of higher buildings going up round it, which is much to be regretted.

Sir Gilbert Scott undertook work here early in the last century, and in 1859 a house at the north-west corner was demolished, a portion of its site paved and the rest occupied by the florid half-French, half-Italian porch, which, judged apart from its surroundings, is a fine thing. In Maitland's "London," published about 1750, there is a folio illustration of the west end showing both aisles carried right through to St. Michael's Alley and north and south porches with rooms over each. Mr. Birch, a former member of our Society, and author of what is still the finest illustrated work on Wren's churches, drew attention to this fact, and remarked that no information as to either the erection or demolition of these porches was forthcoming.

Thos. Stow, grandfather, and Thos. Stow, father, of the antiquary, were both buried in the churchyard. The will of the former is worth noting as it throws light on the furnishing of the church before the Reformation and the customs of the age.

(c) EARLY CONTRASTS

ST. BENET, PAUL'S WHARF, AND ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY

St. Benet's is unique in its arrangement and almost unique in respect of the slight alterations which it has undergone. The sounding board from the pulpit now forms the ceiling of the porch; otherwise, apart from monuments, glass and some ornaments, the general aspect is that of the seventeenth century. Externally the steep roofs covered with tiles give the church a very special aspect, more suited to a country town. The red brick walls, lofty windows with carved stone swags, recall Wren's work at Winchester College. When Queen Street was made the surrounding levels were altered and the little churchyard was absorbed in the sloping approach to the new thoroughfare.

The church was completed in 1683 and presents interesting comparison with St. Lawrence Jewry, by the Guildhall (1677). In both these churches Wren seems to have been somewhat hampered by the lie of the old foundations, with the result that of three similar parts divided by pilasters the central one is the smallest (as seen on the east walls). The position of the tower in each case has seemingly influenced this point. In Wren's time with a central pulpit this would scarcely be noticeable.

St. Lawrence Jewry illustrates very well the fundamental difference between Gothic and Renaissance architecture. The difference lies not merely in the forms of arches and mouldings and the ornaments, but in the structural veracity of the former, a truthfulness which is often lacking in the later style. Strip the pilasters from these walls and mere disfigurement would result, but the piers of a Gothic building are real. Hack away the plaster from this ceiling and a roof of totally different character is disclosed, one in which the vaults are suspended from above by ribs and coves. After a first impression of richness and spaciousness there may

succeed a feeling that the building is not very much like a church. It must have been even less so when new, lacking the stained glass and the monuments. The decorative treatment of walls and ceiling might seem almost suitable for a banking hall or a palace in the absence of structural chancel and with its flat ceiling. Wren sacrificed internal for external effect. The exterior east end is a charming composition in itself but with little relation to the interior. In planning this church Wren showed great skill in disguising the obliquity of the site. The length on the south wall is 10 ft. greater than along the colonnades. The thickness of the walls varies also. My old friend, Mr. T. Francis Bumpus, who was so well known in the Society, has written a good deal about the large and very fine organ in the first volume of his "London Churches."

On the demolition of the Guildhall chapel in 1822 St. Lawrence became the Corporation Church. The seating was altered when the church was restored under Sir Arthur Blomfield in 1866/7, probably to give greater dignity to the altar.

(These two churches illustrate the wide range of Wren's work: English brick and stone ornamentation on one hand and the very different Italianate stone and plaster building, "richly gilt," on the other.—A.R.H.)

(d) DOMES

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, BILLINGSGATE, 1672-77

In mediaeval times the church was referred to as Santa Maria ad Montem, a description which transports us momentarily beyond the Alps. The hill is less obvious now, for after the Great Fire Thames Street was relaid upon a foundation of debris four feet above its former level, which was itself six feet above the original Roman level. Parts of the older church are embedded in the wall of the present one. We know little of the earlier church which had seven altars, one of which stood between the statues of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas à Becket: St. Nicholas, as patron saint of sailors, for the fishermen's quay was nearby; St. Thomas à Becket because as a young man he had been attached to the church as a priest (probably while his father, the Portreeve, was living in The Poultry). The Norman church, familiar to Becket, was rebuilt towards the close of the fifteenth century and extensively repaired in 1616.

The tower and walls were not so badly damaged by fire but that Wren was able to patch them up. This he did between 1672 and 1677. When he had finished, the parishioners had a very hybrid structure, for while the exterior, apart from the east wall, appeared mediaeval, the interior, except for the aisle windows, was of purely classical design.

The moderate dimensions and lack of funds precluded any ambitious design, but Wren contrived a dignified interior based on his conception of the ceiling, the then novel idea of a dome rising

from the intersection of four barrel vaults. This scheme dictated the need of four columns or piers. Wren's commonsense chose the former as being less obstructive. The dome is small and has no external expression whatever as compared with St. Stephen's, Walbrook, probably the first truly domed building in England.

The tower was rebuilt in 1780 when the west wall was shifted to make way for vestries. Despite this, the whole fabric proved inadequate under the leadership of Prebendary Carlile and the work of the Church Army. The optical lantern for prayers and hymns, stringed and brass instruments as an adjunct to the choir, and the display of fish at harvest festival, were novel and attracted large congregations.

ST. STEPHEN, WALBROOK, 1672

This church has received greater approbation than any other of Wren's parish churches. Bearing in mind the rubble masonry of the exterior T. F. Bumpus wrote: "Never was so sweet a kernel in so rough a shell." The success of this first domed building in the country so early in Wren's career no doubt accounts for the latitude he was allowed in building St. Paul's. He expanded the central area of the cruciform plan, employed eight columns to support the dome. Portions of the ceiling are flat, others barrel-vaulted, groined and ungroined. When the tall pews were removed architectural grammar demanded the orthodox square pedestals in place of the inconspicuous and non-obstructing small octagonal bases planned by Wren.

ST. MILDRED, BREAD STREET, 1683

This is one of the thirty-seven oblong churches Wren designed for the city. It has a dome supported directly from the walls with transverse barrel vaults. Although the church has the simple outline of an oblong room, it is by Wren's genius rendered well-proportioned, dignified and unique. The position of the tower at the south-east is unusual and the lowest storey forms the vestry. It is possible Wren built on foundations of the mediaeval tower for economy or perhaps he felt it would darken the church more if placed over the entrance.

We know that the cost of this church was £3,705 12s. 6½d. This would be for the carcase only as the commissioners left the parishioners to find the money for the fittings. Details are given of the plasterwork and for the windows which were provided by Elizabeth Pewrie, glazier, for £28 odd. She could hardly have made the glass, which probably came from the factory at Whitefriars. Most likely she was the widow of a master glazier and employed men to cut and fix the glass. In the accounts, torches were charged for at 3d. per night and candles at 4½d. per lb. These were for overtime to hasten completion.

The plaster enrichments of the ceiling are very fine. Four figures of cherubim at the centre of the dome were removed later; but the cherubs supporting the pendent brass candelabra remained. One must remember that the casting of plaster in moulds was not practised in the seventeenth century and that all the undercutting was done by hand.

ST. MARY ABCHURCH, 1686

This building is 60 ft. wide and just a little longer. By placing the tower at one corner and the gallery in a recess behind a single column Wren reduced his plan to an apparent square. Seven corbels ranging with his single capital enabled him to form eight apparently equal arches to support an almost circular ring cornice. Upon this he raised a dome, the springing point of which is level not with the cornice but with the corbels on the walls. The pendentives really form part of the hemispherical dome, although the interception of the cornice disguises this fact. The slight lack of parallelism of the north and south walls must have caused much difficulty in setting out the ceiling and we must conclude that Wren utilised the foundations of the mediaeval church. The dome is painted by Sir James Thornhill who caught the prevailing fashion of his day. Instead of being content to treat the whole surface as the firmament he introduced architectural features round the windows and a circular cornice above them, all cleverly shaded to give the impression of modelled reality.

(e) TOWERS AND SPIRES

ST. MARTIN, LUDGATE, 1684

On this site wedged in between the garden of the Bishop's Palace and the City wall stood the mediaeval church of St. Martin with a tower and two porches adjoining the street. The fact that the present church is among Wren's finest works is due to its rather late erection. This is particularly the case in regard to the steeple. Usually Wren made the transition from the square tower to the octagonal spire by the aid of urns, pinnacles, pineapples or the like ornament. Here it is difficult to separate the tower from the spire and to decide which is the point of junction. We may place it at the stone cornice that surmounts the square portion or at a few feet above, where the masonry gives place to the lead-covered timber structure. The elegant little balcony is unique as are the two large scrolls which link the steeple to the main wall of the church.

There is a blocked doorway at the south-west to which the sextoness drew my attention. She says that Canon Gilbertson, a former President of our Society, spoke of a tradition that condemned prisoners were brought into the church through this doorway on the night before their execution by way of an underground passage.

This seems unlikely since the nearest corner to Newgate was the north-west and not the south-west. It does seem likely that there was a connection between the church and the debtors' prison over Ludgate, which adjoined the church at the south-west and remained until the first year of George III. Even if the prisoners did not enter the church the Rector may have visited his prison-parishioners over the gate by means of this door.

ST. MARGARET PATTENS, EASTCHEAP, 1687

The south wall is partly built of rubble masonry from the older church and faced with red brick. Only the west end facing Rood Lane is of Portland stone. The brickwork was subsequently stuccoed and both elevations painted. The parish is one of the smallest in England, being only 100 yards long and 70 yards wide. The church is of modest dimensions from which Wren has skilfully contrived an impression of space and dignity. The height of the steeple is only surpassed in the City by those of St. Bride's and St. Mary-le-Bow. It is probable that the mediaeval church had a lofty spire and that the parishioners desired that its memory should be preserved. Whether this was so or not, the church possesses a spire more nearly approaching the mediaeval type than any other designed by Wren. It is octagonal, of timber covered with lead. Only in the details of the spire lights does any Renaissance feeling show itself. The height of the spire in relation to the tower is unusually great and I have noticed that artists who have depicted it have rarely left enough space to render it accurately. The west face is quite flush with the wall, but this artistic defect is little apparent owing to the narrowness of Rood Lane. There is a slight pilaster-like thickening at all the angles—a mere projection of about one and a half inches sufficient to give a subtle interest to the elevations and leading the eye up to the angle pinnacles which skilfully harmonise with the steep sides of the spire and form a satisfactory junction between the square and the octagonal form.

Wren while living in Love Lane regularly occupied the canopied pew at the south-west end of the nave and his monogram is inlaid on the underside of the canopy to record the fact.

ST. DUNSTAN-IN-THE-EAST, 1671-1699

Wren was able at St. Dunstan's to retain much of the outer walls but introduced Tuscan arcades rather like the effect at St. Sepulchre's. The walls of the tower were evidently demolished and the Wren tower and spire were not completed till 1699. These are of daring construction, inspired, possibly, by similar towers in the north of England and Scotland. The hollow spire is raised on two intersecting arches, the outward thrust of which is counteracted by lofty pinnacles at their bases on the angles of the

tower. The weight of the spire is further reduced by openings in four of its eight sides. In 1810 the body of the church had become unsafe and David Laing, architect of the neighbouring Custom House, was commissioned. Assisted by William Tite, of Royal Exchange note, he produced a rather hard but well-proportioned and dignified version of a late mediaeval church befitting the Gothic nature of the spire.

ST. BRIDE, FLEET STREET, 1680-1700

This parish is one of the largest in the city and it is natural that the church should rank among Wren's most important works. The steeple was not erected until 1700 and therefore embodied not only Wren's genius in design but his experience in construction. None of the stone mediaeval spires contained stairs, but here there are stone stairs, colonnades and entablatures with lesser features, as urns and obelisks, poised at a great height and all calculated to sway with a peal of bells. This is the highest of Wren's steeples, being 234 ft. as first constructed, and 226 ft. as reconstructed after being struck by lightning. There is less variety in this spire than in that of St. Mary-le-Bow, but more rhythm. The transition from the tower to the spire is perfect from all points of view. The tower was the first to have a clock-face illuminated at night in the days when watches were not common. Also it was the first to hold a complete peal of twelve bells, which was possible on account of the ancient Etruscan principle of construction used to eliminate outward thrust.

(f) LATE CONTRASTS

ST. MARGARET, LOTHBURY, 1690

This church consists of an unobtrusive oblong body with the addition of a south aisle, the tower being at the south-west corner. At the south-east is a vestry with a library over. If Wren could re-visit the church to-day he would be greatly puzzled. Apart from the possible presence of a gallery there are many changes, three windows blocked, the altar raised, a ritual choir, a side chapel besides many items of furniture which would seem strangely familiar. Such items came from other churches whose parishes are now included with St Margaret's. The screen is of special interest, coming from the church of All-Hallows the Great in which the Hanseatic Merchants of the Steelyard had a side chapel. When Cannon Street Station was built and the church there destroyed, the screen was saved and finally used in St. Margaret's with little alteration.

Modern work in this church carried out by Bodley, Garner and others has produced an interior of beauty and interest.

ST. ANDREW BY THE WARDROBE, 1692

The design of this church represents the maturity of Wren's genius. The environment of the church was very different then. An inlet of the Thames called Puddle Dock barred the passage of Thames Street west-ward. The River Fleet occupied the site of New Bridge Street and was bordered by wharves where the coal of the metropolis was landed. Before Queen Victoria Street was constructed the church was only visible from the narrow lanes and alleys surrounding the churchyard, the southern edge of which must have been held up by a retaining wall like a portion of St. Bride's churchyard to-day.

In this church Wren made one of his most successful attempts to incorporate the gallery in his design. The galleries are supported by piers encased in wood to harmonise with the gallery fronts. The piers supporting the vault have their bases level with the gallery floor and the vaults spring directly from their summits. The arches, therefore, are curved on plan as well as in elevation. They are not so much arches as the accidental intersections of the vaults, which are of plaster on wood laths. Above is the structural roof of great timbers, a scientific piece of carpentry. Had Wren built a stone church of this form the cost would have been doubled and the acoustics ruined.

CONCLUDING NOTE

At the time when the Society changed its title to "The St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society" over half a century ago, the city churches possessed a different aspect and atmosphere. Generally speaking they were much lighter, as the surrounding buildings were lower and there was much less stained glass. They were furnished with high pews, well cushioned and hassocked, the passage-ways between being covered with coco-nut matting. They were warmed with huge cast iron stoves and lighted with gas. There were, as far back as my recollection goes, no side altars in any of the churches, and only in a few cases did communion tables bear any ornaments. The commandments were always prominent above and were often flanked by paintings of Moses and Aaron.

Some years later the City Parochial Charities Commissioners absorbed most of the parochial funds, but in order to gild the pill, the churches were first put into structural repair. Electric light was installed, marble mosaic pavements laid down, seating re-arranged and walls and ceilings decorated. At this time the most frequented churches were St. Edmund the King and Martyr (where Canon Benham drew a "high" congregation), St. Margaret Pattens (where Rev. J. L. Fish held services of Jacobite flavour), and St. Nicholas Cole Abbey (where Canon Shuttleworth had crowded congregations for his "high" services and "broad sermons and lectures"). Shuttleworth was the first clergyman, I think, to

introduce a grand piano into his church. It occupied a prominent position upon a fine Turkey carpet. From this time onwards churches were opened more frequently during the week, a state of affairs which has continued ever since.

POSTSCRIPT TO WREN

ST. MARY WOOLNETH, LOMBARD STREET, 1720

THERE were few churches in the area devastated by the Great Fire which were capable of being repaired. St. Mary Woolnoth was one. Wren repaired the body of the church and the steeple, but found it advisable to rebuild the north wall, which he designed "in the Tuscan manner." This hybrid edifice, partly in the Tuscan style and partly "Gothick," only lasted fifty years. It is quite likely that Wren had warned the parishioners and it must have been gratifying that the work of rebuilding was entrusted to his old pupil and assistant, Nicholas Hawksmoor. Probably it was completed before Wren died. I like to think of him on one of his annual visits to his cathedral from his home of retirement at Hampton Court, prolonging his route to see his favourite pupil's work. We can picture the old man being helped up the steps, assisted by Nicholas, both of them a little excited. It would be interesting to know the reactions of contemporary critics. Probably James Gibbs thought the church rather coarse, lacking the refined, almost feminine, grace of which he was an exponent. Vanbrugh must have admired the heavily rusticated masonry rising course upon course to bear the somewhat uncouth towers. A little later Horace Walpole, playing with his cement pinnacles and cusps at Strawberry Hill, must have thought the structure hideous.

It is curious that Hawksmoor made such an imposing west front when one remembers that in his time, and for a century later, the church only faced a narrow lane. The British Museum has about twenty original plans, sections and elevations, all of which they attribute to Hawksmoor. These show how much trouble he took and how much the executed work surpassed the earliest conception. The north front shows one of the finest compositions of its kind, a windowless wall full of interest and strong yet refined beauty, a little soot-laden and shut off from the direct sunlight which would make its deep recesses and rusticated joints very effective. Butterfield undertook work there in 1875 but showed more respect for Hawksmoor's work than might have been expected from a Gothic architect. I recollect that the walls were once decorated with the double lines of red ochre used to represent masonry joints that he employed at St. Cross, Winchester. It is probable, therefore, that some of Butterfield's work has been undone.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, HANOVER SQUARE

EARLY SUBURBAN

THE church is famous by reason of the three stained-glass windows at the east end, the glass of which originally formed a single window in a convent chapel at Malines. It was bought for this church at the instigation of Willement in 1841. He arranged the glass for the three windows here, supplying from his own design the borders to the gallery windows. No other of his work is of such a distinctly Renaissance character as this sixteenth-century Tree of Jesse. The design and the colours are seen best in the morning. Unfortunately, the figures of Aaron and Esaias at the bottom left-hand corner had to be slightly curtailed and also the other unknown figures at the right-hand corner. The brown stain outlining the stems, leaves and individual grapes has faded, leaving the purple pot-metal bunches unduly emphasised.

Turning to the church itself, we are met by the accomplishment of a rather inexperienced architect. John James was a pupil of Gibbs during the early years of the reign of George I. James was working in a particular variety of Renaissance which derived from Wren and was fashionable at the time. I think that the result compares favourably with most other contemporaneous churches. His Corinthian portico has six columns in front like those at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury. It is not so deep as either, nor has it the dignity afforded by a flight of steps. He seems to have had some prescience of the marriages to be celebrated here, for not only does the portico span the street pavement, but the central inter-columniation is nearly a yard wider than those of the side columns, thus facilitating the erection of temporary awnings. It is a pity that the western portion of Maddox Street was not a few yards further south so that this portico could have been well seen from Bond Street. (It is curious that we had to wait another hundred years before we had a church with a portico terminating a street vista. St. Marylebone was built with its axis north and south in order that the portico should face York Gate. Until the formation of Trafalgar Square the portico of St. Martin's could only be seen, foreshortened, in a narrow lane.)

The steeple of St. George's is rather original and is said to have been the first to rise from behind a portico. It rises visibly from a substructure of stone formed by carrying up the walls containing the gallery staircases above the main roof. The west wall contains three windows and six empty niches. Possibly James never expected them to be filled, for they are shallow and six was an awkward number in those ultra-Protestant times, when the twelve apostles and the four evangelists provided almost the only selection. There is a flat block at the summit of the pediment which it is thought was intended for a statue of the king, George I.

Coming to the interior, we find the difficult matter of side galleries has been successfully surmounted, but James and his contemporaries had all Wren's examples before their eyes. The fact that the removal of the galleries would spell artistic disaster is proof that they are an integral part of the whole design. The fittings are harmonious, dignified and even sumptuous. The altar piece of the Last Supper, by Sir James Thornhill, has lost some of its original brilliance. The present arrangement of stalls and screens is the work of Sir Reginald Blomfield, who is also responsible for the designs of the Lady Chapel and Baptistery. The stained glass in the window of the Lady Chapel is remarkable.

The first burial ground belonging to this parish was that which now forms the pleasant recreation ground behind Mount Street. Later, a large area of ground at Tyburn, just north of the Oxford road, was acquired and attached to the parish. Anyone who has not visited it should do so. Not only are there many famous graves, but the chapel has been beautifully fitted up and is decorated with wall-paintings by Frederic Shields, which occupied a large part of his life.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, HAMPSTEAD

RURAL AND LATER SUBURBAN

BEFORE the middle of the eighteenth century the mediaeval church had become a rather shapeless agglomeration, much out of repair, and was considered unworthy of a village which was then quite a fashionable resort. In 1745 the parochial services were temporarily transferred to the Chapel of Ease at Downshire Hill and the old church was completely demolished.

Flitcroft, the architect of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, is said to have been the architect of the Hampstead church, of which the present nave constituted the whole building. Mr. Barrett (author of the "Annals of Hampstead") considered this to be an error and stated that a competition was organised, the winner being a local man named Horns. At that time Flitcroft was a resident of Hampstead and was invited to compete but declined. His interest as a worshipper here may have induced him to collaborate with Horns to some extent, however. It is almost incredible that a practically unknown man could be responsible for this fine interior. The columns rise from near the floor to the ceiling, the gallery fronts being broken in short lengths by them, and help to support the galleries but take no visible cognisance of the fact. Another illogicality, copied from both Wren and Gibbs, is the broken entablature introduced between the capitals of the columns and the springing of the vault. This feature is unnecessary structurally, is expensive and affords an unapproachable lodgment for dust. The ceiling need have been no lower had the entablature been

omitted, for the columns would have been slightly increased in height and proportionate diameter. The original gallery-fronts showed solid wood panels and stood slightly more forward, as may be seen in a picture by Hogarth.

The present chancel and transepts, like the gallery fronts, date from 1878. There was no central door to the tower, but only a window lighting the vestry, which was behind the reredos. When the enlargement of the church and the reversal of its orientation were contemplated, it was intended to demolish the tower and build a new one at the west end, but a number of residents, strengthened by many artists, strongly protested. William Morris was among those who preferred the somewhat ungainly tower, with its rather absurd battlements, to any new design. That Morris was a "Gothic man" makes his plea for the other the more interesting. The green copper spire of Hampstead had been for several generations almost as conspicuous as that of Harrow and formed a picturesque termination to the vista of Church Row. The authorities bowed to the protest and the arrangement of the church as to orientation and plan is almost unique in London.* There was probably another controversy before the new designs were settled. When the church was rebuilt in the seventeenth century a part of the funds was raised by the sale of sittings in perpetuity at £50 each. The new pews faced the other way round, so that the first became last and the last first. The number of sittings was increased by the addition of galleried transepts and, doubtless, this helped towards a solution. The design of the new work was entrusted to Frederick Cockerell, an architect who was willing and able to work in harmony with the older edifice. War-time conditions obscured one of the most attractive features of his work; the Morning Chapel as seen through the transeptal arch in comparative shade, for the circular ceiling light of the chapel was, of course, covered.

Externally, Cockerell accepted the main lines of the nave, but used dressings of Portland stone more freely, and emphasised the sanctuary by a balustraded parapet of rather unusual design, in place of the plain brick parapet of the nave. The natural fall of the ground outside and the raised floor of the chancel within, enabled him to form a sort of open crypt to enclose the coffins and graves displaced or built over. The additional height of wall makes the west end very effective and dignified, and I particularly admire the elevation of the south transept with its well proportioned doorway approached by a flight of semi-circular steps and the reticent treatment of the wall surface and the lunette.

Shortly after the completion of these works Mr. Alfred Bell, a parishioner, of the firm of Clayton and Bell, designed the rich

* The altar of St. Thomas's Church, Camden Town, is in an apse at the west end; the tower is central. Towers at St. Botolph, Aldgate, and at Bishopsgate are at the east ends, but the altar of the former church has always been at the north.

decorations of the nave. These consist chiefly of cherubs' heads and texts in a setting of Renaissance ornament. The pendentives of the crossing represent the four archangels, while above are angels and a text. The effect was very rich, but our London atmosphere has marred it considerably. Mr. Bell's firm executed all the stained windows except a small one inserted in the north transept. The windows are brilliant in design and form an harmonious series, the third from the west on the north gallery being a personal memorial to Sir Gilbert Scott, who at one time lived in Frognaal and was Mr. Bell's old master.

Prof. Ellis Wooldridge decorated the chancel and the Morning Chapel. The stalls, with their rich intarsia work, were designed by Sir Thomas Jackson. I know nothing of their kind finer in London. Jackson was also responsible for the organ case and the new font. The reredos in the chancel resembles that formerly at the east end. I surmise that it is partly of the old oak, worked up.

In 1911 Temple Moore, then living in Well Walk, designed the spacious vestries and arranged the Morning Chapel. After his death the work was completed by Mr. Leslie Moore. The reredos frames a fine replica of a painting by Fra Lippo Lippi. The Carolean oak balusters in and about the chapel are probably relics of the former church.

"If any who peruse these published reminiscences shall derive from them hints and information worth remembering, or if they shall gain for me one good man's favourable opinion or confirm one estimable friend's or acquaintance's regard, I shall not have journeyed or written in vain."

—T. Francis Bumpus, *"Cathedrals and Churches of the Rhine."*

SUMMARY OF REPORTS

FOR THE YEARS 1943 TO 1946

The following Lectures were given and Visits made.

1943. Lectures

At 6 Queen Square, Holborn.

- Jan. 9. English Colleges of Chantry Priests, by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson.
- Feb. 13. Church Building in Africa, by the Rev. R. Park.
Miss D. Tickell also spoke on Dornakal Cathedral.
- Mar. 13. The Earliest Christian Churches in Rome and Italy, by C. A. R. Radford, Esq.
- Apr. 10. English Churches of the Victorian Era, by B. A. P. Winton Lewis, Esq.
- June 26. Congregational Churches of the London District, by E. W. Talbot, Esq.
- July 24. Animal Carvings in British Churches, by Miss M. D. Anderson.

At St. Martin's School of Art, Charing Cross Road.

- Oct. 2. Church Building from the Cape to Cairo, by Sir Herbert Baker.
- Nov. 6. St. Sophia, Istanbul, by Clifton Kelway, Esq.
- Dec. 4. Ravenna and its Mosaics, by D. Chisholm Simpson, Esq.

Visits

- Aug. 14. St. Mary-le-Bone Church and Old St. Marylebone Chapel, by John Summerson, Esq.
- Aug. 28. St. Mary, Paddington Green, the Catholic Apostolic Church, Maida Hill, and St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington, by B. A. P. Winton Lewis, Esq.
- Sept. 18. St. Leonard's, St. Chad's and St. Columba's Churches, Shoreditch, by F. H. Mansford, Esq.

1944. **Lectures**

At St. Martin's School of Art.

- Jan. 8. Guildford Cathedral, by Edward Maufe, Esq.
Jan. 15. Ely Cathedral, by A. J. Mason, Esq.
Feb. 5. Font Covers, by A. G. R. Buck, Esq.
Feb. 19. The East Ends of English Churches. Discussion opened by F. H. Mansford, Esq.
Mar. 4. Surrey Churches, by the Rev. C. K. F. Brown.
Apr. 1. Recollections of W. Butterfield and H. Woodyer, by Harry Redfern, Esq.
May 6. Newman as an Educationalist, by J. L. May, Esq.
June 17. The Surroundings of St. Paul's Cathedral—A National War Memorial, by W. H. Ansell, Esq.

Visits

- Apr. 29. Churches of the Annunciation, Bryanston Square and St. Peter, Vere Street, by B. A. P. Winton Lewis, Esq.
June 10. All Hallows, Twickenham, by F. R. Taylor, Esq.
July 15. Hampton Court Palace, by Edward Yates, Esq.
Sept. 16. St. Nicholas, Chiswick, by F. R. Taylor, Esq.

1945. **Lectures**

At St. Martin's School of Art.

- Mar. 3. Crypts, by D. Chisholm Simpson, Esq.
Mar. 24. John Mason Neale—an English Worthy, by D. L. Murray, Esq.
Apr. 28. Lincoln Cathedral, by A. J. Mason, Esq.
June 23. The Future of the English Bible, by T. F. Ford, Esq.
July 14. The Craftsman and the Font, by H. L. Mann, Esq.
Sept. 22. In and about the Village Church, by T. A. Coysh, Esq.
Oct. 20. J. F. Redfern—Sculptor (1838–76), by Prof. C. C. J. Webb.
Nov. 17. Salisbury Cathedral, by W. A. Forsyth, Esq.
Dec. 8. The Native Element in Church Building within the fields of the London Missionary Society, by Mrs. A. R. Hatley.
Dec. 22. Wells Cathedral, by A. J. Mason, Esq.

1945. **Visits**

- June 30. Southwark Cathedral, by the Rev. Canon T. P. Stevens.
July 28. Kingston-upon-Thames (Parish Church, Coronation Stone, etc.), by Dr. W. E. St. Lawrence Finny.
Aug. 11. St. Mary's Church, and the Church of the Sacred Heart, Wimbledon, by the Rev. H. Mattinson.
Sept. 8. St. George's Chapel, Windsor, by W. A. Forsyth, Esq.
Sept. 29. Some of the Bombed Churches of the City of London, by The Friends of the City Churches.
Oct. 27. The Houses of Parliament, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Nathan.
Nov. 10. James Brooks's Churches in North-East London, by W. W. Begley, Esq.

1946. **Lectures**

At St. Martin's School of Art.

- Jan. 12. Lancing College Chapel, by B. W. T. Handford, Esq.
Mar. 6. The Churches of Victorian London, by J. Summerson, Esq.
May 11. The Musician and the Architect, by Sir S. H. Nicholson.

At Archbishop Davidson Institute, Lambeth.

- Sept. 21. The Anthem—its history and justification, by the Rev. T. H. Croxall.
Oct. 2. Christian Rome, by D. Chisholm Simpson, Esq.
Oct. 19. The Face of Christ in Art, by Mrs. A. R. Hatley.
Nov. 6. The Adaptation of Parish Churches as Cathedrals, by Sir C. A. Nicholson.
Nov. 23. French Romanesque Sculpture, by A. Gardner, Esq.
Dec. 4. St. David's Cathedral, by F. Darwin Fox, Esq.
Dec. 21. Southwell Minster, by H. L. Mann, Esq.

Visits

- Jan. 5. Wesley's Chapel and House, City Road, E.C., by the Rev. G. A. Vernon.
Jan. 26. The Houses of Parliament, by John R. Battley, Esq., M.P.
Feb. 2. St. Paul's Covent Garden, and St. Mary-le-Strand, by the Rev. V. Howson.
Mar. 2. St. Andrew's, Plaistow, by F. Henley, Esq., and West Ham Parish Church, by R. S. Morris, Esq.
Apr. 6. St. Mary's Church and All Hallows Church, Twickenham.

1946. **Visits** (cont.)

- May 25. The Independent Meeting House, Marsh Street Congregational Church, and St. Mary's Parish Church, Walthamstow, by Mrs. A. R. Hatley.
- Aug. 17. Kew Parish Church and Kew Green, by Miss M. S. Johnson. Also, St. Michael, Chiswick (the Rev. T. H. Croxall).
- Sept. 7. St. Augustine, Kilburn Park Road, by W. W. Begley, Esq.
- Oct. 5. Parish Church, Chigwell School, and "King's Head" Inn, Chigwell, by A. Fellows, Esq.
- Nov. 2. St. Paul's Church and St. Nicholas Church, Deptford, by T. F. Ford, Esq., and B. R. Leftwich, Esq.
- Dec. 7. The London Mosque, Southfields, by the Imam of the Mosque.

The **Annual Commemoration Service**, with a special remembrance of past members, was held each year. In 1943, in the Church of All Saints, Margaret Street, the Sermon was preached by the Dean of St. Paul's (President of the Society) and after the Service Mr. J. N. Comper gave a description of the Church and its history. In 1944 the Rev. E. T. Thornton preached in the Church of St. George, Bloomsbury, an account of which was given by J. N. Summerson, Esq. Next year, St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, was the scene, when the Lord Bishop of Kensington preached the Sermon and Dr. Rose Graham described the Church. In 1946 the Service, at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Lambeth, was conducted by the Rector, the Rev. H. Hedley, and the Sermon was preached by Dr. D. H. S. Cranage. From 1944 onwards the Service was sung by the augmented choir of St. Alban, Golders Green, under the direction of E. B. Glanfield, Esq.

Transactions. Parts of Vol. 1 (New Series) have been issued as follows:—

Part II. "English Colleges of Chantry Priests," by Prof. A. Hamilton Thompson, in 1943.

Part III. "The Continuity of the English Town" in 1944 (the Lectures given in the course of an Exhibition of that name in 1943).

Part IV. "St. Nicholas, Deptford," in 1946.

Representation. In 1944, the Royal Society of Arts set up a War Memorials Advisory Council, the Ecclesiological Society being one of the constituent bodies, with Mr. J. D. Daymond as its representative. In the following year the Society accepted representation on the London Regional Committee of the British Council for Archaeology and has three representatives, also a seat on the National Committee.

The Society is represented on the Councils of the London Society, the Friends of the City Churches, and the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society.

Membership figures in these years are not very reliable owing to war conditions. At the end of 1943 the total stood at 225, increasing to 275 by the end of 1946.

The **Laws** of the Society were revised at the Annual General Meeting in 1944.

The Council has for some time felt that the present rates of subscription are inadequate, having regard to the increased cost of printing and postage. It also considers that the entrance fee should be raised. Recommendations on these subjects will accordingly be submitted to an Annual General Meeting.

The Council regrets that after acting for more than twenty years as Honorary Treasurer to the Society, Mr. EDWARD YATES has found it necessary to relinquish that office. His services will be greatly missed. The Council is sure that members will wish to record their great appreciation of his work.



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