From English to Anglican Use:

Liturgy, Ceremonial, and Architecture in the Church of England from 1899 to 1965

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<u>Abstract</u>

The period between 1899 and 1965 was a particularly fertile one as regards the architecture and ceremonial of the Church of England. A movement calling itself the English Use arose seeking to revive the aesthetics of the late middle ages and using the Ornaments Rubric of the *Book of Common Prayer* as its authority. Led by scholars such as Vernon Staley and Percy Dearmer, and supported by a host of publications, including those of the Alcuin Club, this movement brought about a transformation in the manner of performance of the ceremonies of worship according to the Prayer Book. The work of architects like Ninian Comper, Temple Moore, and Charles Nicholson and stained glass designers such as J.N.C. Bewsey contributed the appropriate visual context. Alongside this visual shift came a change in the sound-world of Anglican worship, prompted by the publication of *The English Hymnal* and various supplements to worship which emphasised plainchant and a revived English choral tradition. The end result of the English Use movement was to transform the worship of the Church of England, creating a distinctive approach to liturgy and art which was only eclipsed in the later 1960s when clergy such as Peter Hammond and architects such as Maguire & Murray began to question the received tradition.

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<u>Author's Declaration</u>

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author.This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Some of the material presented in this thesis has been previously published in

Patrick Evan McWilliams, 'Vernon Staley and English Ceremonial' in *Faith and Worship* 75, Prayer Book Society, 2014.

<u>Introduction</u>

Part I: The English Use: Definition and Historiography

Section i- The Meaning of 'English Use'

The next step towards arriving at the mind of the English Church is to read the Title-page of the Prayer Book, where, if anywhere, one might expect to find a succinct description of its contents. As a matter of fact we do find such a description:—

> *The Book of*
> *Common Prayer*
> *and administration of*
> *The Sacraments*
> *and other*
> *Rites and Ceremonies of the Church*
> *According to the Use of*
> *The Church of England.*

It is no new manual, then, of Protestant devotions, to be carried out in some new-fangled way, but it contains the ordinary services of the Catholic Church, of which the Church of England is a part. In accordance with the ancient right of each national Church- even of each diocese- to frame its own "use" of these Catholic rites and ceremonies, the Prayer Book hereby establishes the English Use.

—-Percy Dearmer, introduction to *The Parson's Handbook* (1899)[1]

The "English Use" is a convenient title to express what is aimed at by those who desire loyally to follow the directions given or implied by our Church in the Prayer Book in respect of Church Ornaments and Ceremonial.

—- E.G.P. Wyatt, *English or Roman Use?* (1913)[2]

Anglican worship, then, seen in liturgical regard, is Christian worship according to the "English Use"; and this use with its peculiar fusion of Catholic and Protestant elements, has been produced under historic pressure. Seen in religious regard, it answers to a special trend of the English character; a trend which is already recognizable in mediaeval devotion.

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[1] Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Directions both for Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the English Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Oxford University Press, 1899), 11.

[2] E.G.P. Wyatt, *English or Roman Use?* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1913), 1.

—- Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (1936)[3]

The three quotes given above go a long way towards defining the English Use. Its central aspects are presented and its development similarly recognised. In its most basic definition, given by Percy Dearmer in the first edition of *The Parson's Handbook*, the English Use is merely the liturgy of the Church of England as found in the *Book of Common Prayer*.[4] This is, quite literally, the religious 'Use of the Church of England.'

As expanded upon by E.G.P. Wyatt, this English Use includes 'Church Ornaments and Ceremonial' either 'given or implied' by the *Book of Common Prayer*. Here is a development of the definition to include not only the 'rites and ceremonies' but also those circumstances of worship (to use the language of the seventeenth century) which give the rites and ceremonies their colour.[5]

Wyatt's addition of the question of Ornaments is further augmented by Underhill's statement that Anglican worship comprises a 'peculiar fusion of Catholic and Protestant elements.' It is this three-fold understanding of the English Use that best accords with its functional self-definition: The English Use is the worship of the Church of England found in the *Book of Common Prayer*, performed with the Ornaments given or implied by that Book, and blending together aspects of Catholic and Protestant theology and aesthetics.

Thus, as Evelyn Underhill notes,

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[3] Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (London: Bradford & Dickens, 1943), 322-23.

[4] The book's title makes clear its intent. Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Directions both for Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the English Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer*.

[5] The language of 'elements and circumstances' would have been familiar to the revisers of the Prayer Book in 1662. It distinguishes between those aspects of worship that are set down in scripture as necessary (prayer, preaching, singing, etc.) and those things relating to how worship is conducted (at what time, in what location, whilst wearing what dress, etc.).

> This attitude maintains within the English Church a constant tension… [T]he *Via Media* eludes not only the extremes of Catholic and Protestant cultus, but also the heights and depths of the spiritual life… Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties and shortcomings and with all its inconsistencies- perhaps because of them- the Anglican compromise where ministered with generosity and suppleness meets the average needs of the English soul.[6]

The conclusion that the English Use, as a manner of liturgical performance and therefore a vehicle for a certain theological perspective (if the old idea of *lex orandi, lex credendi* carries any weight), was essentially a *via media* between Rome and Geneva is the most significant aspect of its self-definition. The English Use as it developed in the twentieth century was an answer both to the Puritanism of the Evangelical party and the Romanism of the Anglo-Papalists. Though it was eventually perceived as but one style among many, the English Use began as a scholarly answer to the problem of Anglican unity. And, though admittedly weighted on the catholic side, it never saw subjection to Roman authority as a necessity any more than it saw the nonconformist appeal to scripture alone as a viable alternative. The Pope, as much as the individual, was not to be trusted as sole arbiter of truth. If advocates of the English Use placed too much trust in anything, it was the law of the Prayer Book.

It is not so much the philosophical underpinnings of the English Use with which this thesis is concerned. However the material side of the Use, its ceremonial and aesthetics and the implied context of these, cannot properly be understood apart from its theology or its self-proclaimed historical narrative; art is never a stand-alone thing. Thus, this thesis seeks to present, with varying degrees of detail, ideas both about history and theology as a lens through which better to view the artistic production of the Church of England during the period of the English Use's greatest influence, viz. from about 1899 to about 1965. These are not arbitrary dates, but represent the publication of some of the Use's most essential works, Vernon Staley's *The Ceremonial of the*

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[6] Underhill, 324-25.

English Church and Percy Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook*, both in 1899, and Cyril Pocknee's revision of Dearmer's *Handbook*, in 1965.[7] Though the English Use had been in development before 1899 and continued to influence the church after 1965, it is this period which shows the Use at its most prominent, not merely in the realm of ceremonial but in architecture and church furnishings of all kinds.[8]

Given the dependence of this flowering of art and action on an historical narrative, it seems appropriate to recount that narrative as an explanation of how the English Use understood itself to relate to the larger stories of the Church *of* England and the Church *in* England. But first the question of necessity arises. Why must this approach be taken at all; has not the English Use story been told before? In fact, it has not. Though the term 'English Use' does receive mention on occasion and prominent figures in its development, Percy Dearmer especially, appear in accounts of twentieth-century Anglican history, the Use as a phenomenon encompassing liturgy and ceremonial, art and architecture, music and human activity is never explicated. It is a constant presence, but under the surface, felt but invisible. The reasons for this are uncertain. The nearness of many authors to the time of the English Use's prominence may be one cause. Another may be its precipitous decline as a distinctive approach to worship in the later part of the century. Another may be its continuing presence, albeit in a degraded form, in many English cathedrals. The English Use both is and is not still here. This complexity naturally makes discovering its depths a tricky proposition despite the abundance of available primary-source material.

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[7] Vernon Staley, *The Ceremonial of the English Church* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1899), Cyril Pocknee, *The Parson's Handbook: Practical Directions for parsons and others according to the Anglican Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer on the basis of the twelfth edition by Percy Dearmer, D.D.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[8] The roots of the English Use movement go as far back as the Cambridge Camden Society, though it is primarily through the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society, as the Cambridge Camden Society was re-founded in 1879 (and later simply called The Ecclesiological Society) that the English Use derived its scholarly authority. To trace the development of the Society in its various iterations would be to go far beyond the scope of this thesis. One important work on the development of the Cambridge Camden Society is James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962). A useful guide to the larger Victorian context as it relates to church building is Chris Brooks and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

Section ii- Mentioning the English Use: An Historiography

Among secondary works that deal with religious or theological history, Horton Davies' five-volume series *Worship and Theology in England* is the most logical place to seek the Use. Volume 5 in the series, *The Ecumenical Century 1900-1965*, mentions the English Use by name in the first section of Chapter VIII 'Anglican Worship to 1928' titled 'The Popularity of "The English Use"' but Davies' treatment is Dearmer-centric and placed in contrast to 'The Back to Baroque Movement' in the succeeding section. The English and Western Uses are therefore seen as opposites to be moderated by the oncoming tide of liturgical change on which the rest of the chapter and the following chapter 'Anglican Worship After 1928,' and indeed the rest of the book, focuses. The helpfulness and clarity with which Davies writes about liturgical developments is immediately apparent, but he seems to view the English Use purely as an aesthetic movement, and not a beneficial one at that, for his bias is obvious when he criticises the Use for its 'freezing of the current of worship which must change if a Church is to be alive to the art and customs of its own century.'[9]

In regard to architecture Davies is likewise dismissive of the Gothic of the English Use. He writes, 'Even though domination by neo-Gothic continued to enthrall most church building committees and ecclesiastical architects throughout the period, there were occasional signs of dissatisfaction.'[10] He then goes on to write at length about these 'signs of dissatisfaction' seemingly forgetting about the majority of religious architecture and art of the period about which he claims to be writing. In a section titled 'Other Churches', that is, churches that are not cathedrals, a topic with which most of

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[9] Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: The Ecumenical Century 1900-*1965 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 287.

[10] Ibid., 69-70.

the chapter 'Religious Architecture and Art' is concerned, there is only mention of one traditional architect, the ever-present Ninian Comper, and this only in relation to his skill at planning liturgically functional spaces. Of the organic relationship of Comper's aesthetic to his ideas about planning no comment is made at all.[11]

The final volume of *Worship and Theology in England* may be forgiven its obvious tilt toward Modernism and the Liturgical Movement given its original publication date of 1965. Davies will not have been immune to the excitement of radical experimentation that dominated the period both in theology and associated material culture. However, its position as a magisterial go-to work for the uninitiated puts the English Use of the twentieth century at a distinct disadvantage. It is barely visible, and when seen it comes across as a frivolous game of medieval dress-up rather than the serious attempt at providing a legitimate expression of Anglican theology and liturgy.

Among older works, Roger Lloyd's *The Church of England 1900-1965* also deserves attention.[12] Like Davies' work it was published during the period it describes, in this case 1966. Percy Dearmer is talked about at length but principally in reference to *The English Hymnal* of which he was editor. Dearmer's work on liturgy and ceremonial is mentioned but his advocacy of medieval aesthetics is not present at all. Indeed, the book is mostly a social history of the church. It recounts admirably the various political and social crises of the period under examination but virtually ignores the artistic changes.

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[11] Ibid., 72. Davies, in fact, seems completely to misunderstand Comper when he remarks, 'It is significant that Comper, this brilliant exponent of "unity by inclusion," who so admirably designed Baroque chancels and roods for ancient Gothic churches, here planned a functional church as "a building to house an altar."' The verdict seems to be that Comper designed a liturgically functional space on accident or in spite of himself!

[12] Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965* (Norwich: SCM Press, Ltd., 1966).

Among recent books, Nigel Yates' *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* published in 1999 is clearer in its presentation of the English Use as a movement within the Church of England that had an impact beyond mere liturgical performance. Yates observes, 'In the long term the influence of Dearmer, and of Micklethwaite and Comper, on the architecture and furnishing of churches, and not just Anglo-Catholic ones, was considerable.'[13] Still, Yates leaves the reader to explore these changes for themselves, opting instead for a strict account of ceremonial practices and liturgical and theological development over time. In fact, the book's seventh chapter titled 'Faith of our fathers: Anglo-Catholic triumph and decline' is very useful for contextualising the English Use, though it does little to demonstrate the direct material effects of the Use for the benefit of the reader. Read alongside chapter 11 of Adrian Hastings' decade-earlier *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (published 1986), which deals in detail with some of the chief clerical personalities of the 1920s, the account of the influx of catholic practices into the Church of England is brilliantly elucidated.[14] Yet the English Use as a particular movement of late-medieval aesthetics and ceremonial performance informed by a scholarly appeal to pre-Reformation English precedent remains murky.

In general the English Use is presented, often not by name, either as a fad for medieval style or an appropriation of medieval ceremonial by those with an aversion to all things Roman. It is seldom coherently described as a unity, and its impact on the worship and art of a large part of the twentieth century is left unexplored. This complaint may be brought against Peter Anson's fascinating account of the evolution of style in the church *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940*.[15] While he deals

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[13] Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 337.

[14] Of particular interest is the degree to which some bishops attempted partially to permit Catholic practices without allowing their full impact to be realised. Hastings writes, 'Even [Cosmo] Lang under whose wing so much became acceptable, had his sticking points: reservation, yes, but exposition or benediction of the sacrament, no. Incense, yes, but he would not bless incense…' Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1985* (London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1986), 198-99.

[15] Peter Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: The Faith Press, 1960).

with the English Use in some detail, particularly in chapter XXIX 'The Alcuin Club, Percy Dearmer and "The Parson's Handbook"' he does not touch on the theological perspective of the Use. The fact that *Fashions* was published in 1960 precludes any discussion of the Use in relation to what came after 1960, and it is here where his account needs fresh perspective. His view that the English Use was merely one fashion among many, one more 'archaism'[16], does the Use the greatest disservice. Anson's remarks are concise and well-researched, but they are incomplete and, occasionally, dismissive. In short, there exists in the literature concerned with the history of worship and theology in the Church of England no sufficient, comprehensive account of the English Use.

Other historians with an exclusive focus on art and architecture rather than worship and theology similarly fail to recognise the influence of the English Use. The Gothic Revival is seen as a generic manifestation of religious change, but rarely are the complexities of this change laid bare in such a way as to link the variation in church plans and styles over time to actual liturgical or theological growth beyond the generic 'things were getting more catholic' approach or, slightly more specifically, that 'late-medieval fashions were being revived.' The only significant treatment of the English Use in a book on architecture dates from 1975, a time when the English Use still had some residual influence in the Church of England. Basil Clarke's 'Edwardian Ecclesiastical Architecture' in *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* edited by Alastair Service treats of the Use for some paragraphs, even noting 'The English Use movement had a very great influence on the design of Anglican churches in the '20s and '30s, and it led to the disuse of many things that were undoubtedly regrettable.'[17] Regrettable indeed is the fact that Clarke's essay is limited to the Edwardian period; some discussion of those later churches upon which the Use had such influence would be welcome.

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[16] Anson, *Fashions*, 7.

[17] Basil Clarke in Alastair Service, ed. *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* (Wallop, Hampshire: The Architectural Press, Ltd., 1975), 296.

Quite possibly the central problem with the art-historical works is that most of those dealing with

the architecture of the Edwardian period, when the English Use was in its earliest days, date from

just after the influx of Modernism, a rather more exciting style in the eager 1960s than the, by then,

tired old Gothic 'pastiche' of the preceding decades. This unfortunate timing means that, with rare

exception, scholars overlook the Use entirely. Needless to say, the traditional architecture of the

post-Edwardian period, the flowering of neo-styles in the Inter-War years especially, rarely appears

at all.[18] In the 1980s Margaret Richardson describes Comper in *Architects of the Arts and Crafts*

Movement (1983) as 'particularly constant to the Bodley tradition of designing every aspect of

church decoration'[19], a true enough statement but far from being sufficient, especially when one

considers the publicity given in the 1960s to Comper's ideas about planning.

Therefore, from Clarke's little essay in the 1970s it is necessary to jump decades forward and land

not only in a different period, but in an entirely different context. Whether or not the books by

Service and Richardson are generally accessible to nonspecialists is questionable. But to have to

seek the English Use in an exhibition catalogue demonstrates its near-invisibility to anyone outside

academia or certain pockets of the Church of England. Alexandrina Buchanan's essay 'Perspectives

of the Past: Perceptions of Late Gothic Art in England' from the 2003 catalogue for the Victoria &

Albert exhibition *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*, though never mentioning the English Use by

name does mention 'a controversial attempt by a body of churchmen to restore to Anglican services

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[18] The dearth of perspective on what was really happening in architecture for the greater part of the twentieth century has yet to be dealt with. Alan Powers notes 'When Edwardian architecture came back into fashion in the 1970s, and in succession to the Victorian revival in the 1960s acting in part as a critique of Modernism, the historical coverage was greatly extended through books such as Robert Macleod's survey of architectural ideas from 1835 to 1914, *Style and Society*, 1971, and Alastair Service's collection of old *AR* pieces, alongside new scholarship, *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 1975. Yet these and most other survey texts have persisted with an essentially Modern Movement assumption that there ought to have been a more discernible progressive style movement in Britain during the first years of the new century.' Alan Powers, 'Part One: British Architecture Before the Great War' in Architectural Review 11 November 2014. http://www.architectural-review.com/essays/part-one-british-architecture-before-the-great-war/8671787.article

[19] Margaret Richardson, *Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Trefoil Books, 1983), 116.

as many of the rites and ceremonies of the medieval church as were deemed consistent with reformed theology.'[20] Buchanan's emphasis on Englishness, on the late-Gothic, and her presentation of Ninian Comper as an exemplar of that approach, goes a little way towards bringing the Use into greater prominence.

One further area of literature in which to seek the English Use is the monograph. However, as may be assumed from the outset, these deal only with so much of the context of an individual artist or architect as is required to position their work in a larger historical stream. Both Anthony Symondson's *Sir Ninian Comper* [21] and Edward Bundock's *Sir Charles Nicholson*[22] provide background to the broad changes in the Church of England during the twentieth century, but Bundock neglects to position Nicholson in relation to the English Use in particular and Symondson places Comper almost in opposition to the Use's central figures rather than acknowledging him as one among many who were attempting to introduce medieval ceremonial and aesthetics into the Anglican church. In particular Symondson downplays the role of anyone but Comper in the propagation of English Use aesthetics saying

> [T]he originality of St Cyprian's and Comper's early experiments were quickly lost in the mediocrity and imitation that followed… Now that that era is over, and many English altars have been swept away, the freshness and innovation of what Comper achieved can once more be recognised. It established his primacy as the most influential English church architect of his generation.[23]

The only monograph to correctly identify and define the English Use is Rodney Warrener and Michael Yelton's *Martin Travers 1886-1948: An Appreciation*.[24] According to Warrener and Yelton,

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[20] Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Perspectives of the Past: Perceptions of Late Gothic Art in the England' in *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547*. ed. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publishing, 2003), 136.

[21] Anthony Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006).

[22] Edward Bundock, *Sir Charles Nicholson: Architect of Noble Simplicity* (West Raynham: JewelTree Publications, 2012).

[23] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 92.

[24] Rodney Warrener and Michael Yelton, *Martin Travers 1886-1948: An Appreciation* (London: Unicorn Press, 2003).

the Use 'were those who looked back to the Prayer Book of 1549… whose advocates argued that the ceremonial which they used was not only legal, but required.'[25] At various moments important organs of the English Use are mentioned. The Alcuin Club is noted in context, for example, as 'the stronghold of moderate English Use against the Romanisers'[26] and the Warham Guild, founded by Percy Dearmer, is likewise referenced as an avenue through which Travers obtained commissions. 'As the 1930s went on,' write the authors, 'the standard Travers refurnishing scheme, often obtained by way of the Warham Guild, usually involved an English Altar, with or without riddel posts, and often a plain reredos with a crucifix at its centre and sometimes rood figures in bas relief, and then a well lettered text on either side of the figures.'[27] Even with these references, a full picture of the Use is impossible to obtain given the emphasis of the book naturally focussing on Travers' life and work in particular churches.

Therefore it is clear that the larger story of the English Use, its texts, its principal proponents, its influence on the worlds of art and architecture and of liturgy and ceremonial, remains to be told. Its later years of influence, after the First World War, are especially neglected. What this thesis seeks to be is the story of the English Use, told for the most part on its own terms. That story begins with the English Use's self-understanding in relation to Anglican history and so it is to that account we will turn in part II of this introduction.

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[25] Ibid., 33.

[26] Ibid., 111.

[27] Ibid., 112.

Section iii- The form and aims of this thesis

In order to examine the English Use and its evolution across the period of roughly seventy years from 1899 to 1965, it seemed best to divide the period into two parts, the first part ending around 1928. This date is an obvious dividing line because of the changes brought about in Anglican liturgical thought by the debates leading up to, and following, the Proposed *Book of Common Prayer* of that same year. A division between material relating to liturgy and ceremonial and to architecture is also convenient. Attempting to discuss the two subjects in a completely interrelated way would have made the presentation of the material at hand far more complex than it needs to be. Some crossover, and some jumps in chronology, are inevitable, but an attempt has been made to keep the two disciplines mostly within the bounds of separate sections.

Thus, the structure of this thesis is as follows: Chapters 1 and 3 deal principally with liturgy and ceremonial, in particular the texts used to advocate English Use practices. Chapters 2 and 4 examine the architectural contexts generally contemporaneous with, and representing the ideals of, the earlier-discussed texts. The historical background for the whole appears in the second part of this introduction rather than a chapter in its own right so as to keep the focus of the work clearly on English Use liturgy and ceremonial and English Use architecture.

In the conclusion I have felt free to depart from the conventions of a scholarly thesis in order to make some judgments which the tone of the thesis as a whole has precluded.

It should be noted that the purpose of this thesis is to provide a way in, not a catalogue or a survey. The hope is that the reader will better be able to identify the distinctive characteristics of English Use liturgy and to place individual churches, primarily those newly-built in the period, in the wider

context of the evolution of Anglican liturgy and architecture in the first half of the twentieth century. Thus, the analysis of liturgical texts, and the functional, formal, and stylistic elements of the architectural context for liturgy remain at the fore. The roots of the English Use in the wider Anglo-Catholic movement are touched on only briefly and other factors important to the development of Edwardian, and later, Gothic revival appear only so far as they are helpful to clarify distinctive treatments of the wider English Use aesthetic. Likewise, the biographical treatment of individual contributors to the evolution of the Use has been limited in order to allow the works themselves to remain in focus.

Part II: Anglican History According to the English Use

Section i- Setting the Scene

It must be acknowledged that worship, as the central act of any Christian community, does not develop apart from the comprehensive theological system governing the body as a whole. The liturgy, both the text of the rite and the ceremonial actions which make the rite operable, owes its peculiarities to the ideals which theology posits. Permitting the English Use, as a particular liturgical expression, to place itself in the stream of Anglican history means, in part, hearing a discourse on the development of the theological perspective of the High-Church party within Anglicanism up to the twentieth century.

In surveying this historical-theological perspective one could begin almost anywhere. The most obvious point would be the middle 1800s and the momentous events surrounding the appearance of the Oxford Tractarians and the ecclesiologists of the Cambridge Camden Society. But this tack, typically undertaken by writers about late-Victorian and Edwardian religion, fails to present the

whole picture. Men like Newman and Pusey whose ideals were represented architecturally by

William Butterfield and G.G. Scott and slightly later by G.E. Street and J.L. Pearson, did not spring

up *ex nihilo*.[28] The religion which produced the Gothic revival was not of the age of new

industrialism and a steadily growing mercantile class. It was far older, and the stream of Anglican

theological life which produced the English Use springs from the very moment of Reformation in

England's formative sixteenth century. In that same stream lived the Caroline Divines, men like

Bishops Ken and Taylor, and the High-Church perspective remained, though quietly, through the

entirety of the eighteenth century until it broke out afresh in the foment of Victoria's reign. F.C.

Eeles, member of the Warham Guild, that organ responsible for the ready dissemination of Gothic

chasubles and English Altars, observed:

> The slovenliness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was itself of the
> nature of an innovation; it was not merely contrary to the letter and spirit of the Prayer
> Book, but it was in marked contrast to the practice of the better appointed churches in the
> seventeenth century and in the earlier part of the eighteenth... Enough to say that
> conservative churches retained a not inconsiderable part of the mediaeval ceremonial, and
> that under the Caroline divines a great deal more was revived. Not until well on into the
> eighteenth century did the English Church become almost overspread with the state of
> desolation remembered by our fathers and grandfathers.[29]

The case made by Eeles presents the writings of Dearmer, Staley, and many others, though

seemingly new, as being, in their truest sense, quite old. The ideas were always present, running

under the surface, ready to issue forth in new rivulets of creativity. The history of the English Use

may be seen as an history of the contemporary application of historic Anglican ideas.

Renewal along old lines was captured in G.W.O. Addleshaw's description of the religion of an old-

fashioned High-Churchman. To be such was to possess

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[28] Anson notes, "It is impossible to understand the attitude of High Church Anglicans of the last four decades of the nineteenth century towards church furnishings unless one has made a study of those designed by William Butterfield." Peter Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* (London: The Faith Press, 1960), 141.

[29] F.C. Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial and Customs Connected with the Scottish Liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910), 1-2.

a devotion to Catholic truth in all its splendour and fullness, a devotion rooted in massive patristic learning: a spirituality drawing its nourishment from the Prayer Book: a sense of the oneness of the Church and Society, with the Church sanctifying every side of national life and giving to society a Godward purpose and direction: a loyalty to an England whose national character was influenced more by theology than commerce, an England for which Laud and Charles I had struggled and died.[30]

In particular, this religion was manifestly not of its own making. Catholic truth was found in the Church of England, a true church which as Simon Patrick observed 'is the true and Primitive Christianity; in nothing new unless it be in rejecting all that novelty which hath been brought into the Church. But they [i.e. the Roman Catholics] are the cause of that.'[31] That catholicity which was formulated so clearly by Carolines like Patrick was the foundational idea for the theology of the English Use and it informed the perspective of English Use scholars on the liturgy, both its ceremonies and its context. In particular, the dual emphasis on catholicity and Englishness, what might almost be called English exceptionalism, within the context of the *Book of Common Prayer* led supporters of the English Use to declare that because the liturgy contained valid catholic theology, that is the theology of the primitive Church, it ought to be clothed in catholic ceremonial.

Yet the Prayer Book placed its own limits on this catholic gloss, or so they argued. The Ornaments Rubric, retained at the revision of the Book in 1662 ordered a continuity of sorts with the mid-sixteenth century, the reign of Edward VI, and beyond that age the Church of England was not permitted to go. Admittedly, this perspective sometimes seems static, frigid, and unrealistic. And so

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[30] G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition: A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1941), 9-10.

[31] Simon Patrick, "The Second Note of the Church Examined" in Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross, eds., *Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 2008), 95.

it was argued by proponents of the Western Use who portrayed the English Use as a degeneration into 'British Museum religion.'[32] One author wrote,

> We learned that everything had been done wrong except by accident, the English Church was doctrinally comprehensive, but ceremonially of narrow rigidity. The late Tractarians or early Ritualists in adopting the simple usage of Western Christendom, which they had at hand, were grievously disloyal, for there *did* exist an English Use, more magnificent, more intricate, and at the same time less provoking to the English temperament. A congregation of Sacred Rites formed itself, and by turning the second year key in the Prayer Book lock, it was found that the door to the heart of the great British Public could be opened.[33]

He went on to observe that the revival had failed saying,

> To-day the Sarum use barely survives, the Western use spreads widely... the English use is almost universally banned by all who have hope of these English provinces being once again true to the faith of the English Saints and Martyrs and restored to the ancient Communion of Christ's Church.[34]

Never mind that the question of reunion with Rome (for that is what is meant by 'the ancient Communion of Christ's Church') would have been answered by the classical High-Churchman with a resounding 'No.'[35] The further question of the failure of the English Use can only be answered by an appeal to its products. The text from which claims of its demise arises dates from 1916. By 1946 the Western Use and the English Use were steadily merging into something rather different than early supporters of either had envisaged so that, while many Western ceremonial practices obtained, Sarum aesthetics triumphed. This uneven yoking is particularly noticeable in literature published

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[32] Donald Gray credits Fr James Adderley, Priest-in-Charge of the Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair, under whom Percy Dearmer carried out one of his curacies, with inventing this phrase. Donald Gray, 'The British Museum Religion: Percy Dearmer in Context.' (Lecture given on 8th May 2001 at St Mary's, Bourne Street to the Anglo-Catholic History Society, 2001), 19.

[33] *Pictures of the English Liturgy: Volume 2, Low Mass* (London: S.S.P.P., 1916), 2.

[34] Ibid., 3-4.

[35] Bishop Cosin notes, 'We that profess the Catholic Faith and Religion in the Church of England do not agree with the Roman Catholics in any thing whereunto they now endeavour to convert us. But we totally differ from them (as they do with the ancient Catholic Church) in these points.' He then goes on to list fourteen not insignificant theological points on which the Church of England differs with the Church of Rome. Similarly Edward Reynolds says, 'We are not another Church, newly started up, but the same which before from the Apostles' times held the common and necessary grounds of faith and salvation.' Both Cosin and Reynolds quoted in More and Cross, *Anglicanism*, 34, 48.

after the unofficial promulgation of the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* which, despite never being authorised by Parliament, came to be widely used under the aegis of the Church Board of Finance. Early rumours of the demise of the English Use it would seem were wildly exaggerated.

The consistent appeal to the authority of the Prayer Book in support of all sorts of practices which certainly would not have been permitted by the men who produced and implemented the Book is one of the great puzzles of the English Use. To understand the strange world in which the Prayer Book becomes its own contradictor, it is necessary to look back at how the momentous events of the English Reformation were perceived by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century scholars and churchmen. The perspective of such as Leighton Pullan, lecturer in theology at St John's, Oriel, and Queen's Colleges, Oxford, on Henrician Catholicism and the Edwardine Reformation is integral to a proper understanding of the English Use. The appeal to history as they saw it is far more important than what may now be described by contemporary historians. Undoubtedly English Usagers would have devoured books like Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* with its account of a lively English Church thrust unwillingly into Protestantism during the reign of Edward VI and breaking forth again into a fresh and pious, albeit short-lived, Catholicism during the reign of Mary.[36] Unfortunately for them, such a perspective would have been far too innovative to gain wide acceptance. In large part, scholarship supporting English Use ideas had to be plausible in order to be accepted. Stepping so far beyond the pale of permissible historical investigation would have undermined their aims.

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[36] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Section ii- The English Use account of the Reformation

The vast majority of works on the English Reformation and the *Book of Common Prayer* which date from the forty years between 1890 and 1930 support a catholic interpretation of events of that period and the liturgy it produced. They do so with great gentleness of argument and with little apparent bias. Works like Pullan's *The History of the Book of Common Prayer*, the slightly earlier *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* by F. Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *The English Liturgies of 1549 and 1661 Compared with Each Other and with the Ancient Liturgies* by J.E. Field, and *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer with a rationale of its offices*, a revision by Walter Howard Frere, Bishop of Truro, of work by Francis Proctor, carefully present all the information necessary to lead the reader into acceptance of the idea that the Church of England never really ceased being part of the catholic Church and that a consistently Protestant interpretation of the formularies of the Church, the Thirty-Nine Articles, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the Ordinal, is ahistorical.[37] Books of this type, combined with slightly later scholarship on the Church of England in the succeeding centuries, the most convincing being Jardine Grisbrook's *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, make a very strong case for acceptance of ideas being put forward in other realms of scholarship, of liturgy and even art and architecture.[38] A strong foundation of historical interpretation being formed, it was a simple thing to move forward with the implementation of practical change along the lines of Percy Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook*.

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[37] Leighton Pullan, *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (London: John Hodges, 1891), John Edward Field, *The English Liturgies of 1549 and 1661 Compared with each Other and the Ancient Liturgies* (London: S.P.C.K., 1920), Francis Proctor and W.H. Frere, *A New history of the Book of Common Prayer with a rationale of its offices* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1929).

[38] W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *Anglican Liturgies of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958).

It is this approach of foundation followed by practical implications by which scholars pressed a catholic interpretation of the Church of England to the fore. First, one was directed to the sixteenth century, interpreted along lines which loosely favoured a catholic understanding of the Church of England, though still honestly presenting the opinions and practices of the Reformers. The views of what may be termed the catholic school of Anglican scholars on the conflict surrounding the relationship of the Church in England to the wider Church, as well as the theological positions of the principal Reformers of Anglicanism's early days, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, and John Hooper, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of London and Gloucester respectively, and specifically the liturgical manifestations thereof, needed to be shown if the eventual goings on in the parishes of the early 1900s were to be justified. To dismiss the Reformers would have undermined the cause.

According to Pullan, the world into which the *Book of Common Prayer* thundered in its first edition on Pentecost 1549 had by that time already experienced considerable liturgical upheaval as a result of Henry VIII's desire to divorce Catherine of Aragon. When Pope Clement VII refused to grant a divorce Henry declared that he was 'so far as the law of Christ will allow, supreme head of the English Church and Clergy.'[39] Seeing a chance to pursue a reforming agenda in the English church, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, argued that the Pope had overstepped his authority in allowing Henry to marry Catherine in the first place, thereby nullifying the marriage. The resulting war of authority between the English bishops and the Pope later caused the Convocations of both York and Canterbury to declare that 'the bishop of Rome hath not by Scripture any greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop'[40] and, although the changes introduced into the church

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[39] Pullan, 73.

[40] Ibid.

during Henry's reign were seemingly minor,[41] and perhaps even beneficial to the sustenance of good order in England, they set a trajectory that ultimately culminated in the Act of Uniformity, passed by Parliament in January 1549, which forbade the use of any liturgy other than that contained in the new *Book of Common Prayer*.[42]

Of course, the Prayer Book as instituted by Parliament was not the first vernacular liturgy to be used in England. *The Order of the Communion* was produced in 1548 by a commission of bishops and divines called together at Windsor by Cranmer and was first utilised on 1 April of that year (Easter Day).[43] This reform was simple, being primarily the insertion of certain texts in English into the existing Latin Mass with the intent that the laity be better instructed in the significance of receiving the Sacrament. As to the existing ceremonial, no changes were made but for the exclusion of a repeated elevation of the chalice if a second consecration was required.[44]

The introduction of the Prayer Book just over a year later brought further changes to the liturgy as it had been practised, but the inclusion of most of the language from *The Order of the Communion* meant that there was at least some familiarity with the new rite on the part of both priest and laity.[45] Still, the reception of the new Book was mixed at best. Reactions to the Book varied according to the different significances the old liturgy had to various groups in the English church. The bishops questioned it first on theological grounds, the clergy in general were more concerned with ceremonial, and the laity were likewise concerned with manner of performance rather than content.

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[41] Frere notes that on 4 November, 1547 the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo*, and *Agnus Dei* were sung in English at the opening Mass of Parliament and Convocation. J.H. Arnold and E.G.P. Wyatt, eds., *Walter Howard Frere: A Collection of His Papers on Liturgical and Historical Subjects* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), 7.

[42] Pullan, 85.

[43] Ibid., 82-83.

[44] Ibid., 84-85.

[45] Ibid., 87.

If the witness of Peter Martyr is to be taken as representative of the general response of the bishops, it would seem that their opinion of the new liturgy was not very high and this despite the fact that 'The liturgy of 1549 was for the most part a genuine attempt to reproduce in an English form the essential features of the ancient Latin service of the Holy Eucharist.'[46] In a letter written to the Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger in 1549, Martyr wrote, 'Many things yet remain to be done which we have in expectation rather than in reality. The perverseness of the bishops is incredible. They oppose us with all their might.'[47] Those not in opposition were few by comparison and that the active undermining of the new liturgy was commonly known to be occurring is also attested to by John Ponet, Bishop of Rochester, in a sermon given before the king and court on 14 March 1550. 'The bishop and his officers,' said Ponet, 'persuade the priests of the county that they shall also follow ancient customs and usages in the church, and believe and do as the Church believeth and hath taught them, meaning by the *Church*, the church of Rome, though they say not so expressly.'[48]

Bishop Gardiner of Winchester was particularly intractable and, when permitted trial (he had been arrested and locked in the Tower in 1548), he presented Archbishop Cranmer with 'an explication and assertion of the true Catholic faith touching the most Blessed Sacrament of the altar' in which he interpreted the words of the new Prayer Book in the most Catholic way possible.[49] He addressed even the rubrics, or ceremonial instructions, by noting that one specifically called the receivers of fractured Hosts to be mindful that Christ's body was just as fully received in a piece of the Host as in a whole, unbroken Host. In essence, Gardiner was attempting to prove that the theology of the

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[46] Field, v.

[47] Gasquet and Bishop, 256.

[48] Ibid., 258.

[49] Ibid., 280.

Book of Common Prayer was no different from the theology of the Mass.[50] Cranmer, who obviously

knew his own mind and intent in creating the Book, remained unconvinced but many of the lesser

clergy were apparently very much in agreement with Gardiner. As Proctor and Frere noted, in

agreement with Field, 'The First reformed Prayer Book, though bearing some traces of foreign

influence, was, in fact, a revision of the old Service-books of the English Church.'[51] This

perspective was highlighted by the English Use's proponents and, in their account of the Prayer

Book's development, they stand with the lesser clergy of the sixteenth century who, being reluctant

to accept any sort of change, intentionally misread Cranmer's intent.

It is exactly that lack of acceptance which John Hooper (later to be Bishop of both Gloucester and

Worcester) noted in a letter to Heinrich Bullinger on 27 December 1549.

> The altars are here and in many churches changed into tables, the public celebration of
> the Lord's Supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord... Where they
> used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *mass* of the apostles, they now have the
> *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *mass* of the blessed Virgin they now have
> the *communion* of the virgin... They still retain their vestments and the candles before the
> altars... And that popery may not be lost, the mass-priests, although they are compelled to
> discontinue the use of the latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and
> manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy.[52]

Likewise, Bishop Ridley found that his injunctions against certain ceremonial practices were

resolutely ignored by many of the priests in St. Paul's Cathedral.[53] So also Martin Bucer observed

many priests, aware that the rubrics of the Prayer Book were vague guides to ceremonial,

performing the new services as they had those of the old Mass. Priests caused the communion to

resemble the Mass by

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[50] 'and every one [of the consecrated breads] shall be divided in two pieces at the least, and so be distributed, and men must not think less to be received in part than in the whole, but in each of them the whole body of our Saviour Jesu Christ.' Ibid., 283.

[51] Proctor and Frere, 54.

[52] Gasquet and Bishop., 246.

[53] Ibid., 269.

transferring the book from the right side of the altar to the left, by reciting the Canon whilst the Sanctus was being sung, by bending down (over the altar), by lifting up their hands, genuflecting, shewing the bread and the cup of the Eucharist, striking their breasts, washing out the chalice, making the sign of the cross in the air and other gestures, as well as by vestments and lights.[54]

He was also aware of priests who recited the service almost inaudibly as they had much of the Mass. Many of the laity also refused to listen to the new services and were 'present with no other intention that to assist at the mass itself.'[55]

The agreement of the laity with the bishops and lesser clergy is evidenced by their endorsement of the continuation of old ceremonies and devotions which had accompanied the pre-Prayer Book liturgy. Despite the significance of the changes brought about during Henry's reign, 'the people themselves continued to worship according to the old ritual of their forefathers.'[56] With the imposition of the Prayer Book, however, the mood of the population changed. Its abrogation of the use of palms on Palm Sunday, ash on Ash Wednesday, candles at Candlemas effectively undermined not only the ceremonial associated with those feasts but the days themselves. That the laity should say, 'we will have the holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept and performed, and the sacrament restored to its ancient honour'[57] along with the Mass in Latin and the private Masses that had also been abolished can hardly have been surprising. In the same spirit wrote Vernon Staley in 1911

> There is no room to doubt that, when the English Church reformed her service books and translated them into the mother-tongue, she had no intention of departing from the ancient ceremonial, any more than she had of departing from the ancient doctrine, of the Catholic Church. There is no need in the present day to extricate the whole question of ceremonial from mere legal and antiquarian entanglements, and to claim what is honestly

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[54] Ibid., 269-270.

[55] 'Although it is now in the vulgar tongue, the 'sacrificers' recite it of set purpose so indistinctly that it cannot be understood, whilst the people altogether refuse to understand or listen.' Ibid., 300.

[56] Ibid., 252.

[57] Ibid., 253.

within the theory acted upon in the reigns of Edward VI, Elizabeth, James I and Charles II- namely, that the reformed rite may be clothed with the ancient and traditional ceremonies.[58]

In the sixteenth century there were, of course, supporters of reform in high enough positions to ensure its continuance despite the objections of the majority of bishops, lesser clergy, and laity. Archbishop Cranmer himself was the guiding hand behind the *Book of Common Prayer* and his approach to the performance of its services it telling. Though the rubrics of the Book allowed for the use of 'a vestment or cope' (Staley helpfully noted that 'a vestment,' in the language of the time, was taken to mean at the very least a chasuble, stole, and maniple)[59] Cranmer chose to wear only a cope with a silk cap instead of a mitre when he celebrated at St. Paul's. In so doing he was very intentionally creating aesthetic discontinuity with the previous ceremonies of the Mass.[60] Indeed, Cranmer's position on the Mass was clear. He did not believe in the Catholic doctrines of the real presence but held what is often known as a receptionist position saying,

> I believe that Christ is eaten with the heart. The eating with our mouth cannot give us life, for then should a sinner have life. Only good men can eat Christ's body. When the evil eateth the Sacrament, bread and wine, he neither hath Christ's body nor eateth it. The good man hath the Word within him, and the Godhead by reason of an indissoluble annexation the manhood. Eating with his mouth giveth nothing to man, nor the body being in the bread. Christ gave to his disciples bread and wine, creatures amongst us, and called it his body saying, *Hoc est corpus meum*.[61]

Thus he desired to disrupt the aesthetic of the old rites to ensure the new rites could not be confused with them.

Indeed, it was Cranmer's intent that the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 be only the first step in a series of reforms to the liturgy of the English church. On this score Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius

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[58] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 45.

[59] Ibid., 156.

[60] Pullan, 94.

[61] Gasquet and Bishop, 169-170.

noted 'They [Cranmer, Peter Martyr, and others] affirm that [some remnants of the old ceremonial] are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over.'[62] From the very beginning, Cranmer had informed the bishops that the liturgy then submitted would not be the final revision and Hooper noted, as early as December 1549, that Cranmer was much in favour of the advanced reformers.[63] A year later, Hooper later preached to the king and Council urging that, 'As ye have taken away the mass from the people so take away from them her feathers also, the altars, vestments and such as apparelled her.'[64] In this he echoed the Archbishop's desire for continued reform of the church.

Despite the appeal for continued reformation, the Prayer Book of 1549 remained universally unpopular. The attitude of the lesser clergy and laity in England was echoed in Ireland where the First Prayer Book had only been enforced in 1551, the Second Book which followed in 1552 never being introduced. What had been largely unaccepted in England was even more so despised in Ireland. Proctor and Frere observed, 'The Book was unpopular everywhere; and though the conservative priests, as in England, made the best of it for the moment by retaining the old ceremonial, they made no delay to restore the Latin Mass on the first news of the death of Edward.'[65]

The reforming nature of the *Book of Common Prayer* in its first edition made clear the direction taken by the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI which came into use in England 1552. Without going into great detail, it should be said that the liturgy contained in this Book was not very similar

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[62] Ibid., 235.

[63] Ibid., 259.

[64] Ibid., 276.

[65] Proctor and Frere, 64.

to that of the first Prayer Book. Significantly, it differed in its rubrics to such an extent that the only permitted ministerial garb was the cassock and surplice. The Book was used for only eight months and promptly swept away by Mary after Edward's death. Mary's brief reinstatement of the Mass was succeeded by a return to the Prayer Book under Elizabeth. The so-called Elizabethan Book of 1559, though much like that of 1552 in structure, reinstated the old vestments and the conflict between what would later come to be called the High-Church party and the Puritans, descendants of Reformers like Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper, began, never to end.

This account of the English Reformation and, in particular, the liturgical impact of the Elizabethan settlement seems clear enough. But in some areas, especially those relating to vestments and ceremonies, the biases of the authors show through. The general approval of ceremonies disallowed under the Prayer Book has already been noted, Staley's remarks being the most forthright. In particular, the narrative relating to the continued approval of vestments after 1559 is open to question. Despite the Ornaments Rubric having been included in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1559, there is no evidence to suggest that the old Mass vestments were commonly in use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[66] W.H. Griffith Thomas could have been responding directly to Staley when he wrote,

> The universal practice of the Church after 1559 was the use of the dress of ministration which had been ordered by the Prayer Book of 1552… The Bishops' Visitations show this very clearly. They inquired in every case as to the use of surplice and hood… [W]hatever may be the explanation of the insertion of the Ornaments Rubric, it is certain that the Authorities responsible for the observance of the 1559 Book entirely ignored the Rubric… The Canon of 1604 is in exact agreement with the above historical facts, for it orders the dress of the clergy to be the surplice.[67]

English Use scholarship, for all its care and presentation of original source documents, was selective in its approach. Doing no disservice to the Reformers' views they spun the facts in such a

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[66] W.H. Griffith Thomas, *The Catholic Faith* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), 442.

[67] Ibid.

way as to advance the catholic cause without (or with very little) apparent bias. Yet, for all the historical correctness of Protestant opponents like Griffith Thomas, the facts similarly pointed to a more complicated picture of the Anglican relationship to the *Book of Common Prayer* and its manner of performance than scholars on either side of the argument were willing to acknowledge. Particularly thorny is the Caroline period to which English Use scholars appealed with equal vigour as they had the Edwardine and Elizabethan.

Section iii- The English Use appeal to the Caroline Divines

Given the varied interpretation of the Edwardine Prayer Book during the period of its first promulgation, it cannot be surprising that High-Church twentieth-century advocates of the English Use chose to interpret it in its most conservative sense. As educated High-Churchmen they will not have been ignorant of the intent of its principal author yet in their approach to ceremonial they were much more in line with Hooper's 'Mass-priests' than the reformers themselves. Likewise, their initial creation of a very specific aesthetic was dependent on late-medieval models in what they understood to be complete obedience to the letter of the Ornaments Rubric. As will be seen in detail through the work of Vernon Staley and Percy Dearmer, this obedience in a spirit of conservative interpretation was formative in the creation of a unique sensibility to accompany the liturgical order of the English Use. For, if the Use is to be understood in proper proportion, it must be understood as liturgy first and aesthetic second.

The nature of the English Use as an interpretation of the Prayer Book is related to several important questions of both ecclesiology and liturgy. First, the phrase 'rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England' is significant in that it presents the Church of England as merely a national expression of the universal (catholic) Church rather than a distinct

body born out of the Protestant Reformation.[68] Second, the use of the term 'obedience' implies a legal approach to liturgical practice, a rubric-based understanding of the duty of the minister. Third, in saying that the rules of the Church of England are 'living' the writers allow for the alteration of commonly-held perspectives on the nature of the English church's situation among the other churches in Christendom as well as on the practical points of its liturgy. Here is the classical High-Church position come into its rights. Never satisfied with the eventual revision in 1662 of the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559, High-Churchmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continually appealed back to the First Prayer Book and, in particular, its consistency with the liturgies of the catholic Church before the Reformation.

Of this position's pedigree, it need only be observed that throughout this period, references abound to the superiority of the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549 in writers on the liturgy. Edward Stephens wrote that the 1549 Book is

> A very Godly Order, agreeable to the Order of the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good People desiring to live in Christian conversation; and most profitable to the State of this Realm [while the Second Book of 1552 is] directly contrary to the former in all or most of the particulars aforesaid.[69]

Such comments readily could be multiplied. The antipathy shown towards the Prayer Book of 1552 in particular is astounding and it is understandable that even the approved 1662 version, revised as it was along structural lines more akin to the liturgy of 1552 than 1549, should be looked upon as, at the very best, incomplete and in need of supplementing. Even the Elizabethan Bishop Overall of Norwich 'found it necessary to transpose the prayers of Cranmer's rite in his own use, as the least

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[68] It should be noted that, while Reformed Protestants have generally viewed themselves as part of the universal (catholic) Church, the perspective under examination does not typically view Protestantism (as it understands Protestantism) to be a valid expression of catholicity. Thus, the catholic Church in question is probably best comprehended as being composed mainly of Rome, Constantinople, and Canterbury.

[69] Grisbrooke, 40.

he could do to render his worship conformable to his theology.'[70] Overall's practice serves as an example of theological issues having a natural impact on the form of the liturgy and its ceremonies.

A consistent desire to accord with the order and practice of the Primitive church is seen in the non-Jurors of the Scottish Church in the same period.[71] In fact, there was a concerted retention of ceremonies of the type the Reformers attempted to put down in both England and Scotland. Even during the eighteenth century, when the Scottish non-Jurors were under legal suppression, 'the services were generally conducted with great care, and with attention to such ceremonial details as circumstances allowed.'[72] Twentieth-century English Use advocates legitimately may be understood as the descendants of the High-Church party of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as much as the Mass-priests of 1549.

In 1912, Dearmer, at that time vicar of St. Mary's, Primrose Hill in North London, wrote, '[Party] divisions on ceremonial matters ought not to exist, and have no logical right to existence. There is, in light of present knowledge, little to dispute about: and therefore a most serious responsibility for those who remain disputatious.'[73] He could write so forcefully because supporters of the English Use felt certain their position was vindicated not only by a living tradition of thought within the Church but by a direct appeal to the plain words of the Prayer Book, specifically to the Ornaments Rubric of the 1549 Book which was reinserted by Elizabeth in the1559 revision and reads as follows:

> And here is to be noted, That such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers,
> thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this

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[70] Ibid., 18.

[71] Eeles, *Traditional Ceremonial*, 8.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Percy Dearmer, *Illustrations of the Liturgy* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1912), 21.

Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.[74]

As the English Use is in fact a manner of performing the services of the 1662 Book it may seem unusual to link it so closely with the Prayer Book of 1549 but, as observed previously, it was the belief of the English Use party, and of High-Church persuasion in general, that the liturgy of 1662 was to be interpreted in light of the Rubric which was placed in the Book, as it had been in the 1559 edition, at the beginning of the *Order of Morning and Evening Prayer*. So Staley observed that the 'second year of the reign of King Edward VI' must mean the year beginning 28 January 1548 and ending 27 January 1549 so the ornaments in question are in fact the ornaments that were in use with the original *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549.[75] To add force to the idea that this interpretation of the Rubric is valid, he recounted the witness of Bishop Cosin of Durham who believed the Ornaments Rubric entitled the Church of England to use not only those ornaments in use with the Prayer Book of 1549 but also those in use with the Latin rite which was still present in the second year of Edward's reign. Thus 'the Ornaments Rubric gives full and frank liberty to clothe our reformed rite with the ancient ceremonies.'[76] Of Cosin and others, Addleshaw made clear

> The seventeenth-century liturgists were constantly called upon to defend the ceremonial which... finally became customary in the churches under their influence: the altar arrangements, the use of lighted candles, incense, copes, the gestures adopted by the clergy and laity at the liturgy... They argued that man is not only instructed by what he hears; he can learn through other bodily senses... A dignified and solemn ceremonial proclaims the majesty and holiness of God; the beauty of disciplined and ordered actions reflects a beauty that is eternal; the priestly vestments by their very difference from the clothes of ordinary life arouse in the mind an awe and reverence for divine things.[77]

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[74] *The Book of Common Prayer from the Original Manuscript attached to The Act of Uniformity of 1662, and now preserved in the House of Lords* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892), 45.

[75] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 74.

[76] Ibid., 79.

[77] Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition*, 77.

In his *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* Dearmer described the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* as 'positive, constructive, practical,'[78] a neat, though likely unconscious, paraphrase of Stephens and noted that 'the opinion of the whole Anglican Communion has been steadily coming back to the principles of the First Prayer Book.'[79] By 1912 this was certainly the case. To say again, that such a conservative interpretation of the Prayer Book was inconsistent with the intent of its authors was not a matter of concern for those who supported the English Use. They desired a return to the ceremonial of the church at the time of its earliest reformation and appealed principally to the rubrics to do so. So it was that the ideal of obedience to the Rubric produced churches whose ornaments reflected the conditions of the year 1549 and the ministers of the churches which followed the English Use were suitably attired for their context. Ceremonies were also revived along pre-Reformation lines and those practices to which Ridley objected were just those which English Use clergy and scholars put into practice.[80]

Again, Griffith Thomas must be referenced on balance. Just as he denied the validity of Staley's arguments regarding vesture under the 1559 Prayer Book, so he argued that the Caroline revisers never 'intended to make any alteration in the existing customs which had been uniform and universal since 1559'[81] and he enlisted the Visitation inquiries of Bishop Cosin (no less) in his support. The inquiries asked only about the surplice and hood.[82] While it was accepted that common practice in cathedrals and collegiate churches included the use of the cope, it could not be proved

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[78] Percy Dearmer, *Everyman's History of the Prayer Book* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1912), 72.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ridley lists: 'transferring the book from the right side of the altar to the left, by reciting the Canon whilst the Sanctus was being sung, by bending down (over the altar), by lifting up their hands, genuflecting, shewing the bread and the cup of the Eucharist, striking their breasts, washing out the chalice, making the sign of the cross in the air and other gestures, as well as by vestments and lights.' Gasquet and Bishop, 269-270.

[81] Griffith Thomas, 443.

[82] Ibid., 444.

that the old eucharistic vestments had either been in use from 1559 or were intended to come into use after 1662.[83]

However, the English Use as a return to the basic appearance of the Mass, if not necessarily its theology, is evident in numerous publications dating from the first few decades of the twentieth century. While Staley's scholarly statement that, 'the Ornaments Rubric gives full and frank liberty to clothe our reformed rite with the ancient ceremonies'[84] presented the Use as being recommended by the Prayer Book, more consistent with its rubrics than other approaches perhaps, but not required, Dearmer's approach in *Illustrations of the Liturgy* was slightly more aggressive. In fact, in most of his writing Dearmer generally tended toward what might be termed scholarly polemic. While he admitted that the most elaborate ceremonies and ornaments are not always desirable, he viewed them as normative.[85] They were simply correct according to the letter of the Ornaments Rubric.

In 'The English Use' the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer* are described as 'not minute or exhaustive.'[86] The author observes that,

> When they were compiled, they were sometimes designed to correct the then current practice; but in the absence of direction, the old familiar ceremonial background might be assumed. What could not have been assumed, and should not be assumed now, is ceremonial behavior incongruous with the rite itself.[87]

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[83] Ibid., 443.

[84] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 79.

[85] 'This additional picture [showing a priest in simple chasuble before an altar ornamented with two candlesticks in a plain sanctuary] will also, I hope, guard the reader at the outset against the impression that an elaborate ceremonial is thought desirable for ordinary churches. The parson of an average parish will probably be in wisdom content with something between the very plain and the very ornate, while even those churches which tend to use a rich ceremonial will, we may venture to hope, maintain a wholesome simplicity of action.' Dearmer, *Illustrations*, 22.

[86] The Alcuin Club, *Liturgy in the Parish* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1937), 23.

[87] Ibid., 23-24.

He went on to describe various features that mark English Use services, including vestments of a certain design (what are commonly called Gothic vestments), two lights and a cross on the altar which is itself surrounded on three sides with curtains (an English altar), as well as the lack of elevation, bells, and incense at the Prayer of Consecration.[88] Additionally, in answer to the question, 'How Can We Follow the English Use?' he wrote, '[The English Use] will rest upon the principle, not of individual preference, but of honest obedience.'[89] The Use was thought of as being simply the way one performed the services of the Prayer Book on its own terms, without external meddling. '[The English Use] is a term used to denote obedience to the living rules of the English Church. In other words, it is the "administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England."'[90]

Despite the best arguments of men like W.H. Griffith Thomas to show that the full eucharistic vestments were not only anomalous but actually forbidden, the English Use interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric triumphed. This, in combination with the staunch refusal of many clergy to follow the prescriptions of their bishops, brought about the steady acceptance not only of vestments but of ceremonies as well. One might well pause to consider that the steady flowering of art, architecture, music, and vibrant human action over the course of the twentieth century resulted in part from blatant disobedience to an avowed living authority in favour of a centuries-old written one.

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[88] Ibid., 24-25.

[89] Ibid., 25.

[90] Ibid., 21. The part of the book titled 'The English Use' may have been written by Colin Dunlop. Its general tone is suggestive of his writing.

Section iv- The Problem of Authority

It should be apparent from the preceding discourse that the predominant question of the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was not one of vestments or of ceremonies, but rather a

question of authority. Scholars using the same documents could reach opposing conclusions based

on the lens through which they viewed the facts at hand. As with all realms of study,

presuppositions are of greater import than bare facts.

In a variation on the familiar arguments, *A First English Ordo,* published in 1904, clearly depicts

this conflict of authority and presupposition.[91] Its authors argued that the Prayer Book was never

intended to give the final word on ceremonial matters but intentionally left practices up to the

conscience of the priest. It claimed this liberty was given in 1549 and that, 'Those who were the

more desirous of conforming to custom adapted the old ceremonial practices to the new liturgy.'[92]

Bishop Ridley's objections to this very manner were mentioned, an honest portrayal of the pure

facts of history, but dismissed as innovative and it was implied, though not stated, that Ridley was

out of accord with the spirit of the Prayer Book in making said objections.

In saying, 'If we could put ourselves in the exact position occupied by loyal and devout priests in

the year 1549, we should be at a good starting point for a reformed tradition of ceremonies'[93] the

authors went even further, suggesting that the Church of England was in fact merely a national

expression of the catholic Church; it was not Protestant and thus the Mass-priests of Bishop

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[91] The Alcuin Club, *A First English Ordo: A Celebration of the Lord's Supper With One Minister, Described And Discussed By Some Members Of The Alcuin Club* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1904).

[92] Ibid., 6.

[93] Ibid., 8.

Hooper's day were right in their approach to the Book of 1549. The reforming Bishops were wrong, argued the authors, and a return to pre-Reformation practice is what the Prayer Book requires.

That English Use scholars could say this in full knowledge of the intent of those who wrote and instituted the Prayer Book is somewhat baffling, but it is clear that the only concern was to re-establish the old manner of ceremonial. That was the presupposition through which they argued from the facts. The way in which they addressed the *Book of Common Prayer* was consistently that of Bishop Gardiner's and the later High-Churchmen, who interpreted its theology along the most catholic lines possible and quite naturally expected that its ceremonial and aesthetic should follow. The twentieth-century English Usagers were completely in accord with the seventeenth-century Bishop Bull who wrote that the Church of England at the Reformation 'retain[ed] still (to shew that she was not over nice and scrupulous) some few ceremonies, that had on them the stamp of venerable antiquity, or otherwise recommend themselves by their decency and fitness.'[94]

As a result of a consistent appeal to both the rubrics of the Prayer Book and a continuing strand of High-Churchmanship in the Church of England, the English Use of the *Book of Common Prayer* came to be a distinctive approach to worship in the Church of England, both from a ceremonial standpoint and an aesthetic one. In the end, going far beyond the claims of the majority of Caroline High-Churchmen, all of the pre-Reformation ceremonies eventually were reintroduced into the church and the trajectory of Anglican church art and architecture, designed to accommodate these ceremonies, came to be shaped by the English Use for the majority of the first half of the twentieth century.

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[94] Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition*, 80.

The English use began with an appeal to late-medieval ceremonial and aesthetic standards.This was later to be somewhat tempered by an influx of Classical style from the 1920s onward, and by the 1950s an often subtle combination of Gothic and Classical styles came to be definitive of Anglican aesthetics. Similarly, from the 1920s traditional catholic theology was increasingly promoted, and the accompanying impact on worship is observable. The Western Use, that of the Church of Rome, slowly came to be assimilated into the English Use and the shift towards a more inclusive aesthetic reflective of Continental Tridentine practice. This shift did not come quickly and its full potential remained unexplored as the advent of Continental Modernism in the 1960s swept away what was steadily coming to be the distinctively English theology, liturgy, ceremonial, and aesthetics that had been so carefully tended for the previous decades. This evolution will be described as we move forward in time but now it is to the work of Staley and Dearmer that we turn in an attempt to comprehend the concrete scholarly foundation for the early propagation of the English Use.

Part I: Beginnings 1899 - 1928

Chapter 1 - The Magisterial English Use

The purpose of this chapter is to explore in detail the works of Vernon Staley and Percy Dearmer which most clearly described and defended the essence of the English Use, and made the arguments in its favour widely accessible to the clergy and educated laity of the Church of England. Although these two men recognised the contributions of earlier scholars to a fuller understanding of the practice of the late-medieval English Church, their work is distinctive in that, in addition to bringing together extant scholarship, it provides both an historical justification and a practical framework for applying such medievalising practices to the contemporary English situation. In treating the two primary texts of this chapter, *The Ceremonial of the English Church* and *The Parson's Handbook*, both first published in 1899, I have thought it best to focus on those sections relating to the Holy Communion, leaving the complexities of the Offices and the Occasional Services to one side.

Of first importance are the illustrations given in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* and *The Parson's Handbook*. It is most convenient that the authors chose to include examples of exactly the types of architecture, furnishings, and vestments they intended to characterise the Use. The provision of such examples continues in the writing of English Usagers throughout the twentieth century, and it allows for the easy identification of buildings and objects which best accord with one or more strands of scholarship. These illustrations are also significant in that they provide a template for the average parish to emulate the overall aesthetic of the English Use in their own context. Throughout, the emphasis remains on the architectural and aesthetic implications of these illustrations and the larger works which contain them.

At the end of this chapter some concepts in other significant writings of Dearmer and Staley that serve to inform particularly the English Use perspective on worship will be discussed. As the narrative of English Use ceremonial moves forward in the coming chapters, these concepts, interwoven with the perspectives on pure theology and on aesthetics espoused in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* and *The Parson's Handbook*, will be seen to have produced an almost universal Use for the Church of England which was not quite that originally intended by either of the English Use's primary progenitors but which fully encompassed the scope of scholarship built upon their foundations.

Section i - *The Ceremonial of the English Church*

The idea of a comprehensive English Use was not the invention of only one man; two stand out as being the most successful advocates for it in its early stages. The first, Vernon Staley (1852-1933), is the lesser known.[95] Staley was born in Rochdale, Lancashire and trained for the ministry at Chichester Theological College, an educational institution with a catholic reputation.[96] In 1901 he was appointed Provost of St Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness where he served for ten years before moving to Ickford, Buckinghamshire, where he was rector of St Nicholas' church until his death. During his time at Ickford he fitted the church with ornaments, many of which he produced in his own workshop, that reflected his views on appropriate furnishings in light of the Ornaments Rubric.[97] Percy Dearmer's name is familiar to many as a result of his continual involvement with

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[95] Vernon Staley: b. 1852 in Rochdale, studied at Chichester Theological College and ordained priest in 1879, served title at Hebden, Yorks. (1878-85), Chaplain to Community of St. John the Baptist, Clewer (1885-95), curate of Ascot (1895-97), Vicar of S. Ascot (1897-1901), Provost of Inverness Cathedral (1901-11), Rector of Ickford, Diocese of Oxford from 1911-1933, d. 24 Sept. 1933. Irvine, Christopher, ed., *They Shaped Our Worship: Essays on Anglican Liturgists* (London: S.P.C.K., 1998), 29.

[96] 'Another observer [in 1854] rejected Chichester, Wells, and Cuddesdon as 'nurseries of Anglican Popery.' Mark D. Chapman, *Ambassadors of Christ: Celebrating 150 Years of Theological Education in Cuddesdon 1854-2004* (Farnham: Ashgate Press, 2004), 24.

[97] Website of St Nicholas, Ickford. http://www.ickfordchurchfriends.com/history/ : accessed 16 Jan. 2014.

publications supporting the Use and for his work on *The English Hymnal*, and he will be examined in greater depth in the second section of this chapter. Staley, however, deserves first place in any discussion involving the English Use because of his tone and the manner in which his most comprehensive work, *The Ceremonial of the English Church,* is structured.

The Ceremonial of the English Church was first published in 1899 and ran to four editions, the last printing being in 1911.[98] The book begins with the historical and conceptual framework necessary to comprehend and appreciate the practical applications which later follow. The first part is concerned with providing an appropriate understanding of ceremonial as it relates to its aims, its interpretive role as regards doctrine, and its ability to influence devotion and conduct. Throughout, Staley reflects the stream of Caroline High-Churchmanship presented in this thesis' introduction. He says, 'Ceremonial worship, then, has for its object the honour and glory of God, and the edification and spiritual education of His people'.[99] In also recognising that, 'The outward ceremonies of religious worship, severed from inward reverence and devotion are as a body without a soul, a lamp without a light'[100] he preempts potential objections to his call for a reintroduction of full catholic ceremonial into the Church of England and puts the reader in a position to appreciate what follows without the fear of mere formalism. In establishing his own perspective as that of a devout churchman with a genuine concern for the interior life as well as those outward symbols of that life, he makes his arguments more forceful. His pastoral concern, as advocate of ceremonies not commonly performed in the English Church during this period, bolsters the appeal of his scholarship. Despite the force of his arguments, in his writing he appears a retiring personality and the work, though polemical in intent, is neither aggressive nor heavy-handed.

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[98] The second edition dates to 1900 and the third to 1904.

[99] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 18.

[100] Ibid., 30.

Staley's essays in the philosophy of ceremonial lead into the second part of the book which is

limited largely to historical arguments confirming the freedom of the Church of England to order its

ceremonial as it sees fit. There are important sections on the Ornaments Rubric[101] and the

Elizabethan Canons[102] which make arguments for any approach other than the English Use rather

difficult to maintain, at least from a purely legal perspective. Only in the third part does Staley

address in a direct way the ornaments of the church and ministers. It is thus that, by the time a

reader reaches the halfway point of the text, he is in possession of the foundational historical and

legal arguments which make Staley's argument feasible.

The Ceremonial of the English Church manages to be at once convincing and not demanding, and

Staley's manner of presentation stands in contrast to Dearmer's which occasionally slips into an

aggressive tone.[103] Similarly, Staley's other works are erudite, well organised, and incontrovertibly

academic. They are also gentle in tone and make no demands (or at least no direct demands) on

their readers. *Studies in Ceremonial*, though like *The Ceremonial of the English Church* in its

retention of a certain English exceptionalism in the realm of religion, maintains no cohesive

vision.[104] Yet it elucidates some key differences between the English and Western Uses in great

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[101] The entirety of Chapter IV is devoted to breaking down the rubric clause by clause. Appended to Staley's writing is a supporting note taken from the preface of John Purchas and F.G. Lee's *Directorium Anglicanum* (first published 1858). Staley, Ceremonial, 70-80.

[102] Dealing with both the Canons of 1603/4 and 1640, Chapter V is brief but carefully footnoted. Canons relating to furnishings are listed by number in order that the educated reader may refer himself to the originals. Staley, *Ceremonial*, 81-90.

[103] For example, in the introduction to *The Parson's Handbook* Dearmer writes, 'The ornaments to be thus used are not to be affected by any arbitrary acts of Tudor despotism, or of Calvinistic bishops.' His tone, critical both of the final Edwardian reforms and of the subsequent Elizabethan settlement reveals a strong emotional bias against the austerity of these periods in contrast to the richly ornamented ceremonial religion of the Henrician period and of the early years of Edward VI's reign to which he appeals for the standard of English religious performance. That he should support the latter over the former is unsurprising given the position espoused by the *Handbook* but the choice of such laden words as 'despotic' and even 'Calvinistic' suggests there is more to his perspective than a simple desire for correctness according to the law. Staley is more careful in his language. Dearmer, *Handbook*, 25.

[104] Vernon Staley, *Studies in Ceremonial: Essays Illustrative of English Ceremonial* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. 1901).

detail. These differences contribute to the Uses' differing sensibilities and it is here that such practices as genuflecting versus bowing are discussed in full. Some of the conclusions reached in *Studies in Ceremonial* will be noted hereafter when the essential character of the English Use is examined in greater depth, but for now it will serve to point out that Staley's writing was less influential on the course of development in the Church of England than the work of Percy Dearmer, in part due to its careful scholarship and detailed presentation.

One might suspect that, in a book ostensibly about liturgical performance, *The Ceremonial of the English Church* would contain little specifically relating to architecture. However, the illustrations accompanying Staley's text are telling. There are sixteen plates in total. The first two deal with architecture, the third with ornaments of the altar, the fourth, fifth, and sixth with ceremonies relating to the Holy Communion. The remainder focus on the various ornaments of the ministers. What shines through in the first two plates is the clear emphasis on two aspects of church design that remain essential elements of English Use aesthetics for the duration of the movement: screens with returned stalls and the English Altar.

Plate I is labeled an 'Example of the chancel screen ordered by the Ornaments Rubric... [and] shows the return-stalls for the clergy, set against the screen and facing east; in accordance with the declaration of the bishops at the Savoy Conference in the year 1661'.[105] (Figure 1.1). Yet the plate puts forward features, in addition to the screens themselves, that are important to an English Use conception of the arrangement of a chancel. First, the chancel itself is raised only slightly, if at all, above the floor of the nave and second, the stalls take up comparatively little of the available floor space, there being only one desk in front of the main singers' bench. It is this spacious quality and sense of spatial continuity with the rest of the church, here in a not overlarge chancel, that Ninian

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[105] Staley, *Ceremonial*, ix.

Comper (1864-1960) emphasised in his restoration of St Wilfrid's, Cantley in 1893 and that came to characterise English Use church design well into the twentieth century.[106] It is St Wilfrid's which is pictured in Staley's second plate so Comper's approach to design may be taken as exemplary of Staley's desired aesthetic, informed by appeals to the late-medieval past and the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Comper's influence in English Use circles cannot be strongly enough stated and we will return to him often as the history and development of the Use is explored. Not only does his early work neatly accord with Staley's prescriptions in *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, his personal aesthetic development as an architect and designer of church furnishings coordinated with larger aesthetic shifts taking place in the Church of England over the course of the twentieth century. Born in 1864 to a church-going family, his father being a priest in the Scottish Episcopal Church, he died in 1960 and thereby lived to see, and be involved in, the evolution of the English Use over nearly the full period of its existence. Comper attended Kingston College, Aberdeen, Trinity College, Glenalmond, Aberdeen School of Art, the Ruskin School, Oxford. He worked for a year in the office of C.E. Kempe (1882-3), was articled to the firm of Bodley and Garner (1883-7), and eventually set up his own practice with William Bucknall in 1888.[107]

Anthony Symondson writes that Comper's restoration at Cantley 'allowed church architecture to breathe.'[108] Prior to Comper's engagement, the chancel had been reworked by George Gilbert Scott, who inserted choir stalls that occupied much of what little liturgical space was available. In

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[106] St. Wilfrid, Cantley, S. Yorks. is discussed in full in Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper: an introduction to his life and work with complete gazeteer* (Reading: Spire Books, 2006), 32-36. See also Ednid Radcliffe and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 156-57.

[107] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 21-24.

[108] Ibid., 32.

removing them, Comper returned the church to something of its pre-Reformation state.[109] Francis Bond's observations in *The Chancel of English Churches* that in medieval parish churches 'As a rule the chancel was one or two steps higher than the nave... [and] the space between chancel stalls was often sunk one or two steps'[110] makes clear that Staley's ideal presented in plate I accords with the arrangement of parishes churches before the Reformation. Comper would again emphasise this quality of spaciousness in his work at St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate in 1903.[111]

Plate I also demonstrates, though Staley may not have intended it, that what is English is often Continental. Because of the international nature of art during the late medieval period, and the congress of ideas and stylistic signatures and the movement of craftsmen from country to country, it is sometimes difficult to determine the exact source of an aesthetic idea.[112] The screen put forward in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* is actually of Franco-English design. Francis Bond notes, 'There are... some few screens [in England] which are decidedly of foreign and not of English design. The screenwork at Colebrook... is almost a facsimile of the peculiar Flamboyant of Brittany.'[113] It is most interesting that this work, probably carved by Flemings working in England, is considered by one of the chief English Use scholars to be quintessentially English, but it was common in the late middle ages for there to be much foreign influence in English churches. Charles Tracy points out that, 'Until the Reformation, commercial relations with our European neighbours, particularly Flanders, were intimate and England was importing a wide range of religious

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Francis Bond, *The Chancel of English Churches* (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), 19.

[111] St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, is discussed in detail in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 87-97. For a description see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: North West* (New Haven: Yale University Press., 2002), 600-2.

[112] Regarding the influence of foreign workers on English artistic production J.L. Bolton records that nearly 6% of the population of London in 1483-4 were short-term alien residents largely originating from Holland and the Brabant and that the majority of these were documented as artisans and craftsmen. J.L. Bolton, *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Stamford: Richard III & Yorkist History Trust, 1998), 31.

[113] Bond, *Chancel*, 87.

material.'[114] Not that the Colebrook screens were themselves imported; it is probable that the artisans themselves were brought to England to work, it being 'much more rational to import the carpenter'[115] than to import the finished objects themselves.

The close relation of English and Flemish artistic ideas had an impact on a church that, though preceding in date a fully articulated English Use, nevertheless contains the seeds of the English Use style. St Agnes', Kennington (1874) by George Gilbert Scott, Jr., though a large town church rather than a small church of the type illustrated by Staley, contained nearly all the essential elements of what came to be considered English Use design (Figure 1.2). It only lacked the English Altar which is presented in Plate II of *The Ceremonial of the English Church* (Figure 1.3). In addition to being inspired by Perpendicular Gothic rather than the Decorated, which was much more popular during the late 1870s, St Agnes' was intended for a high level of ceremonial along Sarum lines.[116] It had a screen with a functional loft, returned stalls for the clergy, a spacious sanctuary, and was internally whitewashed and fitted with glass by Charles Eamer Kempe. It was later described as resembling 'a church built during the palmiest days of the Early Perpendicular period by some wealthy wool-stapler who had brought with him reminiscences of Flanders.'[117] Thus its general aesthetic as well as liturgical furniture foreshadowed later English Use preferences. As the dates of St Agnes' fall outside the range established for this thesis, it will not be examined in full, but it is worth noting here that, though both Staley and Dearmer could appeal to extant buildings as examples of English

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[114] Charles Tracy, *Continental Church Furniture in England: A Traffic in Piety* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2001), 11.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Gavin Stamp observes, 'From the beginning, St. Agnes' was intended as a model church for the Anglo-Catholic ceremonial of an elaborate and exclusively English character... Not just the architecture but the furnishings ornaments and vestments in Kennington were all justified by English precedents…' Gavin Stamp, *An Architect of Promise: George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839-1897) and the Late Gothic Revival* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 76,79.

[117] Ibid., 89.

Use ideals, these examples were, even in the late 1890s, fairly rare.[118] In particular, the images

chosen by Staley suggest a desire to present the Use as easily implemented in an ordinary parish

context. Selecting such a grand city church as St Agnes' would have been counterproductive to this

aim.

In fact, plate II of Staley's *The Ceremonial of the English Church* is labeled 'Typical English East

End.' It is accompanied by a small paragraph describing the image which notes its low reredos,

riddel posts with curtains and angels holding tapers, the frontal and frontlet 'as ordered by the

Canons of the English Church,' the candlesticks placed directly on the mensa, and the tester above

with its hanging pyx. This 'typical' sanctuary is in fact that of St. Wilfrid's, Cantley which was his

first full expression of English Use conviction (Figure 1.3). That the English Altar with its riddel

posts and curtains was not an uniquely English thing is demonstrable by an appeal to medieval

paintings and illuminations.[119] Yet it came to be associated so closely with the English Use

movement that the term English Altar is to this day inevitably connected with the form. Comper's

reproduction of it in the context of St. Wilfrid's created an atmosphere in which 'the spirit of the old

English 14th and 15th century miniatures seems to have revived.'[120] Staley's selection of such an

expertly reconstructed design for illustration in his most influential book makes clear the bold

emphasis on a return to those forms which were in use during the second year of the reign of King

Edward VI. Here is the sixteenth-century Ornaments Rubric carried out to the letter in late Victorian

England.

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[118] Stamp writes convincingly of Scott's influence, via St Agnes' on the development of Gothic revival architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, it is apparent that the influence was largely limited to style and, the English Use being more than mere style, it cannot be said that St Agnes' was as much a model for ceremonial as it was for architecture. Ibid., 343-350.

[119] *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* of which Dearmer was editor presents a myriad of riddelled altars of the 'English' type found in medieval illuminations from Spain, Flanders, Italy, France, and England. Percy Dearmer, *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1910).

[120] An 1894 letter from Comper to his father quoted in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 35-36.

As noted, Comper's altar at Cantley was not a new invention but it was certainly of a type that had not been seen in England for centuries. In this sense it was innovative, a reintroduction of a genuine medieval form into the modern era seeming fresh and bold, differing as it did from the typical altar of the period in several significant ways. First, it was of stone.[121] Though stone altars had been present in the Church of England off and on since the Reformation, an altar whose body and mensa were of stone was a significant departure from the wooden table-altars that stood in the chancels of most Victorian churches.[122] Second, Comper placed the altar significantly before the east window- at least two feet- leaving room for it to be (in theory) circumambulated. Third, the riddel posts, curtains, and reredos that spatially defined the altar were recognisably medieval; illuminations and paintings could be appealed to as precedent. Finally, by placing a tester over the altar Comper not only revived a long-lost medieval form of sacralising space but recalled the primitive altar under a ciborium, the riddel posts being vestigial columns.[123]

In 1910 Percy Dearmer published *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* as a supplement to an earlier work by the antiquary William St John Hope (*English Altars*, 1899) which had provided ample evidence for the English Altar form as seen at St. Wilfrid's.[124] Dearmer made clear that the purpose of the collection was 'to bring together a series of medieval altars for the benefit of architects and of others concerned in the arrangement and decoration of churches.'[125] By including examples which

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[121] In 1854 a case was brought against the Hon. and Revd. Robert Liddell, vicar of St Paul's, Knightsbridge by one of his churchwardens in which it was claimed that the altar of stone was an illegal ornament of the church. The Consistory Court of the Diocese of London agreed with the claimant and the stone altar was declared unlawful. Anson, *Fashions*, 126-127.

[122] In a work roughly contemporary with Comper's alterations at Cantley, Micklethwaite observed, 'Stone or marble altars of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries are not uncommon.' Like Comper, Micklethwaite was concerned with the revival of pre-Reformation customs in the Church of England. J.T. Micklethwaite, *Ornaments of the Rubric* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1897), 22 (note 4). J. Wickham Legg, likewise a scholar favourable to the English Use cause, also asserted similarly in *English Church Life* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), 134-136.

[123] Cyril Pocknee elaborates on this transformation in *The Christian Altar* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd, 1963), 57-58.

[124] Percy Dearmer, *Fifty Pictures of Gothic Altars* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1910).

[125] Ibid., 7.

differed from the strict academic arrangement with riddel posts and curtains only, yet demonstrated continuity with that form as having existed universally in the Church in the middle ages, Dearmer opened the aesthetic discourse to a wider diversity of forms within a single type. Yet he says, 'It will be noticed that in these late Gothic examples the standard of the undivided Church is still maintained.'[126] The variety seen in *Fifty Pictures* provided ample justification for designers throughout the first half of the twentieth century to depart from the strict form of English Altar seen at St. Wilfrid's while still maintaining the principles of liturgical appropriateness implied by universal usage. As late as 1949, Richard Mellor's *Modern Church Design* noted the continuing popularity of the English Altar but with this caveat: 'Leaving all considerations of style out of the question, an English Altar as such does not always give that emphasis which the high altar of a church demands.'[127]

In addition to providing a prototype of the popular English Altar, St. Wilfrid's also showed the early English Use at its most spatially aware; it is the same sense of the necessity of space that Staley chose to put forward in Plate I showing the screens and stalls at Colebrook. An unassuming little medieval church, St. Wilfrid's was completely transformed not only by the introduction of an altar designed after medieval precedent but by the reconstruction of screened chapels at the easternmost ends of the aisles, flanking the chancel arch.[128] (Figure 1.4). According to Symondson, the recreation of these subsidiary spaces succeeded in restoring 'the church to its late-medieval cohesion... [Comper's] solution was architectural rather than decorative because it involved the manipulation and articulation of space and human activity.'[129] By restoring the loft to the rood screen and enclosing two chapels, at the eastern ends of the north and south aisles respectively,

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[126] Ibid., 8.

[127] Richard Mellor, *Modern Church Design* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., 1949), 51.

[128] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 32.

[129] Ibid.

within parclose screens, and placing returned stalls in the chancel, Comper fitted the church for an authentically sixteenth-century expression of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Its purity of design presents perfectly Staley's ideal of the English parish church.

Staley's idea of the English Use, which St. Wilfrid's represented, also demonstrates just how much the propagation of the Use as a liturgical form depended on the availability of certain types of furnishings within a given spatial context. Obedience to the Ornaments Rubric demanded the presence of certain furnishings, and their proper function within the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* could only be understood by an appeal to precedents long abandoned in the Church of England. It was only in reproducing the conditions into which the Prayer Book came on Pentecost 1549 that churchmen could be seen as faithful to its demands as well as its spirit.

The rest of Staley's chosen plates in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* fit neatly into the template of Comper's work at St. Wilfrid's. In particular the ornaments of the ministers suit the late Gothic aesthetic. The generously-shaped chasuble and dalmatic shown in plates X and XI, based as they are on sixteenth-century models, show the desire of Staley, in line with other supporters of the English Use, for a comprehensive aesthetic that encompassed not only the church building and its furnishings but the vestments of the ministers, the actions they performed, and indeed all other elements of the service (Figure 1.5). Staley's editorship of a 1904 publication titled *Essays on Ceremonial* links him with Percy Dearmer whose article 'Church Vestments' is illustrated with the very sorts of ecclesiastical textiles that were to become increasingly common as the English Use movement gained momentum.[130] Figure 8 is typical, showing 'the most beautiful form of the chasuble,'[131] stole, maniple, and apparelled amice and alb (Figure 1.6). The Ornaments Rubric is

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[130] Vernon Staley, ed., *Essays on Ceremonial* (London: The De La More Press, 1904).

[131] Ibid., 189.

referenced alongside the Prayer Book of 1549 to provide justification for the use of tunicles by the crucifer and thurifer.[132] The ecclesiastical *gesamptkunstwerk* produced by adherence to a full mid-sixteenth-century pattern of dress in an appropriately medieval architectural setting was the inevitable result of such books as *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, and it was to be characteristic of the English Use well into the middle of the twentieth century, when fresh ideas about aesthetics and, perhaps more significantly, liturgy itself came into being.

As will become clear in later chapters, the documentary strength of arguments in support of the English Use provided a corresponding weakness because of the dependance on sometimes questionable historical authority to justify a kind of antiquarianism.[133] Staley's desire that Anglican services conform to the Prayer Book's direction that ornaments and ceremonies be as they were in the second year of the reign of Edward VI inevitably removed the services from the period in which they were actually being performed. The use of screens with returned stalls, altars with riddel posts, chasubles of a medieval shape created so comprehensive an appearance that, perhaps with the exception of the pronunciation of the ministers, one might feel transported into the sixteenth-century past. Integral to this decontextualisation was the potential to make worship as much a piece of reconstruction as were the renovated spaces in which that worship was conducted. In the later sections of *The Ceremonial of the English Church* Staley makes a case for limiting the music of the church to plainsong because the current types of Anglican music were not in existence during the reign of Edward VI. He says, 'No person of religious mind who has heard Plainsong well sung...

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[132] 'Under the name of the tunicle, however, it [the dalmatic] is worn also by the subdeacon, who with the deacon assists the priest at High Mass, and sometimes (as in the Sarum rite) by the collet, or cross-bearer, as well. In the Lincoln rite the thurifers also wore tunicles, as they did also at Aberdeen.' Ibid.

[133] W.H. Griffith Thomas, in Chapter XV of *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England*, contradicts Staley's assessment of the Elizabethan Canons by providing contradictory documentary evidence of the same period. *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929).

can ever forget it, or desire the modern Anglican music in preference.'[134] It would appear that his

sensitivity to the implications of the Ornaments Rubric has here overridden common sense. Staley's

powerful scholarly vision is so complete that his proposed ideal Anglican worship has stepped back

fully into the sixteenth century.

The tension between the documentable historical reality and a sometimes unrealistic, imaginative

reconstruction is present in most of the scholarship of the English Use. Staley is the best example of

a writer who seems to disregard the fact that the conditions which created the ecclesiastical

environment of the sixteenth century were no longer present in his own day.[135] The criticism of the

English Use as being 'British-Museum religion' makes a great deal of sense, particularly when *The*

Ceremonial of the English Church is under examination. Fortunately for the long term survival of

the Use, its principal advocate was less bound by period conventions and more elastic in his

thinking.

Section ii - *The Parson's Handbook* and the Warham Guild

Like Staley, Percy Dearmer was eager to see a revival of late-medieval aesthetics spread throughout

the Church of England.[136] Dearmer was born in 1867 and was educated at Westminster School,

Switzerland and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was, for a time, secretary to Charles Gore, then

Principal of Pusey House, and served his first curacy at St Anne's Lambeth before moving on to

several other posts before being inducted at St Mary's, Primrose Hill in North London where he was

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[134] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 240.

[135] For a strong rebuttal to Staley's historical treatment, see Griffith Thomas, *The Catholic Faith*, Chapter XV 'The Ornaments Rubric' (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929).

[136] The most comprehensive biography of Dearmer is *Percy Dearmer: A Parson's Pilgrimage* by Donald Gray (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000). While useful in detailing his life and influence generally, the relation of his work to architecture specifically is not covered.

able to implement his English Use ideals to the full.[137] Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook*, which

went through multiple editions from its first publication in 1899 until its final revision and rewriting

by Cyril Pocknee in 1965, was perhaps the single most influential product of English Use

scholarship.[138] It contains, as its full title indicates, 'Practical Directions both for Parsons and others

as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services according to the English use, as set

forth in the Book of Common Prayer.'[139] As will be shown, Dearmer's clear intent from the outset is

similar to Staley's but eminently more practical. While Staley sought to provide the justification for

performance of the liturgy of the English Church along English use lines, with a full description of

the requisite ornaments, Dearmer went into greater detail, describing in full the services of the

Prayer Book and including ceremonial instructions.

The *Handbook* begins with an essay on conformity to the Church or England that sets out in

summary the rationale behind the entire English Use movement in legal terms.[140] That is, the

English Use is merely the ceremonial and aesthetic expression of the requirements of the Prayer

Book and Canons. Dearmer says,

> This book must not, therefore, be taken as the attempt of an unauthorized person to
> dictate to his brethren. Whether they conform little or much or altogether is a matter for
> them to settle with their own consciences. I have only tried to show what it is that our
> Church requires... But whether the ceremonial used is little or much, the services of our
> Church should at least be conducted on the legitimate lines.[141]

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[137] Gray, 'The British Museum Religion', 2-12.

[138] Donald Gray puts Dearmer's work in context this way, quoting R.C.D. Jasper: '*The Parson's Handbook*, *The English Liturgy*, and *The English Hymnal*, the volumes of the Alcuin Club together with Vernon Staley's *Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology* "formed a solid foundation for an approach to liturgy which was High Anglican and non-Roman."' Ibid., 13.

[139] Dearmer, *Handbook*, title page, unnumbered.

[140] Horton Davies describes The Parson's Handbook aptly as being 'legalistic, strongly nationalistic, and thoroughly antiquarian.' Davies, 287.

[141] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 47.

Legality or rubrical conformity was the line followed for much of the period during which the

English Use fought for dominance in the Church of England. Dearmer was not alone in making the

case from a legal and technical standpoint, as Staley's *The Ceremonial of the English Church*

demonstrates. Colin Dunlop, for many years Dean of Lincoln (1949-1964), also echoed Dearmer

when he observed,

> It is felt by many that priests of the Church of England are morally bound to use the
> Book of Common Prayer in public service. This includes the employment of the forms of
> prayer there prescribed, obedience to the rubrics, and the practice of ceremonies drawn
> from the old tradition to which our attention is directed. This English rite is put forward
> by our supreme authority, that of the Bishops in Convocation.[142]

Commonly appealing to conformity to legitimate ecclesiastical authority, that of the *Book of

Common Prayer* itself as well as the Bishops, was a powerful argument. So long as the points

argued for by the movement could be confirmed by historically plausible arguments, their position

was unassailable. Providing these arguments was Dearmer's goal but he went about it in such a way

that it was made popularly available and, more importantly, accessible. Anyone with an interest in

the question of ceremonies and, vicariously, their impact on aesthetics and architecture, could go to

the *Handbook* and find contained in it not only historical and legal arguments supporting any

number of ceremonies and ornaments but also practical directions as to how to implement these in

their own parish.[143]

The directions of the *Handbook* are divided into several chapters which may be considered in four

principal sections. Chapters I to IV deal with the objects and context of ceremonial- the church and

its furnishings as well as the ornaments of the ministers, Chapters V through VIII with the daily

services of the parish as well as some incidental services of relative regularity. Chapters IX through

XII deal with the Holy Communion. These chapters include comprehensive instructions for the

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[142] Colin Dunlop, *What is the English Use?* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1923), 17-18.

[143] An example of this may be seen in Appendix 1.

performance of services with multiple ministers as well as with only one minister and clerk. The remaining chapters, XIII through XVIII, encompass other services less frequently performed than those discussed in chapters V through VIII as well as some other details about the liturgical year.

In structuring the *Handbook* book this way, Dearmer made it perfectly clear that his concern was with the entirety of the Prayer Book's contents. In fact, he presents the chapters relating to services in the same order as they are presented in the Prayer Book, making it very easy for a parish priest to turn to the necessary section and compare Dearmer's statements with the text and rubrics before him in the rite itself. The section titled 'Holy Communion- Analysis of the Ceremonial' is particularly concerned the position of the clergy and servers. Not only is the presence of certain furnishings assumed, but the entire plan of the church is presented, albeit obliquely. For example, the instruction, 'Before the service he carries the vessels to a minor altar or other convenient place,'[144] is accompanied by a footnote saying, 'If the Elements are prepared at a minor altar, which is the best plan, then the canister, cruets, &c., will be laid upon the credence in the chapel where the minor altar stands.'[145] According to this direction, there should be at least one chapel attached to the main body of the church, and it should have in it its own altar with the necessary furnishings for the maintenance of the same ceremonial as that of the high altar (though likely on a smaller scale). Similarly, there are references to a sedilia,[146] a Gospel-lectern,[147] and an offertory-veil[148] along with other ornaments.

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[144] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 406.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid., 410.

[147] Ibid., 412.

[148] Ibid., 417. This is a usage unique to Dearmer. Other English Use scholars seem to think it an unnecessary Eastern-ism derived from the Orthodox ceremonial. However, the long tradition of Eastern influence seen at its greatest strength under the Caroline Divines is legitimately English so Dearmer may be forgiven this slight exoticism.

Plainly, the intention behind *The Parson's Handbook* was to provide a literal handbook, a text to which a parish priest easily could go for advice on performing all of the services of the *Book of Common Prayer* according to the English Use of the catholic Church, that is the universal Church of which the Church of England is but a constituent member. No matter the parish, it should be possible, with the Handbook as guide, to implement at least some measure of the correct ceremonial, adding furnishings and ornaments over time. In this way, *The Parson's Handbook* makes the English Use practicable whereas Staley's approach in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* keeps the Use at a remove, an unattainable ideal.

Like Staley before him, Dearmer included various images in the Handbook which showed exactly the sort of architectural context and ornaments he sought. There are 31 plates in total with the frontispiece, number 1 having the most import for architecture directly. The others which have the most to say about English Use ideals of architecture and aesthetics are 4 through 6, 13, 17, 19, and 21. The manner in which Dearmer chooses to describe the images is significant. He includes references to all the colours of the images, thereby demonstrating a commitment to medieval colour as well as form.

Plates 4 and 5 are taken from the same fourteenth-century manuscript (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 16997) and depict moments during the liturgy, two of them showing the elevation of the Host. Each image selected supports either a significant English Use practice or justifies a particular ornament. Plate 4 is labeled 'Ornaments of the Chancel and of the Ministers' and is thus intended to impress upon the viewer the overall aesthetic of the image (Figure 1.7). Dearmer notes that the primary colours are scarlet, gold, blue, and green. That the altar depicted has no riddel posts but rather iron brackets with candle prickets demonstrates the validity of variety in English Altar design. Curtains were essential; their manner of mounting was open to interpretation. The ministers assisting the celebrant

carry tapers, an important detail given the significance placed by later English Use scholars on the history of lights in Christian worship.[149] Plate 5, 'Within the Rood Screen,' reinforces the claim that chancels should have screens and that these screens should be usable. Also pictured here is the medieval arrangement of a Requiem Mass, an arrangement of which Dearmer certainly would have approved (Figure 1.8).[150]

Plate 6, taken from a fifteenth-century manuscript (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 35313, f. 40.), is interesting in that it presents a different sort of altar arrangement than the type normally advocated (Figure 1.9). Here the altar is surmounted by a large triptych which is itself topped by a canopied statue. The riddel posts are very large and there are six rather than four. The curtains obviously have been pushed back for this Mass. The other ornaments are typical: two candlesticks on the mensa, a frontal and frontlet, a carpet before the altar. The ministers' ornaments also are typical. However. this image, somewhat like Plate 4, shows an alternative arrangement of the altar. In this case, the context of the Mass is a cathedral rather than a parish church and the provision of an example showing the English Use ideal for a very large space is especially useful. For the Use to be successful, it would have to be applicable to the largest as well as the smallest places of worship in England. Cathedrals, with their massive quires and sanctuaries, were not exactly suited to the normal English Altar with its low reredos and unobtrusive riddels. An altar of the usual size and arrangement would be nearly invisible. Fortunately, examples such as Plate 6 provided a viable solution to the problem of visibility.

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[149] For more on this subject see D.R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship* (London: S.P.C.K., 1959), an entire book dedicated to exploring the significance and deployment of lights on and around the altar during services.

[150] It was not until the creation of the Prayer Book of 1928 that the revival of funeral services of a genuinely medieval structure came into use in the Church of England but the appearance of a Requiem was certainly advocated before this. E.G.P. Wyatt's *The Burial Service* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1918) is a clear example of this. He suggests reviving the full structure of medieval funeral rites including the Dirige (Matins for the Dead).

Plate 6 is also significant in that it typifies the composition sought by English Use scholars at the high point of the liturgy. It is at this point where the intangible aspect of the English Use, the aspect that must be observed in action, comes into play. Moving beyond a plain appreciation of the fixed image, the arrangement of figures in space and their movement into and out of a prescribed set of formations in time is one of the most memorable aspects of English Use image-making. In *The Parson's Handbook*, Dearmer very carefully has selected images that capture moments of the liturgy frozen in time, significant moments like the elevation of the Host. It is these images that stick in the minds of readers. They are simple, elegant compositions that are legible. Their effectiveness is such that, upon seeing a liturgy performed with less dignity and care, the English Use position is strengthened by contrast. Anything less than a High Mass in medieval dress is meant to seem careless. Naturally, the architectural context for such elaborate ceremonial must be of the correct plan and style and it is for this reason that Dearmer provides guidance in the form of the *Handbook*'s frontispiece, which will be more closely examined in Section iii of this chapter.

Though the exact form of altar shown in Plate 6 was only twice executed in an English cathedral, Ninian Comper also designed an altar of this type for the north chapel of St. Cyprian's, Clarence Gate (Figure 1.10).[151] There, an altar stands on a footpace which is bounded by riddels in the usual manner but with an extra pair of posts extending the potentially curtained area to the edge of the sanctuary step. The riddel posts are elaborately decorated in tooled leather and topped with angels holding candle prickets. A statue of the risen Christ, though without canopy, stands above the altar silhouetted against a window. Understandably, the ceremonial complications introduced by the extra riddel posts in terms of position and movement of ministers means that this form was never embraced in the wider Church but Comper's design does provide an excellent example of a revived

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[151] This altar dates from the 1920s. At the consecration of the church the altar was of the normal English type. The cathedral examples can be found at Southwark and Chester, the former by Comper (1928-31) and the latter by Bernard Millar (1957).

medieval type and it provides an intriguing opportunity to reconstruct illuminations like those used

by Dearmer in *The Parson's Handbook*.

The use of illuminations as precedent for English Use design coincides neatly with the use of

medieval service books such as Customaries, Sacramentaries, Pontificals, etc.[152] The appeal of

scholars like Staley and Dearmer was always to English traditions but sometimes those traditions

had to be fleshed-out or even supplemented with surviving evidence from other places if the

English examples were incomplete in some detail. The fact that many English illuminated

manuscripts had been executed by foreign artists and the close relationship between the Sarum and

Gallican rites provided justification for Continental influence. The plates in Dearmer's *Handbook*

bear out this complex relationship between England and the Continent. It was, after all, not only

illuminations which reflected Continental influence, but church furnishings, sometimes worked by

non-native craftsmen as Staley's lauded Colebrook screens exemplify, and architecture. John

Harvey states that 'in the last quarter of the fifteenth century the English art was invaded by a

backwash of Curvilinear pattern from the continent and specifically from Flanders. This tide setting

inward across the Channel notably reduced the sharp and distinctive nationalism which had been so

characteristic.'[153] This observation coordinates with Tracy's later documentation of a similar traffic

in stylistic ideas in church furnishings.[154] Over and over again, the appeal to what is English entails

an inevitable dash of Continental flavour. There is a strong sense of aesthetic unity in the

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[152] For example, among those books cited by Dearmer are *Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum, 1531* (reprinted 1879), *Caeremoniale juxta ritum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum* (reprinted 1869), *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (editions of 1459 and 1614), *Manuale et Processionale as usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis* (reprinted 1875), *Manuale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, *Missale ad usum Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis* (reprinted 1891). A full list of his books quoted may be found beginning on page 544 of *The Parson's Handbook*.

[153] John Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1978), 13. Christopher Wilson believes the influx of so-called foreign design elements in the English repertory to date to an even earlier period, citing the influence of French Rayonnant style on the development of Perpendicular architecture in the fourteenth century. No matter the timing, what is significant is the dependence of English art on Continental trends for fresh stylistic expression. Christopher Wilson, 'Excellent, New and Uniforme: Perpendicular Architecture c.1400-1547' in *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 99/103.

[154] Tracy, 11.

illustrations included in English Use publications like *The Ceremonial of the English Church* and *The Parson's Handbook* because the age the scholarly English Usagers desired to emulate, and argued so vociferously that the Prayer Book commanded the Church of England to emulate, itself possessed such a unity. The appeal of such a comprehensive artistic vision should be apparent.

This artistic unity, as Dearmer's selected plates demonstrate, extended to the ornaments of the ministers as well as the ornaments of the church. Similar to the images in *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, the illustrations of the ornaments of the ministers in the *Handbook* show new vestments made along medieval lines in luxurious fabrics and with ample cut.[155] Plate 13 showing a priest and two young servers is especially useful in setting out the perfect English Use vestment (Figure 1.11). The chasuble is shown from behind, the side the congregation would see. It is made of gold tissue (by the Warham Guild, it is noted) of a bold pattern with orphreys of a different pattern in classic Y-shape. The plain alb, also of ample proportions, is fitted with an apparel of a contrasting fabric. Similarly, the apparel on the amice contrasts with the chasuble fabric. The use of contrasting fabrics, each luxurious in their own right, shows clear indebtedness to portrayals of vestments in medieval illuminations. Dearmer's previous plates are here brought to life and made accessible. The prescriptive nature of the *Handbook* comes through at this point as it does in no other place. Dearmer wants the reader to know that now the English Use can be demonstrated in any church. All one need do is to acquire the furnishings and the vestments and learn how to use them. The process of transformation is simple and the *Handbook* can explain even the most troublesome details.

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[155] H.J. Clayton made clear his intention to bolster the English Use case by an appeal to real historical precedent through the examination of memorial brasses. 'They provide us with an abundance of evidence for the interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer so far as the ornaments of the ministers which were in use in the second year of the reign of Edward VI are concerned.' H.J. Clayton, *The Ornaments of the Ministers as Shown on English Monumental Brasses* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1919), 1.

It would be too harsh to describe *The Parson's Handbook* as merely an attempt to publicise the wares of the Warham Guild, founded by Dearmer in 1912, or a propaganda book intended to sweep away arguments against the medievalising of Anglican worship but it is not unrealistic to note this element's presence. The intent of the Warham Guild, founded in 1912, was 'to augment the studies of the Alcuin Club and the directives of The Parson's Handbook, and to carry out "the making of all the 'Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof' according to the standard of the Ornaments Rubric, and under fair conditions of labour".'[156] It is an indication of the founders' outlook, emphasis, and commitment to the English Use, that it was named for the last Archbishop of Canterbury before the break with Rome. Marion Ireland writes that the aim of the Warham Guild was 'to "clean up" Anglo-Catholic churches… Their main effect was on cathedrals and large central town churches where an "English" ceremonial and furnishing tradition was established in place of little or nothing else before.'[157] The extract from the Guild's prospectus quoted in the 1913 edition of Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* is helpful to present in full as it summarises the aims of the Guild which was in operation well into the 1960s.[158]

> The Warham Guild consists of Church workers who carry out the making of all "Ornaments of the Church, and the Ministers thereof". It includes architects, painters, craftsmen in wood, metal, and glass, embroiderers, and the makers of every kind of robe, habit, vestment, or other ornament which is lawfully covered by the Book of Common Prayer [Ornaments Rubric]. While devoting careful attention to the smallest orders, the Guild undertakes also larger projects, and includes the building of chapels and churches in its preliminary operations- acting in such cases as agent for obtaining the necessary architects and other craftsmen, and serving as their assistants.[159]

That the products of the Warham Guild came to prominence in the Church of England is unsurprising given the sweeping mandate of the prospectus.

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[156] Anglican Bibliopole, Paper no. 12, 1987. accessed 20 Apr. 2015 http://anglicansonline.org/special/warham.html

[157] Marion P. Ireland, *Textile Art in the Church: Vestments, Paraments, and Hangings in Contemporary Worship, Art, and Architecture* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 127.

[158] The Warham Guild Handbook was published well into the 1960s, viz. Warham Guild, *The Warham Guild Handbook: Historical and Descriptive Notes on 'Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers Thereof'* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1963).

[159] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 187.

The types of vestments made by the Warham Guild after a medieval pattern and the ready directions

for performing the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* along sixteenth-century lines found in

The Parson's Handbook, as well as the aesthetic posited by the images provided by both Dearmer

and Staley in their various publications, may be seen in the most evocative of the *Handbook*'s

illustrations. Plate 17, titled, 'A Procession Before the Eucharist' draws back from a purely

pragmatic presentation and depicts an intensely romantic view of a liturgy, performed with

consummate grace and precision, in which all the participants understand their role and are eager to

please God through a dignified ceremonial (Figure 1.12).

Staley notes that the procession before Mass was 'expressly forbidden by the injunctions of Edward

VI in 1547'[160] but Dearmer shows the procession anyway, just as it is exiting the chancel gates and

starting down the south aisle. The image being a contemporary painting rather than a medieval

illumination brings the figures of the other *Handbook* plates to life in a powerful way. Here are the

young servers in sleeveless rochets flanking the priest in an apparelled alb and cope of rich material.

The deacon and subdeacon are there in dalmatics and the taperers and thurifer in apparelled albs as

shown in Plate 19 (Figure 1.13). The clerk in tunicle fulfilling the function of crucifer could be the

very man shown in Plate 21.

In Plate 17 the English Use sensibility again dominates the scene. A moment of movement frozen in

time evokes a more emotional response than a still image of a priest in a chasuble or an altar with

riddels, set forth as in other plates, examples for disinterested perusal. Here one is intended to stop

and immerse one's imagination in the image. The candles flicker, the gilded reredos sparkles in the

chancel beyond, and the richness of the sanctuary passes through the veil of the screen and into the

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[160] Staley, *Ceremonial*, 236.

immediate physical presence of the congregation who bow as the cross passes by. One can hear the plainchant sung by the choir behind the screen, smell the incense just starting to waft down the nave, notice the soft rustle of cotton albs and silk damask tunicles and the gentle tap of heels on patterned tile floors. The effect of such an image must not be underestimated. It is to the credit of the English Use scholars that they so carefully chose images which both explained and conjured up emotional responses. In fact, it is easy to escape into Dearmer's world when faced with an image like this. The appeal to the senses is immediate and it is relatively easy to picture the rest of the church with what one imagines as its relatively low, solid arcade topped by a much later, lighter Perpendicular clerestory. Is it a place like Great Malvern Priory, here fitted with a fretted screen and Nottingham alabaster reredos? In fact, it could be anywhere; any parish church in England could, if one followed Dearmer's instructions, become a place of order and beauty.

Section iii - Worship According to the English Use

In addition to providing clear guides to English Use aesthetics, Staley and Dearmer offered a distinct perspective on the manner in which liturgy was to be executed. Though the Use's architectural effects are not always uniformly significant, its effect on the totality of the experience of worship is absolutely integral to a comprehension of the aims of the English Use movement. That the individual is subject to the corporate, and personality subordinate to type, is one essential aspect of this. As discussed below, much writing of the early twentieth century makes reference to a needed objectivity, a replacement of what was seen as an excess of individualism or sentiment with a new kind of impersonality that closely equated to permanence.

In 1919 Percy Dearmer wrote *The Art of Public Worship* which, though not expressly an English Use book, contains much that shows his general attitude about worship.[161] The practical expression of *The Parson's Handbook* is best understood by an appeal to this later work which shows just how consistently Dearmer implemented his principles in the real world of parish life. Though made up of lectures and not written as a unified whole, *The Art of Public Worship* hangs together remarkably well. However it is Lecture III titled 'Ritual' that best presents the sought-after objectivity.[162]

Dearmer's expertise lay in the application of principles to real life contexts so it is understandable that his theoretical formulae should recede into the background. This is why his first point, which he summarises as 'liturgical propriety and harmony with ancient precedent,'[163] though it might be better called 'catholicity,' is so short. In popular writing, which *The Art of Public Worship* was really intended to be, he could not indulge in lengthy historical discourses on liturgical development. It is a shame he did not say more. Yet the sole phrase 'liturgical propriety and harmony with ancient precedent' provides a clear connection between Staley's earlier work in *Studies in Ceremonial* and the later writing of Evelyn Underhill in *Worship*.

In a sense, Staley's whole point in *Studies in Ceremonial* is that worship should be catholic, or universal, but that it does not have to be uniform. National expression is allowed. Commonly held by English Use writers, this point informed their thinking about ceremonial, architecture, and the ornaments both of the ministers and the overall context. At the beginning of the essay titled 'Genuflections at the Consecration of the Eucharist' Staley observes, 'Pre-Reformation English ceremonial not identical with that of the modern Roman Church.'[164] In 'Bowing at the Name of

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[161] Percy Dearmer, *The Art of Public Worship* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1920).

[162] Ibid., 45-81.

[163] Ibid., 45.

[164] Vernon Staley, *Studies*, 2.

Jesus' he notes, 'Religious ceremonial identical in character and meaning with the ceremonial of common life.'[165] And in 'The Biretta' he claims, 'Appeal to modern foreign usages excluded by the Ornaments Rubric.'[166] These three references serve to demonstrate the concern that worship in England reflect English precedent, that it accord with the national temper, and that it be done according to lawful authority. There is a consistent striving for continuity with historic practice in the liturgical elements themselves, viz. reverencing the consecrated Elements at the eucharist, combined with a desire to retain a distinctly national liturgical character.

Combined with national character of certain ceremonies is the simultaneous attempt to withdraw from the perceived subjectivity of previous generations. Dearmer is unveiled in his criticism for certain types of hymns and, in *The Art of Public Worship* he disembowels *Hymns Ancient and Modern* saying that it is, 'deficient in poetry... depraved in sentimentality and... mawkish and provincial in its music.'[167] But, equally interesting to observe is his remarkable insistence on a theological niceness which closely resembles a sort of sentimentality, dispensing with the difficulties inherent in the Christian tradition by dispensing with parts of Scripture which might cause discomfort. Of the Psalter he says, 'It is eminently desirable in the interests of truth (as well as of goodness) that we should be free to omit the vindictive or petulant outbursts... which sometimes mar the grandeur of these wonderful Jewish hymns of our present version.'[168] It is not inconsistent with the English Use temper to make such suggestions.

The difficulty in analysing the English Use as a unity is that the aims of its chief advocates are often contradictory. The authority-seeking of Staley, and Dearmer to a more limited degree, is

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[165] Ibid., 100.

[166] Ibid., 228.

[167] Dearmer, *The Art of Public Worship*, 50.

[168] Ibid., 72.

accompanied by a throwing out of authority in other areas. So it is that Dearmer can argue for

catholicity of liturgical structure and ceremonial observance but can also seek to dispense with a

large portion of the material that provides its theological justification. To view the eucharist as

sacrifice and to desire a consistent reverencing of the consecrated Elements as the actual Body and

Blood of Christ entails an understanding of propitiation that is entirely nullified if the wrathful God

of the Psalter is banished and replaced with a God whose character is one-sided, benevolent only,

and not offended by affronts to His holiness. Here the scholarship of Dearmer is undercut by his

desire for a goodness that is merely pleasant. Consistent steps in the direction of evacuating

Anglican worship of the unpleasant is an integral aspect of the English Use as it developed in the

early twentieth century.[169] The reinvigoration of liturgy with catholic elements was undercut by a

deep weakening of its theological foundations, the consequences of which appeared only as the

century wore on.

The slow addition of external ornament and the simultaneous subtraction of internal structure is

reflected in the English Use's vehement insistence on a significant degree of uniformity. Dearmer

makes a close link between the subordination of the individual to a type with the evacuation of

content when he observes that the familiar formality of the text of the *Book of Common Prayer* has

caused a kind of dishonesty to arise in the Church. He recounts the following: 'I heard a very

advanced liberal the other day glibly inform his congregation that the heaven and earth were made

in six days, a statement that he certainly did not believe, nor any of his congregation either.'[170] He is

referring to the recitation of the Ten Commandments where the phrase 'for in six days the Lord

heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is' takes prominent place. Dearmer's own objections

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[169] On this point, one might be tempted to accuse the English Use of being merely bourgeois. Yet this would be to confuse scholarship with taste-making. The two are related, particularly in Dearmer's work, but they are not inherently interchangeable concepts.

[170] Ibid., 70.

to Biblical content, seen in his rejection of parts of the Psalter, create a similar problem. He is

honest enough to suggest their removal.

Consistent argument for liturgical and ceremonial uniformity is one solution to the problem of the

evacuation of content. In a national church in which some ministers retain belief in all of the

Scriptures as presented in the legal liturgical form, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and some do not,

the most obvious way to provide a semblance of unity is through uniformity of practice. It is in

Lecture IV that Dearmer addresses exactly this point.

> Psychologically,' he says, 'the essence of Public Worship consists in ceremonial and not
> in ritual. Worship is not thought, but is the orientation of the whole self towards God.
> There is indeed to the psychologist no such thing as "mind"; but only attention, vital
> interest, desire, the ever-changing flow of consciousness. Worship is feeling and action,
> and it must express itself in action. You can therefore have common worship without
> words, but not without significant action; and this in its widest sense is what we mean by
> ceremonial.[171]

What Dearmer is really saying is that worship is not dependent on content for its effectiveness, but

solely on ceremonial. Corporate action replaces corporate thought (because there is no such thing as

'mind') and all is movement. Ceremonial action actively replaces ritual content and the

congregation is held together by common practice rather than common belief. This philosophy

demands that the highest attention be paid to external form. A slovenly ceremonial will not serve to

hold the attention of those in the pews and their vital interest will be lost.

In Dearmer's ideal English Use church, contrasting with the casual activity of the vestries, and

indeed the main body of the church itself, would have been the sanctuary, normally occupied by

only a half-dozen men at a time, absorbed in the punctilious performance of the Prayer Book's

required ceremonies. Part of the English Use sensibility entailed the intentional submission of the

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[171] Ibid., 81.

individual to the corporate, and one could draw a connection between the whitewashing of churches and a corresponding whitewashing of the individual that makes each an actor in the liturgical drama, a type rather than a character with distinct personality. Such an attitude of subjection to the liturgy means that not only the space and ornaments of worship conform to intangible ideals but so do the priests and servers.

It remains to be told in subsequent chapters how changes in the liturgy influenced the eventual drift away from the early aesthetic principles of the English Use. For now, the continuing development of the English Use aesthetic over the course of the twentieth century must be tackled and it is to the relationship between the distinct but easily integrated Gothic styles of Ninian Comper and Temple Moore that we move, the former representing a fantastic medieval past, the past of illuminations and paintings, and the latter a world that was much more concrete, applicable to England as it was in the early twentieth century. To jump ahead and give away the ending, the apparent battle between an aesthetic of imagination and one that dwelt in the realm of the concrete will be seen to end in an unexpected way with neither side being the victor. Though Moore's work is more consonant with the writing of Dearmer, who remained the English Use's foremost scholar well into the middle of the century, Comper's work exerted a wider influence on the modernising side of the Church, especially in the realm of church planning. The eventual influx of Western Use principles, alluded to in the Introduction, and Continental style, brought with it a new take on the very idea of Englishness. This was in keeping with the close relationship between English and Northern Continental style seen in some of Staley's plates. Thus diversity of belief and diversity of aesthetics combined to create in the middle of the twentieth century a starburst of activity and fresh attitudes toward worship and its context.

Chapter 2 - English Use Architecture

In chapter 1, two major works of English Use literature were discussed in detail, and an attempt was made at presenting the central aims of their writers, Vernon Staley and Percy Dearmer. This chapter is intended, first, to offer a fully-formed picture of the specifics of the English Use aesthetic and, second, to examine two different approaches to implementing this aesthetic. Thus, in section i the frontispiece of *The Parson's Handbook* will serve as a guide to exploring the English Use ideal of light and colour alongside some contemporary production, stained glass in particular, that served to foster that ideal. Sections ii and iii will deal, respectively, with the built work of Ninian Comper and Temple Moore. Vernon Staley chose to illustrate *The Ceremonial of the English Church* with photographs of a church by Ninian Comper and his early approach to design, in which he created churches that were meticulously researched medieval fantasies, suited Staley's carefully delineated understanding of what the English Use should be. Dearmer's slightly more pragmatic approach in *The Parson's Handbook* fits well into the context of churches designed by Temple Moore. Moore's churches retain a certain sense of concreteness, an appearance of accretive history, that contrasts with Comper's early work, where stylistic elements all seem to stem from the same period. In succeeding chapters we will see how these two strands of architecture developed, and even merged, into a coherent Anglican Use by the late 1940s. In the final section of this chapter, the first phase of English Use music will be discussed as a way into exploring the development of ceremonial to be fleshed-out more fully in chapter 3. In particular, certain aspects of the *English Hymnal*, which Dearmer edited, will be examined in relation to their liturgical function, the hymnody being less important to the English Use aim than those chanted elements intended for use by the choir or chanters. The later development of music in the context of the English Use will appear in chapter 3.

Section i - Developing the Ideal of English Use Architecture

The ideal architecture evoked in Plate 17 of *The Parson's Handbook*, on which we briefly touched

in the previous chapter, is made more concrete in the frontispiece of both the 1907 and 1913

editions of Dearmer's *Handbook*, albeit on a smaller scale (Figure 2.1). Here a drawing by Geoffrey

Lucas, pointedly titled 'And The Chancels Shall Remain As They Have Done In Times Past,' shows

a typical English Altar with riddels, a low reredos, a frontal, two candlesticks on the mensa, and two

standard candlesticks on the sanctuary floor. Dearmer's vision of the perfect English Use chancel is

presented here and it is exactly this aesthetic, furnishings included, that Donald Gray noted in 2001,

could have been found 'until quite recently… over the length and breadth of England.'[172]

Dearmer's note on the frontispiece describes it thus: 'A typical chancel of fully developed English

Gothic architecture with its furniture, showing the arrangement which the Prayer Book rubrics were

designed to continue, and which should be in use now, allowances being made for varying styles of

architecture.'[173] If this lengthy title alone were an insufficient reference to the authority of the

Ornaments Rubric, Dearmer again states that this is exactly the sort of space 'the Prayer Book

rubrics were designed to continue.'[174] Forcefully he reiterates the prior statement with the phrase,

'and should be in use now.'[175] There can be no question that Dearmer believed there was one

consistent way to interpret the intentions of the Prayer Book regarding architecture, just as there

was one way to interpret it as regards ceremonial. The two were inextricably linked and both were

subject to the authority of the Prayer Book. Fortunately for the nervous clergyman burdened with a

Georgian parish church rather than an authentic medieval one he adds, 'allowances being made for

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[172] Gray, 1.

[173] Dearmer, *Handbook*, xiii.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid.

varying styles of architecture.'[176] This seemingly casual remark will be seen in following chapters

to define the life of the English Use, as openness to new styles accompanied acceptance of changes

in the structure and content of the Prayer Book after 1928.

The chancel shown in the Frontispiece should be understood as a part of a larger church, not merely

a set-piece on its own, and it is convenient that Colin Dunlop's 1932 book *Processions: A*

Dissertation Together With Practical Suggestions contains the plan of a church the chancel of which

fits exactly with Dearmer's ideal (Figure 2.2).[177] By examining the illustrations of these two works

together, it is possible to obtain a mental image of the entirety of a church meant for the English

Use. Given the authoritative nature of argument from the Ornaments Rubric and the description of

the chancel drawing as representing 'A chancel of fully developed English Gothic architecture,' it

may be argued reasonably that the rest of the building to which Dearmer's ideal chancel is

connected ought similarly to represent a typical English parish church of fully developed English

Gothic architecture. Thus Dunlop's 'Plan of a Church Illustrating the Ceremonial Directions' fleshes

out the Frontispiece and puts it in its larger architectural context.

The typical church, as illustrated by Dunlop, possesses a nave of four bays and a chancel of two, the

nave alone having a clerestory. There are both north and south aisles, the north terminating on the

interior at the chancel arch and the south extending eastward in the form of a screened chapel. There

is a pair of vestries to the north of the chancel. The high altar is placed before the east window on a

footpace and there is a rood screen with returned stalls. The pulpit stands one bay west of the

chancel and the font directly before the arch of the west tower. Though Lucas' drawing in *The*

Parson's Handbook does not show them, the rood screen and returned clergy stalls are clearly

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Colin Dunlop, *Processions: a dissertation together with practical suggestions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

drawn in Dunlop's book and the arrangement of stalls echoes those presented in *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, Plate I. The prescribed quality of spaciousness is found here and the levels of the quire and sanctuary reflect those laid down by Francis Bond as being typical of English medieval chancels.[178] In addition to the limited elevation of the chancel above the nave floor, 'The altar itself, in England, as a rule, was raised but little above the level of the sanctuary, and its steps were generally few, low, and broad. This was necessary for the convenience of ceremonial.'[179] The space between the end of the stalls and the first sanctuary step is seen at the foreground of the Frontispiece with kneeling rails covered with houseling cloths separating the sanctuary from the rest of the chancel.

The sanctuary is further divided into two areas. In the foreground, just behind the kneeling rails, is a section devoted to the dignified administration of the Communion and easy movement of the altar party. There are a further two steps to the footpace elevating the altar. Given the step down into the nave from the rood screen, the high altar stands only five steps above the nave floor. This lack of elevation in comparison to many Victorian churches is characteristic of English Use planning where spaciousness, rather than height, is sought.[180] The altar itself is enclosed within riddels on posts which themselves hold candles. A low carved reredos sits just below the level of the sill of the east window and on the altar are placed two candlesticks and two cushions, one for the Prayer Book and one for the Gospel book. Further candles appear on the standard candlesticks placed below the first altar step. Covering the floor in front of the altar is a carpet which adds further luxuriousness to the sanctuary. The east wall of the sanctuary is covered with hangings, presumably matching the riddel

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[178] Bond, Chancels, 19.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ninian Comper, in describing the church of St. Cyprian, Clarence Gate, notes that 'Care is taken to keep the levels as low as the vicissitudes of the site will allow... the steps are concentrated upon the altar itself without the sacrifice of their real dignity, which is spaciousness and not height, and the table does not lose the prominence due to that most important part of the altar by being raised above the level of the eye.' Comper 'On the Significance of the Building', 1903 in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 88.

curtains. Flanking the east window are two niches containing figures of the church's patron saints, in this case St. Michael and a bishop whose identity is unclear. To the south of the altar is the sedilia built into the wall along with the piscina. Standing just next to the piscina is the credence table with its pure linen cloth and what appear to be two cruets for the water and wine, the paten, a pyx for wafer-breads, and the chalice covered by a burse. To the north of the altar is the aumbry, in this case, a relatively elaborate example probably intended to be envisioned as gilded and painted (Figure 2.3).[181] Other details which would come to typify the English Use are the floor tiles which are simple checkerboard rather than the Victorian encaustics popular in the previous century and the wagon roof which may be assumed to be painted and gilded overall. It is likely the walls are intended to read as limewashed plaster and the glass of a late medieval type, mostly blue, yellow, and white with grisaille figures. The tracery holding the glass is early Perpendicular and thus the church itself recalls the architecture of the period in shown in the illuminations Dearmer selected to illustrate the *Handbook*.

Given that the vast proportion of *The Parson's Handbook* is dedicated to ceremonial it may seem strange to speak at length of architecture, but the connection between ceremonial and architecture being so clearly put forward in the images selected to accompany the text leaves no doubt a certain aesthetic can be understood as corresponding to English Use scholarship. Dearmer's dominance in this field means that it is reasonable to conflate his opinions with the term English Use. Architecture for the English Use could, with good reason, be understood as *Parsons' Handbook* architecture or even 'Dearmer style' insofar as it demonstrates a commitment to the fulfilment of principles elucidated in the *Handbook*. The distinctive stylistic accents of various architects aside, there is found in the architecture influenced by English Use thought a remarkable consistency, a kind of

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[181] Dearmer describes it as 'richly decorated.' There are aumbries of this type at the church of St. Wilfrid, North Muskham, Nottinghamshire and St Michael's, Camden Town, London.

familial relationship that bespeaks a common vision. There is a sort of unity in variety where stylistic tropes make their appearances unabashedly and, though the personality of each designer is not overwhelmed, it is to a degree sublimated to the aesthetic that seems to hover over much work of the period from about 1900 to 1930 when other influences began more readily to appear.

The unifying ceremonial ideal of the English Use manifested itself very clearly in the matter of planning as well as the matter of style. That the architectural setting of the liturgy recalled the sixteenth-century milieu was important, but churches created for the English Use also had to be functional. As we saw in the previous chapter, liturgical movement acquired dignity through breadth of action. Simplicity, rather than fussiness, and the appearance of effortlessness were the key to fostering a reverent atmosphere. Even in an otherwise pleasing building, lack of space could kill dignity. Here again we see a distinctive characteristic of the English Use; an essential solemnity in the performance of ceremonies emphasises the high view of the purpose of the liturgy during which, to borrow a phrase from Evelyn Underhill, 'the "Table of Holy Desires" with its cross and ritual lights stands on the very frontier of the invisible.'[182]

In regard to the placement of altars, the ever-practical Bond notes, 'Nothing is more inconvenient and, indeed, more dangerous than the lofty flights of steep steps which have so often superseded the ancient arrangements.'[183] The concern of English Usagers that the planning elements of the architectural context of the liturgy, in addition to its aesthetic and ceremonial aspects, be appropriately medieval, as well as functional, led them to embrace a kind of medievalism that was simultaneously archaeological and historical, with an appeal to real late-medieval performance, as well as ahistorical, imagined, and evocative rather than reproductive. The frontispiece of *The*

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[182] Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystery of Sacrifice: a meditation on the liturgy* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1938), 66.

[183] Bond, *Chancel*, 19.

Parson's Handbook exemplifies this approach with its careful appeal to precedent, its rubrical correctness. Yet, the authentic medieval parish church, with its subdivided interior and lack of careful refinement in design, is nothing like what the English Usagers proposed. Their ideal was exactly that, an ideal. It was a reworking of a late-Gothic past intended for use in the modern age. This was no new perspective on design. Speaking of G.F. Bodley's later churches, dating predominantly from the 1890s, Basil Clarke observed that, 'sometimes he inclined to earlier detail and sometimes to later, and he did not despise Perpendicular. His work is always charming'.[184] Such wilful selectivity in the production of Gothic churches intended to house the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* was a mentality familiar to men like Dearmer. The freshness of English Use design was in how such selectivity was handled, what details were chosen, how they were deployed, and what atmosphere was created through their use.

Two elements stand out as being characteristic of an English Use approach to atmosphere. One is the choice of stained glass which, at its best, tempered the light into a silvery glow; the other is a liberal use of whitewash. Fortunately for clergy desiring to move away from either the dim, gas-light dirtied interiors of High-Victorian churches where bright colours used in close proximity to one another assaulted the senses, or the subdued half-tones of Bodley's perfectly refined set-pieces many of which, undoubtedly from the date of their consecration possessed the general feel of 'much worn Persian carpets,'[185] designers like Charles Eamer Kempe (1837-1907) and Burlison & Grylls had been producing for some time glass very different from that of earlier Victorian firms like

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[184] Basil Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1938), 212.

[185] Anson, *Fashions*, 230. In regard to Bodley's colour schemes Goodhart-Rendel also says, 'As a colourist [Bodley] ... had a great reputation, although one now difficult to account for. He delighted in brownish tones, and if compelled to retain existing stained glass by Pugin or Wailes would coat it with umber glaze.' H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture Since the Regency: an interpretation* (London: Century, 1989), 214.

Clayton & Bell and Hardman of Birmingham, from whom they had learned their craft.[186] Clayton &

Bell and Hardman glass was rich in colour but it captured the light, making the glass itself glow, yet

severely limiting the amount of light reaching the interior of the church.[187] Aside from the

inconvenience this could cause a congregation in the midst of a grey English winter, it failed to live

up to the mid-sixteenth-century milieu English Use advocates sought to recall where windows by

the most accomplished artisans, many of them Continental, splashed crisp, bright light onto walls

and piers and richly carved screens. Kempe and Burlison & Grylls work 'was usually lighter than

its predecessors, being rich in silver and yellow.'[188]

At Holy Angels', Hoar Cross in the 1870s and 80s G.F. Bodley employed Burlison & Grylls to

create a complete cycle of windows for the entire church (Figure 2.4).[189] 'Their restful and

understated harmony of silver and gold, subtly complement the refined splendour of the

architecture.'[190] Yet for all the appropriately medieval colour of such work,

> By the end of the nineteenth century [C.E. Kempe and Burlison & Grylls] had been in
> existence for over thirty years, and latterly their products and particularly those of
> Kempe, had become increasingly stereotyped. Figures were enmeshed in a mass of
> complex, overwrought canopy-work, landscape backgrounds became ever more literal
> and pictorial, and the figures themselves were flabby and over-bejewelled, flashy and
> mannered in draughtsmanship. Burlison & Grylls were less guilty in this respect.[191]

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[186] The life and work of Kempe is fully treated in Margaret Stavridi, *Master of Glass: Charles Eamer Kempe 1837-1907* (Hatfield: John Taylor Book Ventures, 1988). Burlison & Grylls are covered adequately by Gavin Stamp in *An Architect of* Promise and by Michael Hall in *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

[187] For more on Hardman see Michael Fisher, *Hardman of Birmingham: Goldsmith and Glasspainter* (Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing, 2008).

[188] Brandwood, 60.

[189] For a full description of Holy Angels, Hoar Cross see Nikolaus Pevsner, *Staffordshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 148-50.

[190] Martin Harrison, *Victorian Stained Glass* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), 60.

[191] Ibid., 71.

In using glass with a distinctly late-medieval colour-sense with the intention that it blend into, and actually illuminate, the overall context rather than drawing attention to itself, there came an increase in light which led necessarily to an overall brightening of colour. Rather than rich, subdued velvets heavily embroidered, the sorts of materials favoured by Bodley and deployed to great effect at churches like Holy Angels', soft silk damasks in crystalline colours came into use. The 1924 publication *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* shows, sadly in black and white, a set of vestments that are, in reality, a vibrant golden yellow (Figures 2.5, 2.6).[192] In painted decoration the effect was similar with clear, crisp colour and yellow gold replacing washed-out shades and muted gilding. The idea that English Usagers wanted their church interiors to be 'pale and chaste'[193] is insupportable on the basis of the evidence. Bright, airy, and colourful are certainly apt adjectives; even cool might be appropriately applied. Pale is certainly an inadequate descriptor and chaste fails to take into account some of the later developments of glass, particularly that of Ninian Comper and the less prolific but perhaps more ingenious J.C.N. Bewsey whose work is anything but pale.

Comper produced much stained glass that was ideally suited to the increasing desire for light.[194] Having studied for a time under Kempe, it was from him, as well as Bodley, that he learned an appreciation for German and Netherlandish art.[195] His early windows show a close relation to the style of his master Kempe and at St. Wilfrid's, Cantley the east window of 1894 reflects Kempe's tendency to make far too much use of leading, particularly in the canopy-work (Figure 2.7).[196] The

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[192] The Alcuin Club, *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1924).

[193] Harrison, 74.

[194] In discussing Comper's glass, I have been largely dependent on my own observations insofar as Symondson's discussion of the work is limited to its general inspiration and does not document specific sources of design.

[195] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 22.

[196] Kempe's leading did not, as did the late-medieval glass he sought to recall, fulfil a solely structural function, but imparted an unrealistic sense of age to his work by suggesting an history of repair and restoration. It is interesting to imagine what Kempe might have thought of the recently restored windows at York Minster where the removal of leading has revealed a tight and lucid sense of composition with minimal leading and an emphasis on large blocks of colour.

window looks as though it were a much-repaired medieval window rather than a new piece.

However, as Comper's manner developed he came to embrace a style that was strongly influenced

by English glass at York, Fairford, Oxford, and parts of East Anglia.[197] His designs also began to

acknowledge their newness, leaving behind the artificially ageing effect of unnecessary leads.

> He admired late-medieval glass for its 'lightness, pearly whiteness, and that rarity of
> colour, as of jewels, which mark it off so absolutely from the glass first brought to
> England from abroad...'... It was the tonal effect the glass achieved that Comper admired,
> accomplished by controlled light. 'It is the glass of the whiter type that we associate with
> the Lady altars of English quires and the high altars of our parish churches, as their
> principal and most fitting ornament.[198]

Already in 1896 at St. Mary's, Egmanton can be seen a fresh whiteness (Figure 2.8).[199] The large

east window is fitted with standing figures on a ground of grisaille quarries under pinnacled and

crocketed canopies. The upper tracery, fitted with heraldry as well as an Annunciation positively

glows. Aside from the silver and gold of the quarries and canopy-work, the main colours are blue,

red, and purple, a palette derived from fifteenth-century glass. The figures themselves are taken

directly from the lower panels of the east windows in the north aisle of the chapel of All Souls

College, Oxford which was made by John Glasier of Oxford in 1441 (Figure 2.9).[200] The influence

of York glass also appeared in Comper's work and in 1917 he produced another window in the

fifteenth-century manner at Cantley (Figure 2.10). Set in the north wall of the chancel, it shows the

Angelic Hierarchy and recalls a similar window at St. Michael, Spurriergate (Figure 2.11).[201] In

moving away from the often yellow-green tone, heavy drawing, and excessive leading of Kempe's

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[197] Ibid, 48.

[198] Ibid., 49.

[199] St Mary, Egmanton is discussed in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 69-70. For a full description see Elizabeth Williamson and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 120-21.

[200] I am indebted to Sarah Brown for this observation. The All Souls Window has been catalogued as CVMA 012797. For more on the glass at All Souls' see F.E. Hutchinson, *Medieval Glass at All Souls College* (London: Faber and Faber, 1949), 13.

[201] This glass has been catalogued as CVMA 024449.

glass, Comper embraced an aesthetic perfectly suited to the architecture being proposed by English Use supporters like Dearmer and Staley.[202]

J.C.N. Bewsey (1881-1940), one of Kempe's pupils, produced little glass but he deserves mention here because, as Harrison notes, his work 'represented probably the most convincing attempt to work in a revival of the English fifteenth-century style.'[203] The east window of St. Mary, Harrogate, dating from 1919, is a celebration of angels and saints set under grisaille canopies and clothed in sparkling blue and red (Figure 2.12).[204] Touches of green enliven the composition and the five scenes from the life of Christ in the lower portion of the window again mimic the York school of glass-painters.[205] The glass produced by artisans of the first part of the twentieth century has been variously appreciated and despised but, whatever the connoisseur's opinion, it cannot be argued that the atmosphere produced was anything more or less than exactly what suited the English Use's desire for the recreation of a late-medieval atmosphere.[206]

The second key element in the production of an English Use atmosphere, limewash, brought a new whiteness and brightness to the churches of the early twentieth-century. Not only could it be shown that medieval churches had been thoroughly limewashed, it seemed suitable to the creation of a

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[202] The common criticism that Comper's glass is effete is valid only when the glass is removed from its intended role and seen as a stand-alone work of art. This approach negates his intention which is that the glass serve as merely one part of a unified whole, contributing its light-tempering quality to the space and providing an appropriately medieval atmosphere.

[203] Harrison, 73.

[204] This window was admired well into the twentieth century. 'But for sheer beauty the author has not seen better modern glass than has been inserted in St. Mary's, Harrogate. It is particularly fine both as regards design (in general conception and in detail) and colouring. The east window in particular is a joy and well worth seeing.' Mellor, 67. For a description of St Mary, Harrogate see Enid Radcliffe and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 248.

[205] Compare these scenes to those in the 'Magnificat' window at Malvern Priory in Worcestershire.

[206] 'One respects the early c20 designers' reluctance to dim the luminous interior of a whitewashed church, yet this attitude seems death to the glass-painter's art.' Harrison, 73. Here he cites John Newman in the two volumes covering the County of Kent in the Penguin 'Buildings of England' series, c. 1970.

pristine space. The Victorians had scraped most of the medieval plaster from church walls, thereby seriously disfiguring the public's understanding of the appearance of medieval churches.[207] Though it was not universally the practice of all architects designing for the English Use to use limewash, a great many of the most significant churches of the period planned with the English Use in mind were, in fact, designed to be plastered and whitened. The only departure from the medieval use of limewash was that often certain aspects of the architecture were left unwhitened as a foil to the main mass of the walls. It cannot be argued that imitation down to the smallest detail of late medieval practice was ever the intent of supporters of the English Use interpretation of the Prayer Book and it could be posited that the leaving natural such parts of the architecture as window tracery, vault ribs, and sometimes whole piers is a subconscious primitivism which reflects the archaeological temperament of organisations like S.P.A.B. which preferred restored buildings to look restored, that is, one could notice the restoration because it was consciously not returning the building to its pristine state.[208] Or it might simply be a stylistic trope, a desire to retain borders and boundaries and to relieve the mass of white plaster without resorting to painted patterns.

Leaving un-whitened certain parts of the fabric is just one example of how the English Use aesthetic is a distinctly non-medieval creation. After all, what church, even in the middle of the sixteenth century, would have had an uncluttered chancel, the rood screen being perhaps the only division in the entirety of the building? What church would have been fitted with only fifteen or early

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[207] Ninian Comper, in a letter to Cyril Garbett, noted that, 'There is nothing that will bring out so well the beauty of the lines of architecture and, as St John Hope the great antiquary proved, it was the universal custom to lime-wash and re-lime-wash our churches in England in medieval times, as also it was abroad where the beauty of a few unscraped churches may still be seen.' Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 146-47.

[208] Anthony Quiney, in his monograph of J.L. Pearson recounts numerous examples of the SPAB's interaction with contemporary restoration projects, their opinion generally being negative towards anything that altered the visual historical record in any way. Anthony Quiney, *John Loughborough Pearson*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979., 185-198. The SPAB Manifesto, written by William Morris articulates the perspective this way, 'In early times… If repairs were needed, if ambition or piety pricked on to change, that change was of necessity wrought in the unmistakable fashion of the time… but every change, whatever history it destroyed, left history in the gap, and was alive with the spirit of the deeds done midst its fashioning. The result of all this was often a building in which the many changes, though harsh and visible enough, were, by their very contrast, interesting and instructive and could by no possibility mislead.' William Morris, 'The Manifesto of the SPAB', 1877, found on the S.P.A.B. website: http://www.spab.org.uk/what-is-spab-/the-manifesto/.

sixteenth-century glass? In what church would the whiteness of the walls not have been darkened with the smoke of many candles and covered in places with bright (to the eyes of the Edwardians, garish) devotional paintings? Whatever their later critics claimed, Gothic revival architects in the early twentieth century were certainly not simply copying the atmosphere of the late middle ages, nor was the liturgy performed in these churches an exact recreation of medieval worship.[209]

Because of the need of comprehensive planning for a certain type of ceremonial, the examples of church design and planning provided in English Use literature were not always straightforwardly medieval. The absorption of medieval style aside, the necessity of modern function meant that elements such as vestries, closets, and other storage spaces became prominent in a way they would not have been in the churches that English Use architects intended to evoke. While the atmosphere of the late middle ages was actively fostered, churches could not be mistaken from their centuries-earlier cousins. As Sir Arthur Blomfield observed,

> Where convenience is at stake we ought not to be too much confined by the precedent of medieval architecture. Neither our ritual nor our congregations are the same as those for whom our ancient churches were built, and it is scarcely to be expected that if they were exactly suited to the one they would be equally so to the other.[210]

Blomfield, speaking in the Victorian period, notes the need of architects to be sensitive to function. In a sense, even the most ardent supporters of English Use style were never going to produce an authentically medieval building. The culture which produced the medieval parish church was long gone, construction technologies had changed, certain modern conveniences were expected by the churchgoing public. Even the churches most authentic in terms of atmosphere are most assuredly

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[209] The reconstructed church of St Teilo at the National history Museum in Wales demonstrates the degree to which medieval interiors were covered in extraordinarily bright colour of the sort never seen in any Edwardian parish churches.

[210] Clarke, *Church Builders*, 191.

not mere copies of medieval work.[211] Thus the plan of the medieval parish church which was

unsuited to the needs of the twentieth century, being

> the result of an attempt to combine into one a whole series of compartments: the
> nave, aisles, the chantry chapels with their parclose screens, the transepts, and the long
> chancels with their aisles separated from the nave by a screen, rood-loft and tympanum...
> [and] a mysterious succession of self-contained rooms, seemingly stretching away into
> infinity; [possessing] a gradual unveiling of its character till at last the high altar is
> reached at the east end[212]

was modified by an appeal to the practical needs of the current ceremonial and congregation.

Therefore, English Use architecture is the result of combining a deep appreciation for late-medieval

style with a clear sense of the ceremonial requirements of the English Use and modern practical

concerns.

In the middle ages vestment chests and strongboxes for plate were sometimes placed near the altar

at which these ornaments were intended to be used; the move away from a multiplicity of Masses

meant that the storage of these objects became centralised.[213] Large vestries outfitted with ranks of

cabinets and presses, spaces that were starting to proliferate in the Victorian period, exploded into

prominence in the Edwardian period and sometimes became striking features in the overall

architectural composition of churches built for the English Use of the Prayer Book rite. A 'Plan

Showing a Convenient Arrangement of the East End of a Town Church' found as an appendix in

Dearmer's *Illustrations of the Liturgy* demonstrates the new concern for adequate ancillary spaces

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[211] Is it legitimate to ask whether a church built in the twentieth century is 'authentically medieval'? This kind of question seems to be a result of the later twentieth century's insistence that styles are purely period things and revival is mere copyism.

[212] G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948), 15-16.

[213] 'The evidence from inventories and other records as to the ordinary parish church of old days possessing two or three chests or coffers (under a variety of names, such as 'ark,' 'counter,' or 'hutch') is overwhelming. As a rule there was a chest for every chantry.' J. Charles Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London: Metheun & Co., 1907), 299. Further discussion of such medieval storage lockers may be found in Bond, *Chancels*, Chapter 8, pp. 204-15.

to accommodate growing collections of vestments as well as greatly enlarged cohorts of secondary ministers to the altar (Figure 2.13).

Dearmer's notes accompanying the plan (drawn by Clement Skilbeck) make clear that the inclusion of the vestries is of secondary importance and that, 'This plan has been drawn in order to help architects and others in the designing of new churches, where the conveniences obtainable at the present day can be provided.'[214] Yet the care with which they have been laid out and the space which they take up relative to that of the chancel itself, for they are nearly double the floor area, makes them a notable part of the overall design of the church. From the exterior, these vestries would have made up a significant massing of volumes clustering about the towering east end of the chancel and from the interior they would have contributed to a warren-like sense of busyness.

The relation of the chancel to the rest of the church, what little of it is shown, seems to speak of the usual late-Victorian plan, with its thin aisles and much wider nave, permanent litany desk, and rather pointless transepts. However, the steps being taken at this early date to create a suitable setting for the ceremonial of the English Use is noteworthy. *Illustrations of the Liturgy* shows just how the early English Use writers understood a service to function. The illustrations themselves, which posit an aesthetic rather than acting as documentary drawings to the use of the plan found in the appendices, show the highest ceremonial possible and confirm the dependence of Dearmer and others on medieval illuminations.

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[214] Dearmer, *Illustrations*, 72.

Section ii - Ninian Comper

Ninian Comper's take on the medieval heritage of the church might be called the scholarly romantic or, to put it in purely artistic terms, the 'painterly' aspect of the English Use. It finds its apotheosis in his church of St. Cyprian, Clarence Gate (Figure 2.14). The spare, whitewashed interior contrasted with a lacily carved, gilded rood screen and jewel-like eastern windows conjures up visions of manuscript illuminations of the sort seen in the Duc du Berry's *Tres Riches Heures* (Figure 2.15).[215] In its almost unreal atmosphere, it shows Comper at his most dreamlike, caught up in a powerfully imagined vision of England's pre-Reformation past. The peculiarly ephemeral quality of Comper's work is addressed by Peter Anson who, in his insightful study *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940*, utilises the words of Osbert Sitwell in order to characterise it as possessing a 'highly stylized but intangible loveliness.'[216] But it is not primarily the delicacy of ornament of a place like St. Cyprian's that affected the development of the English Use sensibility. The strength of Comper's planning and his lucid application of liturgical principles to an architectural problem is ultimately what places him at the head of those seeking to foster an authentically English approach to church building and to ensure that architecture acted as a handmaid to worship.

The development of Comper's approach, seen in full at St Cyprian's, was informed by his restoration work at two medieval churches, St. Wilfrid's, Cantley (1893-4) and St. Mary's, Egmanton (1897). Having already discussed these churches in the preceding section, it remains only to note their importance for aesthetic development in a general way. As both St. Wilfrid's and St.

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[215] For more on the Tres Riches Heures see Millard Meiss, *Les Tres Riches Heures: The Medieval Seasons* (New York: Geroge Braziller, 1995) and Rob Duckers and Pieter Roelofs, eds. *The Limbourg Brothers: Reflections on the Origins and the Legacy of Three Illuminators from Nijmegen* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[216] Anson, *Fashions*, 282.

Mary's were restorations rather than new buildings, the fittings designed for them had to take into account this prior history. In fitting new screens, lofts, and roods, Comper was required to consider the existing rood stairs and the proportions of the spaces. At St. Wilfrid's he investigated medieval inventories in an attempt to determine the original layout of the screened chapels.[217] This care for authenticity is a mark of Comper's approach to design. In restoration he concerned himself with what had been, in new building with what might have been. The line between pure historical scholarship and vibrant imagination was very thin for him, and what makes these restorations work is the bold claim made for selective re-creation. The church at Egmanton shows this strength of imagination most clearly in the solid panels of the rood screen, where painted saints in bright blue, green, pink, orange, and gold mimic those of the Norfolk tradition (Figure 2.16).[218] Yet where a medieval screen might have placed subsidiary altars flanking the entrance to the chancel, there is nothing. Such an arrangement was only later realised at St. John the Baptist, Lound, in 1909-14, where medieval Ranworth is re-imagined in glittering colour taken straight from a fifteenth-century Book of Hours (Figures 2.17, 2.18).[219]

These restorations show Comper entering into the late medieval world in a way that was different from that of earlier restorers and architects. From the 1840s, the attitude towards church restoration was that the goal should be the recovery of the building's ideal state. "'To recover the original scheme of the edifice,' the *Ecclesiologist* advocated, was the true purpose of a 'thorough and Catholick restoration.'"[220] What this usually meant in practice was a return to the 'moral superiority of the Middle Pointed.'[221] By the 1870s, however, attitudes were changing. J.T. Micklethwaite

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[217] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 32.

[218] Ibid., 69.

[219] Ibid., 122. For a description of St John the Baptist, Lound see Enid Radcliffe and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Suffolk* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 352-53.

[220] Quiney, 39.

[221] Ibid.

criticised architects who followed the earlier approach saying 'there are still some who would pull down good, genuine "perpendicular" to make way for sham "early English."'[222] Comper's careful research, and his use of late-medieval styles, demonstrates the degree to which he was a part of the wider movement that derided the fetishisation of the Gothic of the thirteenth century.[223]

Comper fully embraced the architecture of the late Gothic in an 1898 design for an entirely new church, St. John the Evangelist, New Hinksey (Figure 2.19).[224] Though the chancel and furnishings, including a screen with functional rood loft running the entire width of the church, can only be assessed through drawings, it is clear that the effect of the interior would have been very much like an East Anglian wool church.[225] A broad nave and aisles divided by slender piers was to culminate in a deep chancel, where the altar with its riddels and carved reredos, placed against a low screen with a sacristy behind, would have glittered with gold. Above was to rise an east window filled with glass of a type not seen in England since the Reformation, clear colours and figures in grisaille with white and yellow canopy-work above. Though never completed according to Comper's original design, St John the Evangelist is the most direct antecedent to St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate and shows the degree to which Comper sought a return to both the spatial and aesthetic qualities of the late-medieval parish church.

The progression of Comper's designs for St Cyprian's shows how much development took place between the inception of St John the Evangelist in 1898 and the consecration of St Cyprian's in 1903. An early design shows a great deal of lingering influence from St. John the Evangelist (Figure

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[222] Cited in Gavin Stamp. *An Architect of Promise: George Gilbert Scott Junior (1839-1897) and the Late Gothic Revival*. (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), 221.

[223] Quiney uses the terms 'moral superiority' and stylistic propriety' in relation to the Ecclesiological claim that the Decorated Gothic of the thirteenth century should be fostered in preference to any later extant work. Quiney, 39-40.

[224] St John the Evangelist, New Hinksey is discussed in full in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 84-86.

[225] Due to the interference from John Oldrid Scott, the diocesan architect of Oxford, only the nave of the church was built. Ibid., 86.

2.20). Were one to compare Comper's drawings for each, one would find the same widely spaced Perpendicular piers providing a similar spatial articulation and the same low wagon roof running across both nave and chancel with a rood placed high near its apex. The screen extending across the entire width of the interior is repeated as well. But these resemblances aside, St. Cyprian's is already a more sophisticated building at this early stage. The insertion of a low clerestory provides light from above which is lacking at St. John the Evangelist. The rood at St. Cyprian's is much larger and defined by a hanging placed behind it, a successful arrangement already seen at St. Wilfrid's. A squat Doom has been inserted above. At this time the design for St. Cyprian's includes differing ceiling treatments in the aisles.

A later design that represents St. Cyprian's almost as built shows a move towards greater spatial clarity and shows a more confident architect whose ideas have crystallised into a complex, glittering matrix of late medieval ideas (Figure 2.21). Slight differences in the fenestration of the north and south aisles remain but the variation in ceiling treatments has been traded for a much plainer scheme, with pitched beams on simple brackets, and a traceried hammerbeam structure replacing the wagon roof of the nave. The ceiling treatment is richer over the chancel than the nave and there is an elaborate ceilure over the rood. The rood itself has been substantially enlarged and lowered onto the screen rather than sitting high up on a beam. The squat Doom has become a prominent feature dividing the nave and chancel, taking advantage of the full height allotted by the hammerbeam construction. A tester has appeared hanging above the high altar and a large pulpit with sounding board has been placed just outside the now more elaborate screen. There is a lace-like delicacy to the screenwork that shows a new taste for subtle vistas; Comper seems to be toying with the idea of veiling and the play of concealment and revelation.[226]

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[226] It has been observed that Comper's screen for St. Cyprian's is a near copy of the medieval rood screen at Attleborough, Norfolk. Buchanan, 135.

The final product of this lengthy refining process is much like the late designs, though some

variations appear. St. Cyprian's as built lacks the three great ogee arches and canopied figures

shown on the screen in the late design.[227] The pulpit is Jacobean rather than late Gothic- an

alteration providing a note of variety and more in keeping with the origin of most post-Reformation

pulpits in response to the Canons of 1604. The tile floor shown in the drawing has also been altered

and wood parquet substituted. Basil Clarke noted an unexpected but thoroughly plausible influence

on Comper's design. He wrote,

> When I last saw it, it struck me that it is not unlike one of the Perpendicular
> Commissioners' Churches built in the 1820s, minus the tower and vestibules. It is less
> formal (the aisles differ from one another), and of course there is more expertise in the
> details: but if the pews and galleries were cleared out of a Commissioners' church, and it
> was divided up with screens and parcloses, and plenty of space was left empty, it would
> be much the same at St. Cyprian's.[228]

The hint of 1820s Perpendicular suggests that Comper was taken with the openness of earlier

Gothic revival forms, forms not embraced by those whose designs were English in the sense of a

cluttered sequence of separate spaces. The picturesqueness of Bodley's detailing is at St. Cyprian's

combined with a refinement of spatial conception that owes its generation to pure Classical

architecture, the architecture of Wren's auditory churches before their fitting with box pews. This

should not be taken to mean that St. Cyprian's is less medieval than it appears, simply that authentic

forms of Gothic and classical architecture resemble each other in their sense of completeness and

repose.[229] This perhaps surprising aesthetic family resemblance is completely consistent with the

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[227] Comper himself records a debt to Moore's screen at St Agnes, Kennington where he worshipped for a time. Stamp, 345, footnote 8.

[228] Clarke in *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 289.

[229] This sense of aesthetic unity regarding the Gothic and the classical is noted by the American architect R.A. Cram who writes 'There are certain fundamental laws of planning, composition, proportion, construction, and design, that are as old as the art of architecture itself: they are to be found equally in the Greek temple, the Byzantine basilica, and the Gothic cathedral.' Ralph Adams Cram, *Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in their Relation to the Church* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1914), 87.

English Use approach advocated by Staley in which medieval recreation is tempered to a degree by the realities of Church of England Canon Law. Alexandrina Buchanan observes, 'What [Comper] and his associates were trying to revive was not the medieval church as such, but a reformed version, based on their interpretation of the ornaments rubric of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, in light of sometimes wishful historical thinking.'[230]

At the consecration of St. Cyprian's, Comper's now very refined, dreamlike medieval vision was completed in action; the rite in use was taken from the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York (d. 766) and plainchant was sung from the rood-loft while flower petals and herb were strewn over the floor.[231] The furnishings of the church were not all complete at the time and photographs from as late as 1939 show the tester above the high altar without its figure of Christ *Pantocrator*. Even now Comper's organ case remains only on paper. Yet the effect of this partially finished interior, says Symondson, was striking to Comper's contemporaries.

> St. Cyprian's came as a shock to an older generation of churchmen. They were wary of the novelty of Comper's liturgical innovations which were entirely different from the Roman models that had been popularised since 1865 by Dr. F.G. Lee in his revision of the *Directorium Anglicanum*.[232]

The 'novelty' of Comper's design was a direct result of his appeal to medieval English precedent rather than Roman directions regarding the ceremonial requirements of churches. What was new was old and Comper believed his work represented not only the ideal of pre-Reformation England but that of the *Book of Common Prayer*. He wrote, 'The new St. Cyprian's follows the fully developed type of the English parish church which the middle ages produced and later times have continued and handed down to us by a tradition never entirely broken.'[233] This observation on the

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[230] Buchanan, 136.

[231] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 91.

[232] Ibid., 88.

[233] Ibid.

continuity of English church building closely accords with Staley's declaration in the chapter of *The Ceremonial of the English Church* titled 'The Principles of English Ceremonial':

> In studying the subject of English ceremonial, it is important to bear in mind, as a fundamental principle, that the continuity of the English Church was in no wise broken by the religious movement of the sixteenth century, commonly known as the Reformation. Not only in doctrine, in sacraments, in ministry, in temporal possessions, but also in ceremonial, this continuity was preserved.[234]

In like manner, Comper viewed St Cyprian's as representing a principle of continuity. He said,

> In the late medieval and Elizabethan periods this tradition [of veiling the altar from view] survived, in its completeness, only in the time of Lent when a veil was drawn across the chancel. But its theory, if not its actuality, was preserved at all times by the open chancel screen, the transparency of which is completed by the great windows behind it.[235]

It is no wonder that Staley selected Comper's slightly earlier English Altar of 1894 from St. Wilfrid's, Cantley to stand as the ideal Prayer Book altar. Both he and Comper understood the revival of late-medieval forms essentially as continuity. The academic perfection and slightly precious quality of Comper's early work perfectly suited Staley's vision of a revivified catholic Church of England complete with services in plainchant and clouds of incense. It is not unlikely that had St. Cyprian's and *The Ceremonial of the English Church* been produced at the same time, the ideal altar selected for inclusion in the plates would have been that of St. Cyprian's. In its greater length, a superior proportion to the somewhat blocky altar at Cantley, and use of elegant painted and gilded leather hangings, it corresponds more nearly to the serene perfection that we saw Staley presenting in the previous chapter as the only legal aesthetic of the English Church (Figure 2.22).

At St. Cyprian's the medieval mystery of the altar separated from the nave by screens is tempered by a fresh dignity of liturgical expression in keeping with the Prayer Book's simplified rubrics. The

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[234] Staley, *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, 43.

[235] Comper, 'Explaining the Church: On the Significance of the Building'. Tract written for the Consecration of St Cyprian's on 30th June 1903. Published by St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate.

sanctuary is very spacious, demonstrating Comper's conviction that the altar is the reason for the existence of the church.[236] Otherwise, the plan of St. Cyprian's is simple, a nave with aisles of the same length and a rear organ gallery, and it is this simplicity that heralds a new approach to ceremonial. Before the Communion Service according to the English Use, the bread and wine were permitted to be prepared at a side altar, and the placement of two chapels directly alongside the chancel and of the same length permitted this preparation to take on a public character (Figure 2.23).[237] The entirety of the ceremonial space surrounding the high altar is fully visible to the congregation and the altar not hidden by long ranks of choir stalls. This visibility is important as it relates to the ceremonies of the Prayer Book, since the rubrics of the Communion Service call for the consecrated bread and wine still remaining after the communion to be eaten and drunk by the priest and any whom he called forward to do so.[238] The English Use prescribed this to be done at the high altar.[239] The English Use was, in part, an effort at making the prescribed liturgy of the Church of England accessible in addition to making it uniform across party lines.[240] That such ceremonies as the ablutions were performed visibly showed faithfulness to the Prayer Book and may have allayed the fears of some that the sacrament was being reserved for the purpose of adoration.[241]

[236] '[F]or what is a church? - It is a building which enshrines the altar of Him who dwelleth not in temples made with hands and who yet has made there His Covenanted Presence on earth.' Comper, 'Of the Atmosphere of a Church' in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 233.

[237] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 333.

[238] 'And if any of the Bread and Wine remain unconsecrated, the Curate shall have it to his own use: but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest, and such other of the Communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the Blessing, reverently eat and drink the same.' *The Book of Common Prayer from the Original Manuscript attached to The Act of Uniformity of 1662, and now preserved in the House of Lords* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892), 256.

[239] *A First English Ordo* details the ablutions by the priest at the high altar after the blessing. The Alcuin Club, *A First English Ordo* (London: Longman's, Green and Co., 1904), 19-20.

[240] 'I have only tried to show what it is that our Church requires. Those requirements leave many degrees of ceremonial open to us, even within the limits of strict conformity; and the tolerance of non-conformity in the Church allows in practice an even greater freedom. But, whether the ceremonial used is little or much, the services of our Church should at least be conducted on the legitimate lines.' Dearmer, *Handbook*, 47.

[241] It is not unreasonable to assume that the ablutions were sometimes not performed at all given Dearmer's tone in his introduction to *The Parson's Handbook*.

In designing St. Cyprian's, the Prayer Book's distinctly non-medieval requirement that services be seen by the people led Comper to shy away from the long chancel toward a more open space where the altar stood relatively close to the congregation. The rood screen is high and open allowing maximum visibility while still providing a sense of enclosure and heightened sanctity to the chancel. The font's elevated position at the west end of the nave also fosters visibility in baptismal services. Clearly, Comper was concerned with fostering participation according to the rubrics without losing a sense of mystery and timelessness and, more importantly, without sacrificing that intangible sense of continuity with a vibrant medieval past. In fact, Comper considered St. Cyprian's to be the exemplar of Prayer Book design.[242] It is also a church which could very easily be translated into an illumination or placed at the background of a painting by someone like Robert Campin or Rogier van der Weyden (Figure 2.24). That question then arises how such a building could be considered by its designer to be authentically English, suited to an English rite in a modern English city. To Comper, it would seem that Englishness was cosmopolitan; in this he reflects what we saw of Staley's attitude to aesthetics in the plates accompanying *The Ceremonial of the English Church*. In viewing the English tradition this way the close kinship between early advocates of the English Use, both scholars and artists, and the Mass priests of 1549 who celebrated the Communion of the Prayer Book as though it were merely a vernacular translation of the Sarum Missal, is made apparent.

As we will see in succeeding chapters, it is primarily Comper's approach to liturgical planning that was to draw attention to his work in the middle part of the century. Though some of the aesthetic elements fostered by Comper, crisply white interiors and brightly coloured stained glass chief among them, appear in English Use architecture through the 1930s, and even into the 1950s in some quarters, never did Comper's delicate illumination-like sensibility dominate the scene. It was left to

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[242] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 88.

Temple Moore to provide an aesthetic suited to the architecture of the English Use, an aesthetic that took into account the historical realities of extant parish churches and the capabilities of these churches to accommodate the English Use in their own way.

Section iii - Temple Moore

Temple Moore (1856-1920) represents a unique strand of the Gothic revival and was an architect with an inimitable style, inspired by George Gilbert Scott, Jr., to whom he was articled for three years from 1875.[243] Though not as significant as Comper in regard to the development of liturgical planning, Moore's style better characterises the English Use as it most often appeared in the average Church of England parish. His work is instantly recognisable yet not 'period' like much contemporary Gothic building. Contrasting Moore with his contemporary G.H. Fellowes Prynne, Basil Clarke observes, '[A church by Fellowes Prynne] is rather ostentatious and what some would think of as typically Edwardian. No such accusation could be brought against the churches of Temple Moore.'[244] This is likely a result of Moore's approach to design. While he often used motifs lifted directly from the middle ages, the personality of Moore's churches is due to his own vital use of Gothic motifs and his willingness to mix and match elements from various periods rather than relying on the aesthetic unity generated by an appeal to a more unified Gothic vocabulary. The churches of Pearson and Bodley, along with the early works of Comper, with their restricted design palette, stand worlds apart from Moore's churches which, according to Clarke, 'although purely Gothic, appear to have been designed with no constraint save that of his vigilant good taste.'[245]

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[243] Brandwood, 13.

[244] Clarke, in *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 294.

[245] Ibid., 257. Clarke is here quoting the D.N.B. article by Goodhart-Rendel.

In terms of liturgical planning, Moore was not as experimental as Comper later came to be. His chancels follow the standard Victorian pattern, with the high altar placed against the east wall of the church or, occasionally, against a screen of piers behind which lies a secondary chapel.[246] Referring to earlier Victorian churches, Moore commented 'a gloomy interior in this climate is generally unattractive.'[247] In keeping with this view, the glass he selected for his churches, almost always by H. Victor Milner (1864-1942), but occasionally by Burlison & Grylls, comprises either geometric patterns or figures on a light ground.[248] Walls rendered in light tones, plain floor tiles, and sturdy but elegant woodwork, complete the English Use aesthetic.[249] Like Comper, Moore fitted many of his churches with English Altars. His larger churches in particular are peculiarly suited to the sort of liturgical pageantry advocated by Dearmer and illustrated in *The Parson's Handbook.*

Of Moore's personal devotion to the High-Church cause there can be no doubt, and Brandwood notes that he worshipped at both St. Augustine's Kilburn (by Pearson) and St. Michael's, Camden Town (by Bodley).[250] Like Comper, he believed the source of good architecture was to be found in the study of old examples of quality, but it is clear that he was not so bound up in the study of medieval liturgy that led Comper to ruminate over the details of illuminated manuscripts.[251] The vitality of his work consists in its familiarity. This cannot be due to an excessive imitation of preexisting buildings as none of his works recalls one inspiration only. It is his deeply personal sense of eclecticism in design that brings life into his buildings. Such willingness to appeal to all aspects of the Gothic vocabulary rather than clinging to one favoured century, as Bodley tended to

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[246] A survey of the plans reproduced in Brandwood confirms this approach.

[247] Ibid., 60.

[248] Ibid., 40-41.

[249] Ibid., 61-2.

[250] Brandwood, 5.

[251] Ibid.

in his later churches, may be due to Moore's experience under Scott, Jr., who defied convention in the 1870s when he designed St Agnes', Kennington, in the unexpected, and then unpopular, Perpendicular style.[252] Gavin Stamp writes 'With Temple Moore- arguably the greatest of all Victorian church architects- Scott is always in the background.'[253]

The masterful Moore's masterpiece, St. Wilfrid's, Harrogate, approaches the scale of a cathedral and is an example of the adaptability of English Use principles to a wide variety of architectural contexts (Figure 2.25).[254] It is to the generosity of Miss E.S. Trotter that St Wilfrid's owes its inception and the church was, in essence, a memorial to her departed sister who died unexpectedly in Harrogate in November 1901.[255] Moore was selected in 1903 to design 'a fine early English church of great dignity and beauty'[256] which the Rev W. Fowell Swann hoped would be a centre of Anglo-Catholic worship. St Wilfrid's was built in stages, the nave with its dramatic canted west end being completed in 1908.[257] The crossing and chancel were complete by 1914 and Moore's son-in-law Leslie Moore supervised the completion of the transepts to the original design in 1928.[258] The design of the striking Lady Chapel was modified by Leslie Moore and it was dedicated in 1935.[259] Brandwood writes 'Superficially St Wilfrid's is a large medieval church brought to twentieth-century Harrogate. On closer acquaintance the serene beauty of the design and its details become ever more apparent and it is clear that it is not mere copyism.'[260]

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[252] For a complete account of St Agnes', Kennington, see Stamp, 74-90.

[253] Ibid., 358.

[254] For a full description of St Wilfrid's, Harrogate, see Enid Radcliffe and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The West Riding* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 248.

[255] Brandwood, 93.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Brandwood, 94-96.

[258] Ibid.

[259] G. Patrick Bishop, *St. Wilfrid's Church Harrogate* (Wellingborough: Lonsdale Direct Solutions, date unknown)

[260] Brandwood, 96.

St Wilfrid's did not spring fully formed from the mind of its architect. Moore's first design included a tall broach-spire on the north side, and a perspective published in *Academy Architecture* in 1905 shows an ornate lierne vault, like that of Gloucester Cathedral, over the chancel and a wagon roof over the nave (Figure 2.26).[261] Over time, these elements were eliminated and St Wilfrid's as built is a much plainer building, more unified in effect than early drawings would suggest. In removing elements such as the lierne vault, Moore reverted to the Gothic of the thirteenth century, standing against the contemporary tendency to prefer late-Gothic models. The nave of St Wilfrid's is by far the simplest part of the building, without obvious precedent: piers of alternating round and octagonal section are topped by a low clerestory of paired lancets and painted wooden vaulting. The aisle windows are likewise paired lancets and the beamed roofs are of wood. At the crossing there is a tower, barely expressed on the interior, and the piers change to clustered colonnettes, a motif that continues into the chancel. At the crossing asymmetrical transepts project, one containing a chapel and the other a vaulted gallery for the organ over the north entrance porch. The south transept is modelled on French examples from Tournai and Noyon (Figure 2.27) and the north with its flight of stairs up to the organ on Hexham Abbey (Figure 2.28).[262] The kind of direct influence seen in the transepts is not always immediately discernible in the rest of the building, and there is a subtlety and imaginative use of detail that recalls familiar forms without giving away their sources. For example, the outside of the north transept is articulated with a series of strange lobed lancets which on the interior manifest as a simple lancet surmounted by a round window (Figure 2.29). The oddness of the form is made recognisable when one observes St Mary's Abbey in York where the same lobed arches top the blind arcade of the ruined west facade.[263] Returning to more obvious models, in the

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[261] Alexander Koch, ed. *Academy Architecture and Architectural Review*, vol. 28. (London: Academy Architecture, 1905), 6.

[262] Brandwood, 96.

[263] This is my observation.

chancel the wall elevation changes to a tripartite division of arcade, triforium, and clerestory, a treatment distinctly reminiscent of St Leonard's, Hythe (Figures 2.30 and 2.31).[264] At the east end, the aisles as well as the chancel itself are vaulted. Behind the chancel sits the Lady Chapel, an elaborately vaulted multi-sided space in which Leslie Moore utilised thin colonnettes in a manner reminiscent of Pearson to create miniature aisle-like spaces as well as smooth the transition from the square-ended chancel (Figure 2.32). The use of tall thin piers creates a feretory just behind the high altar and one can imagine an elaborate reliquary being enshrined behind it, the Lady Chapel providing a processional route through the building (Figure 2.33).[265] Goodhart-Rendel claimed 'Probably there is no building, old or new, that is more English, through and through than St. Wilfrid's Church at Harrogate'[266] and the sense of accretive growth that one immediately senses at St. Wilfrid's provides a connection point with other churches of the region and, in particular, with the powerfully massed abbeys of North Yorkshire.[267]

In addition to Moore's affinity for carefully combining various stylistic references, his work done at St. Agnes', Kennington, alongside G.G. Scott, Jr., cannot have had anything less than a profound influence on his sense of proportion, detail, and colour. Brandwood provides the architect J.D. Sedding's thoughts on St. Agnes' by way of a list of perceived positive qualities and states that these same qualities could well describe Moore's work at St Wilfrid's. The most important of these are, 'A carefully thought-out plan of an English church, suited to the exigencies of modern worship'[268]

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[264] I am indebted to Dr Anthony Geraghty for the observation of the similarity between St Wilfrid's and St Leonard's.

[265] The idea of a feretory behind the high altar, though a medieval conception, does appear elsewhere in the early twentieth century, namely at Downside Abbey where Thomas Garner's choir of 1910 connects neatly with the previously constructed chapels of 1860 by Dunn and Hansom. It is a great shame that neither space was ever used for a reliquary and particularly so for Downside as the space has been reworked to house the high altar, a confused arrangement that has necessitated a modern nave altar thoroughly out of keeping with the idea of a monastic church. For more on the architectural development of Downside Abbey see Dom Augustine James, *The Story of Downside Abbey Church* (published by Downside Abbey, 1961).

[266] Goodhart-Rendel's comment is quoted from JRIBA 25 (1928), 472-3 in Brandwood, 63.

[267] Goodhart-Rendel, 220-21.

[268] Brandwood, 57.

and 'a simplicity and natural quaintness of treatment the more valuable as it opposes the tricky picturesqueness and theatricality of the half-assimilated Gothic of much contemporary work.'[269] In these two observations, Sedding foreshadows two central characteristics of later English Use architecture of which Moore is the progenitor: functional planning, and a certain characterfulness that defies strict stylistic definition. As chapter 4 will show, it was this very sense of character that came to be eschewed by many liturgical writers of the middle twentieth century, as much as it had been admired during the same century's first decades.

At St Wilfrid's, functional planning is coupled with a wide-ranging use of medieval precedent for certain elements of the building Additionally, Moore's spatial experimentation is showcased in that the church makes the most of a tight site, incorporating no fewer than five altars into a building that suggests it has developed over a long period of time (Figure 2.34). The interrelation of elements in the plan creates multiple complex vistas through the interior. Functionally, this allows for a use of liturgical space which accords with the most complex late-medieval ceremonial. In particular, St Wilfrid's is suited to processions. Its aisles are wide enough for at least three people to walk abreast, and the ceilings are of a height than can accommodate banners. English Use advocates claimed that the goal of a procession was to get somewhere, not simply circumambulate the church while singing.[270] At St Wilfrid's the ideal forms of procession, the Litany being sung on Ordinary Sundays, could be enacted. Dunlop notes, '[A procession] was the normal prelude to High Mass, and it was this practice which, in the opinion of some liturgical scholars, Cranmer designed to perpetuate by composing the English Litany which exactly fits into the old ceremonial.'[271] Following the English Use pattern would also allow, on Festal occasions, a procession with a

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[269] Ibid.

[270] Colin Dunlop quotes T.A. Lacey: 'A perambulation alone is not a Procession: a Procession means going somewhere to do something.' Dunlop, 21.

[271] Ibid., 20.

Station, Collect(s), and Versicles and Responses immediately preceding the Holy Communion, or following Evensong, one circumambulating the entire church and culminating with a Solemn Blessing from the high altar. One such festal scheme, following Evensong in Advent, would find the clergy and choir assembled in the chancel. An appropriate hymn would begin and they would process out of the chancel, down the centre aisle of the nave, up the north aisle and along the north chancel aisle into the Lady Chapel, the congregation following. Before the Lady Chapel altar, there would be a station including a Versicle and Response, Lesson, and Collect. A hymn would follow as the procession moved off into the south chancel aisle, down the south aisle of the nave, and then up the centre aisle, returning to the chancel, and allowing the congregation to regain their seats. A second Station would take place at the high altar, including another set of Versicles and Responses, and a Solemn Blessing.[272] St Wilfrid's could also readily accommodate the more complex Festal processions of Passiontide, and the placement of the font at the west end, standing free on a step allowed it to function as a Station in Lent. Likewise, the great rood permitted a Station as would have any window depicting a saint.

For the English Use, St. Wilfrid's represents the apotheosis of church design, atmosphere, and functionality. Much of the genius of Moore's work may be attributed to its connectedness with, not just one period of the past, but many ages all blended together, much as the genuine medieval churches of England were palimpsests of many periods. Though this connection was not made clearly at the time, it would seem that Moore's churches provided the ideal model for the typical Church of England congregation, whose places of worship were often full of unusual corners and whose plans were apparently haphazard. Worship according to the English Use was tailored to fit within a context of spaces that felt as though they had grown over time and drew their atmosphere

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[272] Dunlop's directions have been altered to suit the plan of St Wilfrid's but the order of the scheme is the same. Ibid., 63-64.

from solid, austere massing rather than elaborate detail and refined ornament. That St Wilfrid's

came to be considered, at least by some, as the ideal of the English Use is attested to by John

Betjeman's poem 'Perp. Revival i' the North,' the first stanza of which reads as follows,

> O, I wad gang tae Harrogate
> Tae a kirk by Temple Moore,
> Wi' a tall choir and a lang nave
> And rush mats on the floor;
> And Percy Dearmer chasubles
> And nae pews but chairs,
> And there we'll sing the Sarum rite
> Tae English Hymnal airs.[273]

The perception that in Moore's churches everything was 'just right'[274] contributes substantially to

the conclusion that a suitably stable, widely applicable, and generally appealing English Use

aesthetic was at last reached and that, with the existence of Dearmer's Warham Guild and the

publication of *The English Hymnal*, the movement, in both architecture and ceremonial, finally

gained acceptance with the wider Church of England.[275]

Section iv - *The English Hymnal*

The publication of *The English Hymnal* first in 1906, and then again in 1933, was significant in the

wide dissemination of English Use aesthetics, and not merely in the realm of music for ceremonial

use. Trevor Beeson writes that Dearmer's personal musical taste leaned in the direction of

plainsong, but when it came to finding a hymnal that complemented the English Use, Dearmer was

dissatisfied with the available options.[276] Thus he set out to create a new one, forming a committee

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[273] Stanza 1 of 'Perp. Revival i' the North' in John Betjeman, *Collected Poems* (London: John Murray 1958).

[274] Clarke in *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 294.

[275] Roger Lloyd writes that '*The English Hymnal* did even more for the Church than *The Parson's Handbook*… It was an immediate and a huge success, and its publication forced Anglican hymn singing into new and more creative paths.' Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1966), 155-156.

[276] Trevor Beeson, *The Canons: Cathedral Close Encounters*. (London: SCM Press, 2006), 105.

with himself as general editor and Ralph Vaughan Williams as chief musical editor.[277] Under

Dearmer's direction, *The English Hymnal* was designed to promote a musical aesthetic to

accompany the visual products of English Use architects and the revived sixteenth-century

ceremonial presented as the ideal of English worship. It is also significant to note that the 1906

Preface to the *Hymnal* makes explicit its intention to act as 'a humble companion to the Book of

Common Prayer.'[278] The assumption that undergirds the choice of texts and music is that the *Book*

of Common Prayer is meant to be the English Use of the catholic church. Directions relating to

ceremonial are included in the text and 'this presupposed, or at least hoped for, parish churches with

a liturgical tradition as precisely ordered as that of a Benedictine abbey.'[279] The choice of texts is

suitably liturgical, as Introits, Sequences (to be sung between the Epistle and the Gospel), Office

Hymns (for use at Matins and Evensong), and Processional Hymns are all included.[280]

In the appendices are such chants as 'Ave, rex noster' which is preceded by the instruction: 'At the

chancel gate.'[281] Liturgical instructions of this type demonstrate the relationship between music,

ceremonial, and architecture in the English Use. The direction that 'Ave, rex noster' be sung at a

particular location within the church shows that a regularity was being sought in ceremonial, a

central goal of the Use as outlined by Dearmer. Additionally, it is made clear that a procession is an

integral part of the liturgy with its own set purpose. In regard to this chant in particular it should be

observed that it would be sung under the rood which had just been unveiled of its Lenten array, a

point not made explicitly in the *Hymnal*'s direction but one which scholars of medieval liturgy

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[277] Ibid., 105-6.

[278] Percy Dearmer, ed. *The English Hymnal*, Twelfth Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), iii.

[279] Beeson, 106.

[280] M.P. Draper, 'Percy Dearmer and the English Hymnal' (Oxford: Bocardo and Church Army Press Ltd., 1980), 5.

[281] Dearmer, *The English Hymnal*, 902.

would have understood. The Alcuin Club's *A Directory of Ceremonial: Part II* describes the action as follows:

> The gospel ended, the Procession may move forward and go down the south aisle and up the centre to the rood for the second station, the Choir continuing the hymn [All Glory, Laud, and Honour] meanwhile. When the station is made at the rood, the Clerk unveils the crucifix on it, if this be possible, while the anthem "Hail our King" may be sung by the Chanters, the Clergy and congregation kneeling the while.[282]

To ensure the use of the appropriate music during the procession, the English Hymnal provides, below the setting of 'All Glory, Laud, and Honour,' a note reading: 'At the chancel step.' Then follows a versicle and response for those churches which cannot provide the musical forces necessary for plainchant. A parenthetical note then reads, 'or Hail, our Monarch, p. 902.' For churches lacking a rood, the recreation of a ceremony intended to relate to it would create a sort of spiritual locus, an invisible rood for those with a highly attuned liturgical awareness. Those churches too small to provide a body of chanters could still participate fully in the ceremonial by using the provided spoken versicle and response. Such provision meant that there was no excuse for churches not to attempt some measure of the ceremonial suggested by the *Hymnal*.

Having stated that *The English Hymnal* was merely 'a humble companion to the Book of Common Prayer'[283] its compilers were making it abundantly clear that they believed the ceremonial contained therein, and further explained in other available texts, was exactly that ceremonial the Prayer Book required or, at the very least, permitted. Judged to be primarily a catholic rite, the Prayer Book came to be embellished with all the ceremonial appropriate to such a liturgy and music being a chief part thereof was eagerly provided by the publishers.

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[282] The Alcuin Club, *A Directory of Ceremonial: Part II* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930), 18-19.

[283] Percy Dearmer, ed. *The English Hymnal*, iii.

One final aspect of English Use writing that went beyond pure ceremonial instructions was the emphasis given to the demeanour of the liturgical participants. This was touched on in chapter 1 but it reappears here in relation to musical performance in the context of liturgical movement. There is much attention given in *The Parson's Handbook* to the idea that slovenliness is to be avoided in ceremonial performance.[284] This manifests itself even in the manner in which singers are taught to process. Songmen in particular have a tendency to sway from side to side as they walk. In ensuring a slow and stately pace, this is largely corrected.[285] The congregation are also intended to be attentive and decorous. How much this is the spirit of the aristocracy spilling over into the communal life of the Church is unclear.[286] What is clear is that the dependance of the English Use on accepted social norms of behaviour limited the sensibility greatly. Additionally, there is a kind of studied gentility which permeates the writing and images associated with the English Use which confirms the anonymous commentator in his claim that, 'activity, progress, beauty, refinement, and devotion are allying themselves with the Catholic side.'[287] As Goodhart-Rendel put it in 1933, in remarks that could easily apply to the work of the entire last generation of Gothic revivalists, 'The cultured atmosphere of the older universities floods every cranny of the building, and even when the organ is silent, the air seems to vibrate with the simple sterling hymnody of educated English voices.'[288] Dearmer takes time to note the importance of decorous behaviour on the part of the clergy when he says,

> One need not go far to notice how many of the clergy and other Church officials do as a
> matter of fact stand in a very great need of a few elementary lessons in deportment. Such

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[284] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 7, 47, 233, 244.

[285] For an excellent example of the processional ideal see '1954 King's Carol Service in B/W' at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rr6yZ-deibU

[286] Michael Hall comments that the refinement of Bodley's churches, to which the work both of Comper and Moore owed a debt, 'carried overtones of class that were influenced by a close, complicated connection between social status and Anglo-Catholicism.' Michael Hall, *George Frederick Bodley and the Later Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 254.

[287] Anonymous. *Protestantism and the Prayer Book.*, 1867, quoted in Hall, 254.

[288] Goodhart-Rendel quoted in Hall, 254.

> lessons are needed in all civilized society, not to make one stiff or ceremonious, but to prevent one being stiff, to make one natural and unaffected.[289]

How much Dearmer is here indebted to negative portrayals of an earlier generation of High-Churchmen as effeminate is uncertain but such accusations were common well into the late 1890s and a conscious attempt at ensuring the clergy were 'natural and unaffected' in their behaviour may be reasonably interpreted as, at the very least, a latent attempt at inculcating masculinity or *gravitas* which is as much a part of the English Use sensibility as is the use of Gothic vestments and appareled albs rather than the Baroque chasubles favoured by many more Papalist Anglicans.[290] In fact, the desire that the public demeanour of the clergy reflect a dignified, scholarly nature is an English Use distinctive.[291]

There can be no doubt that wide propagation in the parishes was the aim of the English Use scholars, but with success came substantial problems. Aesthetically, the architectural achievement of the movement culminated in work of Moore's type and what was to come after, in the work of the next generation of architects, such as Walter Tapper and Charles Nicholson, was viewed by certain segments of the artistic community as just more of the same, with Goodhart-Rendel describing such churches as 'so vaguely and timorously traditional.'[292] In fact, Nicholson represents yet another strand of English Use architecture that opened the Church of England to a wider variety of style, ultimately culminating in the aesthetic that accompanied the proposed Prayer book of 1928,

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[289] Dearmer, *Handbook*, 44-45.

[290] I am indebted here to David Hilliard's 'Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality' Vol. 25, No. 2 (Winter 1982) of the journal *Victorian Studies*.

[291] An appeal to the individual personalities of various supporters of the English Use would be superfluous but one characteristic example should suffice. Symondson describes Cyril Garbett, sometime Bishop of Southwark, Winchester, and then Archbishop of York as, 'a naturally reserved man not given to superlatives [whom] some thought inhuman and aloof… [his character was] simple, tranquil, dignified, reverent, and completely Anglican, with all the essentials and no frills.' Such a description could easily be applied to the buildings of Moore and others. Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 150.

[292] Goodhart-Rendel, 256.

where the Western and English Uses came together due to the fresh influence of Patristic studies, particularly in the realm of eucharistic worship.[293] Such a union refreshed the Anglican aesthetic world for a time but, as ever, the question of where to go next reared its head. As will become clear in the following chapters, by the beginning of the 1920s, England's contentment with the Gothic for churches was obvious, though glimmers of a more international approach were beginning to show, especially in the realm of church furnishing. It was only much later that the question of the appropriateness of historically grounded architecture in general became troublesome.

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[293] Charles Kannengiesser describes the apogee of this movement later in the century as follows: 'During the second half of the 20th century, the post-Reformation and post-Enlightenment cultures of Europe experienced, among many other revivals, a patristic revival- one comparable only with the Jansenist revival and the Benedictine patristic revival, both in the 17th century, or with the monastic developments accompanying the so-called Carolingian renaissance of the 9th century. Characterizing this 20th-century patristic revival are two main features: the sheer comprehensiveness of the discipline, and its expanded social dimension.' Charles Kannengiesser, 'The Future of Patristics' Vol. 52 (1991) of the journal *Theological Studies*, 128.

Part II - Growth and Decline 1928 - 1965

Chapter 3 - The English Use After 1928

In the conclusion to the previous chapter it was noted that the evolution of the English Use was to be largely dependent on the absorption of 'Western' principles. In its architecture, because of its worship, the Church of England saw a shift from the pure Gothic of Moore and of Comper's early work to a manner which involved a substantial integration of classical elements into the previously near-exclusively Gothic world. The decades immediately following the first World War were the most fruitful period in Anglican liturgy and architecture since the seventeenth century, when the Caroline Divines successfully integrated the inherent Protestantism of the *Book of Common Prayer* with a catholic approach to liturgy, fostering an Anglican worship that was universally High Church though emphatically not Roman.[294]

The distinction between what was catholic and what was Roman became less important in the twentieth century as recusancy was no longer seen as a threat to the temporal powers.[295] The efforts of organisations like SSPP to Romanise the Prayer Book brought into wider Anglican practice little touches of Baroque ceremonial and, in the realm of church furnishings, experiments in combining the English Altar and the 'big six', six candles on the altar rather than just two, meant that the

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[294] Graham Parry notes that though the term 'High Church' is a Victorian phrase it 'conveys neatly to a modern reader' what occurred the 1620s and 1630s. He suggests Laudianism as a synonym but in the case of the Carolines as a consensus group within the Church of England, Laudianism might be unhelpfully restrictive in temporal scope as much of what characterised the Caroline age, and particularly what was taken in by the later English Use as definitive of Anglican patrimony in art and architecture, came after Laud's demise and the Restoration of the monarchy. Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), xi.

[295] Bishop Wand observes that the Catholic Emancipation Act initially brought about 'fresh fears' in relation to the position of the Church of England in society in the late 1800s. However, the manner in which these fears eventually manifested themselves in the Church was an increase in awareness of the place of Anglicanism within a larger ecclesiastical milieu. J.W.C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), 119-120.

English Use became something more than antiquarianism along the lines proposed by Vernon Staley.[296] Percy Dearmer's assimilation of these changes is observed in later editions of *The Parson's Handbook*, and various publications of the Alcuin Club dating from the 1920s and 1930s show a clear movement toward incorporating ancient ceremonies into the structure of the Prayer Book's somewhat spare liturgical calendar.

Alongside the liturgical manuals, scholarship by men such as W.H. Frere and, after the Second World War, Jardine Grisbrooke brought about a renaissance of catholic theology which fleshed out the already present High-Church strand of Anglicanism discussed in the Introduction of this thesis. It was as though a second Anglican Golden Age of erudition and was beginning just as the outside world began to embrace modernism in its myriad forms. The traditionalism inherent in the writing of the decades from 1920 to 1950 was balanced by a growing desire to reform Anglicanism along the lines of the Early Church, but without giving up the heritage of the Middle Ages. Striking this balance between reform and continuity is what gives this period its flavour.

Setting out the conditions that nourished this particular flowering of the Anglican High-Church tradition is not an easy task. The first chapter of this dissertation examined what might be termed the middle period of advocates for liturgical change. Staley and Dearmer were not the first to present the church of England as essentially catholic though they were the first to present in a cogent way a distinct English Use, apart from what they saw as the muddying influence of Roman guides to ceremonial.[297] In pressing for Englishness and in insisting upon the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* interpreted along catholic lines they reflected those first church of England clergy,

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[296] *Of Ceremonies* is but one of a number of liturgically focused publications from SSPP which endeavoured to instruct the priest in how to celebrate Mass according to the Book of Common Prayer using Roman Ceremonial. Anonymous. *Of Ceremonies*. (London: Society of SS. Peter & Paul, 1918).

[297] Symondson notes that G.F. Bodley's later altars 'followed late-Gothic German and Spanish precedents and were informed by the rubrical demands, based on the *Pontificale Romanum*, of the second edition of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, revised and edited by F.G. Lee in 1865.' Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 78-80.

the Catholic priests who in 1549 accepted the new Prayer Book and proceeded to perform it along

the lines of the old Mass. The generation now under consideration may best be compared to the

Caroline inheritors of that catholic tradition who sought to hold in tension Reformed Protestant

theology and catholic ceremonial while giving no special place to Roman distinctives.

The twentieth-century Carolines, if they may be honoured by such a title, were similarly concerned

with fostering a new path. They sought, through a deep searching of their own venerable tradition, a

revitalised Anglican life bolstered by the scriptures, the Fathers, and manifesting in a unity of

Medieval and Classical ideas which were the natural fodder for a stylistic unity of Gothic and

Classical style.[298] In ceremonial and in its context the effect of works by Frere, Addleshaw,

Grisbrooke, and others was to bring about a subtle revolution in the manner in which Anglican

churches were designed and furnished, moving on from the purity of fifteenth and early sixteenth-

century Gothic but without leaving it behind. One contemporary writer remarked,

> Not many Victorian churches were really reproductions of Gothic churches, complete in
> plan and in fittings. And there are some students who hold that the only chance of real
> development is to proceed on the old lines and allow that development to come
> unconsciously. Hence, perhaps, it is that we begin to see in some quarters a mixing up of
> Gothic, Renaissance and modern detail in a manner that would have horrified the Victorians,
> but which is strangely like what actually happened in the sixteenth and early seventeenth
> centuries.[299]

 As will be seen, the synthesis of ideas and the synthesis of architecture mirrored each other in such

a way that mainstream Anglicanism was endued with subtle freshness.

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[298] More and Cross' magisterial *Anglicanism: the thought and practice of the Church of England illustrated from the religious literature of the seventeenth century* was published at the height of this period (1935) as was Addleshaw's *The High Church Tradition: A Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (1941). Both of these books are characteristic of the temper of the period and are still recommended by clergy to those interested in the thought of the Anglican High Church party.

[299] William G. Newton, ed. 'Old Standards and Modern Problems in Decoration: The Work of the Diocesan Committees' in *The Architectural Review*, vol. LXII July 1927, 28.

The controversy it generated aside, the production of the Prayer Book of 1928 stands as the centre of this galaxy of liturgical and artistic renewal. Thus the year 1928 and the decades following will be taken as the pivot for discussion of the new English Use. As will be seen, the 1928 Prayer Book was a turning point for liturgy in England and its impact on ceremonial and architecture continued beyond the first half of the century despite its never being authorised in its entirety for country-wide use.

This chapter will concern itself with presenting the 1928 *Book of Common Prayer* as the culmination of a lengthy drive towards Prayer Book revision throughout the first decades of the twentieth century. The three proposed Books provided by various organisations will be noted with a short but clear examination of the so-called 'Orange Book' of the Alcuin Club, the chief proponents of the English Use.

Other Alcuin Club publications will be examined, including the various editions of *A Directory of Ceremonial*, and *A Server's Manual*. Dearmer's 1928 edition of *The Parson's Handbook* will similarly be referenced and compared with its 1913 incarnation in an attempt to demonstrate a clear, if subtle, evolution towards a new way of thinking about Anglican liturgy, including a fresh catholicity in relating the Church of England to the other national churches who shared in the Anglican tradition in that period. Music in the parishes will also be examined in an attempt to show the increasing diversity of services and types of music available for these services in the decades before 1950.

Finally, Cyril Pocknee's 1965 revision of Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook* will serve to demonstrate just how far English Use principles had come to permeate the Anglican scene. This book, perhaps more so than others, also shows the degree to which, by the beginning of the 1960s,

liturgical and ceremonial scholarship of the older school had a tendency to be repetitive and self-referential. The later churches discussed in chapter 4 will bear out the same declension. The claims of mid-twentieth-century modernisers and self-proclaimed reformers appear less violent against a backdrop of mass-manufactured Gothic chasubles and thin brick Gothic churches. It is hoped that, by the end of this chapter, the reader will possess a fully-orbed view of just how indebted architecture and church art was to theological evolution and the ensuing liturgical change.

Section i - Prayer Book Revision

When considering the subject of Prayer Book revision, what we saw in the introduction, that the standard for the High-Church party in Anglicanism was always the first Prayer Book of 1549, matters a great deal. A key reason for failure of revision along its lines in the twentieth century was due to the essential difficulty in reconciling the inherent catholicism of that Book and the distinctly Protestant theology of the Prayer Book as settled and enacted on the authority of Parliament in 1662.[300] However, not all calls for revision held up the 1549 Book as the standard and something of the complexity of the history of Prayer Book revision must be presented in order to contextualise the efforts made before the final attempt in 1928.

Following the promulgation of the 1662 Book and the ejection of dissenting clergy, the earliest proposals for revising the Prayer Book were highly Protestant in nature. If Archbishop Sancroft's 1688 Injunctions are to be taken as evidence of the national temper, it was Dissenters and not

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[300] In the 1920s even those who urged the most dramatic revisions of the Church of England's liturgy along catholic lines were content to use the Prayer Book, rearranged in a more catholic order. 'We urge that for the sake of gaining uniformity among ourselves, "for the present distress," and until an adequate revision of our Liturgy can be secured by synodical authority, we should be content to use the words of the present Prayer-book Rite, rearranged in the order of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI.' Norman Powell Williams, 'For the Present Distress: A Suggestion for an Interim Rite' (London: printed for private circulation, 1928), section IV.

Catholics whose goodwill was most to be valued.[301] W.K. Lowther Clarke notes that in 1689 revision was considered 'with a view to reconciling religious differences.'[302] Recommended alterations to the liturgy, though they came to nothing in the end, included many of the changes sought by the Puritan Reformers at the Savoy Conference in 1662. These included the omission of Lessons from the Apocrypha, the substitution of the word 'Priest' with 'Minister,' and making the surplice, kneeling at Communion, and the sign of the cross in Baptism optional.[303] R.C.D. Jasper observes, 'Between 1662 and 1800, therefore, attempts at liturgical revision were mainly the work of Latitudinarians who hoped thereby to secure the comprehension of Dissenters.'[304]

However, lest this be seen as definitive of the future of Anglican liturgical revision Jasper also notes, 'Tory High Churchmen were opposed to all change: a love of the Prayer Book was a feature of the growing body of Evangelicals: and revision to secure the comprehension of Roman Catholics seems never to have been considered.'[305] Even into the 1830s and 40s the 'proposals for liturgical reform betrayed little knowledge of liturgiology. They were still largely based on doctrinal considerations with the comprehension of Dissenters or the easing of tender consciences as their main purpose.'[306] This lack of liturgical understanding, says Lowther Clarke, was in part related to the exodus of the Non-jurors which 'prevented the question of liturgical revision from being seriously raised until the Convocation of 1852.'[307]

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[301] Sancroft's eleven Injunctions 'exhorted [the Bishops] to be faithful and diligent in their duties, watchful against Popery and its agents, and kind and friendly towards Protestant Dissenters.' R.C.D. Jasper, *Prayer Book Revision in England 1800-1900* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), 1.

[302] W.K. Lowther Clarke, 'Prayer Book Revision Since 1662' in *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), 783.

[303] Jasper., 2.

[304] Ibid., 5.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Ibid., 24.

[307] Clarke, 'Prayer Book Revision Since 1662' in *Liturgy and Worship*, 783.

The leaders of the Oxford Movement sought to defend the Prayer Book of 1662. 'They had no desire to tamper with it in order to comprehend dissenters or ease consciences,'[308] says Jasper. Simultaneously, supporters of the Book, though they sought to defend it from alteration, could say in private that, 'The departure of (the Communion Service) from the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, I could cordially regret.'[309] While publicly only obedience to the Book was mentioned, in Tract 38 Newman lamented of some clergy that, 'Not only do we not obey (the Rubrics), but it seems we style them impracticable.'[310]

Obedience, it would seem, was the key feature of a High-Church defence of the Prayer Book. Much like the line taken later by Dearmer in *The Parson's Handbook*, the Prayer Book's supporters in the mid-nineteenth century believed it to be sufficiently catholic in doctrine.[311] But 'it must be noted that the Tractarian approach to the Prayer Book was doctrinal rather than liturgical.'[312] This point is critical. The divide between High and Low, catholic and Protestant, views of the Book of Common Prayer at this time was based entirely on what was said rather than on what one did whilst saying it. The apparent divorce between speech and action was left to the next generation of liturgical scholars to reconcile. On this point, many later supporters of the Prayer Book, Dearmer included, came to view it as needing augmentation, if not complete and total revision, to form their understanding of its theology and its ritual and ceremonial dictates into an unity.

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[308] Jasper, 27.

[309] Ibid. Here Jasper quotes Alexander Knox.

[310] Ibid., 35.

[311] The Protestant view that the Prayer Book's doctrine was not catholic is at the root of the strong evangelical objection to the Proposed Books of 1927 and 1928. 'It is this claim to identify the teaching of our Church with that of Rome that compels true Churchmen to stand up in defence of the true doctrine of Scripture and the Prayer Book and Articles in this subject.' Thomas, 414.

[312] Jasper., 44.

From the mid-1850s most proposals on the catholic side were not for revisions of the Prayer Book but for supplements.[313] Significantly for those who supported a return not only to the form of the 1549 liturgy but to an associated aesthetic as well, a Committee of the Lower House chaired by Archdeacon Freeman recommended a rubric 'making eucharistic vestments compulsory in cathedral and collegiate churches, and optional in parish churches subject to the bishop's permission.'[314] That the Lower House of Convocation should propose such an alteration or, as the catholic side of the Church would have seen it, a clarification, was hugely portentous for future debate on the subject of vestments and ornaments.

Arguments about the exact meaning of the Ornaments Rubric as it pertained to the vesture of ministers, including an attempted 'Cope Compromise', continued into the 1870s. These discussions came to nothing in the end with the rejection of the so-called Convocation Prayer Book in 1879.[315] Committee work continued until 1901, again to no effect. Jasper records, 'The next move of importance occurred in 1904, when the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline was appointed to inquire into alleged breaches of the law of the Church... Thus began the long negotiations resulting in the Prayer Book Measures of 1927 and 1928.'[316]

It would be very easy to see the history of Prayer Book revision, particularly the question of ornaments of the ministers, as either entirely political or as mere liturgical obscurantism. However, the significance attached to the manner in which services were to be performed in the Church was a driving force behind the High-Church contention that something had to be done and the equally

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[313] For a full treatment of some of the major publications, see Jasper, Chapter Six 'Anglo-Catholics and Revision', 74-91.

[314] Ibid., 119.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Ibid., 127.

strong Protestant conviction that were something to be done, the Church of England would lose its status as one of the Reformed Churches and would sink again into Popery and superstition.

William Joynson-Hicks, in *The Prayer Book Crisis* described the Proposed Prayer Book as an attempt 'to impose upon our National Church practices and doctrines which we thought had once and for all been abolished at the Reformation.'[317] The phrase 'practices and doctrines' makes clear that Joynson-Hicks viewed the two as inseparably linked, and no matter the response from men such as Arthur Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, Protestants could not be convinced that form and substance were capable of dichotomy. 'The vestments receive their meaning from the service, and do not give any meaning to it. There is no connection between them and any particular doctrine of sacrifice... [T]here is no symbolism of sacrifice in the chasuble,'[318] argued Headlam. He continued, 'In the Roman Church [the chasuble] is spoken of as the distinctive dress of the priest, but is said to symbolise not sacrifice, but charity. "Accipe vestem Sacerdotalem, per quam caritas intelligitur…" Receive the Priestly garment, by which is signified charity.'[319]

Headlam's scholarly argument aside, he would have found Protestant clerics nonplussed, for Bishop Ryle of Liverpool had long before argued,

> In the Thirty-first and Thirty-second Articles there is a marked distinction made between the Romish priest in the Thirty-first, who is called in the Latin version of the Article, "sacerdos" (a sacrificing priest), and the English priests in the Thirty-second, who are called in the same Latin version "presbyteri." Stronger evidence that the word "priest" in our Prayer Book, means only "presbyter," it would be hard to find... And the conclusion I

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[317] William Joynson-Hicks, *The Prayer Book Crisis* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), v.

[318] Arthur Cayley Headlam, *The New Prayer Book: being a charge delivered to the clergy & churchwardens of the Diocese of Gloucester on the occasion of his second Visitation* (London: John Murray, 1927), 56.

[319] Ibid., 57.

draw is most decided, that the compilers of the articles purposely and deliberately rejected the idea of a sacerdotal and sacrificial ministry.[320]

Whether or not the wearing of the chasuble symbolised charity was beside the point. It was still the assigned garment of a *sacerdos*, a sacrificing priest, and therefore anathema to any holding a consistently Reformed Protestant view of the Church of England. Examples of this kind of talking past one another could be multiplied.

Suffice it to say that although the Bishops, by and large, were not interested in the roots of Protestant complaints, neither were they especially sensitive to Church of England catholics who,

> resented the whole process of revision initiated not by liturgists concerned to enrich
> the Church's worship on grounds of theology, ancient usage, and worthiness of language,
> but by bishops concerned (as they believed) with disciplining the Anglo-Catholic wing of
> the Church... [The Proposed Prayer Book] seemed to them to be aimed primarily at
> suppressing things they held most dear.[321]

Bishop Headlam's Second Visitation Charge adequately spells out what was attempted by the bishops, and its apparent sensitivity to context is exactly why it failed to gain support from both Protestants and Anglo-Catholics. 'I have tried to show how this new book aims at being more Catholic than its predecessor, how it aims at being more evangelical, how it aims at fitting our worship to the conditions of modern life,'[322] he declared. 'Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical, and Modern churchmen,' observed Colin Dunlop thirty years later, 'regarded their mother-church in different

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[320] J.C. Ryle, 'The Distinctive Principles of the Church of England.' Church Association Tract 68 (November 1878, http://archive.churchsociety.org/publications/tracts/CAT068_RyleCofEPrinciples.pdf), 7. It should be noted here that the *Liber Precum Publicarum*, the Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer authorised for use in university chapels does use the Latin 'sacerdos' to mean priest yet, as this was a Caroline translation and not one not intended for public use, it may be reasonably suggested that it has no place in the argument over the priestly nature of the Church of England's ministers.

[321] Colin Dunlop, Chairman, *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England: A Memorandum of the Church of England Liturgical Commission* (London: S.P.C.K., 1958), 11-13.

[322] Headlam, 102.

lights... Never was the truth more plainly revealed that our basic difficulty lies in the fact that the Church of England has never made up its mind about the limits of its comprehensiveness.'[323]

The diversity of theological position accepted in the Church of England as the 1928 Prayer Book came before Parliament is notable. In his Chairman's Introduction to the report *Doctrine in the Church of England*, commissioned in 1922, Archbishop William Temple observes that the Report is not intended 'specifically to commend the doctrine of the Church, but to examine the differences of interpretation current in the Church of England and to elucidate the relations of these one to another.'[324] This the Report does admirably, setting out in four parts The Sources and Authority of Christian Doctrine, The Doctrines of God and of Redemption, The Church and the Sacraments, and Eschatology, each part with several sections and sub-sections.

In the important area of eucharistic theology, the Report presents three main strands of theological thought followed by a note on eucharistic Reservation and Devotions, an important topic of debate at the time.[325] The fact that three distinct theologies are presented demonstrates the movement away from a steadily enforced doctrine of Holy Communion as defined by the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Prayer Book to a new freedom of interpretation. On a practical level, this diversity made the task of revising the Church of England's liturgy nearly impossible from the outset as three differing theologies, two of these positively inimical to each other, had to be accommodated within the same rite and with clear rubrical instruction regarding allowable ceremonies which were themselves to differ according to the theological perspective espoused. The Bishops' task was not enviable.

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[323] Dunlop, *Prayer Book Revision*, 13.

[324] William Temple, ed. *Doctrine in the Church of England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1938), 6-7.

[325] Ibid., 171-186.

Work on the Proposed Book was undoubtedly influenced by a number of representative liturgical proposals on revision from various organisations within the Church. There were three main alternative proposals coming from the three main groups. The green, orange, and grey books, respectively called, represented the Western-Catholic, English Use, and Modernist factions.[326] Protestants, of course, held the anti-revision line *en masse*. In delineating the full extent of English Use liturgical preference and, thereby, setting the foundations for possible architectural manifestation, the Orange Book, published by the Alcuin Club, deserves close examination.

The Orange Book is, in its own words, intended 'to indicate how those schemes [already put forward by the Convocations and National Assembly and in the Green and Grey Books] can be simplified and combined.'[327] The work is successful in that it does indeed manage to synthesise in a clear way the complexities of the other proposals. However, the end result far from resembles the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 and it is the Book of 1549 that is consistently referenced in the notes as the norm for English Church worship.[328]

In terms of ceremonial, the Orange Book offers room for significant enrichment, as the number of optional additions to the service is multiplied. Such additions include an Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and Postcommunion, thereby restoring nearly complete the old structure of the pre-Reformation Mass. The sacrificial nature of the rite is emphasised by a note stating 'It is right that there should always be communicants whenever the sacrifice is offered.'[329]

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[326] Georgina Byrne, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 212.

[327] Alcuin Club Prayer Book Revision Pamphlets XII. 'A Survey of the Proposals for the Alternative Prayer Book Part I. The Order of Holy Communion' (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1923), 6.

[328] Sixteen out of fifty-six notes directly refer to the year 1549. Others mention the Sarum Rite or use phrases like 'ancient use.'

[329] Ibid., 58.

Possible variants provided for the rite would permit an even more explicit replication of the order and theology of the Mass. These include a Preparation to be said by the Priest and ministers with the people kneeling,[330] the use of the Summary of the Law with Kyries rather than the Ten Commandments,[331] Offertory sentences with a sacrificial tone,[332] the inclusion of references to 'the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of thy Son Jesus Christ' and the saints,[333] and the occasional permission to move the Gloria in excelsis to the beginning of the service.[334]

Most of these proposals were reflected in the Proposed Book of 1928 in its final form. A Devotion for the Priest and people following the pattern of the Preparation of the Priest and ministers is provided,[335] along with the option to substitute for the Ten Commandments the Summary of the Law and Kyries.[336] The Benedictus is permitted after the Sanctus[337] and, though not mentioned, one assumes the Agnus Dei to be permissible due to the continuing force of the Lincoln Judgment, which admitted, 'it was not illegal to introduce a hymn or anthem at some points during the service at which there is no order or permission in the Prayer Book for their insertion', the *Agnus* being considered such an hymn.[338] The given Offertory sentences are not as varied as those in the Orange

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[330] Note 3: 'In old times a Preparation for Communion was made before the beginning of the office by priests and ministers. In 1549 this was curtailed.' Ibid., 8-13.

[331] Ibid., 15-17.

[332] Ibid., 21-23.

[333] Ibid., 27.

[334] Note 46: 'The Gloria in Excelsis is a hymn, and not an essential part of the service. There is a certain suitability in singing it at the beginning on Christmas Day.' Ibid, 52.

[335] *The Book of Common Prayer with the Additions and Deviations Proposed in 1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), 734-35.

[336] Ibid., 356-57.

[337] Ibid., 375. The Benedictus is termed 'An Anthem' and 'may be said or sung immediately after the words "Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. Amen."'

[338] Philip Vernon Smith, 'The Lincoln Judgment' in *The Churchman* (Church Society, Sept. 1892), 647. Dearmer, in the eleventh edition of *The Parson's Handbook* (1928), notes, 'The arguments by which the Lincoln Judgment justified the use of the *Agnus* during Communion would, if applied to the *Benedictus*, exclude it from this place in the Old Book.' He is essentially saying that if the *Benedictus* is permitted, logically the *Agnus dei* must be as well. Dearmer, *Handbook* (1928), 337.

Book but there is an implied oblation of the elements of bread and wine as well as the suggestion of a sacrificial priesthood.[339] With these additions and permission for alterations the rite has been moved in a clear catholic direction.

Despite multiple High-Church alterations in various parts of the Book, the most important part of the rite, the Canon, remained open to interpretation. In an attempt to make the consecration prayer sound more catholic, the revisers returned to language reminiscent of the 1549 Prayer Book.[340] Special reference was made to the work of the Holy Spirit on both the eucharistic elements of bread and wine and on the people who were to receive the elements.[341] Such language was a clear departure from the doctrine of the 1662 Book which made no such special reference to the Holy Spirit and was concerned primarily with the manner of reception on the part of the people.[342] However, the 1928 Canon lacked specificity regarding exactly how the Holy Spirit worked during the communion. By implying the Spirit's activity on the elements as well as the people, the Bishops were attempting to satisfy those who held a catholic doctrine of the sacrament as well as those whose views were classically Protestant and informed by Cranmer's doctrine of receptionism.[343] Naturally, this theological fudge pleased no one and became one of the central contributing factors

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[339] The Sentences in question are, 'I will offer in his dwelling an oblation with great gladness: I will sing and speak praises unto the Lord.' and 'Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine; and he was the priest of the most high God.' *BCP 1928*, 361.

[340] 'Heare us (O merciful father) we besech thee: and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to blesse and sanctifie these thy giftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy most derely beloved sonne Jesus Christe.' Vernon Staley, ed. *The First Prayer Book of Edward VI* (London: The De La More Press, 1903), 282.

[341] 'Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and with thy Holy and Life-giving Spirit vouchsafe to bless and sanctify both us and these thy gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to the end that we, receiving the same, may be strengthened both in body and soul.' *BCP 1928*, 368-69.

[342] 'Hear us, (O mercifull Father), we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy Creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Iesus Christs holy Institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.' *The Book of Common Prayer from the Original Manuscript attached to The Act of Uniformity of 1662, and now preserved in the House of Lords* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892), 251.

[343] The doctrine of the *Book of Common Prayer* on the question of worthy reception may be deduced from Article XXVIII of the 39 Articles which states, 'The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.'

to the failure of the Book in Parliament. Still, the Book's existence and its clear status as being produced by the will of the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation created an environment in which it became the unspoken standard for the High-Church party. All liturgical manuals produced with the English Use in mind must be read in relation to it, their ceremonial suggestions being an attempt at filling out what were perceived as its deficiencies.[344]

Section ii - *A Directory of Ceremonial,* vols. I and II

The *Book of Common Prayer*'s rubrics describing the ceremonies to be performed during worship have always been limited, the details passed down instead by custom.[345] It was left to individuals and organisations concerned with propagating a certain type of ceremonial to fill in the details which the rubrics of the Proposed Prayer Book did not describe. On the Western Use side there were such publications as *Ritual Notes* which, by 1935, had passed into eight editions and was essentially a guide to performing the Prayer Book rite as though it were the Roman Mass.[346] In the Preface to the first edition of 1894, heavy criticism is laid on those who

> prefer a dead and buried Use, the adoption of which would put us out of harmony with the rest of the Western Church, and the rules of which are so lost in obscurity that the few distinctive features which can be ascertained, need to be supplemented for practical purposes, by 'fancy ritual' or by a large infusion of the directions of that very Use which its opponents delight in stigmatising as 'Italian Ceremonial.'[347]

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[344] Perhaps the most unexpected result of the failure of the Proposed Book was the later validation of most of its content in the 1965 Alternative Services Measure which permitted alterations and additions to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer which had, by that time, been in use in some places for the past thirty years. Common usage forced the leadership of the Church to permit what they could not censure. For a Protestant reaction to the Measure, see John Simpson, 'The New Alternative Services' in *The Churchman* (Church Society, 1966), 26-33.

[345] 'The English ritual, like all the more ancient liturgical books, contains only the barest outlines of such [ceremonial] instruction; the details are left to be filled in now, as formerly, by custom and tradition; a young priest learns from the more experienced how he shall bear himself in this sacred ministration.' Alcuin Club, *A First English Ordo*, 5.

[346] Henry Cairncross, E.C.R. Lamburn, and G.A.C. Whatton, *Ritual Notes* (London: Knott & Son Ltd., 1935).

[347] Ibid., viii.

In criticising those who 'prefer a dead and buried Use', heavy animus is placed on English Usagers. Their revival of late medieval ceremonial, it is argued, is essentially an invention that unnecessarily separates the Church of England from the Catholic Church on the Continent. The two volume *Pictures of the English Liturgy* takes a similar line. (Figure 3.1) Published in 1916 and 1922 and beautifully illustrated by Martin Travers, the text and images reference not only the current Roman manner of celebration but also the English Prayer Book of 1549 which is assumed to be nothing less than a vernacular translation of the Mass.[348]

Such strong statements on correct ceremonial from the Western side required an English Use response and the Alcuin Club's publications were intended as a more distinctly Anglican, or at least English, rejoinder. The first volume of *A Directory of Ceremonial* was published in 1921 and its companion volume in 1930.[349] Both were revised in several editions, the first volume having run to four editions by 1947 and the second to two editions by 1950. The significant differences between the earlier and later editions will be discussed later in this section.

As published in 1921, *A Directory of Ceremonial* possessed a clear function described in its preface. It was intended to provide a practical guide to ceremonial that understood the Book of Common Prayer as the authentic English rite.[350] Where the Prayer Book rubrics were unclear, supplementary matter was taken from English sources. Additionally, it explained in simple language varying degrees of ceremonial elaboration so that it could be used in a wide variety of churches with differing resources.[351] As ceremonial must be performed in a context it also provided in its first chapters details on the Church and Its Furniture (Ch. I), The Ornaments of the Ministers (Ch. II),

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[348] S.S.P.P. *Pictures of the English Liturgy: Low Mass* (London: S.S.P.P., 1916). *High Mass,* 1922.

[349] The Alcuin Club, *A Directory of Ceremonial, Vol I.* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1921). *Vol II*, 1930.

[350] Ibid., i-v.

[351] Ibid., iii-v.

and Some Customs of the Church (Ch. III) which included not only customary congregational behaviours but information on Processions and Church Music in which plainsong was described as 'most suitable.'[352] By setting out the ceremonial instructions following description of architectural arrangement and vesture the members of the Alcuin Club responsible for the *Directory*'s authorship were making clear that their understanding of the English Use was one which encompassed the liturgy, its performance, and its context.

The prescriptions regarding church design and furnishing are such as would be recognised by Staley and Dearmer decades earlier. The plan of the typical church must be pulled from the text, as it is only indirectly described, but it is assumed that the nave and chancel will be distinct spaces. A rood screen is suggested, as are returned stalls.[353] The sanctuary levels are clearly set forth,[354] as are the sedilia,[355] credence table, and piscina.[356] The form of altar is assumed to be 'English', with riddel posts and curtains,[357] and a west gallery for the choir is mentioned,[358] thereby presenting the chancel as an uncluttered space fit for dignified movement. The font is intended to be placed at the west end of the nave.[359] Other details, altar candles and linens, are spoken of as is the practice of

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[352] Ibid., 18.

[353] 'The chancel may be separated from the nave by a screen or beam on which may stand the Rood... The chancel contains the seats for the Clergy, which should, if possible, face east.' Ibid., 2.

[354] 'Before the altar there may be one, two, or three steps, but there should never be more than three. The steps should not have a rise of more than 5 ins., and their tread should not be narrower than 24 ins., the top one or footpace being not less than 30 ins.' Ibid.

[355] 'The seats for the ministers are on the south side. The Celebrant sits in the easternmost, the Deacon next on his left, and the Subdeacon on the left of the Deacon.' Ibid.

[356] 'The credence table is on the south side of the altar... In the eastern part of the south wall, or the southern part of the east wall, there may be a niche containing the basin and drain called the piscina.' Ibid., 5.

[357] 'Behind the table of the altar there rises immediately the reredos or the textile hanging called the dorsal... On either side of the reredos or dorsal there may be "riddels" or curtains hanging on rods at right angles to the east wall and close to the ends of the altar. Sometimes the rods from which they hang are supported upon two or four pillars near the corners of the altar. Neither reredos nor dorsal should ordinarily rise above the sill of the east window. In some cases there may also be a tester or canopy over the altar.' Ibid., 3.

[358] 'The Choir may also be in a west gallery or in the body of the church.' Ibid., 2.

[359] 'The font stands near the principal door or in the midst of the west end of the nave.' Ibid., 1.

reservation of the sacrament which may be in a pyx or a 'sacrament house.' Tabernacles are forbidden.[360]

The fact that an entire church building could, with some imagination, be designed from a book intended to provide instruction on ceremonial proves just how interwoven the two disciplines of liturgy and architecture can be and the extent to which the English Use depended on the harmonious relation of performance and context. Additionally, the church outlined in the *Directory* accords neatly with the frontispiece from Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* and demonstrates the degree to which the English Use had become, in a very short time, a clearly defined and well-articulated manner of design and liturgical performance.

In its very concrete claims about the correctness of a given manner of conducting services, the English Use's strict adherence to scholarly precedent can sometimes seem dryly pedantic. Yet the conflict between order and disorder, obedience and disobedience, at least as the English Usagers understood it, necessitated such specificity. The only illustrations included in the 1921 edition of the *Directory* are line drawings illustrating the various ornaments of the ministers. Plates II, III, IV, V, and VI are typical of English Use prescriptions and show apparels on both amices and albs (Figure 3.2). The priest's chasuble and subdeacon's tunicle are both very full, as is the clerk's alb. Such generously cut vestments imply dignified movement; limbs could easily become encumbered in folds of cloth were the priest and ministers to make swift movements.

Such details regarding vesture may seem unimportant at first glance but they are not mere details to complete the picture, a flawless imitation of a fifteenth-century miniature. They are important

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[360] 'If the Eucharist is reserved for the sick, it may be kept either- 1. In a pyx hanging above the altar, or 2. In a pyx standing in a "Sacrament House" in the wall on the north side of the altar. What is known as an altar tabernacle is excluded by the terms of the Ornaments Rubric, and is no part of the tradition of the Church of England.' Ibid., 5.

depictions of the ceremonial of the Prayer Book rite. English Use publications such as *A Directory of Ceremonial* emphasised not only the architectural context of the liturgy and the ornaments of the church and ministers, but the actions and demeanour of those conducting the services. It may be thought that behaviour is something indifferent to architecture but the English Use, concerned as it was with a proper performance of ceremonial, was no less concerned that this proper performance be maintained with a certain decorum, a fact that has already been discussed and that section iii of this chapter will make even more clear. The comparison between liturgy and drama is an appropriate one, and just as a play written for the stage includes directions for the actors intended to enhance their performance, so liturgical writing throughout the early twentieth century includes commentary on the postures and attitudes of the servers, just as it had earlier emphasised the same as regarding the clergy.

A Directory of Ceremonial as reissued in its fourth edition in 1947 retains the same temper as well as much of the same content.[361] However, its illustrations provide for a deeper understanding of exactly what the English Use ideal was and how it could be implemented in a parish, or rather how it ought to be. The addition of a frontispiece of Continental origin brings to light the degree to which the English Use was developing beyond affectionate medievalism, if indeed it had ever been merely that (Figure 3.3). Additionally, a line drawing titled 'The Prayer for the Church', originally included in the 1935 publication *A Server's Manual for the Holy Communion*, reinforces the understanding of the Use as requiring a certain architectural context rather than simply being a manner of performance of a given liturgy (Figure 3.4).[362]

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[361] The Alcuin Club, *A Directory of Ceremonial, Vol I.* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.), 1947.

[362] The Alcuin Club. *A Server's Manual for the Holy Communion.* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.), 1935.

Also included in the appendix to the 1947 edition of *A Directory of Ceremonial* are the same black

and white photographs issued twenty years earlier in *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* (Figure

3.5).[363] They show various moments of a Solemn High Mass according to the *Book of Common*

Prayer. The omission of the image 'The Decalogue' suggests that the rite in use takes advantage of

the Proposed Prayer Book's option to replace the Decalogue with the Summary of the Law and

Kyries.

Reproducing photographs from the 1920s in a publication from the 1940s intended to present the

ideal of modern ceremonial may be understood as representative of the ideal of the English Use,

legally correct and therefore unchanging. The architectural ideal of Ninian Comper's church of St.

Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, stands in perfect synchrony with the mid-sixteenth century ideal posited

by the Ornaments Rubric. However, a shift in the medievalising emphasis of the Use shows through

in the frontispiece to the *Directory*, an image titled 'A Renaissance Altar.'[364]

It has been observed in earlier chapters that what was English in the Middle Ages was often also

continental.[365] Once this stylistic catholicity was established in the medieval revival of the twentieth

century, it was only natural that evolution should occur as it had in the milieu it imitated. Expanding

the period of acceptable artistic precedent to include the Renaissance was a significant step and

would have lasting effect on the question of the English Use, for it could not remain insularly and

distinctly English if it knowingly incorporated foreign elements that were clearly post-Reformation.

And, significantly for the development of Anglican liturgy, if foreign aesthetic elements were

permitted, no further conceptual barrier remained to foreign ceremonial. Objections to continental

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[363] The Alcuin Club. *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1924. The pages on which the plates are shown are not numbered.

[364] *A Directory of Ceremonial, Vol I.* (1947), frontispiece.

[365] As of church furnishing in Chapter I.

(Italian, even) ceremonial could not be sustained while continental furnishings flourished. The eventual impact of this confluence of liturgical principles will be remarked upon in the conclusion.

The fact that the frontispiece of the *Directory* is French in origin is extremely significant and it represents the care with which continental influence was allowed to enter the English milieu. Stephen Hurlbut writes, 'Of all the English "Uses" that of Sarum was the most important. Established at Salisbury by S Osmund about 1085, it closely resembled that of Rouen, and because of its connection with Normandy it retained certain "Gallican" features.'[366] Though no English Use authors go so far as to state it explicitly, it is reasonable to suggest from the images they selected to represent their ideals that they believed the appearance of the English Church would have been very much like that in various parts of France, particularly Paris, Bourges, and Rouen, had their been no Reformation beyond that of the second year of the reign of Edward VI.[367] Therefore the altar shown in the frontispiece could conceivably have been an English Altar of about 1700 if there had been no return to Protestantism after the death of Queen Mary. In fact, High-Church furnishings of the Caroline period attest to the incorporation of Classical motifs which might have developed further had the Latitudinarian faction not triumphed in the Church hierarchy during the eighteenth century.[368]

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[366] Stephen A. Hurlbut, ed., *The Liturgy of the Church of England Before and After the Reformation together with the Service of Holy Communion of the Episcopal Church in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The St. Alban's Press, 1941), 1. Hurlbut was Master of Classics at St Alban's School in Washington, D.C. from 1921 to 1947.

[367] This suggestion also may be supported by an appeal to *Des Livres De Liturgie Des Eglises D'Anglaterre (Salisbury, York, Hereford) Imprimes A Rouen Dans Les XVe Et XVIe Siecles* which includes a full catalogue of English liturgical books printed in Rouen between 1492 and 1556. The converse between French and English printers and the full gamut of liturgical books available demonstrates the continual closeness between France and England also found in church furnishing and manuscript illumination.

'The books of the celebrated Church of Salisbury, which one encounters in the largest numbers consist in Missals, Breviaries, Manuals, Processionals, Books of Hours, Primers, and Hymnaries.' Eduard Frere, *Des Livres* (Rouen: Henry Boissel, 1867), 9-10.

[368] One striking example of the elegance to which such furnishings attained is the font at Canterbury Cathedral presented by Bishop Warner of Rochester in 1639. Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547- c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Figure 8.

The altar as shown in the frontispiece of *A Directory of Ceremonial* (1947) could be reconstructed using bits of several of Ninian Comper's works from the 1920s. Comper's conversion from fully convinced Gothicist to lover of all things Mediterranean, and therefore Classical, began around 1910 and by the middle 20s he had created a number of elegant pieces which embody the stylistic currents appearing in the Alcuin Club tracts. Comper's 1910 reredos for Merton College Chapel (Figure 3.6) could neatly fit into the frame of Corinthian column riddle posts and the elegant pyx-bracket in the form of an angel holding a scrolling vine installed in the lady chapel of Grosvenor Chapel, Mayfair in 1922 (Figure 3.7) is of similar design to that shown in the frontispiece.[369] The earlier continuity among liturgical scholars and designers of church furnishings that produced idealised visions of the fifteenth century were now working to foster a vision of the catholic Church of England untouched by some of the more unpleasant episodes of the Reformation.[370]

Significantly for church furnishing, reservation of the sacrament became a focus of discussion in the 1920s, and remained a significant point of contention well into the century.[371] Against every clear directive in the Articles and Prayer Book of 1662, yet completely in accord with the directives of the Proposed Book of 1928, catholic-minded scholars advocated a return to reservation.[372] They did so, however, with a twist. To avoid exact imitation of the Roman cult of the Blessed Sacrament and thereby prove themselves loyal sons of the Church of England they decried tabernacles and embraced the pre-Reformation method of reservation most common in England, the hanging pyx.

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[369] The triple crown cover for the pyx dates from 1946. Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, gazetteer, 282.

[370] Some undoubtedly would have preferred their to have been no Reformation at all but the Alcuin Club school of scholars seem to lean towards a mild doctrinal reformation along the lines of Henry VIII's *King's Book* and a liturgical revision akin to the first *Book of Common Prayer* of 1549.

[371] In a lengthy two-part article dating from 1939, Sydney Carter, D.D., then Principal of Clifton Theological College, argued against reservation on the basis of the Church of England's formularies and historical practice. 'Reservation' in *The Churchman*, July-Sept. 1939, 117-125 and Oct.-Dec. 1939, 179-192. As late as 1971, R.T. Beckwith could write a piece entitled 'Do the Alternative Services Legalise Reservation?', also in *The Churchman*, Autumn 1971, 205-213.

[372] The views of W.H. Frere may be taken as representative. He wrote in 1921 that, 'As to Reservation I cannot help feeling that we ought to make provision that no one should die without the Sacrament... [I]n a well-worked parish of whatever ecclesiastical outlook that the Reserved Sacrament should be at any time available for a dying communicant.' R.C.D. Jasper, ed. *Walter Howard Frere*, 86.

In 1923 the Alcuin Club published a pamphlet titled *Reservation: Its Purpose and Method* which

upheld the hanging pyx and provided two striking examples of its use that blurred the lines between

England and the Continent by an appeal to French practice a full twenty years prior to the 1947

revision of *A Directory of Ceremonial* and its Parisian 'Renaissance Altar.'[373] In arguing for the use

of the hanging pyx the writer of the pamphlet observed, 'Many minds are attracted by the beauty of

the hanging silver dove, by the symbolism of the Presence hovering between earth and heaven, and

by the mysterious suggestiveness of the floating pyx veiled in fine linen.'[374] Illustrations provided

in the pamphlet bear out the two different pyxes described, the silver dove, and that veiled in fine

linen, with illustrations of the Gothic pyx designed by Comper for the Conventual Chapel of the

Holy Name, Malvern Link (Figure 3.8) and the eucharistic dove of Amiens Cathedral (Figure

3.9).[375]

The pamphleteer's attitude to style is indecisive. In simultaneously presenting as examples to be

followed one late-medieval hanging pyx and one post-Tridentine baroque eucharistic dove, the

author seems to say that neither manner of reservation nor any particular style of ornament of the

pyx and its canopy may lay claim to greater respect. Just as the frontispiece of *A Directory of*

Ceremonial was to advocate the use of Classical vocabulary within what previously had been

presented as a uniquely Gothic form, so it would seem the illustrations in *Reservation* were

carefully selected to promote thinking of style in a way that was not aesthetically sectarian, but

inclusive. The Gothic and the Classical, in this case the Baroque, could coexist in a manner that

provided equal honour to both and denigrated neither but cautiously suggested the progressive

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[373] The Alcuin Club. *Reservation: Its Purpose and Method*. (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.), 1953.

[374] Ibid., 33.

[375] A strange caption, seemingly opposing the notion that the pyx is not a Roman fancy, reads, 'The Reserved Sacrament raised to that position which Rome will not allow to be disturbed, and gives as a counsel of perfection.'

development of catholicism in the Church without reference to the upheaval of the Reformation.

Such an attitude could not but have an effect on ceremonial and it is to *A Directory of Ceremonial,*

vol. II we must look to see the result of such careful integration of English and Western Use. It will

be demonstrated that this union of what had been thought of as inimical aesthetic ideals shaped the

English Use well into the middle of the twentieth century and prompted the development of what

might well be considered a distinct 'Anglican Use' which retained the best of what was English and

yet admitted Continental development.

The first edition of *A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. II* was published in 1930 and its introduction

states its aims clearly.[376] It was intended to supplement the earlier *Directory, vol. I* by providing full

instruction regarding special days of the liturgical year as enriching the existing pattern of services

provided in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The instructions themselves were 'based on practices

which obtained in some English Cathedrals during the Middle Ages'[377] but altered 'for churches

which are served by at least two clergymen.'[378] Both full and reduced forms of ceremonies were

provided to allow virtually any parish to undertake the ancient ceremonies, provided they obtained

permission from the Ordinary.[379]

A Directory, vol. II presents the seasons of Advent and Lent along with Holy Week and the major

feasts of Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Candlemas, with their full additional ritual and

ceremonial. In Advent the great 'O' antiphons, so called for their opening poetic apostrophe, are

suggested for use at the Magnificat during Evensong.[380] During Lent, it is suggested that all images,

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[376] The Alcuin Club, *A Directory of Ceremonial, Vol. II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1930).

[377] Ibid., iii.

[378] Ibid., iv.

[379] 'It will be noted that the right of bishops to authorise additional services, not in substitution for those contained in the revised Prayer Book, is affirmed in the Prayer Book Measures of 1927 and 1928.' Ibid., iii.

[380] Ibid., 1.

pictures, etc. be veiled in linen according to custom.[381] The ceremonies of imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the carrying of palms and singing of the Passion on Palm Sunday, the stripping of the altars on Maundy Thursday, the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, the blessing of the New Fire and Pascal Candle and the singing of the 'Exultet' on Easter-even, and the blessing and distribution of candles at Candlemas are all revived with the prayers provided at the end of the book in a section titled 'Forms of Service.' All of these ceremonies, along with the traditional alterations to mark the seasons of Advent and Lent, had been removed from the Prayer Book in the sixteenth century. That they were now re-presented as supplements to the Prayer Book demonstrates the degree to which a large section of the Church was desirous of returning not only to some catholic doctrines (as the 1938 Report on Doctrine showed) but to the full catholic ceremonies.

The impact such a revival of ancient ceremonies had on church architecture and furnishing is shown in the *Directory, vol. II* through diagrams drawn by W.H. Randoll Blacking which show the position of clergy, ministers, and servers within a typical English Use church.[382] The furnishings required for the full performance of the ceremonies are all those noted forty years earlier by Micklethwaite in *The Ornaments of the Rubric* and the arrangement of the chancel is exactly that of *The Parson's Handbook* frontispiece. From the diagrams, one may envision the ideal English Use church. Again, a book ostensibly about ceremonial provides enough information that, with a little imagination, an entire church can be pictured. Such is the link between ceremony and context that the one cannot function properly without the other.

The diagrams present the following:

      Diagram 1, 'Candlemas'

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[381] Ibid., 9.

[382] That is to say, a church the plan of which is a composite of medieval planning and which is fitted with English Use furnishings such as an English Altar.

The chancel having a stone altar with riddel posts and curtains on a footpace with two further steps below and one additional step between the sanctuary and the quire (marked by the altar rail). A three-seat sedilia and piscina are built into the south wall and an aumbry into the north. Two standard candlesticks are placed on the subdeacon's step (Figure 3.10).

Diagram 2, 'Ash Wednesday'
The western end of the quire divided from the nave by a rood screen. The clergy stalls are returned and the quire is set one step up from the nave floor (Figure 3.11).

Diagram 4, 'Palm Sunday (II)'
The church has two aisles (Figure 3.12).

Diagram 5, 'Easter Eve (I)'
The font placed at the west end of the nave at the centre. There is also a south porch (Figure 3.13).

Diagram 6, 'Easter Eve (II)'
The Pascal Candlestick is shown in its place on the deacon's step in the sanctuary (Figure 3.14).

The diagrams in the first edition of the *Directory, vol. II* are further supplemented in the second edition of 1950 by photographs of some of the ceremonies in performance.[383] Additionally, an harmonisation has been attempted between the *Directory*, *The English Hymnal* and *Services in Holy Week*. The continuing development of music in the parishes in the twentieth century will be discussed in section iii of this chapter.

The photographs included in the second edition of the *Directory, vol. II* show 'The Giving of Palm' on Palm Sunday (Figure 3.15), 'Singing the Passion' on Good Friday (Figure 3.16), and 'Lighting the Pascal Candle' on Easter Even (Figure 3.17). Of these, it is the latter two which have some import for architecture and furnishing and most clearly set out the intention of the English Usagers regarding the ceremonies shown therein. 'Singing the Passion' shows a chancel stone-paved in black and white diamonds with a single row of choir stalls on each side. In the centre stands a double-sided lectern of the sort seen in many medieval illuminations and principally used for

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[383] The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Vol. II*. (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.), 1950.

singing the gospel at the eucharist. Other chancel furnishings may be seen in 'Lighting the Pascal Candle' where an English Altar stands on the top of a series of low steps. It is backed by a dossal. The riddel posts are painted with chevron patterns and topped by angels holding tapers. On the altar itself are placed two candles. In both images the customary vestments are worn, plain albs with apparelled amices in the former and albs and amices with apparells as well as tunicles in the latter. These are generously cut and made from silk with contrasting coloured orphreys.

Several strains of Anglican aesthetic history are visually united herein, and the perception of permanence, or of timelessness, the character of having always been there, that accompanies a church building much modified over centuries is shown to be achievable in a relatively newly-constructed church.[384] The black and white chancel pavement recalls those laid down in the 1620s and 30s during the Laudian reformation when in many places, 'the floor and the ascent were paved with black and white marble.'[385] The rest of the furnishings and ornaments generally recall the late middle ages but of no distinct date. Such furnishings could serve as evocations of memory, bringing to mind other churches in other places with varied histories. It is as though there could be contained, by aesthetic suggestion, the whole history of the Church of England in one new building. Such furnishings and ornaments of the ministers were seemingly from all time and no time, all places and nowhere, thereby uniting both the clergy and the laity in a truly catholic liturgical action which had as its end the glory of God who was himself beyond time and place yet constantly active in both.

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[384] Speaking of a similar aesthetic sensibility in country house design, Clive Aslet comments, 'It was nothing less than to reproduce the exact appearance of an old… building, so that it genuinely did look like the real thing… The taste was immensely popular in the 1920s, when the old buildings of the English countryside seemed more than ever to recall an idyllic pre-Industrial age, incapable of producing the recent horrors of mechanised destruction which had scarred the imagination of the civilized world.' Clive Aslet, *The Edwardian Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Francis Lincoln Limited, 2012), 145.

[385] Fincham and Tyacke, 229.

The propagation of a certain aesthetic, an overall effect, was seen in the early publications of liturgical writers like Staley, where images of church interiors and men in vestments fleshed out an historical argument. Now, in the second generation of texts, changing circumstances and a more permissive attitude towards the catholic ceremonies permitted images, photographs of the ceremonies taking place in real churches, that were not staged but were reflective of authentic practice in some churches. Seeing what could be done might have been all that was required for some clerical readers to implement similar practices in their churches. The genius of the Alcuin Club's *A Directory of Ceremonial* was its simple explanation of the ancient customs and the ease with which it made their texts and the requisite ceremonial actions available. In providing both complex and simplified versions of the ceremonies described it allowed even the smallest churches to partake in the renewal of catholic worship in the Church of England. That the *Directory, vol. II* as published in its second edition harmonised with *The English Hymnal* further promoted a unity in the elements of worship that produced an atmosphere which its advocates believed was suited to the temper of the national Church of the day. For those larger churches with the resources to do so, *Services in Holy Week* and *A Liturgical Service for Good Friday* offered further potential for the creation of an unprecedentedly catholic Holy Week, a scheme that, despite its deviation from the spirit of the *Book of Common* Prayer of 1662, was firmly in keeping with that of the Proposed Book of 1928 and with the general trajectory of the Anglican Church in the first third of the twentieth century.[386]

Section iii - Music and Ceremonial in the Parishes

The English Use has thus far been presented as a totally encompassing aesthetic, a synthesis of architecture and other arts with the movement and drama of the liturgy. In chapter 2, music was

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[386] J.H. Arnold, ed. *Services in Holy Week*. (Faith Press: Westminster, 1952).

touched on as a complement to ceremonial, but such music was limited to hymns and chants used either within the existing framework of Prayer Book services or during processions appended to these. Under the Prayer Book Measures, permission was granted to bishops to authorise other services such as the ceremonies of Holy Week, and a new landscape of liturgical music was revealed.[387] The English Use was freed to come into its own as a fully catholic mode of expression including all the ancient rites and ceremonies, accompanied not only by refined late-medieval architecture, glass, and textiles, but by elegant music performed by choirs and coped chanters, a revival of the medieval rulers of the choir. In *Services in Holy Week* and *A Liturgical Service for Good Friday* may be found the ideal for the large well-equipped parish seeking to follow the English Use in its entirety.[388]

Services in Holy Week was a 1952 reissue of a chant manual of 1910 that was originally intended for use at the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield. Its preface sets out the new intention of it being used in the parishes: 'The book's having fallen out of print seemed a fitting opportunity for bringing it out in a form which would make it suitable for use in parochial churches, as their is a demand for such use.'[389] In that it is filled with page upon page of plainchant one would be forgiven for viewing it as having little impact on the English Use goal other than fostering the requisite sound environment. However, as with many other of the publications of the period, the ceremonial instructions provide a window into the synthesis of music and liturgical planning which

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[387] 'In July 1929 the Archbishop of Canterbury moved a resolution in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury which stated that 'in the present emergency and until other order be taken', in view of the approval given by the Convocations to 'the proposals for deviations from and additions to the Book of 1662, as set forth in the Book of 1928', the bishops could not 'regard as inconsistent with loyalty to the principles of the Church of England the use of such additions or deviations as fall within the limits of these proposals'. The resolution was passed by 23 votes to 4.' 'Alternative Services: Series One' https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/texts/1928.aspx

[388] Permission to perform the Holy Week ceremonies at last fulfilled the desire of those who met at the Hickleton Conference in 1911 and declared that reunion with Rome should begin with 'the full Holy Week ceremonies as laid down in the Roman Missal, as well as the liturgical functions on Ash Wednesday and Candlemas…' Peter Anson, *The Benedictines of Caldey: The Story of the Anglican Benedictines of Caldey and their Submission to the Catholic Church* (London: The Catholic Book Club, 1940), 135.

[389] Arnold, *Services in Holy Week*, 1.

characterised the Use from its inception. One example of this synthesis should suffice, and it is the

Procession of Palm Sunday which includes instructions which assume the presence of a rood

screen, 'a very elevated position'[390] within the church (a rood loft perhaps), a rood group atop the

screen or loft, a step up into the chancel, and at least one step at the sanctuary.[391] For the music

outlined in *Services* to be performed in its proper context assumes a church designed and fitted out

for the ancient catholic ceremonies which are presented as supplements to the services of the Prayer

Book.

Congregational singing was similarly fostered by the English Use and *The English Hymnal*,

discussed more fully in chapter 2, continued to be an aid, its twelfth impression having been issued

by 1958.[392] Another volume intended to play a significant role in the revival of the medieval sense

of community within the parish was *The Oxford Book of Carols*. Published in 1928 and in its

twentieth impression by 1951 it, was produced in association with Percy Dearmer and Ralph

Vaughan Williams who, along with Martin Shaw, aimed at preserving and reworking the English

folk tradition for modern congregations.[393] Containing carols for all seasons of the year, the

compilers of *The Oxford Book of Carols* presented it for use in many contexts.

> We hope that the lovely old tunes in this book will be more and more sung by people in
> their own homes. We hope also that they will be increasingly sung in halls, from the
> modest village institute to the fully equipped concert hall. The revival of village life and
> the desire to relieve the hideous secularity of our great towns may well lead to a demand

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[390] The full text of the instruction reads: 'The cross-bearer, taperers, thurifer, clerk, and Ministers turn to the left outside the screen: "seven boys, from a very elevated position" (or seven voices from the congregation) begin Glory and praise, and the procession then goes out of the door. [The Prophet and his companion follow the chanters]: then come the singers of the Hymn and the rest of the congregation.

The hymn is sung while the circuit is made outside, and the return is made so that the Ministers arrive at the Chancel step when the hymn is done.' Ibid., 11.

[391] Ibid., 12.

[392] Percy Dearmer, general editor and Ralph Vaughan Williams, musical editor. *The English Hymnal with tunes*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

[393] Percy Dearmer, *The Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928).

for the use of carols in out-door processions and festivities in spring and summer as well as at Christmas.[394]

Such ambitions were an attempt at reviving, insofar as possible in the modern age, the ancient tradition of the village ale which, during the medieval period, had bound members of the community together and ensured the continuing presence of the Church in everyday life.[395] The appeal of carols to the modern age and the perceived need for more opportunities for informal worship also drove the production of the *Oxford Book*: "A new type of informal Sunday service is possible now that so many carols are readily accessible."[396]

The need for increased emphasis on singing in services was acknowledged by writers such as C. Henry Phillips, whose book *The Singing Church* was published in 1945.[397] Its author's intention is made clear in the second paragraph of the introduction, which deserves quoting at length.

> It became clear, however, that some such book was needed by students of church music which brought together the knowledge scattered through many famous authorities; church musicians need to equip themselves with a full knowledge of the subject in order ultimately to bridge the gap and allay misunderstanding between the very unmusical parson and the very musical but unknowledgeable organist. The better type of church musician today is not merely a good organist: he aspires to understand the history not only of his own musical art but also of its close connection with the liturgy it serves.[398]

Phillips' writing continues the theme of fastidious liturgical performance introduced by Dearmer in *The Art of Public Worship* twenty years previous, and worship as an activity to be experienced by the laity is laid out by Phillips as requiring an engaged imagination. He says, 'Worship, sprung from

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[394] Ibid., xxvi.

[395] 'The ales were also a lynchpin of social life, the *raison d'etre* of the church houses. Theirs was a religious as well as social reality, since, in their shared feasting linked to religious festivals and parish dedication, the ales were one of the most practical expressions possible of the life of charity which the parish existed to support and foster..' Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 120-121.

[396] Dearmer, *Carols*, xxvi.

[397] C. Henry Phillips, *The Singing Church: an outline history of the music sung by choir and people* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1945).

[398] Ibid., 5.

experience, demands more than will and thought; it demands imagination or "heart".'[399] This imagination he links directly to the architectural and artistic context in which the action is taking place. 'Springing arches, stained glass, sacerdotal robes, music, all these tend to quicken the vision of the worshipping man standing in his pew.'[400] Thus the wider context of architecture is seen as essential to the musical experience. Pamela Graves has noted that, 'The development of the indigenous Perpendicular style in England perfected the rectangular space as a sound-box for elaborate choral polyphony'[401] and Phillips argues that there should be a relationship between a revived medieval architecture and a musical revival along similar lines. Yet by advocating a return to music like Blow's *Salvator Mundi* and Purcell's *Thou Knowest, Lord* Phillips presents a sound environment more equivalent to a post-Reformation High-Church university chapel or a cathedral than a parish church of the sixteenth-century.[402] Here the aesthetic evolution of the English Use continues; no longer is the ideal limited to plainchant.

In the later English Use publications, careful performance, be it by choir or servers, is key. The young altar server in *A Server's Manual for the Holy Communion* is carefully instructed in the right attitude of reverence.

> When you are serving you are worshipping God. Your truest reverence is to
> carry out your duties with the utmost of your attention and ability; otherwise there is
> not much point in your serving. Good serving is in itself an act of prayer.[403]

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[399] Ibid., 236.

[400] Ibid.

[401] Pamela C. Graves 'Sensing and Believing: Exploring Worlds of Difference in Pre-Modern England: A Contribution to the Debate Opened by Kate Giles' in *World Archaeology* Vol. 39, No. 4 (2007), 525.

[402] 'The tradition of choral music in the cathedrals and greater churches of England had been maintained throughout Elizabeth's reign, and made more rich and wonderful by the compositions of Thomas Tallis, Thomas Morley, William Byrd, and their fellows. This tradition was extended and enlarged in the later years of King James and in the reign of Charles I as the greater emphasis on the liturgical content of services called for fuller musical accompaniment. The High Church movement sustained and reinforced the composition and performance of sacred music at a time when the steady growth of Puritanism might have curtailed it.' Parry, 157.

[403] *A Server's Manual*, 3.

Again, the prescriptive nature of the English Use shows through in the frontispiece of *A Server's Manual* titled 'The Prayer for the Church.' Its clear intention is to demonstrate the ideal of the 1928 Prayer Book rite for a wider audience (Figure 3.4). It shows the liturgical context in use, architecture, ornaments, vestments, and ceremonial are all present and their arrangement is didactic and literally illustrative. The composition of the drawing is arranged to best showcase all the desired items fulfilling their proper function. By limiting the characters to priest and clerk, the booklet's authors have chosen to present the English Use as it would be celebrated in most churches. This simplicity is much in contrast with the earlier *Illustrations of the Liturgy,* which showed the maximum ceremonial available at a large town church.

'The Prayer for the Church' shows the easternmost part of a small but uncluttered sanctuary in a church that might have been designed around 1930 by Charles Nicholson.[404] An English Altar plainly vested and surrounded by riddels on brackets rather than posts stands just in front of a wide east window. The northern curtain is pulled back to allow a plain view of the mensa on which stand a cross without *corpus* and two candlesticks. At the moment shown, the Prayer Book sits on a cushion to the priest's left and the alms dish to his right. The chalice and paten are arranged according to the usual instructions, the chalice covered by the veil and the paten by the lower part of the corporal. The burse sits at the very far north end of the altar. At the piscina is the ewer for the lavabo and on the credence are the cruets, lavabo dish, and purificator. The priest standing at the centre of the altar is vested in apparelled alb and amice, thin stole, and Gothic chasuble while the clerk stands one step below the footpace wearing a cassock and sleeveless rochet.

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[404] The low arches of the sedilia, the ogee of the piscina, the turned legs of the credence, and the simplicity of the English Altar with rods rather than riddel-posts suggests a date of about 1925-30, a reasonable but not lavish budget, and an architect desirous of evoking rather than imitating. Charles Nicholson would be a reasonable guess as would H.P. Burke Downing. Furnishings of this type abound in parish churches across England, those in the countryside being more likely to have retained their older fittings than city churches where more readily available finds may have provided for more complete reorderings.

Such specificity in illustration has been encountered before, and *A Server's Manual*, like *The Parson's Handbook*, sets out in plain pen and ink drawings the practicality of English Use scholarship. Convincing the reasonably educated priest that reviving pre-Reformation ceremonies was the right thing to do, even consistent with the ideals of the Prayer Book itself, was not the end of the matter. In order to be manifest in the parishes, the English Use had to be practical and widely applicable. Sacristans and altar servers had to be told what to do in a clear, concise fashion. Thus, the medium of illustration came to be used alongside the text as an instructional technique. Reading the text gave the bare data; the illustrations brought the Use to life.

Section iv - *The Parson's Handbook* Revised

Bringing the English Use to life and making it accessible to any parish had been the aim of Percy Dearmer when he published *The Parson's Handbook* nearly thirty years prior to the creation of the Proposed Prayer Book. That remained his aim even during the Proposed Book's tumultuous journey through Parliament, where it was ultimately rejected. In that same year, 1928, another edition of the *Handbook* appeared, the eleventh edition, and it is here that Dearmer's aim of reviving the catholic ceremonies of the pre-Reformation English Church comes closest to fulfilment. In the Preface he writes,

> [A] Sixth Prayer Book has in 1927 been added to the Fifth Book of 1662. This is an event which not only brings new hope of order into the English Church but also brings that Church into line with the Episcopal Churches of America, Scotland, and South Africa, and makes a common ceremonial possible for the whole Anglican Communion.[405]

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[405] Dearmer, *Handbook 1928*, vii.

Deamer stalwartly maintains that the ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer are, now more than ever, the catholic ceremonies long advocated by Wickham Legg, W. St John Hope, and others.[406] He observes that,

> By the end of the nineteenth century [the Anglican Church] was fast attaining the precarious dignity of a Church invisible... [but now] she has been recovering her countenance and her dignity ; and doctrine has followed ceremonial, on the one side as on the other.[407]

His new introduction includes a lengthy discourse on the Ornaments Rubric, still a significant supporting document for the English Use, and he ends with the bold remark, 'It is clear, then, if history, logic, and the English language have any meaning at all, that the duty of all the loyal sons of the Church of England is to use the old ornaments.'[408] Furthermore, he clearly states the case for a distinct English Use, footnoting the essay 'Concerning the Service of the Church' which was appended to the Book of Common Prayer at its publication in 1662 which says,

> And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying, and singing in Churches within this realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use.[409]

Finally, making apology for the confusion brought about by appeals to Sarum ceremonial he says, 'the statements of the Prayer Book should have led us to say "English" or "Anglican" use.'[410]

'The ancient traditions are not extravagant; they are really restraints on private extravagance,'[411] Dearmer claims, and he notes as well that, 'It is clear from the tenor of the Prayer Book that a

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[406] Ibid.

[407] Ibid., viii.

[408] Ibid., 31.

[409] *The Book of Common Prayer from the Original Manuscript*, 18.

[410] Dearmer, *Handbook 1928*, 34.

[411] Ibid., 39.

simplification of ceremonial was intended.'[412] Such careful but strong advocacy of ceremonial that

was simultaneously catholic and uniquely reformed in the technical sense of the word, that is,

purged of unnecessary complexities, comes through in some of the practices noted in the Handbook.

In keeping with the claim made in the introduction that a common ceremonial is now developing for

the whole Anglican Communion, he provides added instruction for the Scottish and American

liturgies alongside what he refers to as the 'New English Liturgy'. One striking piece of ceremonial

is the priest's stretching out his arms *in modum crucis* at the phrase 'Wherefore, O Lord and

heavenly Father' in the Canon. Here, Dearmer cannot resist referencing medieval practice, and it

would seem the English Use has now come full circle, as this very practice was advocated two

decades earlier in 'A First English Ordo' of 1904 where the text reads, 'Then after *For ever and

ever. Amen*; he raises his arms extended crosswise, and continues, *O Lord and heavenly Father*.'[413]

The continuity of certain practices from the beginning of the twentieth century is remarkable and,

be it the 1662 or 1928 Prayer Books, the English Use would have all ceremonial in the Church of

England the same, world without end.

It is therefore unsurprising that the state of affairs represented by *A Directory of Ceremonial* and

Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* (whatever its edition) continued in the Church of England well into

the 1960s, and it is arguable that the English Use attained its greatest influence just before its falling

into desuetude. Percy Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* was published in its final edition in 1965.[414]

The book, revised and rewritten by Cyril Pocknee, a liturgical scholar and member of the Alcuin

Club, is much reduced in scale from its earlier incarnations though no less intended to serve as a

practical guide to the implementation of English Use ceremonial in the parishes. Unlike its

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[412] Ibid., 40.

[413] The Alcuin Club, *A First English Ordo*, 18.

[414] Cyril Pocknee. *The Parson's Handbook: Practical Directions for parsons and others according to the Anglican Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer on the basis of the twelfth edition by Percy Dearmer, D.D.* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

predecessors, however, Pocknee's version of *The Parson's Handbook* takes a significant aesthetic leap into the realm of the Classical and, though only slightly, the Modern. The threads of aesthetic development found in the frontispiece of *A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. I* of 1947, the Classical 'English Altar', find their apotheosis in Pocknee's frontispiece, a drawing by Richard Belsham titled 'Sursum Corda'- 'Lift up your hearts' (Figure 3.18).

Pocknee's ideal could not be more different from Dearmer's frontispiece of 1913 (Figure 2.1). Given identical ritual and ceremonial, liturgical performance in the two spaces would take on a dramatically different character. It is the style of architecture that first strikes the eye in Pocknee's frontispiece. Gone are pointed arches and crocketed canopies. The setting is entirely Classical and, not only that, a mixture of late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century Georgian with a Comper-esque early Christian tinge in the form of a ciborium over a freestanding altar. Such an interior suggests the influence of G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells on planning, and it is especially interesting to note the placement of a Lady altar beyond the high altar in the apse of what must have been at one time the sanctuary of the church pictured.[415]

The entire history of the English Use movement is captured in the Pocknee frontispiece where the final transition from pure Gothic of the second year of the reign of King Edward VI to one integrating post-Reformation aesthetic and ceremonial developments is complete. The English and Western Uses have been combined seamlessly, and one can easily imagine Arnold's *Services in Holy Week* being performed according to the second editions of *A Directory of Ceremonial*.

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[415] In Chapter VIII, section 3 of *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* two plans of medieval churches are shown (Plans 56 and 57) which demonstrate the kind of rearrangement advocated by the authors. In both instances the former chancel has been converted into a separate chapel and a freestanding altar has been placed west of the rood screen. In the case of Plan 56, this altar is surrounded on three sides by rails.

And what of the details of Belsham's drawing? Like Lucas' illustration, which acted as Dearmer's

frontispiece and thereby as an illustration of his idea of the perfect English Use chancel, Belsham's

'Sursum Corda' brings to life the ideals of the last generation of English Use scholars, of which

Pocknee is representative. Pocknee's own comment on the image is descriptive but not especially

helpful for understanding the reasoning behind it. He notes,

> The free standing altar is vested with a frontal and stands under a ciborium which covers
> most of the area of the foot-pace as well as the Holy Table itself. The processional cross
> on its stave stands in a socket behind the altar, thus eliminating the need for a special
> cross on the altar. In the apsidal east end there is a lesser altar which has a 'throw-over'
> type of frontal.[416]

Herein lies the great problem of what Pocknee calls the 'Anglican Use', this new combination of

English and Western thought on liturgy and ceremonial: it assumes supremacy. Throughout his

revision of Dearmer's work, Pocknee continually appeals to Dearmer and others who have already

answered the need for such things as English Altars and apparelled albs. While it is not unrealistic

to assume that readers of *The Parson's Handbook* in its revised form will be familiar with the

details of the longstanding debate on furnishings and ceremonial action, such a high level of

comfort with the established nature of the Use creates a weakness. Having triumphed, the English

Usagers now slept at ease and even their popular scholarship saw no need for argument.[417] The

English Use as it stood in 1965 lay open to attack.

And in fact that attack had already begun. Pocknee's revision of Dearmer's Handbook was

published five years after the powerful Modernist manifesto *Liturgy and Architecture* by the priest

Peter Hammond, who wrote persuasively in opposition to the underpinnings of the tradition of

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[416] Pocknee, xx.

[417] 'In this revision of Dr. Dearmer's work we have not reproduced all his arguments or detailed evidence. In some instances there has been no need to state those arguments as they have won general acceptance. Moreover, this is an impatient age which is apt to dismiss historical evidence as of no consequence.' Pocknee, *Handbook*, xix.

liturgy and aesthetics that undergirded the English Use.[418] Furthermore he dismissed recent

literature on church building as 'unsatisfactory... due to the authors' reluctance to face fundamental

issues.'[419] Church buildings themselves were exposed to even greater opprobrium.

> The results of all this [building] activity have been depressing in the extreme. It is hard
> to think of any field of ecclesiastical investment where so much money has been
> squandered to so little purpose... The opportunity [to create an architecture of this time]
> has not been taken. Pastoral zeal has gone hand in hand with a curious blindness to the
> latent potentialities of sacred art and architecture, and, as a result, the majority of our
> post-war churches are likely to prove a grace source of embarrassment to those who have
> to use them in years to come.[420]

Buildings of all styles were denigrated as having 'no message for the contemporary world'[421] and

they were 'likely to confirm the agnostic in his conviction that the Church of England is no more

than a curious anachronism: that Christianity itself is merely the by-product of a vanished

culture.'[422] Conceding that, 'some of the very worst churches of the last thirty years are those which

strive most resolutely after a contemporary idiom,'[423] and opining that, 'it matters comparatively

little whether the detail of a building is Gothic or contemporary'[424], Hammond remained resolute in

his condemnation of traditional building, saying, '[T]he Son of God did not take our nature upon

him in order that, suitably attired in Elizabethan costume, we might sing sentimental religious

poetry set to lugubrious Victorian chants.'[425]

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[418] Peter Hammond was rector of Bagendon Gloucestershire in the 1950s where he began to conduct services facing the people from behind the altar. In 1960 and 1962 respectively he published his two most influential works *Liturgy and Architecture* and *Towards a Church Architecture*, the latter a collection of essays he planned and edited. He taught History of Art and Complementary Studies at Hull College of Art from 1962 to 1980 and was Canon of Lincoln Cathedral from 1987 until his death in 1999. Obituary: Canon Peter Hammond, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/obituary-canon-peter-hammond-1082634.html

[419] Peter Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), xiii.

[420] Ibid., 1.

[421] Ibid., 3

[422] Ibid.

[423] Ibid., 6.

[424] Ibid., 7.

[425] Ibid., 21.

Hammond's vehemence aside, architecture produced for the English Use, or what might best (at

least by the mid-1940s) be called the 'Anglican Use,' was not so divorced from contemporary life

and the practical impact of theology on liturgy as he seemed to think. It is with this subject that

chapter four of this dissertation concerns itself: church architecture and furnishing from the inter-

war period into the post-war period. These poorly understood decades represent the height of

English Use aspiration and show a slow but steady transformation from purely Victorian modes of

planning and design to something else, not the powerfully iconoclastic Modernism which represents

the twentieth century in architectural history textbooks but a gentle, scholarly modernity thoroughly

in line with the latest liturgical scholarship that, at its best, proves many of the accusations launched

by the likes of Hammond to be truly 'Sheer nonsense [and] Hysterical exaggeration.'[426]

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[426] Hammond's book was described thus in a quotation taken from the Church Times and reproduced on a leaflet presenting 'Some Opinions' of *Liturgy and Architecture*, then in its third edition. Publication Leaflet. (London: Barrie and Rockliff, date unknown), 1.

Chapter 4 - English Use Architecture and Modernity

In the previous chapter the evolving English Use was surveyed in its liturgical and ceremonial

aspects. This chapter will deal with the architectural developments that paralleled those changes.

Churches designed after 1930, especially those in the Gothic style, came to be viewed as unworthy

of significant attention not long after they were built.[427] However, if the full impact of the English

Use is to be seen, the architecture of the years after the First World War must be taken into account.

Given the long-lived influence of the English Use, churches dating to as late as 1954 must be

carefully considered.

The architectural products of the English Use, what had become by the middle 1940s that careful,

scholarly combination of English and Western Use liturgical principles and ceremonial, perhaps

best described as the Anglican Use, will be examined in two halves. First, this chapter will consider

those buildings which represent, either in their architectural manner or the style of their furnishings,

a fresh synthesis of Gothic and Classical idioms that demonstrates the influence of the line of

thinking behind such works as the later editions of *A Directory of Ceremonial* and *The Parson's*

Handbook. Within this division lie the two schools of design for which Ninian Comper and Temple

Moore stood as representatives in chapter 2. These are here expanded to include J.B.L. Tolhurst,

Stephen Dykes-Bower, and W.H. Randoll Blacking on the Comper side and Charles Nicholson and

H.P. Burke Downing as supplanting the tradition of Temple Moore.[428]

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[427] Referring to new work placed in old buildings during this period, Bishop Wand wrote, 'Indeed, the renewal of a sentimental taste for Gothic resulted in the destruction of much good work that had gone out of fashion.' J.W.C. Wand, *Anglicanism in History and Today* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1961), 145.

[428] Of these five architects, monographs exist only for the work of Stephen Dykes-Bower (Anthony Symondson. *Stephen Dykes Bower*. London: R.I.B.A. Publishing, 2011) and Charles Nicholson (Edward Bundock. *Sir Charles Nicholson: Architect of Noble Simplicity*. (West Raynham: JewelTree Publications: 2012). Nothing exists for Tolhurst and next to nothing on Blacking (he is referenced briefly in relation to the stained glass artist Christopher Webb in Eileen Roberts. *Christopher Webb and Orchard House Studio*. (British Society of Master Glass Painters, 2001). Burke Downing is covered only cursorily in a book on Inter-War churches published by the Ecclesiological Society (Kenneth Richardson. *The Twenty-Five Churches of the Southwark Diocese: An inter-war campaign of church-building*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 2002).

Second, this chapter will look at those works which show a new direction, either in regard to style or liturgical planning. It is hoped that, through the examination of those churches which represent stylistic experiment but no new advance in liturgical planning, the later objections of Modernists may be comprehended. Additionally, in attempting to understand those churches which demonstrate what were considered to be advanced planning principles but owe nothing to Modern architecture in stylistic terms it will become apparent that the newly birthed Anglican Use in the twentieth century, particularly as it stood in the decade immediately following the Second World War, saw itself as capable of engaging with the modern world. These works will serve to support the Anglican Use's inherent claim that sensitivity to new developments in liturgical practice need not entail the sacrifice of beauty, a principle central to clergymen like Dearmer and Staley and architects like Comper.[429]

Finally, the work of the 1930s through the 1950s will be related to growing debates about planning and style. One hopes that the distinction between very different ways of thinking about liturgy and architecture may be clarified, viz. between churches that were traditional in plan but used contemporary design tropes, those that were inventive in plan but made use of a traditional design vocabulary, and those that were non-traditional both in plan and articulation. Making this clear distinction will allow for a more organised analysis of Modernist arguments in the final section where the dramatic stylistic changes of the 1960s will be seen by reference to a seminal building, St Paul's, Bow Common.

Of necessity, this chapter is dense, both materially and conceptually. The tremendous amount of change taking place in the nearly forty years from 1928 to 1965 is difficult to document within the

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[429] Symondson notes of Comper that, 'He saw St Mary's not solely as a work of art but as an expression of unity an beauty that reflected the beauty and unity of the Holy Trinity and was a foretaste of the eternal beauty of heaven.' Ibid., 201.

confines of a chapter. However it is hoped that an emerging conflict between the now-established

and clearly definable English Use and stylistic and philosophical Modernism will remain at the fore.

For though the English Use had evolved significantly by the 1960s, it remained much the same in

its essentials, both theological and aesthetic, as it had been in the 1910s. Against it arose

Modernism, in theology, liturgy, and aesthetics, which will be represented here principally by the

writing of Peter Hammond and the architecture of Maguire & Murray.[430]

In the realm of theology Modernism represented a repudiation of many traditional theological

formulations of such essential ideas as supernatural miracles and the atonement.[431] In its aesthetic

guise, particularly as it relates to church architecture, Modernism was anti-historical. A church was

to be for now, of today, and devoid of the distractions of historical styles, laden as they were with

references to outmoded theology and social hierarchies of a less perfect age. Style was utilitarian, or

functional, in nature. Appearance had to change if the old world was to be supplanted; so long as

visual memory attained, the Modernist goal could not be achieved.[432]

In some ways the seeds of the English Use's demise had been planted as early as the 1910s. While

the willingness of architects like Comper to embrace fresh ideas relating to liturgical planning

alongside the imaginative use of familiar styles proved the Use's flexibility, the strength of the

initial appeal by Staley and Dearmer to the authority of Parliament and the authority of the Church,

which had been effective in an age when those authorities were themselves secure in their power,

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[430] For an account of the architecture of Maguire & Murray see Gerald Adler, *Robert Maguire & Keith Murray* (London: RIBA Enterprises, 2012).

[431] E.L. Mascall's poem 'Christmas with the Demythologizers' is perhaps the most amusing take on the sea change occurring in Christian theological discourse in the latter half of the twentieth century. He begins with the line, 'Hark, the herald angels sing : / 'Bultmann is the latest thing!' and continues to reference existential philosophy, God and Science, the concept of religious myth, the German Lutheran modernist tradition, superstition and faith, and Heidegger. Mascall was Professor of Historical Theology at King's College, London from 1962 and well-placed to make observations about the nature of academic theology. E.L. Mascall, *Pi in the High* (London: The Faith Press, 1959).

[432] The work of Peter Hammond, examined later in this chapter will stand as typical of the thought of the period among clergy of the modernising type.

was vulnerable to questioning in the new world, riven by two World Wars. The Gothic style itself,

having enjoyed supremacy in ecclesiastical architecture since the middle of the nineteenth century,

began to fall outside the architectural mainstream. Despite this, many new churches were built in

the style though they were, as Michael Lewis rather sadly puts it, 'stylistic orphans.'[433] The result of

the tension between the English Use and Modernism may be seen in the architecture of the latter

part of this chapter. But first we turn to the calm before the storm and see the English Use as a

growing ideal of worship and aesthetics in the 1930s and 40s.

Section i - The Comper School

Illustrated publications from the 1930s and 40s are filled with page after page of whitewashed,

stripped-Gothic churches whose austere brick exteriors are articulated with a bare minimum of

carved stone.[434] In light of these books it is easy to understand the growing frustration of Hammond

and his school who thought the unceasing procession of churches planned along essentially

medieval lines, and fitted with English Altars, tentatively Gothic arcades, and clear glass windows,

with only very simple tracery, demonstrated just how out of touch the Church was with the modern

age.[435] However, the whitewashed interiors, fitted with English Altars and lit by clear windows so

characteristic of the 1930s in particular were exactly what was advocated by many in the Church of

England. Churches fitting this type were not seen at the time as being anything other than entirely

appropriate to the needs of the day. Anson records that Hewlett Johnson, sometime Dean of

Canterbury (1931-63), believed churches should be

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[433] Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 185.

[434] Two of the most indicative of the state of English building are: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936* (London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936) and The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-*1945 (London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947).

[435] 'English church architecture of the 'thirties is remarkable only for the faithfulness with which it adheres to the 'traditional' church plan.' Hammond, 68.

great cool spaces, with whitened walls, with windows through which one could see the trees and fields and clouds, enlivened here and there with a splash of colour, or a patch of heraldry... [There should be an] altar rich in hangings set on riddels, broad and majestic in its form, but severe in its splendid restraint... The pulpit should rise all alone unjostled by any seats, and the font in splendid isolation should face the altar from the west, with its own rich cover nobly hung by a great chain or cord from the roof... [T]he main impression should be that of space, broken only by a few significant and exquisitely beautiful things.[436]

Anson himself summarises the situation, 'Refined austerity might be said to be the predominant note in English ecclesiastical "good taste" during the thirties of the present century.'[437]

The sources of this peculiarly 1930s refinement lie in the previous decades and are seen prominently in the work of Ninian Comper. The 'painterly' aspect of the English Use, described in chapter 3, and exemplified by St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, was continually pointed to as the ideal in English Use publications such as *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* of 1924 and *A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. II* of 1947. This cleaned-up medievalism was blended with the spatial openness much desired as the twentieth century progressed to create those 'great cool spaces' advocated by Dean Johnson.[438] Though Comper's earlier work seldom strayed from the formulaic nave-and-aisles approach to church design, a glimmer of what was to come appears at Sts Andrew and George, Rosyth, only partly realised in 1920-24 for the Church of Scotland.[439]

Sts George and Andrew was designed as a hall-church of nine near-square bays with a tenth bay at the east end, behind the high altar which stood under a ciborium (Figure 4.1). The bays themselves were vaulted and supported by columns of loosely Classical design and there was a Renaissance

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[436] Anson, *Fashions*, 329.

[437] Ibid., 333.

[438] An early hint of this may be discerned at the chapel of the Convent of the Holy Name, Malvern Link where a single spatial vessel, whitewashed, encloses gilded and coloured furnishings lit by the silvery light of clear glass windows.

[439] For more discussion of Sts Andrew and George see Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 109. The church was never completed and was demolished in 1986. John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 38.

rood screen. The window tracery was a distinctly Scottish type with that of the easternmost bay, the Lady Chapel, being highly decorative. This was Comper's 'vision of triumphant Episcopalianism... intended to be filled with white and gold flashed with blue from stained glass in the immense windows.'[440]

Setting aside the furnishings, the interior space itself is exactly the sort of white openness which Hewlett Johnson advocated. It is an advance from St Cyprian's recreation of medieval Norfolk and draws its inspiration from the Continent, S Antholin in Medina del Campo, to be precise (Figure 4.2). It was this church that Comper illustrated in *Further Thoughts on the English Altar* (1933) as an example of the possibilities inherent in Gothic design that could be applied to the modern church.[441] Just over a decade later, Addleshaw and Etchells illustrated the same church for the same reason in *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, favourably comparing the Spanish plan to Christopher Wren's auditory churches and noting, 'Churches of this type would seem to suggest a solution for some of our problems.'[442]

What Comper created at Rosyth moved away from the medieval formula of distinct rectangular spaces for clergy and laity which he heartily embraced in his earlier work. Yet, despite the potentially revolutionary design of Sts George and Andrew, Comper chose to place the altar at the far east of the interior, isolated behind a rood screen. As we will see, it was not until 1937 that his developing ideas about the relation of the altar to the people, a result of his investigation of early Christian basilicas, led him to realise more fully the ideas first mooted in the 1920s.[443]

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[440] Ibid., 38.

[441] J.N. Comper, *Further Thoughts on the English Altar, or Practical Considerations on the Planning of a Modern Church* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933).

[442] Addleshaw and Etchells, 21.

[443] For further analysis of Comper's development in this respect see Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 105-112.

Though his cautious experiments in planning were not widely imitated, Comper's subtle combination of Gothic and Classical style seen at Sts George and Andrew was attempted by others and a striking example of this synthesis appears in the unbuilt design for All Saints, Mortlake by J.B.L. Tolhurst (1888-1961), an architect antiquarian, who edited the Henry Bradshaw Society's editions of the *Monastic Breviaries*.[444] Tolhurst's design shows a remarkable adventurousness in the blending of styles that characterised the liturgical experiments of the period revolving around 1928 in which English and Western traditions were beginning to move into complementary rather than antagonistic posture in relation one to the other (Figure 4.3).[445] Dating from 1926, Tolhurst's design was rejected on the grounds of cost as well as aesthetics with Caroe & Passmore advising the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that, 'The association of ribbed vaulting and fan vaulting, carried out in concrete, with the Classical columns and entablature below does not seem to us a happy one.'[446] Kenneth Richardson remarks, 'Surviving drawings clearly point to the influence of Sir Ninian Comper's 'unity by inclusion' principles but, whereas an architect of Comper's stature could gain acceptance for them, Tolhurst could not.'[447] One may think this unfortunate as the synthesis of Gothic and Classical styles proposed at All Saints', Mortlake, and consonant with Comper's work in the same decade, represents the same spirit of experimentation as the Caroline church of St Katherine Cree (Figure 4.4).

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[444] Tolhurst also wrote an article titled 'The Hammer-Beam Figures of the Nave Roof of St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds' for the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* in 1962. This suggests a wide-ranging knowledge of medieval art and architecture.

[445] For a full account of the design and construction of All Saints', Mortlake, see Richardson, pp. 43-49.

[446] Richardson, 44.

[447] Ibid.

As such, All Saints' deserves closer attention. In plan it is unremarkable for its time, a long rectangle comprising nave and chancel.[448] It closely echoes Comper's work at St Cyprian's of 1903, and the inclusion of a sumptuously carved rood screen with loft, depicted lacking a corpus and attendant figures, suggests a degree of admiring imitation. The intended pendant vaulting over the sanctuary makes the connection even more explicit as Comper's use of it at St Mary, Wellingborough, would not have been unknown to Tolhurst.[449] What is unique about All Saints' is the confidence with which a colonnade, vaguely Corinthian, is combined with lierne vaulting and round-arched windows fitted with fifteenth-century French tracery (Figure 4.5). That such a confident and unusual interior was enclosed within what is essentially the exterior of an elegant Renaissance basilica shows the degree to which Tolhurst was willing to raid the treasure house of history to create a fresh design. This boldness brings to mind the frontispiece of *A Directory of Ceremonial* (1947) where the Renaissance incarnation of the English Altar took pride of place. In rejecting Tolhurst's design, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners unwittingly deprived the diocese of Southwark of what could have been the most concrete visual statement of Anglican continuity in liturgical scholarship of the entire century.

Not all churches designed in late 1920s and early 30s remained laden with unrealised potential. Stephen Dykes Bower's (1903-94) church of All Saints', Hockerill, shows, in its simple plan and scholarly yet imaginative approach to then current design motifs, what could be accomplished by an architect who was both traditional and cautiously innovative.[450] Completed in 1936, the church possesses a roughly square nave with both north and south aisles, a rectangular chancel with a deep

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[448] Whether considered problematic or not, hanging onto the received traditional church plan was commonly remarked upon at this time. 'In the church plan we still seem to fit our requirements into a preconceived shape. It is a shape, certainly, with a long and illustrious history…' Newton ed., "The Church Plan in England" (The Architectural Review, vol. LXII, July 1927 no. 368), 1.

[449] St Mary, Wellingborough was largely complete by 1931. Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 195.

[450] For further discussion of All Saints', Hockerill see: Symondson, *Stephen Dykes Bower*, 11-15 and Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Hertfordshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 102.

quire and returned stalls, a spacious sanctuary little elevated above the level of the nave and a series

of well-equipped vestries on the north side. At the west end stands the font flanked by a pair of

entrances (Figure 4.6). Three tall lancets, positioned beneath the low sturdy west tower, give the

rear of the nave a great deal of light (Figure 4.7). The aisles are awkwardly low in relation to the

nave and the nave arcade itself is rather massive and nearly directly copied from Comper's work at

St. Mary, Rochdale.[451] The chancel is separated from the nave by a low parapet wall and elevated

by one step only. The continuous wagon roof creates a smooth transition between the spaces, not

quite resolving the tension created by the acute pitch of the aisle roofs.

The altar, elevated on a further four steps (three around the altar directly and another at the entrance

to the sanctuary) is surrounded by a distinctive construction of scaled-up riddel posts resembling, at

first glance, a great ciborium. It enshrines the altar in a way that seems to combine the shielding

effect of the former with the covering of the latter (Figure 4.8). Also unusual is the rose window

which dominates the east wall and floods the sanctuary with coloured light. More orthodox are the

placement of a three seat sedilia with piscina on the south wall and the large organ case dominating

the north of the quire. Insofar as the near-classical arcade recalls Ninian Comper, Dykes Bower has

managed to subordinate his individuality to a familiar type. However the addition of the rose

window at the east signals a willingness to experiment in a way that sets him apart from his

contemporaries.[452] In the prominent use of the large rose window to dramatic effect, Dykes Bower

is very much in line with Ernest Shearman (1859-1939), architect of austere brick barns for Anglo-

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[451] St Mary's, Rochdale is discussed in full in Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 127-131.

[452] The English architect most prone to using this motif was Edward Maufe. It appears both at St Thomas, Hanwell, and at Guildford Cathedral. The rose window floating above a tall reredos or dossal came to be a trope in America where it features in churches of the late 1920s and after. Frohman, Robb & Little were particularly fond of it as a design feature as was Charles Klauder. Though nothing has been written on this particular design element it may be observed in both unbuilt designs (see *American Church Building of To-Day*, ed. R.A. Cram. [New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, Inc., 1929]) and extant buildings. Typical examples that exist in cities and towns across the United States, are First Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and First Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., the latter completed as late as 1955. Perhaps most unusual is Epworth-Euclid United Methodist in Cleveland, Ohio where an eastern rose illuminates an octagonal interior covered in a dome highly reminiscent of the monastic kitchen at Durham Cathedral.

Catholic congregations.[453] Its adventurousness aside, the fact that All Saints' plan is so heavily

indebted to Victorian ideals shows that the architects of the English Use were not yet prepared to go

too far beyond the carefully delineated bounds set by their forebears. The consistent architectural

conservatism of the period following the production of the 1928 Book of Common Prayer shows

that the architectural implications of a revised liturgy were not always realised. The attachment to

abstractly medieval style was still very strong.

Even so, Dykes Bower's furnishings at All Saints' show the advance of that synthesis of Gothic and

Classical styles which paralleled the developing Anglican Use in liturgy. Classical pews, choir

stalls, altar rails, and the notable Corinthian-columned semi-ciborium all speak to the exploration of

the artistic heritage of the wider Church. Such furnishings in churches of the middle 1930s should

not be mistaken for mere artistic trends. Though such trends are observable, they speak to the wider

current of ideas and represent more than just the designers' eagerness for fresh material. The

liturgical scholarship of the decades preceding the production of the 1928 Prayer Book ranged far

and wide and the Book's failure in Parliament merely pressed home the idea that change was

necessary. Whereas success might have mollified the liturgically adventurous, failure only made

them more eager.[454]

Such eagerness was not often demonstrated in more than furnishing. St. Alban's, Abington, in

Northampton, was completed in 1938 to designs by W.H. Randoll Blacking (1889-1958). Blacking

was a pupil of Comper, and consulting architect to the Incorporated Church Building Society, and

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[453] For more on Shearman see John Salmon, *Ernest Charles Shearman (1859-1939): An Anglo-Catholic Architect: An Illustrated Introduction to His Life and Work* (London: The Anglo-Catholic History Society: 2009).

[454] Evidence of this may be seen in the numerous books (W.K. Lowther Clarke, *The Prayer Book of 1928 Reconsidered*, 1943) and articles (Eric Milner-White, 'Prayer Book Revision', 1943) written on the subject of revision, both immediately following the defeat of the Proposed Book in 1928 and in subsequent years. Additionally, the report of the Liturgical Commission titled 'Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England' issued in 1957 detailed the continuing work of the Commission to find a suitable revision that would comprehend the entirety of Church theology and practice.

spent part of his early career working with another of Comper's pupils, Christopher Webb, a stained glass designer of considerable skill whose work carried on Comper's affinity for clear, bright colour and medieval influence.[455] St Alban's is a typical example of a church by an English Use architect in which some Continental influence was integrated into a predominantly English whole (Figure 4.9).[456] It is a competent architecture, eminently practical, but not especially adventurous. It is not intended to be; its pared-down white arches and whitened wooden roof of indiscernible period are the abstracted stage for liturgical action enabled by the furnishings, themselves only slightly more elaborate than the architecture.

St Alban's is a useful study in that it features prominently as the frontispiece of a small pamphlet titled 'The Arrangement and Furnishing of a Church' written by Blacking c. 1938 and published under the auspices of The Incorporated Church Building Society.[457] The preponderance in publications of the time of churches built in this manner shows just how popular the manner advocated by Dearmer and enabled by the Alcuin Club's liturgical publications remained. Blacking's St. Alban's is a good example of work much constrained by the budget of a mission congregation. The photographs selected as illustrative of the remarks in his pamphlet show the church in its best light.

There is nothing new at St Alban's in terms of planning, nothing particularly spectacular about the details; the space possesses a reposing clarity and is intended to serve the liturgy. Blacking writes,

> A church is the simplest of all buildings ; it is the House of God, where He is to be
> worshipped, and there the two sacraments of the Prayer Book rite are to be administered

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[455] For more on the relationship between Blacking and Webb see Eileen Roberts. 'Christopher Webb and Orchard House Studio' in *Journal of Stained Glass*, Vol. 25, 2001, 79-94. There is no monograph of Blacking's work.

[456] For a description of St Alban's, Abington see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Northamptonshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 341.

[457] W.H. Randoll Blacking. 'The Arrangement and Furnishing of a Church.' (London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, c. 1938).

and the ministry of the Word spoken ; the essentials are, therefore, a Holy Table (which should be the focal point of the place), a Font, and accommodation for the ministers and worshippers : all other considerations are of secondary importance.[458]

That St. Alban's is thought to exemplify the ideal of a church suited to the Prayer Book rite is made clear in the way the selected photographs focus on only two aspects of the building. The first photograph emphasises the suitedness of the sanctuary to the performance of the Prayer Book Communion with all the now-customary ceremonial (Figure 4.9). There is the English Altar with riddels, the two candlesticks and matching altar cross (without corpus) the two cushions, the tall standard candlesticks on the subdeacon's step. Moveable kneeling rails define the space to the west and two side chapels are partially screened from view by iron *rejas*, the three-seat sedilia being part of the screen to the south. At the north end of the altar is the sacristy door and at the south a stone credence and piscina surmounted by a conventional ogee arch. The east window is of a fifteenth-century Perpendicular type and from the ceiling hangs a small silver chandelier in the eighteenth-century style. An oriental carpet provides a quieting surface for the sacred ministers and adds a sense of luxury to the space which is architecturally restrained and so evidently intended to house the liturgical action rather than compete with it. Art serves the highest art, the art of worship. Or, as Anson puts it, '[T]he holiness of beauty serving the beauty of holiness.'[459]

The second photograph shows the chancel from outside the rood screen, a noble exercise in a vaguely eighteenth-century mode which Blacking used on another occasion at St. Mary's, Bruton in Somerset (Figure 4.10, 4.11).[460] Here the rood is accompanied by the Royal Arms of George VI in a

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[458] Ibid., 1.

[459] Anson, *Fashions*, 315.

[460] The screen at Bruton also dates to 1938. Nikolaus Pevsner. *South and West Somerset* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 104. It would be interesting to learn which came first. An earlier example of the same style of screen may be found at St Peter, Codford for which in 1912 F.C. Eden installed a splendid neo-Jacobean screen of Corinthian columns topped by a broken segmental pediment. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Wiltshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 184.

manner that resembles Blacking's teacher Comper's conflation of rood and royalty in 1908 at St.

Mary, Kemsing in Kent (Figure 4.12, 4.13).[461] What is important about this view is not that is shows

more of the architecture of the church but that it presents both the screen and returned stalls as

essential elements in the building's composition. Liturgical suitability is brought to the fore; that the

building itself is actually quite plain is irrelevant to its use. The supposition that it is the furnishings

that matter more than the walls, arches, and windows is clarified by Blacking himself when he says,

> It is useful to remember, amongst other things, that some of the most beautiful ancient churches are quite simple in design and rely upon a fine sense of proportion for their effect ; that a whitewashed interior in which the beauty of gold and colour can be afforded only around the holy table is often more worshipful than an elaborately designed whole ; and that a comparatively small building well filled with worshippers is always preferable to a large church in which a seemingly small congregation is dispersed in various parts of the building.[462]

This statement is strikingly similar to an observation made by Comper in his 1947 'Of the

Atmosphere of a Church',

> Granted the crying need, created by the development of housing estates, for four walls within which to worship and the lack of self-sacrifice to provide a worthy building, a lesson might be taken from the simplest of our medieval churches whose fabrics were little more than a barn- hardly so fine a barn as barns were then- but which became glorious by beautiful workmanship within. To so low and plain a fabric a worthy altar has only to be added and the white-washed barn will have an atmosphere of prayer and love instead of being reminiscent of the cinema and its impersonal efficiency.[463]

In both these statements, the idea that the furnishings, specifically the altar and surrounding area,

make the church is captured and made very plain. It is clear that Dean Johnson's view of an ideal

church as having as its 'main impression... space, broken only by a few significant and exquisitely

beautiful things' was widely held. This is a very different attitude from that of the Victorian period

which often monumentalised and ornamented the church itself yet neglected to provide quality

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[461] For more on St Mary, Kemsing, see Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 81-84.

[462] Blacking, 1.

[463] Symondson, 'Of the Atmosphere of a Church' in *Sir Ninian Comper*, 264.

furnishings, assuming they would be added later.[464] Such an assumption could not be made in the inter-war period, and architects responded accordingly with buildings that were unobtrusive, maybe even a little boring, but that were well suited to the liturgical performance of the day and complete in every detail, the furnishings and ornaments of the ministers taking centre stage.

That the plan of St. Alban's was essentially Victorian, with a row of choir stalls and screen dividing the laity from the altar, did not prevent it from embracing a distinctly non-Victorian attitude towards ceremonial. Quietly dominating the chancel is a sense of space, of gracious movement and dignified liturgical performance. This is the aesthetic of space that clergy of the period would have associated with plainchant settings of the Communion Service, anthems by Orlando Gibbons and William Byrd, and hymns sung to, as John Betjeman put it, 'English Hymnal airs.'[465] It is the musical landscape we encountered in the previous chapter, advocated by C. Henry Phillips and it represents the culmination of the the English Use aesthetic, a combination of subtle architectural stage-scenery, fine, vaguely-medieval furnishings as props, actors decked in elegant costume, and a soundtrack of Tudor and Stuart music.[466]

For the Victorians, the dignity of space so sought after by twentieth-century architects was often sacrificed to great height, expensive materials, or florid carved detail, a curious development echoing the over-elaborate but meaningless ceremonies decried by Dearmer in the original editions

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[464] Typical of this thought process is the note referring to the newly completed church of St Swithin, Hither Green, London in *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture* which reads, 'The chancel floor is temporarily paved with red tiles; the altar hangings, stalls &c., are also temporary.' Another note, referring to Emmanuel Church, Fazakerley, Liverpool reads, 'It is complete, with the exception of the tower and the furnishing.' Sir Charles Nicholson and Charles Spooner, *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture: A Series of Illustrations of Notable Modern Work with Prefatory Articles* (Westminster: Technical Journals, Ltd., 1911), 169, 200.

[465] Betjeman, 'Perp. Revival i' the North'

[466] This evocation of a particular sensibility is really no different than what one writer observed of church architecture: 'The love of what has been, is part of the spiritual or emotional side of the programme, and may not be ignored in its solution.' Newton, ed., 'The Church Plan in England' (*The Architectural Review*, 1927), 3.

of *The Parson's Handbook*.[467] The inter-war English Use, captured so successfully by Blacking at St Alban's, embraced a restrained Prayer Book rite of the catholic Church which was a manifestation of the contentment and richness of an age that, merely having been diminished in its fruitfulness, was soon to be utterly shattered by another Great War.

Section ii - Charles Nicholson et al.

Of the same period but somewhat more vigorous than those architects of the Comper school was Charles Nicholson (1867-1949). Nicholson was elected a fellow of the RIBA in 1905 and, over the course of his career, was consulting architect to seven Anglican cathedrals, and diocesan architect to four sees.[468] He continued the spirit of Temple Moore in his solid churches which, more simply furnished than much of Comper's work and appealing more directly to Classicism, represented the expansion of the English Use to encompass the tradition first seen in the work of Inigo Jones. Peter Anson notes, 'A church designed and furnished by Sir Charles always provided the right background for the services of the *Book of Common Prayer*, carried out with loyal but rich Catholic ceremonial. None of his churches show a papalist influence.'[469] The austere atmosphere of many of his interiors places them alongside Moore's solid interpretations of medieval Gothic, their studied simplicity appealing to the changing tastes of the 1930s.[470] Nicholson's churches are often furnished with pared-down Jacobean woodwork that has been described as 'charming but conservative'[471] and there is an intentional stylistic vagueness, and humility in the unapologetic use of materials such as brick, that recalls the domestic architecture of the seventeenth century.

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[467] The elevation of the alms was one of these Victorian innovations. Dearmer says, 'There is no authority for the solemn elevation of the alms-bason, nor for signing the coins...' Dearmer, *Handbook*, 374.

[468] For further information on Nicholson see Bundock, *Sir Charles Nicholson*.

[469] Anson, *Fashions*, 347-48.

[470] Ibid.

[471] Ibid., 346.

Two of Nicholson's churches representative of this approach to design are All Saints, Hillingdon, of 1932 and St Laurence, Eastcote, of 1933.[472] Of similar size and plan, they are both built of brick and appear almost as though they could have been medieval parish churches reworked in the late seventeenth century and then renovated and cleared of the detritus of history under a careful Edwardian restorer.[473] It is precisely this sense of accretion, accentuated by subtle asymmetries, that distinguishes Nicholson's work. Built for the newly developing suburbs, these churches recall those found in long-established villages all across England. Nicholson creatively built an implied chronology into what were completely new structures, fitted with modern conveniences such as electric lighting and central heating.[474] He has not restricted the architecture and ornaments to the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, and his demonstrable departure from pure medieval Gothic signals the embracing of later developments in Anglican history and theology, particularly the Caroline era. 'A typical Charles Nicholson interior reflects the spirit of the Caroline Divines. Both Archbishop Laud and Bishop Andrewes would feel quite at home in them.'[475]

While in aesthetic terms Nicholson's buildings speak of a generic English-church-ness with their familiar plans and gentle suggestion of historical development, in purely material terms the buildings tell the story of the expanding post-War suburbs, the need for low-cost buildings to house a requisite number of worshippers, and the restricted funds available for elaborate furnishings.[476]

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[472] Short descriptions of both All Saints, Hillingdon and St Laurence, Eastcote may be found in Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: North West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 334 and 313 respectively.

[473] Bundock uses the phrase 'reduced Gothic' to describe Nicholson's style. Bundock, 30.

[474] That which Bundock observes of Nicholson's furnishings could easily be applied to many of his churches as they relate to their context, 'They merged imperceptibly with their surroundings so that their designer went unrecognised.' Ibid., 108.

[475] Anson, *Fashions*, 348.

[476] A short account of the problem of the expansion of the suburbs in relation to church building in a particular diocese may be found in the Introduction to Richardson, *'Twenty-Five' Churches*.

Typical of this balancing-act between style and frugality is All Saints, Hillingdon. The building is markedly domestic in scale and makes little use of buttresses and hood mouldings, its exterior articulated only by stone traceried windows and entrance porches, these of varied design (Figure 4.15). Its interior is likewise pared down with a plain arcade, only subtly articulated, running the length of the space topped by a low clerestory (Figure 4.16). The tracery is late Tudor and fitted with clear glass. There is no screen to the chancel but Nicholson designed returned stalls for the clergy. The font, placed at the west end of the nave, was given a neo-Jacobean cover.

St Laurence, Eastcote is slightly grander (Figure 4.16). It gives a more churchly aspect on the exterior, where three gables articulate the east end. The south porch is in an artisanal variant of Inigo Jones' Classicism, and the lack of clerestory allows high placement for the nave windows. On the interior these illuminate a Tuscan nave arcade and painted wagon roof (Figure 4.17). Nicholson designed a rood beam for the church, but no screen, and the same sort of plain classical furnishings seen at Hillingdon. A side chapel incorporated a touch of medieval-style paintwork (Figure 4.18). Even the font cover, a taller example than at Hillingdon, was clearly classical in derivation, though an English variety and not especially correct insofar as Continental norms of seventeenth-century Classicism would expect (Figure 4.19).

Anson claims Nicholson as 'the really representative Anglican architect of the first three decades of the present [twentieth] century'[477] and the observation has merit. Nicholson built many churches which followed basically the same rules of planning as the Victorian churches of the previous generation but embraced a new aesthetic. It was not quite the aesthetic of Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* but it was thoroughly consistent with Dearmer's emphasis on Englishness, modified to include both late medieval and seventeenth-century models. Whereas Dearmer believed the late

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[477] Ibid., 347.

middle ages to be the ideal, Nicholson favoured a post-Reformation style, flavoured with

Laudianism or neo-Jacobeanism.[478] That essential quality of Englishness dominated the imagination

nonetheless, and while the Comper school interpreted Englishness along the lines of illuminations

by Flemish painters made for the English market, Nicholson chose instead the spirit of seventeenth-

century English engravers whose frontispieces for devotional works related to the *Book of Common*

Prayer were robust rather than refined (Figure 4.20).

One designer among many who, alongside Nicholson, produced work for the new suburban

communities was H.P. Burke Downing (1865-1947).[479] His churches still maintain that sturdy spirit

characteristic of Nicholson, but tend to make use only of Gothic motifs. 'Those who selected Burke

Downing as their architect… could be assured of receiving a thoroughly traditional Gothic structure

of sound design and construction', writes Richardson.[480] An typical example is St. Augustine's,

Tooting, built in 1931 (Figure 4.21)[481]. St. Augustine's is spare and light and, at the time of its

consecration, Bishop Cyril Garbett characterised it as 'simple, beautiful and dignified.'[482] The

moulded arches of the nave arcade die away into plain octagonal piers of a fourteenth-century type,

the walls are plastered and whitened, and the wooden roofs are neither coloured nor gilded.[483] The

plan is exactly as one would expect, a long nave with aisles, the font being at the west end, a

relatively deep chancel with English Altar, a Lady Chapel to the south, vestries to the north, and all

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[478] 'The Gothic style in England and Wales was maintained by architect such as Sir Charles Nicholson, W.H.R. Blacking, and Stephen Dykes-Bower. Their churches attempted to combine, as those of Sir Ninian Comper had pioneered in the 1890s, neo-Medievalism with neo-Classicism or at least neo-Jacobeanism.' Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 137.

[479] There is no monograph on H.P. Burke Downing though much may be gleaned about his work from Richardson.

[480] Richardson, 9.

[481] For an account of the design and construction history as well as a detailed description of St Augustine's, Tooting, see Richardson pp. 167-171.

[482] Ibid., 169.

[483] Ibid., 170-171.

articulated in a nondescriptly medieval manner with the exception of some lavish tracery of a

fourteenth-century type in the east window of the south chapel (Figure 4.22).[484]

Both Nicholson and Burke Downing generally retained a Victorian approach to church planning.[485]

Though the nave of St Augustine's is broad and the aisles spacious, the east end is cramped and the

choir presses uncomfortably close to the sanctuary which, though possessed of the usual levels,

seems slightly too small for comfort. Despite the English Use sensibility engendered by white walls

and clear glass, spaciousness has been sacrificed to seating. Something of the confidence of the

earlier works seems lost in this church and in many of those designed by Nicholson, Burke

Downing, and others for the new suburbs. The practicality of these new suburban churches can

sometimes come across as a lack of vigour and presence and the consistent, certain repetition of

familiar aesthetic tropes and Victorian planning opened up the comfortable English Use world to

criticism from Modernists who, as we will see, looked askance at both traditional aesthetics and

planning techniques grounded the Victorian interpretation of in a medieval past.

Section iii - The Problem of Modernity

In the decades preceding the Second World War, the question as to what qualified as modern design

in ecclesiastical architecture remained to be answered. In those years, as well as in the decades

immediately following the war, attempts were made on several fronts to create churches for the

modern age. As will be seen, some architects proposed solutions to the question of modernity in

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[484] In this case the riddel posts of the altar are placed directly beside its short ends rather than out in front of them. This arrangement suggests an intentional blocking of the evangelical 'north end' position, a measure taken, according to Fr Anthony Howe, at Christ Church, Staincliffe for exactly this reason in 1916. The fact that Staincliffe in Yorkshire and Tooting in Greater London possess churches with nearly identical, if slightly odd, altar arrangements demonstrates that the swift movement toward catholic ceremonial was ongoing in the first few decades of the twentieth century.

[485] For an insight into the indebtedness of early twentieth century design to Victorian precedent, see the introductory essays in Sir Charles Nicholson and Charles Spooner. *Recent English Ecclesiastical Architecture: A Series of Illustrations of Notable Modern Work with Prefatory Articles*. (Westminster: Technical Journals, Ltd., 1911), 6-16.

terms of style, designing churches that, though planned along standard Victorian lines, were dressed

up using newly popular design tropes. N.F. Cachemaille-Day's church of St Nicholas, Burnage and

D.F. Martin-Smith's John Keble Church, Mill Hill, are exemplars of this approach. Other designs,

such as Comper's church of St Philip, Cosham, tackled the question of planning but were traditional

in style, be it Gothic or Classical. This approach came under heavy criticism in the early 1960s

because of the retention of what was considered an old-fashioned design vocabulary. Yet it can be

argued that attempts at creating churches which recognised modern liturgical thought without

embracing Modernist aesthetics were the English Use's best hope for the future, despite the

opprobrium piled on them after the fact.

Malcolm Torry contrasts the architect N.F. Cachemaille-Day (1896-1976) with Charles Nicholson,

saying, 'If Nicholson was nurtured by the Victorians among whom he had grown up, the young

Nugent Cachemaille-Day positively revelled in rejecting the same antecedents.'[486] This statement is

true insofar as the style of St Nicholas', Burnage, Cachemaille-Day's first church, is concerned.

(Figure 4.23).[487] St Nicholas' was built in 1932 and is typical of those churches designed in

contemporary style, but with a conventional plan. On the exterior it resembles, says Anson, 'any

typical cinema or cocktail bar' of the 1930s.[488] His description of the church is worth quoting at

length:

> In S. Nicholas, Burnage, Manchester (1932) the font has a base of ordinary bricks
> arranged in a circular zig-zag pattern, supporting a stone bowl. The screen is built up of
> oak slats, gilded outside and painted vermilion inside, with gilded lacquer on the white
> metal leaf. There is a figure of the Christ Child by Donald Hastings. The pulpit and
> reading desk were also of ordinary brick. The choir was placed in a west gallery. The
> communion rails are vaguely Jacobean in design. Behind a long 'English Altar' is a brick
> wall, and above it a simple iron screen, with a chapel in the apsidal east end, approached

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[486] Malcolm Torry, *The Parish: People, Place and Ministry: A Theological And Practical Exploration* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2004), 104.

[487] For a detailed description of St Nicholas', Burnage see Clare Hartwell, Matthew Hyde, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Lancashire: Manchester and the Southeast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 410.

[488] Anson, *Fashions*, 339.

by steps on either side of the sanctuary. The colours everywhere make the interior of the church a bright spot in Manchester.[489]

Furnishings are mentioned in detail, colours noted, but there is barely a mention of architecture. Anson's studied avoidance of analysis in favour of description throughout *Fashions in Church Furnishings* suits perfectly St Nicholas' where there is little development beyond a Victorian plan (Figure 4.24). English Use ideas manifest in the English Altar and iron screen (representative of increasingly ubiquitous continental influence) and the intended placement of a choir in a west gallery, but the building is not so different in conception than so many medieval churches with their east-end altars and naves filled with pews in neat rows (Figure 4.25).[490] Betjeman's critique of modern style, which Comper used to summarise his own views, could easily apply to St Nicholas.

> But a new church in what is called the "modern style" is often no different in its plan and construction from the dullest Victorian Gothic church in brick; the effect is "unusual" but not truly modern, and is obtained by mouldings and shapes and colours which are the result of indigestion after a visit to Stockholm Town Hall, and the *neue Baukunst* of Germany.[491]

Not all churches that attempted to be modern were so indigested, and D.F. Martin-Smith's John Keble Church, Mill Hill, of 1936 attempted a kind of progression from the standard nave-and-chancel plan seen at St Nicholas.[492] Though it cannot be labelled a complete embracing of Modernism, it shows the extent to which Martin-Smith (1900-84) attempted to break free from

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[489] Anson, *Fashions*, 343-44.

[490] '[Cachemaille-Day] rejected any preoccupation with the question of style but he recognized the tenacity of the Gothic tradition and this, along with a number of other contemporary stylistic influences, particularly from Germany, can be seen in his work.' Michael Bullen, 'Day, Nugent Francis Cachemaille- (1896–1976)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63128, accessed 2 Sept 2015].

[491] Symondson, 'Of the Atmosphere of a Church' in *Sir Ninian Comper*, 235-36.

[492] For a full description of John Keble Church, Mill Hill see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: North*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 156-57.

Victorian planning and embrace modern style (Figure 4.26).[493] Keble Church reflects the

perspective of J.E. Barton, a member of the Design and Industries Association (DIA) who said 'art

that is being born to-day [is] characteristic of an age of new materials, new inventions, and a new

outlook, under conditions of public and domestic life that are startlingly different from anything that

has ever been known in the past.'[494] Its design signalled the increasing influence of Patristic studies

and the conscious primitivism of the Parish Communion Movement which sought to foster greater

unity around the regular, weekly celebration of the eucharist as the Church's central act of

worship.[495]

John Keble Church is a nearly square building with a choir that, instead of standing between the

nave and sanctuary, has been thrust westward into the nave, in effect incorporating the singers into

the body of the congregation (Figure 4.27).[496] It is an extremely unusual design for its period which

makes a very clear attempt at bringing a larger number of laity into closer visual relation to the

altar.[497] The whole composition derives from that of a twelfth-century Roman basilica with its

schola cantorum interrupting the architectural volume of the nave and its altar in an apse, at Keble

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[493] 'Donald Frank Martin-Smith (1900-84) was the partner of H Braddock in the early 1950s. Their practice was involved in the wave of new and rebuilt churches in London during the post-war period and in the mid-1960s, near the end of this period, there was a third partner named Lipley.' Allen, John. 'Sussex Parish Churches' http://www.sussexparishchurches.org/spc_V31/architects-and-artists/659-architects-and-artists-m

[494] J.E. Barton, 'An Essay Introductory to Six Talks on Modern Art' in Modern Art, no. 6 of *The Changing World: A Broadcast Symposium* (London: The British Broadcasting Corporation, 1932), 3. For more on Barton and his milieu see chapter 6 'Educating the Consumer' in Michael T. Saler, *The Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

[495] In his introduction to *The Parish Communion*, one of the most influential books on the subject of liturgical change in the 1920s and 30s, A.G. Hebert presented the words of an anonymous mission-priest as definitive of the Movement: a 'vision of offering, communion and fellowship' as 'something at the very centre of the life of the Church which is truly according to the mind of Christ.' A.G. Hebert, ed. *The Parish Communion* (London: S.P.C.K., 1939), ix.

[496] Peter Hammond admired this aspect of its plan, writing, 'This is an important church which suggested a new solution to the difficult problem of accommodating a surpliced choir in such a way that they do not separate the congregation from the ministers at the altar.' Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 73.

[497] In passing, W.S. Baker notes, 'In the case of the new Church of John Keble, Mill Hill, it is the Parish Eucharist which has determined its plan. There are no pillars, and an unobstructed view of the altar is obtainable from every part of the interior. The choir is placed in the centre of the Church.' 'From a Town Parish: Practical Problems of the Parish Eucharist' in Hebert, 273-74.

Church, a shallow rectangular sanctuary, at a remove from some of the laity but permitting their ready surrounding of it to the sides (Figures 4.28 and 4.29). The English Altar, itself a vestigial representation of the ancient ciborium, completes the type. Pevsner sees French influence in the massing of the exterior of the church, but fails to note the Scandinavian flavour of the interior colour palette.[498]

In some ways the building steps forward daringly into the age of new materials. It makes use of brick, a traditional material, but alongside concrete, which made possible the construction of a completely open nave, lacking columns and even lacking arches of any kind. Aluminium windows are enclosed within concrete grids and the ceiling is lined with coloured felted acoustical tiles in a striking pattern of squares set on a diagonal to the nave below. Even the riddels of the altar are made of iron rather than painted and gilded wood (Figure 4.30).

This altar, along with the candle-topped prickets, stands in a wide sanctuary with three steps and tall standard candlesticks. A three-seat sedilia is placed on the south side and there is an aumbry to the north. Over the altar, almost flush with the ceiling, is a painted tester showing the descent of the Holy Spirit with the seven gifts. The altar rail neatly aligns with the two ambone that have replaced pulpit and lectern. The quire itself has the usual returned stalls for the clergy and a double-sided lectern from which one assumes the Passion may be chanted during Holy Week. It is obvious that the the church has been planned with the English Use in mind for, along with the other requisite elements, there stands the font at the west end with its tall cover. Keble Church stands at a turning-point in church design, looking simultaneously forward and backward in time.

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[498] Cherry, Bridget and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: North*. 156.

Carefully noted with the photographs of the John Keble church found in *New Churches Illustrated* is the fact that the interior 'is planned to give close relation of the congregation and choir to the sanctuary.'[499] In this little note is found the whole great conflict of the period dating from approximately 1930 to 1960, the attempted setting out in physical form of the perceived need for a modern liturgical expression. It would be impossible to survey in full the diverse influences which inspired the desire for change, but for the sake of this chapter it should suffice to remember what we saw in the previous chapter, that dissatisfaction with the Church of England's authorised liturgy, the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662, had been growing for some time and the only thing separating the first phases of the English Use from the latter is the period to which scholars appealed. As we saw in chapter 1, Dearmer and Staley looked to the Prayer Book of 1549. We will find, as this chapter progresses, that later scholars determined that authority rested in the catholic tradition of the whole Church and, more or less self-consciously, attempted to wrest the liturgy from what they saw as its medieval bondage and bring it back to a primitive purity recognisable to the Fathers of the Early Church. In so doing, it was imperative that the aesthetics of worship organically be integrated into its form. Out went Gothic, in came something else. What that something else was to be became the question of the hour and it was argued consistently that, whatever the style was to be, it could not be what it had been.

No more telling definition of what it meant to be modern was given than that in Barton's lectures for the BBC. He said, in 1932, that '"modern" art is the art that has escaped from the tyranny of nineteenth-century ideas.'[500] Chief among those nineteenth-century ideas, he suggested, were snobbery and antiquarianism.[501] It was a suggestion which logically lead to the rejection of

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[499] Cecil Harcourt-Smith, Chairman, *New Churches Illustrated* (London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936), 65.

[500] Barton, 13.

[501] Ibid.

principles which were integral to the English Use, so heavily bolstered as it was by the appeal of

well-educated, scholarly men to ancient authority and aesthetic precedent.

To view the state of the English Use in appropriate contrast to the growing concept of the modern

articulated by Barton in his radio lectures on the arts, and others in the realms of religion, is a basic

apprehension of what came to be called the Liturgical Movement. It is difficult to describe the

Liturgical Movement in a concise manner but John Fenwick and Brian Spinks have noted the

following characteristics as central to it: the struggle for community, participation, a rediscovery of

the early Church as a model, a rediscovery of the Bible, a rediscovery of the eucharist, an emphasis

on the vernacular, the rediscovery of other Christian traditions, and an emphasis on proclamation

and social involvement.[502] Writing while the Liturgical Movement was at its height, J.H. Srawley

summarised neatly what he perceived as three religious problems central to the Church in the

twentieth century:

> the decline during the present century of interest in institutional religion, the tendency to
> minimize supernatural religion as a religion of grace and to lay the whole emphasis on
> the practical expression of Christianity in its bearing on the problems of the day, and
> finally the emphasis on worship as a form of private devotion rather than as an expression
> of the Church's corporate life.[503]

These problems, it was believed, were exacerbated by the architectural setting of worship which

recalled the church (and the world) of another time and made the work of appealing to modern man

that much harder. As early as 1935, A.G. Hebert, in *Liturgy and Society: The Function of the

Church in the Modern World* strongly articulated this point. By no means a Modernist, Hebert's

comments deserve to be quoted at length.

> The Church equally is forced to express herself in the church-buildings she erects... It
> was a bad sign that churches in the Victorian period were built in Gothic: the fact that

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[502] John Fenwick and Brian Spinks, *Worship in Transition: The Liturgical Movement in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995), 5-11.

[503] J.H. Srawley, *The Liturgical Movement: Its Origin and Growth* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1954), 7.

churches were being built in a different style from public buildings and dwelling-houses seemed to say that the Church was following a false romanticism, seeking to escape from the present and live in a particular period of the past... The Gothic revival was thus a symptom that the Church was failing to meet the modern world and give its message in the language of the day.[504]

Despite the inaccuracy of Hebert's claim that Victorian churches did not reflect the wider architecture of the day, for factories, town halls, and houses were all built in the Gothic style, his point that a sort of play-acting escapism could be read in the churches of the Victorian period, and ostensibly in those Gothic churches being constructed in his day, did not run amiss. In fact, from the late 1920s, 'On one thing there seems general agreement, and that is the mischievous and degraded character of the flood of commercialised imitation Gothic which overspread the land, and particularly the churches, during the latter part of the nineteenth century.'[505] The archaeological personality of some early and important English Use advocates, Vernon Staley chief among them, and the Papalist argument that the English Use was mere 'British Museum religion' have already been noted.

Peter Hammond's hyperbolic observations in the 1960s about the state of Anglican worship represent the height of the Modernist argument for change and the crashing crest of the wave which had begun to rise in the 1930s. His quip,'[T]he Son of God did not take our nature upon him in order that, suitably attired in Elizabethan costume, we might sing sentimental religious poetry set to lugubrious Victorian chants'[506] was noted in the previous chapter. Of course, for Hammond the fundamental issue at hand was not principally an objection to the architectural setting of worship, nor even to the structure of worship per se, but to its theological content and implications. In the third chapter of *Liturgy and Architecture* he stated,

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[504] A.G. Hebert, *Liturgy and Society* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1935), 239-40.

[505] Newton, ed. 'Old Standards and Modern Problems in Decoration', 28.

[506] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 21.

> We have accepted uncritically a conventional layout which implies, for example, a view of the laity hopelessly at variance with modern biblical scholarship, and which would be regarded as seriously defective by contemporary theologians- whatever their denominational allegiance. The majority of our post-war churches are anachronistic- whether they are built in a contemporary idiom or not- *because their layout embodies a conception of the Church and its worship which is essentially medieval* [emphasis mine].[507]

This thought had been expressed earlier in the book in a passage that heaped criticism on the *Book of Common Prayer*.

> The English communion service is in many ways an extreme example of late-medieval thinking... It was this lack of historical perspective, and of any critical appreciation of liturgical development, that led the reformers into disastrous errors in their attempts to make the liturgy once again the common prayer of the people of God... Our liturgy, despite its undeniable qualities, is only one among many rites which 'stem from a Reformed tradition which has itself inadequately overcome the medievalism against which it first reacted.'[508]

'[The Reformers'] restricted view of the scope of redemption, their pre-occupation with the death of Christ, reflect the same mental climate as Anselm's treatise on the Incarnation,'[509] Hammond claimed.

So it was not, in fact, the architecture of the day which drove Hammond to write a book about liturgy and architecture. Strictly speaking, it was not even the liturgy, but rather the theological underpinnings of the liturgy which came to be expressed in an architectural context. The relatedness of theology to architecture in his thinking comes through much more clearly in his writing than it did in the writing of the English Use, as does his distaste for what he viewed as distinctly passé medieval theology, which led him to denigrate the stylistic tradition embodied in the work of Staley and Dearmer.

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[507] Ibid., 30-31.

[508] Ibid., 23. Hammond here quotes J.G. Davies: *An Experimental Liturgy*.

[509] Ibid, 22.

Despite the claim that such an environment is unacceptable, he notes the success of the English Use enterprise when he footnotes the Roman Catholic writer Maurice Villain: 'Viewed from without, the Anglican church gives the impression of living always in a late-medieval climate, and that a medieval age which is distinctly English.'[510] Such a statement could not have been made fifty years earlier. So universal had been the triumph of English Use aesthetics that the late-medieval context for a catholic liturgy clothed in late medieval ceremonial, and somehow maintaining an Anselmian theological emphasis which the Protestant Reformers would have praised, was recognised as being simply the way things are, a completely expected and natural state of affairs.

In actively disengaging from the aesthetic world of the English Use, Hammond was making a powerful statement about that tradition's legitimacy as an expression of Christian worship. *Liturgy and Architecture* was filled with interesting illustrations and diagrams, but only a handful bearing any resemblance to what might be understood as English Use architecture.[511] The only example in traditional style, Comper's St Philip's, Cosham, is praised for its plan alone (Figure 4.31). Despite the positive response to this, a roughly square interior with an altar moved way from the far-off east end, there is no mention of its stylistic character, an element of design integral to its architect's understanding of what makes a successful church and probably the most striking thing about the church to the general viewer. The disconnect between the plan and its stylistic articulation is characteristic of the struggle to move the ecclesiastical world away from a seemingly outmoded aesthetic expression.

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[510] 'Vue de l'exterieur l'Eglise anglicane... donne l'impression de vivre toujours dans un climat de moyen age et d'un moyen age typiquement anglais.' Maurice Villain, *Introduction a l'Oecumenisme*. (Paris-Tournai: Casterman, 1958). Translation mine.

[511] These are: St Philip's, Cosham, John Keble Church, Mill Hill, and Church of the Ascension, Crownhill. Of the three only St Philip's makes use of historical styles.

Yet St Philip's is an ideal example of the attempted synthesis of established English Use principles

with contemporary liturgical scholarship, a synthesis much more subtle and with greater potential

for exploration than the stylistically limited world of Modernism that, it would seem, Hammond

found most appropriate. Hammond noted of St Philip Cosham that it 'bears little resemblance to

anything the man in the street is likely to associate with functional architecture. Yet there is no

church built in this country since the beginning of the century which is so perfectly fitted to its

purpose.'[512] Style, Hammond is saying, must speak of function. In other words, a functional

building must look functional. It is precisely this association of functionality with a functionalist

aesthetic that Betjeman critiqued when he wrote, 'The trouble is that a "modernistical" as opposed

to a "modern" architect, mistakes unusual detail for the truly modern... Style is a side issue.'[513]

'St Philip's,' says Symondson, 'realised all that Comper had advocated in *Further Thoughts on the*

English Altar.'[514] In its breadth and its removal of the choir to a western gallery, it reflects the

spatial relationship of S Antholin, that example of Spanish Gothic which Addleshaw and Etchells

viewed, along with Comper, as a possible solution to the problems facing Anglican architecture in

the twentieth century (Figure 4.2). Being a rectangle of three bays by four with an additional central

bay forming a lady chapel beyond the high altar, St Philip's was no complex space of nave, aisles,

and chapels, but a great open hall with the altar under a ciborium at its centre (Figure 4.32). White

vaulting of very austere articulation floats above rows of Corinthian columns, their capitals derived

from North African precedents.[515] The font stands at the west end under a gilded canopy, a curious

and amusing tempietto topped with a crocketed ogee dome (Figure 4.33). The east window was to

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[512] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 74-75.

[513] Cited in Symondson, 'Of the Atmosphere of a Church' in *Sir Ninian Comper*, 236.

[514] Anthony Symondson, 'Unity by Inclusion: Sir Ninian Comper and the Planning of a Modern Church' in *Twentieth Century Architecture*, vol. 3, (London: The Twentieth Century Society, 1998), 35.

[515] Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 166.

have been fitted with coloured glass but only the uppermost tracery was ever filled, a gift of

Comper himself to the church.[516]

The distinctive hall-church effect obtained by eliminating extraneous spatial complications

undoubtedly appealed to the modern quest for simplicity. But St Philip's was not an iconoclastic

building. Fully functional, it was not an emblem of functionalism. In that it eliminated unnecessary

complexities, it did so without setting aside the stylistic tradition of the Church. It broke new

ground but without sacrificing that sense of continuity with the past that Comper viewed as integral

to the very essence of church architecture. St Philip's combination of Gothic vaulting and classical

columns in a great open space, white with limewash and light from the outside pouring through

clear glass, was not completely divorced from one's sense of what a church should be. It was an

evolutionary building, not a revolutionary one.

Such a sensitive approach is characteristic of Comper whose primary understanding of evolution in

design was organic. '[T]he plan, the "layout", of the church must first be in accord with the

requirements of the liturgy and the particular needs of those who worship within it'[517], he observed.

Yet, 'the purpose of a church is not to express the age in which it was built or the individuality of its

designer. Its purpose is to move to worship, to bring a man to his knees, to refresh his soul in a

weary land.'[518] Its 'imagery must express the balanced measure of the Faith.'[519]

In Comper's thinking there was certainly room for exploration of fresh liturgical scholarship but he

could not countenance the sacrifice of those visual cues which were so powerful an evocation of the

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[516] Ibid.

[517] Symondson, 'Of the Atmosphere of a Church' in *Sir Ninian Comper*, 235.

[518] Ibid., 234.

[519] Ibid., 235.

connectedness with the past that characterised the life of the Church. To Comper, tradition in style was important because tradition in theology was important. The criticism of theology that led Hammond to jettison style contrasts with Comper where an embracing of theology meant an embracing of style. Yet the static appeal to a medieval theology manifested in Gothic architecture, what both Hebert and Hammond criticised as sentimental escape, is not seen in Comper's work where there is no Gothic limitation and, presumably, no pure medievalism in theology.[520] It is perhaps for this reason that, '[Cosham], rather than the John Keble Church, was to prove the role model for the advanced church architects of the 1950s.'[521]

It is likely that Hammond and others would not have been disposed to admit the potential value in retaining traditional style, if only as a concession to familiarity, despite the obvious demonstration of Cosham that modern liturgical planning could be accommodated by traditional design with relative ease. As will be seen later, the hierarchy and formality inherent in the old manner were too problematic. Speaking of the English Use and its medievalisms, both liturgical and aesthetic, Seiriol Evans, Dean of Gloucester commented in 1962, 'But now this pattern of Eucharistic worship has ceased to be impelling for many people.'[522]

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[520] It is difficult to speculate on Comper's religious affections but if his increasing use of the *majestas* in his churches over the course of the century is any indication, it is not unreasonable to suggest that, to Comper, the key element of Christianity was the Resurrection rather than the Crucifixion. Such a view would put him thoroughly in line with some of the period's most eminent theologians such as Gustaf Aulen.

[521] Elaine Harwood, 'Liturgy and Architecture: The Development of the Centralised Eucharistic Space' in *The Twentieth Century Church*, vol. 3, Twentieth Century Architecture (London: The Twentieth Century Society, 1998), 57.

[522] Gilbert Cope, ed. *Making the Building Serve the Liturgy: Studies in the Re-ordering of Churches* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Limited, 1962), 47.

Section iv - Radicalism, Revolution, and the end of the English Use

The tension brought about by changing fashion may be seen clearly at the Church of the Ascension,

Crownhill, Plymouth, designed by Robert Potter (1909-2010) of Potter & Hare (Figure 4.34).[523]

Begun in 1954 and completed in 1958, funds for its construction came in part from the War Damage

Commission. At first glance, Ascension is a Modernist church, albeit articulated rather gently. Its

stone and render exterior is plain; there are no carved grotesques and no hood moulds over

windows. The windows themselves are ribbon-like, and in its canted east and west walls, which the

roof overhangs in dramatic fashion, the church displays some of the same design tropes as a

contemporaneous lodge or mountain cabin.[524] On the interior, there is much concrete and the

swelling ceiling is supported by polished columns of the stuff, gently swelling as well, and all rather

more tent-like than rigidly structural (Figure 4.35).

But it cannot be said that these concessions to Modernist style made Ascension a fully Modernist

church. In fact, Ascension is very clearly a reworking of Comper's St Philip, Cosham.[525] There is

some added variety in the minimally projecting transepts, the effect of which is to light the interior

of the church in a much less even, and hence more dramatic, fashion than that seen at Cosham. The

use of colour on the ceiling also stands out as a decorative element, a liturgical non-essential. The

lesson inherent in Ascension is that the synthesis of Modern style and modern liturgical planning

need not be entirely divorced from the visually familiar.

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[523] For a full description of Ascension, Crownhill see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Devon*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 640.

[524] For an examination of these stylistic elements in relation to domestic design see Chad Randl, *A-frame* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004).

[525] 'Robert Potter, a pupil of W.H. Randoll Blacking, admits that he was much inspired by the latter's master, Ninian Comper.' Harwood, 63.

Ascension, Crownhill, is still an obviously English Use building and a building so heavily indebted to Comper in particular regard to its plan and furnishing that it is with great surprise one reads Hammond's comment, 'The church at Crownhill... is one of the most satisfactory buildings for liturgy completed in this country since the war.'[526] Ascension's indebtedness to the plan of St Philip's, Cosham, has been noted above. Also striking is the use of a gilded ciborium of modern design, and made all the more so by the intended placement on the east wall of a 'figure of Christ in Majesty by Jacob Epstein, surrounded by twelve small hexagonal windows designed by the same artist and executed in Paris by Jean Barillet.'[527] Such a combination of ciborium and *majestas* would have approximated some of Comper's designs dating from the late 1920s and early 30s.[528] The excitement with which Hammond writes is palpable as he concludes, 'Unlike some modern churches, however, this is first and foremost a building for corporate worship: not a museum of religious art, owing its sole distinction to the work of a celebrated painter or sculptor.'[529] One hardly knows what to think as praise is lavished on a building the plan and decoration of which are merely a freshly made-up version of a church built in the 1930s.

More intriguing still is the degree to which the single photograph of Ascension found in *Liturgy and Architecture* (Figure 4.36) appears so closely related to the frontispiece of Pocknee's revision of *The Parson's Handbook* in 1965, a revision, it will be remembered, that was intended as a freshening-up of the English Use, specifically in its Dearmer-esque form, not a replacement along Modernist lines. The spatial arrangement of both the imagined church in the frontispiece and the actual church of Crownhill are nearly identical: transeptal churches with eastern apses, the sanctuary placed westward of the apse and only slightly elevated above nave level. Likewise, the liturgical

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[526] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 118.

[527] Ibid. It is most unfortunate that this sculpture was never made. It would greatly improve the interior's sense of focus.

[528] All Saints, London Colney (1927) and Pusey House Chapel (1935) spring immediately to mind.

[529] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 118.

furnishings of altar, ciborium, and enclosing altar rails are twinned, despite their stylistic variances. Even the posture and placement of the clergy and servers is similar between the images, the central difference being the direction of eucharistic celebration.

Such a close relation between an image intended to support the English Use and one representing a church highly lauded as '[enabling] the local Christian community to worship with understanding'[530] is striking and the question once again arises whether the issue of style possessed greater prominence in the minds of some writers of the time than they were willing to admit. Two churches nearly identical in plan and in suggested liturgical performance must be divided by more than mere style, but what this division might be cannot be discerned by reading the texts, and the images themselves are no more helpful.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the difference between the English Use represented by Pocknee and the worship of the 'local Christian community' described by Hammond and somehow exemplified by Ascension, Crownhill has more to do with the liturgical action happening within the building and the theology behind it than with the architecture itself. To simplify, two churches identical in plan and capable of being put to the same liturgical use could be construed as representing two disparate strands of thought provided they differ in style. That some other, perhaps less tangible, difference may be discernible seems unlikely.

Belsham's frontispiece for Pocknee's revised *Parson's Handbook* makes it abundantly clear that the English Use had, by 1965, sufficiently evolved to incorporate new trends in liturgical planning. It had ceased to be the carrier of a refined late-medieval atmosphere only, but of a modern aesthetic as well, one that combined the strands of historical style to create a fresh visual take on what it meant

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[530] Ibid.

to be a church rooted in the past, in the holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the two Sacraments, and the historic episcopate.[531] The English Use had truly become at last the Anglican Use.[532]

If one considers Ascension, Crownhill, to be an Anglican Use building, a viable argument when the church is considered in terms of its liturgical plan, as well as its style which borrows heavily from established English Use conventions, it may also be said that the Anglican Use had adapted to Modernist stylistic concerns in a manner sufficient to ensure its continued influence in the Church of England. However, the architectural developments of the latter part of the 1960s do not demonstrate such continuing life. The continuity with the past, and even the fresh exploration of that heritage, particularly as demonstrated in visual form at churches like Ascension, Crownhill, came to be seen as insufficient. Seeds of revolution, some unwittingly sown in the earlier part of the century, came to fruition in Hammond's 1960s critique of style.[533] The style was the message and the style had to change, not because it could not convey the old message successfully, but because a new message had to be conveyed, one that was utterly foreign to the now-developed Anglican Use, and represented such a radical break in historical continuity that it might be termed a second Reformation.[534]

No one can argue that the radicalism of the 1960s in regard to theology, liturgy, and architecture was unexpected or unclear. In the realm of Anglican church design, Modernist disgust with

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[531] Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, 1888.

[532] 'That we now have something like a recognizable Anglican Use, particularly in our cathedrals and larger churches, is due in no small measure to the late Percy Dearmer, the author of *The Parson's Handbook* and the general editor of The English Hymnal.' Pocknee, *The Parson's Handbook*, ix.

[533] It cannot be said that Hammond's critique is anything more than this; his other arguments can all be set aside when the appropriate architectural examples are brought forward.

[534] I would like to make clear that this statement is not a judgment on the content of the Reformation of the 16th century, but merely an observation of the practical impact of events in the 1960s on the life of the parishes and the structures of liturgy and popular religion that had hitherto held sway.

traditional forms and ornament was aggressive and unveiled.[535] While Peter Hammond's comments

about the 'anachronistic' nature of post-War churches echoed the writing of Barton in the 1930s,

that '"modern" art is the art that has escaped from the tyranny of nineteenth-century ideas'[536], his

continued attack on tradition, both architectural and liturgical, and, vicariously, theological, can be

seen in his essay 'A Radical Approach to Church Architecture.' Were the inclusion in the title of the

word 'radical' not clear enough, he writes in the fifth paragraph his view that the liturgical

movement was fundamentally concerned with a 'radical reassessment of the whole content of the

Christian faith.'[537] 'The pathetic irrelevance of most of our modern churches stems from the

Church's failure to shoulder its responsibilities,'[538] he says. Continuing, he presents the

philosophical basis of his attack on traditional design:

> While doctrinal error has stemmed in the first instance from a defective understanding
> of the Church, it has been perpetuated by churches in which erroneous doctrine has
> assumed visible and tangible form. The spiritual has indeed been moulded by the
> concrete; the meanings and values embodied in stone have continued to shape the
> worship and piety of Christians even when the false teaching from which those meanings
> and value derive has been recognized and corrected.[539]

Put plainly, traditional design has perpetuated a lie and must be done away with. Because not only

planning, but style also, has been the carrier of this lie, it must be replaced. Or, to say it even more

simply, traditional style is bad because it lies. The association of traditional building, and style in

particular, with 'erroneous doctrine,' that is, wrong theology, made it impossible for Hammond, and

anyone else holding similar opinions, to accept its potential validity even when applied to a plan

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[535] See both the collection of essays edited by Hammond in Peter Hammond, ed. *Towards a Church Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1962) and those edited by Gilbert Cope.

[536] Barton, 13.

[537] Peter Hammond, 'A Radical Approach to Church Architecture' in *Towards a Church Architecture* (London: The Architectural Press, 1962), 17.

[538] Ibid., 30.

[539] Ibid., 35.

which suited modern liturgical ideas. Even the gentle progressivism of Ascension, Crownhill, was

insufficiently insurrectional for the Modernists.

Consecrated in 1960, just prior to the final reprint of *The Parson's Handbook* in 1965, was a

building that, in its plan and style, made such a significant leap into the brave new Modernist world

that it represents Hammond's desired break with the Anglican Use tradition and thus and a move

towards a new church architecture, a new liturgical understanding, and, in this, a new Church

(Figure 4.37). Hammond called St Paul's, Bow Common, 'a church of outstanding promise.'[540] Its

architect Robert Maguire (b. 1931) of Maguire & Murray noted the building's indebtedness to Dom

Gregory Dix' *The Shape of the Liturgy*,[541] a book which signalled a move away from the theological

tradition contained within the *Book of Common Prayer* and towards a primitivist understanding of

the liturgy which reinterpreted the immediate past and implied a changing architectural context to

suit.[542]

Whereas Ascension, Crownhill, had evolved within a tradition and, despite its stylistic

distinctiveness, retained the obvious seeds of that tradition within itself, St Paul's, Bow Common,

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[540] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 113. For a full description of St Paul's, Bow Common see Bridget Cherry and Nikolaus Pevsner, *London: East* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002), 606-7.

[541] Maguire quoted on St Paul's Bow Common website: 'Founding Principles,' 'At 25, I was then a rebellious Roman Catholic able to stomach only the Olivetan Benedictines of Bec, in Normandy, and who as a student had sat at the feet of Rudolf Wittkower and John Summerson; Keith at 27 was an oddball High Church Anglican designer who had a great familiarity with the Bible and an amazing knowledge of the Early Christian world, who had just read Dom Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*. I think I can honestly say that consciously at least, St Paul's owed nothing to what any of the mainline churches here were doing at the time. I think one of the factors that recommended us to our Marxist vicar client was our sheer rebellion.' http://www.stpaulsbowcommon.org.uk/about-our-church/a-very-flexible-space/founding-principles/

[542] Dix is pointed in his criticism of late-medieval devotion and Reformation Anglicanism (which he sees as maintaining an incorrect theological emphasis) and of the architectural context that the early English Usagers in particular sought to emulate. 'The altar was seen by them through the arches of the screen, above which was the great Rood with its realistic crucifix, perpetually focussing attention on the facts that the Son of Man had died and here was the living memorial of His passion... The total effect of the mediaeval view is to emphasise the past historical reference in S. Paul's words that in the eucharist "ye do proclaim the Lord's death", to the neglect of the eschatological implications of what follows, "till He come"... It is the undiluted tradition of mediaeval extra-liturgical devotion in which [Cranmer] had always lived, but transferred by him from the sphere of private devotion to become the very substance and meaning of the liturgy itself.' Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1960), 622.

stood resolutely outside that tradition and was better suited to a liturgical expression that, though hinted at in the Liturgical Movement, would not fully manifest itself until the implementation of the Alternative Services of the 1980s. Maguire, reflecting on the design, noted the discontinuity with earlier ideals of church planning and grounded this change in the revolutionary theological climate of the 1960s. 'Patterns of worship [that] developed through the Victorian and Edwardian and between-wars periods... were predominantly non-participatory, characterised by private devotion even though communally performed, and exhortation to the individual conscience from the pulpit.'[543] New interpretations of the Pauline conception of the Church had been ongoing from the 1920s and 30s,

> but at that time, and during the immediate post-war period, it was not seen as necessitating a new kind of church building. There was therefore a tension between (often covert) experimentation with new participatory forms of worship and the limitations imposed by the buildings... Often [the primary concerns] were, and still are, seen in the simplistic terms of people being able to see and hear well what is going on, so that all that is necessary is to bring the altar forward and to plan the building short and wide rather than long and thin as before. That however is to miss the point, for 'what is going on' is not 'up there' but the action, the words and the song of everyone. The very spatial character of the building has to be such that it promotes in each individual person the conviction of belonging: inclusive space.[544]

Whether such inclusion of individual expression within the corporate nature of worship had been taking place in churches planned along traditional lines was irrelevant; the church must look as though this is taking place. Architecture must make a statement, and it must be a different statement from what it had been saying hitherto. As with the confusion of function with functionalist design noted by Betjeman in regard to so many of the 'modernistical' churches of the 1930s, so Maguire's discourse reveals the same confusion of appearance and reality taking place in the 1960s.

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[543] Maguire in Charles Lutyens' catalogue for the exhibition 'Being in the World' (2011) quoted on St Paul's Bow Common website: 'Founding Principles.'

[544] Ibid.

The inclusion symbolised by St Paul's, Bow Common, may be discerned in its plan which had, 'grown from an attempt to relate the altar... to the priest and people in such a way that they can best carry out their functions in the liturgy.'[545] The building is rectangular with the altar placed only slightly away from the centre under an iron ciborium (Figure 4.38). There is no sense of nave and aisles, but rather a great open space surrounded by a processional pathway articulated by columns and entered through a small octagonal porch. Chapels, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and for the reserved sacrament, project to the north and east, providing some respite from the otherwise unarticulated brick walls. The whole is lighted from above by an enormous lantern (Figure 4.39). The typical furnishings of an Anglican parish church are nowhere to be seen and even the font is placed to one side of the processional pathway rather than, as by now expected, at the west directly opposite the altar.

At St Paul's, the abolition of the paired pulpit and lectern, the movement of the font and its lack of dramatic cover, the absence of any rail in or around the sanctuary, and the lack of fixed seating demonstrate a very different approach to liturgy from the fixed, railed (or screened), and highly ornamented religion that was the English Use. Even the more considered and newly matured Anglican Use has now been abandoned in favour of a liturgy of movement, of variety, lacking fixity in form, able to be tailored to the needs of the day. Even the nature of the church as a mixed-use space differed from those commonly built in the period, the

> double-ended church halls, longish shoe-boxes with a stage at one end and a so-called sanctuary at the other (another stage for the performance of religious rites) which could be screened off for secular activities - the polarity between 'sacred' and 'secular' being thus made extra manifest![546]

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[545] Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 114.

[546] Maguire, private correspondence with Duncan Ross, 23 March 2010, quoted on St Paul's Bow Common website: 'Inclusive Space.' http://www.stpaulsbowcommon.org.uk/about-our-church/a-very-flexible-space/inclusive-space13604/

The newness of the scheme is clear.[547] It represented a new theology embodied in a new manner of liturgical performance which itself demanded a new architectural context. It also, apparently, demanded a new artistic expression. Seen on paper, the plan of St Paul's, Bow Common could easily be compared to Comper's St Philip, Cosham or Comper's proposed St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell.[548] In fact, St Paul's might rightly be said to be a synthesis of the two earlier churches, a rectangular space with the altar at near-centre, but lit from above and surrounded by a processional aisle (Figures 4.40-42).

As early as 1937, Comper was being praised by Anson as, 'more concerned with the functional purpose of a church than with its aesthetic appearance.'[549] What this meant, he explained, was that Comper worked out the plan and then clothed it in a manner which seemed most appropriate.[550] To Comper, appropriateness of style had to do with its historical connectedness, its ability to reflect the measure of the faith, in a way, its ability to evoke the placelessness and timelessness that traditional architectural forms and decorative references are recognised to foster.[551] The intentional disuse of these evocative forms at St Paul's, Bow Common was the inevitable outcome of opinions like Hebert's, that Gothic architecture was not suitable because it made it seem as though 'the Church was following a false romanticism, seeking to escape from the present and live in a particular period of the past.'[552] Even a mixture of Gothic with other styles recalled too strongly the church's past.

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[547] 'Unlike St Philip, Cosham, its importance was immediately recognised and it was published both in its design stages and on completion.' Harwood, 70.

[548] Though never constructed according to plan, the church demonstrates just how accommodating of fresh liturgical expression English Use architecture could be. And though not a parish church, it demonstrates most fully of any work of the twentieth century the height of the synthesis between English medieval and Continental Classical style that, by the time of its proposed construction in 1943, had come to characterise English/Anglican Use publications. For more on St John, Clerkenwell see Symondson, *Sir Ninian Comper*, 184-6.

[549] Ibid.

[550] Ibid.

[551] This is the general thrust of Comper's essay 'On the Atmosphere of a Church.'

[552] Hebert, 240.

The Modern style provided the fundamental escape from the past in the visual realm that the new theology promoted in the liturgical realm.

For Hammond, Maguire, and others, the escape from the 'false romanticism' of the Gothic style was an escape from a type of comfortable hypocrisy. Roger Scruton picks up on this idea when he writes,

> the Gothic Revival had been accepted as an integral part of the English settlement, a good-natured attempt to ensure that God found suitable accommodation in the country that was his… To the visiting architectural historian it had turned the English towns and cities into vast areas of pretence, as hypocritical in their appearance as in the religious manners the buildings signified.[553]

This apparent pretence satisfied neither Hammond nor Maguire who wrote of Bow Common, 'No mystery, no romanticism, no obscurities about function or circulation.'[554] The church was to serve the liturgy, but no more. It was not to evoke; it was not to inspire. It was to function. Rayner Banham noted, 'It may only be days, it may be months, before St Paul's is denounced as "only a machine for worshipping in", but when it is we shall know that even its detractors have admitted that it has started from essentials, and serves them properly.'[555] It may be that St Paul's served the actions of the liturgy, but it is likely that Comper and others would have suggested that there is more to liturgy than function, just as Scruton suggests there was more to English religion than conviction.

But mechanistic conceptions of church architecture were not foreign even to the English Use movement. Comper's notion that a church should bring one to one's knees entailed the assumption

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[553] Roger Scruton, *Our Church: A Personal History of the Church of England* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012), 106-107.

[554] Harwood, 71.

[555] Ibid., 71-72.

that the individual's reaction could, after a fashion, be manipulated were the right means in use.[556]

However, the scale on which Modern architecture was intended to operate was entirely new. St Paul's, Bow Common, and other churches like it represented a sea change in the Church of England, a move away from the thoughtful but isolationist scholarship of Staley, Dearmer and others and the new (but still careful) learning of Comper and Hebert, to the dramatic revolutionary thought of Hammond, informed by fresh perspectives on tradition, via Dom Gregory Dix et al., and big ideas on every side. The concomitant change in church architecture, in part as a result of liturgical change, though not exclusively, resulted in the evolution of English Use into a broader-minded Anglican Use. This in turn was wiped away by an unstoppable wave of Modernism, both in theology and in architecture, and resulted in a renovated Church, which, as the following conclusion will argue, is now largely unrecognisable as either distinctly English or classically Anglican.

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[556] Maguire consciously criticised Comper when he wrote of St Matthew, Perry Beaches, Birmingham (1962-64), 'There are no views of the primeval forest, no glories of stained glass, no splendid images to possess empty space and force the visitor to his knees.' Harwood, 73.

Conclusion

Whatever may be thought of the liturgy and ceremonial of the Church of England today, it cannot

with any degree of integrity be described as distinctively Anglican. The prescribed *Common*

Worship, while permitting the inclusion of certain texts from the *Book of Common Prayer*, owes

more to the ancient Syrian liturgies of the fourth and fifth centuries than the Reformed of the

sixteenth. Its canon savours of Hippolytus rather than Cranmer, and its ceremonies of Rome in the

aftermath of the Second Vatican Council rather than Canterbury post-1549.[557] The development of

Anglicanism over the past century and a half made such a result inevitable and, though there is

much to be argued over in terms of a clear definition of 'historic Anglican practice,' if indeed such a

definition is possible, the potential for surveying the reasons for such sweeping change is viable

given some distance from the nativity of the ideas which led to the current condition.

It has not been not my intention to survey the entirety of Anglican liturgical history in this thesis.

What I have attempted to do is to define one strand of the High-Church tradition in the twentieth

century and to trace its development, especially as it relates to ceremonial and architecture. The

English Use, as I suggested in the introduction to this thesis, has been known only in an ephemeral

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[557] In 1911 Walter Frere predicted this shift in *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*. He stated, 'At some future revision there will be, no doubt… a reconstruction on more primitive lines.' Walter Frere, *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform: A Contribution Towards the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer* (London: John Murray, 1911), 188.

As though in answer to Frere, Bradshaw and Johnson relate the structure of modern liturgies to a number of factors. They write, 'The "return to the sources" of Scripture and the early Christian tradition, initially brought about, as we noted in the previous chapter, by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century, was given further impetus by the rise of the historical-critical reading of biblical and other texts by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the period of Romanticism and restoration mentality of the nineteenth century, and not least by the development of Patristic scholarship at the University of Tubingen and elsewhere. Such a Patristic focus brought with it an increasing desire to move away from medieval scholasticism and a narrow institutional understanding of the Church toward a recovery of a richer sacramental worldview, and understanding of the church corporately as the Body of Christ and People of God, and the rediscovery of the theology and spirituality of the Christian East and West. So also the various and related "movements" taking shape throughout the church… contributed to setting the stage for renewed attention to the liturgy and its role in Christian formation.' Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (London: S.P.C.K., 2012), 298-99.

For a critical analysis of *Common Worship* see Peter Toon, *Common Worship Considered: A Liturgical Journey Examined* (Corbridge: The Brynmill Press, Ltd., 2003).

way. Historians, both of religion and of art, have not taken the time to investigate its primary texts, nor have they presented, in any programmatic fashion, its relationship to the arts it fostered. I hope I have gone some way towards remedying this deficiency in our understanding of the liturgical and artistic climate of the last century. To know more deeply where we have been enables us to begin understanding where we are.

The steady catholicisation of Anglican liturgy over the course of the twentieth century naturally led to a catholicisation of the architectural spaces in which the liturgy operated as well as the ornaments of these churches and the ministers of the Church of England. It is possible that I go too far in using the word catholic, that is universal, to describe these changes. The majority of strictly liturgical changes were, and still are, most closely related to those developments which took place beginning in the 1920s on the Continent during what has been titled, perhaps not entirely appropriately, the Liturgical Movement.[558] The architecture that eventually came to clothe this movement was of 1920s vintage as well, though of a radically different sort to what was really the universal architecture of the day.

Here I reference a movement which I began to explore in the previous chapter. Modernism, theological and aesthetic, led, in the middle decades of the twentieth century, to some truly dramatic alterations in the traditions of ceremonial and building which hitherto had occupied the English liturgists and architects. Beginning honourably enough in a desire to reform organisations whose life and practice was often encumbered with, rather than supported and sustained by, their pasts it became a movement of dissatisfied iconoclasm.[559] Modernist purity of thought, the mechanistic,

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[558] While the movement's impact manifested itself most apparently in the realm of liturgical action, it was really a theological reevaluation of ecclesiology closely related to modern sociology, especially the rise of the communal.

[559] Peter Hammond's various remarks on the relative value of traditional theological formulations and their associated architectural expression as already presented here should be sufficient evidence of this.

pragmatic drive towards clarity and utility, so enchanted its most outspoken advocates (liturgist Peter Hammond and architects Maguire & Murray have been treated in isolation but they were certainly not alone at the time) that they came to care little for the contributions of the age immediately previous and to see answers to contemporary questions only in the shining functionalist future. It was not merely the architecture, after all, that was possessed of this spirit but the theology as well.[560] In the Modernists' view, whatever the Church was about, it had nothing to do with eternal truth and the mysteries of God as they had been historically understood. St Paul's, Bow Common, and a thousand poor imitations of it are the architectural manifestation of Bultmann's demytholigised New Testament, pristine but lifeless.

The root of the desire to clear away the detritus of the Church may be found in the generation immediately previous. Dearmer, Staley, the members and supporters of the Alcuin Club, even the Western Usagers, willingly and sometimes fanatically subject to the dictates of the Roman magisterium, understood the distant past to be an ideal. Rather than in the collective tradition of the near-present they sought salvation in a new-old life. A revivified middle ages or a freshened-up Tridentine piety was the balm of all the Church's woes. When neither would quite satisfy, the two grew together. What they could have become is uncertain.

Their fascinated researches into the past opened a door that could not be shut, not because the past was forever to become the model, for this sort of thing had happened many times before, but because they propagated their findings on their own authority at a time when the very idea of authority itself was coming under steady assault. There was to be no operation of checks and balances. As a theological development, the shift in authority from one external to the Church to

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[560] For an American perspective on Modernism contemporary with its development see the 2009 reprint of Machen's 1923 book, *Christianity and Liberalism*. J. Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

one integral to it does not stand within the scope of this thesis. However, its significance cannot be underestimated. Where the English Usagers and the Modernists stand together is that their view of authority lay in some fashion within the Church. For the former, it was found in a strict interpretation of the words of the Prayer Book confirmed by Parliament. For the latter it was found in the will of the Church itself as a collective expression of the Holy Spirit. The ready susceptibility to change of both of these authorities eventually bound the Church in the chains of a formless, tyrannical freedom, a condition in which it still finds itself.

As expressions of theological development, liturgy, ceremonial, and architecture, particularly when assessed together as the unity they truly are, indicate reliably the direction of an ecclesiastical age. Over the course of the twentieth century this process of change was far more complicated than anyone could hope to cover in a short space, and even Anson's laudable account of changing fashion over the course of a century minimises the extent to which theology was a driving force. However, in concluding this survey of Anglican liturgy, and its concomitant arts, it is necessary to make note of the importance of this sea change in the life and outlook of so many of the churches of the West.

The first half of the twentieth century, more realistically the years between 1899 and 1965, seems at once so familiar and so foreign that we seldom examine it, let alone with the depth that permits both appreciation and criticism. The temper of the age and its conflicts assured the triumph of the Modernism with which we still live, and within which the Church of England still to a degree operates, and we are thus blinkered to the truly fascinating and significant liturgical and aesthetic discourse that absorbed those seventy years. As has been seen, both the English and Western parties eventually won a section of the hard-sought prize and a degree of union, both of ceremonial and aesthetic character, was effected by the 1950s. Yet both parties were to be disappointed and the not

entirely unexpected, but still abrupt, appearance of Modernism on England's shores meant that the gains of the previous decades were ultimately lost.

Looking back from a position vastly different to that occupied by the precursors of establishment Modernism, what must not be forgotten is that the English Use, as much as the Western, first appeared in the parishes. These conflicting but related ideals sprang up as potential answers to the problem of perceived liturgical chaos in the Church of England. The appeal of the English Use in particular related far more to its easy applicability and suitedness to the English temper of the age than to any concerted effort of imposition from the top down.[561]

In an age dominated by a debate between the English and Western Uses with those advocates of the Western Use, aptly described as Roman or Papalist, believing the Church of England to be essentially renegade and in need of reunion with the larger body of Christians who came under the authority of Rome, the position of those considering themselves loyal to the established Church of England and its rule of worship, the Prayer Book, took on a significance far beyond their number or personal fame.[562] Believing the Church of England to be a part of the catholic Church already and possessed of its own authority, national character, and national use, they imparted, through publications and architectural works, a sense of identity that the English Church could make her own.

Despite the eventual triumph of the Western Usagers in the debate over liturgical structure, ceremonial, and, to a significant degree, doctrine, the English Use ruled the period in the form of an

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[561] 'The object of this Handbook is to help, in however humble a way, towards remedying the lamentable confusion, lawlessness, and vulgarity which are conspicuous in the Church at this time.' Dearmer, *Handbook*, 3.

[562] See the Introduction to *Pictures of the English Liturgy* where obedience to Western regulations is portrayed as tantamount to philosophical unity. That the Church of England claims its own authority distinct from that of the Roman communion (as in Articles XIX and XXXIV) is ignored. *Pictures of the English Liturgy*, 5.

aesthetic, at first purely late-medieval but later imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. Its aesthetic endowed the Church of England with an order and majesty befitting a national church with the monarch as its Head. It is the very uniquely twentieth-century-Englishness of the English Use that makes it worthy of study. In no other place and in no other age could such a movement have appeared, let alone flourished.

What I have attempted to do in the preceding chapters is to inhabit the English Use in such a way as to allow it to speak largely on its own terms and in its own voice. I have not shied away from making some criticisms, but the overall tenor of my work is positive, not only because the Use appeals to my own ideals regarding certain aspects of worship, but because most of the available English Use publications are, in their own way, positive. They seek an answer to an immediate problem and do so in a manner that is authoritative and adventurous, yet romantic and deeply beautiful. The English Use writers embarked on a journey of discovery, of revival on the one hand, and of ready adaptation to the modern world on the other. As such, the majority of their work still speaks of a new age and of possibility. While some later writing is perhaps a little bit tired, the inquisitive problem-solving mentality never really leaves the scene. It is this spirit that illuminates even the most pedantic discussion of pre-Reformation ceremonial as applied to a contemporary need. When figures like Percy Dearmer and Vernon Staley speak, they are prophetic and visionary. They stand worlds apart from the dull routine of communal expressions of inoffensive niceness that dominate today's Anglican world and they make possible an idealised English worship in the most ordinary of places.

<u>Appendix 1:</u>
The Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer (1662) with Deviations Permitted under the Alternative Services Measure (1965) and Ceremonial Instructions following the English Use

The following text outlines one possible interpretation of the *Book of Common Prayer* along English Use lines. It takes into account the developments of the 1928 Prayer Book and in its rearrangement of some of the Prayer Books texts follows the form authorised in the Alternative Services Measure of 1965 which permitted alterations already in use for some decades. A certain amount of ceremonial instruction is provided and this is modelled on the Alcuin Club tracts *A Directory of Ceremonial vols. I and II*, *A Server's Manual*, and Cyril Pocknee's edition of *The Parson's Handbook* (1965). Though the ideal posited by the English Use is a full High Mass with three sacred Ministers and numerous assistants, this text assumes only one Minister in holy orders in addition to the Priest as well as a Thurifer and two Taperers. A small Choir is also assumed.

The setting for this service is a town church of moderate size, early medieval in origin but having been rebuilt in the second half of the fifteenth century and given a clerestory. Gently restored by an Edwardian architect of quality and given a new chancel and English Use furnishings, it is treasured by the priest in charge, a learned man with a real love of the late middle ages and greatly influenced by the Caroline Divines and, to a limited degree, the Non-Jurors, but who is also committed to the idea that the Church of England is a Reformed church and thus holds a moderately Protestant theology with a gloss of catholic ceremonial. There is a nave with north and south aisles. What would be a north chapel has been closed off by a panelled vestry. The south aisle continues into parclose-screened Lady Chapel. From the Lady Chapel projects a small chantry built on the cusp of the Reformation by a local family of some significance. It has been fitted with a Stuart tomb of typical extravagance and rendered unusable as a space for divine service. There is a rood screen with a loft and figures above, and there are returned stalls in the chancel. The sanctuary is

reasonably spacious and possesses a re-set medieval piscina, a credence, and an elegant two-seat sedilia. The whole is fitted with a pavement of black and white marble. The altar is set on a footpace and enclosed by curtains on painted riddel posts. There is a low painted reredos underneath the east window into which have been inserted various fragments of medieval glass from the previous chancel windows, the effect being more atmospheric than authentic. The pulpit is Georgian of average quality,with a sounding board, having been cut down from its original triple-decker form. The font is a plain twelfth-century bowl with a pseudo-Jacobean cover. The nave is filled with chairs rather than pews and the windows of the nave are largely free of stained glass with the exception of a few medieval remnants scattered here and there and a pair of windows by Charles Eamer Kempe in the north aisle. The walls have been plastered and limewashed in accord with the English Use appeal for a bright, clean interior and the few post-medieval monuments artistically re-sited. The stone nave floor has recently been relaid. There is a two-manual organ in a Kempe case in a gallery at the west end of the church, the instrument having been formerly over the vestry in the north chancel aisle. The whole interior is covered by a wooden roof of some elaboration and retaining in places its original medieval colour. A ceilure of blue with gold stars has been added recently above the high altar. The space is lit by Georgian style chandeliers, recently installed to replace the earlier Victorian fittings.

The service a Procession and Holy Communion for Candlemas, February 2. The Service setting is Merbecke sung by both the Choir and Congregation.

The Priest is vested in alb and amice with apparells, girdle, stole, and cope and the Minister (Clerk) in apparelled alb and amice, girdle, and tunicle. The Thurifer and Taperers are young boys of the parish and wear albs and amices with apparells and girdles. The colour for Candlemas is white or gold.

The Priest goes to the altar preceded by the Taperers, Thurifer, and the Clerk who carries a lighted taper. He blesses the candles using the following form and censes them:[563]

The Lord be with you.

Answer: And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY, everlasting God, who as on this day wast pleased that thy only-begotten One should be presented in thy holy temple, an received in the arms of St. Simeon, we humbly beseech thy mercy that thou wouldst vouchsafe to bless, and sanctify, and kindle with the light of thy heavenly benediction these candles, which we thy servants desire to take up and carry in honour of thy name, to the end that by offering them to thee our Lord God, and being inflamed by the holy fire of thy most sweet brightness, we may be found worthy to be presented in the holy temple of thy glory. Through the same thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Who liveth, &c. Amen.

He then blesses the light held by the Clerk.

O HOLY Lord, Father Almighty, unfailing light, who art the maker of all light, bless this light to be borne by the faithful in honour of thy name, so that being sanctified and blessed by thee we may be kindled and illuminated bt the brightness of thy light; and mercifully vouchsafe to grant, that as thou didst once cause the face of thy servant Moses to shine with the same fire, so thou wouldst

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[563] The Form for the Blessing of Candles comes from *A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. II.*

illuminate our hearts and senses, that we may be found meet to attain the vision of eternal brightness. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Having done this, unlighted candles are distributed to the Clerk and Servers; and then to the Choir, who come up to the sanctuary step. On returning to their places the Choir sings Nunc Dimittis (Thomas Tallis, Short Service) with the antiphon 'A light to lighten the Gentiles' followed by Psalm 27 (plainchant), during which the people come up to the entrance into the Choir, where the Priest meets them, and, assisted by the Servers, distributes the blessed candles which the Clerk may light. The distribution over, the Priest and Servers return to the sanctuary, where their own candles are lit by the Clerk, who then carries the cross in the Procession. This sets out as usual (Clerk (now carrying the Processional cross), Taperers, Thurifer, Priest), all carrying lighted candles.

Procession: E.H. 218 Ye Who Own the Faith of Jesus

The Procession exits the chancel, the Choir following the Priest, and the people joining in the Procession, carrying their candles, and passes down the south aisle, turning up the centre aisle and then turning down the north aisle, and returning up the centre aisle where a station is made before the rood.

We wait for thy loving kindness, O God.
Answer: In the midst of thy temple.

Let us pray.

O LORD, we beseech thee graciously to hear thy people, and as thou dost permit us year by year to worship thee with outward devotion, so grant us to attain to the inward light of thy grace; through Christ our Lord who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

The Procession then resumes, the Ministers and Choir reentering the chancel, and the people returning to their seats, remaining standing. The Choir at their places, a second station is made before the altar, the Priest beginning,

Let us pray.

O ALMIGHTY God, who has largely shed on us the illumination of the incarnate Word: Grant that our minds may by faith be filled with that heavenly light, and our wills strengthened so show forth thy glory by our deeds; through Jesus Christ Our Lord &c. Amen.

After this all candles which have been distributed may conveniently be extinguished. The Ministers return to the vestry, where the Priest removes his cope and puts on the chasuble and maniple. The sacristy bell then rings, signalling the congregation to kneel. The Ministers then reenter the chancel in the following order: Taperers, Thurifer, Clerk (now carrying the service book, having put away the cross), Priest.

The Choir begin the Introit while the Ministers enter the sanctuary, the Priest ascending to the altar and kissing it in the midst.The Taperers put down their tapers on the lowest altar step and stand west of them, facing east. The Clerk places the service book on the cushion at the south end of the altar. The Priest then turns and receives the thurible from the Thurifer and censes the altar, assisted by the

Clerk. Having done so, he gives the thurible to the Clerk who censes him and then returns the thurible to the Thurifer who, after censing the Clerk stands in the midst of the pavement lightly swinging the censer until the Introit has finished. The Clerk stands at the south corner of the altar facing north.

Introit: Suscepimus (We Have Waited)[564]

We have waited, O God, for thy loving-kindness in the midst of thy temple;

according to thy Name, O God, so is thy praise unto the world's end:

thy right hand is full of righteousness.

Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised:

in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill.

Glory be &c.

We have waited &c.

The Priest, standing at the north side of the altar, begins the Lord's Prayer followed by the Collect for Purity, the people saying Amen.

OUR Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.

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[564] This is the Introit appointed for Candlemas in *The English Gradual* edited by Francis Burgess.

ALMIGHTY God, unto whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid: Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Priest then turns to the people and rehearses the Summary of the Law (1928), the Choir and Congregation singing the Kyries immediately following.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ said: Hear O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these. On these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets.

Answer:

Lord, have mercy upon us. (3x)

   Christ, have mercy upon us. (3x)

Lord, have mercy upon us. (3x)

During the last Kyrie the Priest crosses to the south side of the altar and stands as before. The Kyries completed, he sings the Collects, turning to the people for the salutation.

The Lord be with you;

Answer: And with thy spirit

Priest: Let us pray.

ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom: We humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the heart of ELIZABETH thy servant, our Queen and Governor, that in all her thoughts, words, and works, she may ever seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to her charge, in wealth, peace and godliness: Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we humbly beseech thy Majesty, that, as thy only-begotten Son was this day presented in the temple in substance of flesh, so we may be presented unto thee with pure and clean hearts, by the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Priest then goes to the sedilia and sits in the easternmost place. The Clerk takes the service book from the altar and turns to the people to read the Epistle.

Immediately thereafter he that readeth the Epistle shall say, The Epistle [or, The Lesson] is written in the - Chapter of - beginning at the - Verse. And the reading ended, he shall say, Here endeth the Epistle [or The Lesson].

A hymn follows during which the Clerk removes the service book on its cushion from the south side of the altar to the north side. He then joins the Priest in the sedilia.

Gradual Hymn: E.H. 43 The Race That Long in Darkness Pined

During the final verse, the Priest and Clerk go to the altar. The Taperers rise and are joined by the Thurifer, he having retrieved the censer from the sacristy during the Epistle. The Taperers take up their tapers and precede the Clerk, he taking up the service book and preceding the Priest to the entrance of the chancel. He stands facing east, holding the book at an appropriate reading level for the Priest. The Taperers stand flanking the Clerk facing inwards. The Priest then reads the Gospel, the Thurifer standing behind gently swinging the censer all the while.

Then the Deacon or Priest that readeth the Gospel (the people all standing up) shall say, The holy Gospel is written in the - Chapter of the Gospel according to Saint - beginning at the - Verse.

Answer: Glory be to Thee, O Lord.

The Gospel ended, there may be said,

Praise be to Thee, O Christ.

The Gospel ended, the Priest returns to the altar preceded by the Thurifer and Taperers who have moved to the head of the procession. These go their accustomed positions and stand facing east, the Thurifer first returning the censer to the sacristy. The Clerk, coming last, places the service book on the north side of the altar and returns to his usual standing place at the south corner of the footpace. He faces east as the Priest begins the Creed. The Choir and Congregation join in at "the Father Almighty."

All make a solemn bow from the words 'And was incarnate' through until the word 'Pilate.'

I BELIEVE in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made: Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and giver of life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And the life of the world to come. Amen.

After the end of the Creed, the Clerk goes to the entrance of the chancel to give the notices. Meanwhile, the Priest, assisted by the Taperers, removes his chasuble and maniple, placing them on the altar and goes to the pulpit. Having given the notices, the Clerk goes and sits in the sedilia while the Priest begins the sermon. The Taperers and Thurifer all sit for the sermon.

After the sermon, returning to the altar, the Priest puts on his chasuble and maniple and, facing west, says one or more of the Offertory sentences.

LET your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

Blessed be the man that provideth for the sick and needy: the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble.

Offertory Hymn: E.H. 209 Hail to the Lord Who Comes

The offertory hymn begun, one of the Taperers then takes the alms-dish from the credence and stands at the entrance to the chancel, ready to receive the alms. The Clerk then takes the burse, chalice, and paten from the credence and hands them to the Priest. The Priest spreads the corporal on the altar and places the paten in the centre, covered by the lower third of the corporal, and places the chalice further back. The Clerk, having spread the lavabo towel over his left arm then takes the ewer and bowl, and pours water over the Priest's fingers before he handles the elements. Replacing the ewer and towel on the credence, the Clerk takes up the bread-box and the Priest places the bread on the paten.

Next the Clerk picks up the cruets with the handles turned away from him, the wine cruet being in the right hand and the water in the left. The Priest takes the wine and pours it into the chalice and the Clerk switches the water cruet to his right hand, so that both cruets are offered to the Priest in the right hand. The Priest takes the water and pours it into the chalice and hands the cruet back to the Clerk who places the cruets on the credence. The Priest then covers the chalice with the upper corporal.

Upon receiving the alms, the Taperer carries them to the Priest who places the alms-dish to the right of the corporal. Then the Thurifer, having retrieved the censer from the sacristy during the hymn, hands the censer to the Priest who censes the elements. He then returns to the sacristy, taking the censer with him.

The Priest then turns to the Congregation and says,

Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.

He then turns back, facing the altar in the midst and says the Prayer for the Church. At the words 'alms' he lays his hands on the alms. The Clerk, Thurifer, and Taperers stands at their usual places, facing east.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord: And grant, that all they who do confess thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity, and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governours; and specially thy Servant ELIZABETH our Queen; that under her we may be godly and quietly governed: And grant unto her whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under her, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments. And to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word; truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we most humbly beseech thee, of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or

any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear; beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Then the Priest turns to the people and says to them that come to receive the holy Communion,

YE that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near with faith, and take this holy Sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God, meekly kneeling upon your knees.

He then kneels before the altar, the Ministers kneeling also, and leads them in the confession.

ALMIGHTY God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men: We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we from time to time most grievously have committed, By thought, word, and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, And are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; The remembrance of them is grievous unto us; The burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, Forgive us all that is past; And grant that we may ever hereafter Serve and please thee In newness of life, To the honour and glory of thy Name; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then the Priest stands, and turning to the Congregation, pronounces the absolution, lifting his right hand at 'Have mercy.'

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

He then says the Comfortable Words, still facing west.

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him.

COME unto me all that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.
So God loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, to the end that all that believe in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.
Hear also what Saint Paul saith.
This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.
Hear also what Saint John saith.
If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins.

At the end of the Comfortable Words, the Ministers stand, and the Clerk removes the alms from the altar, giving them to one of the Taperers who places them on the credence and then returns to his place. The Priest then sings 'The Lord be with you', opening his hands and lifting them slightly at

'Lift up your hearts', and closing them for the reply. At the words 'it is very meet', he turns to the altar to sing the Preface, with hands apart.

The Lord be with you.

Answer: And with thy spirit.

Priest: Lift up your hearts.

Answer: We lift them up unto the Lord.

Priest: Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer: It is meet and right so to do.

IT is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, Everlasting God. BECAUSE thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son to be born for our salvation: Who by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother: And that without spot of sin to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with Angels, &c. THEREFORE with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious Name; evermore praising thee, and saying:

The Choir the sing the Sanctus, the Congregation joining.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts,

heaven and earth are full of thy glory:

Glory be to thee, O Lord most High.

Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

 Hosanna in the highest.

At the Sanctus the Priest joins his hands and the Ministers all bow for 'Holy, Holy Holy.' They sign themselves at 'Blessed.'

Then the Priest and Ministers kneel for the Prayer of Humble access, the people joining the Priest in saying,

WE do not presume to come to this thy Table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy Table. But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

At the completion of The Prayer for Humble Access the Priest and Ministers rise and he and uncovers the chalice and paten. He says the Prayer of Consecration solemnly, rather slowly, and audibly throughout. At 'Almighty God' he raises and joins his hands. At 'Hear us, O merciful Father' he extends his hands above the elements, palms facing downward with the left thumb crossing over the right right. At the words 'Who in the same' he lowers his hands and lifts his eyes to heaven. At the words 'took bread' he takes the paten in both hands. At the words 'brake it' he breaks the bread with the thumb and forefinger of each hand, holding the paten with the other fingers; replacing the paten on the altar, at the words 'This is my Body' he lays his hands on all the bread to be consecrated. At 'Do this' he elevates the bread slightly, about to shoulder level, and replaces it on the altar. He keeps the thumb and forefinger of each hand joined henceforward until the Ablutions, except when handling the elements themselves. Similarly at 'took the Cup' he takes it

into his hand, and replacing it on the altar, at the words 'This is my Blood' he lays his right hand on the chalice (and on every vessel containing the wine to he consecrated), holding the stem firmly with his left hand the while. At 'Do this' he elevates the chalice to shoulder level, and replaces it on the altar.

At 'Wherefore, O Lord' he raises extends his arms, forming the image of a cross until until 'this our sacrifice' at which point he signs the elements. At 'fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction' he crosses himself. Again he signs the elements at 'bounden duty and service.' He elevates the elements again at 'all honour and glory' and bows low at the end of the prayer. The Congregation join in the final Amen. The Priest then covers the elements and joins his hands.

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again; Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: who, in the same night that he was betrayed, took Bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the Cup; and, when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

WHEREFORE O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction. And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.[565]

The Priest then half turns to the people for the Peace.

The peace of God be always with you

Answer: And with thy Spirit.

The Choir sing the Agnus Dei, the Congregation joining.[566]

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: have mercy upon us.

O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world: grant us thy peace.

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[565] The Prayer of Oblation has been removed from its position in the 1662 rite and appended to the Prayer of Consecration, thereby affecting a partial restoration of the Canon.

[566] Agnus dei is permitted to be sung here in accordance with the Lincoln Judgment of 1890.

The Priest then receives the Communion and, having given Communion to the Clerk and servers, goes to the altar rail to administer the elements. The Clerk, having received, rings the bell signaling the communicants to come forward and kneel at the altar rail. The Choir come forward first so that they may be in their places to lead the Communion hymn which begins as soon as the first few rows of the Congregation have received. The motet follows, the Choir kneeling.

Communion Hymn: E.H. 306 Deck Thyself, My Soul, With Gladness

Motet: O Lord, Increase My Faith, Orlando Gibbons

O Lord, increase my faith

strengthen me

and confirm me in thy true faith,

endue me with wisdom,

charity, chastity and patience

in all my adversity.

Sweet Jesus, say Amen.

In communicating the Congregation the Priest, beginning at the south end, places the bread in the outstretched hands of the communicant, saying the words of administration. The Clerk does the same with the chalice, holding it firmly but gently in his hands as the communicants, touching the foot of the chalice, guide it to their lips.

THE Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.

And the Minister that delivereth the Cup to any one shall say,

THE Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.

When all have communicated the Priest returns to the altar and places on it whatever remain of the consecrated elements, covering them with the upper corporal, which up till now has remained folded. The Clerk goes to his usual place and stands, facing east.

The Priest then, opening and then closing his hands, introduces the Lord's Prayer.

'As Our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say.'

The Congregation join with the Priest in the Lord's Prayer.

OUR Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

The Priest then begins the Thanksgiving, the Congregation kneeling and saying the Prayer with him.

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son. And we most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

The Priest then sings 'Glory be to God in high', the Choir and Congregation standing and joining in at 'and in earth peace.' All bow at 'we worship thee', 'Jesus Christ', and 'receive our prayer', signing themselves at the end.

GLORY be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men.

We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee,

we give thanks to thee for thy great glory,

O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.

O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesu Christ;

O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,

that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.

Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer.

Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy; thou only art the Lord;

thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost,

art most high in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Then the Priest, says the post-Communion Collect, first turning to the people.

Let us pray.

O LORD Jesus Christ, who appearing on this day among men in the substance of our flesh, wast presented by Thy parents in the temple: whom the venerable and aged Simeon, illuminated by the light of Thy Spirit, recognised, received into his arms, and blessed: mercifully grant that, enlightened and taught by the grace of the same Holy Ghost, we may truly acknowledge Thee and faithfully love Thee; Who with God the Father in the unity of the same Holy Ghost livest and reignest, God, world without end. Amen.[567]

The Collect finished, the Priest turns to the Congregation and gives the Blessing, keeping his left hand on the altar so as not to turn his back on the consecrated elements still remaining. The Ministers all kneel.

THE peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always. Amen.

As soon as the blessing has been given, the Ablutions hymn begins and the Priest turns back tot he altar and the Ministers rise.

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[567] This collect is taken from the *Missale Romanum.*

Ablutions Hymn: Ep.H. 329 (1940) How Bright Appears the Morning Star

Bowing to the middle of the altar, one of the Taperers goes up to the Priest's left hand and shuts the service book and moves it on its cushion to the north corner of the altar. Going to the credence, the Clerk takes up the cruets and, the Priest having turned towards him holding out the chalice, advances and pours in a little wine. The Priest consumes this, and then turns, holding the chalice with his thumbs and first fingers over the bowl. The Clerk pours some water into the chalice over his fingers; then the Priest takes up the paten, and the Clerk pours some water only over it, which the Priest empties into the chalice and consumes. The Clerk then replaces the cruets on the credence. While the Priest dries and arranges the chalice, paten, corporals, and burse, the Clerk removes the service book to the credence. He then assists the Priest to wash his hands (as before) at the south end of the altar. Then the Priest carrying the chalice, &c., and preceded by the Clerk carrying the book, Thurifer, and Taperers, proceeds to the vestry.

At the completion of the hymn, the Choir stand and exit in an orderly fashion while the organist begins the Voluntary.

Figure 1.1- Screen and stalls, Colebrook, Devon (c. 1500)
Vernon Staley's ideal of English woodwork is shown here at Colebrook in Devon. Both the screen and the returned stalls are of Flemish make (c. 1500).

From: Vernon Staley, *The Ceremonial of the English Church*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1911. Plate I.

Figure 1.2- St Agnes', Kennington, G.G. Scott, Jr. (1874)
St Agnes, Kennington was designed by George Gilbert Scott, Jr. Intended to house a liturgy modelled along Sarum lines, it was completed in 1874 and contains early furnishings by Temple Moore. Though a Victorian building, it anticipates the Edwardian and later English Use both in its use of the late-Gothic style and its atmospheric effect which was often described as 'Flemish.'

From: Ralph Adams Cram, *Church Building: A Study of the Principles of Architecture in their Relation to the Church*. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1914. Plate LVI.

Figure 1.3- English Altar, St Wilfrid's, Cantley, Ninian Comper (1893)
Ninian Comper's English Altar for St Wilfrid's, Cantley (1893) is pictured as Staley's ideal of English Use design. While the riddel posts and low reredos became almost a trope in later English Use churches, the tester and hanging pyx were less often imitated.

From: Vernon Staley, *The Ceremonial of the English Church*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1911. Plate II.

Figure 1.4- Rood and parclose screens, St Wilfrid's, Cantley, Ninian Comper (1893)
Along with the altar, Comper's restoration of St Wilfrid, Cantley included reconstructing the rood
screen and parclose-screened chapels of the medieval church. Brightly painted and gilded, these
screens not only recreate medieval space, but they also evoke a medieval atmosphere.

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books,
2006. Page 32.
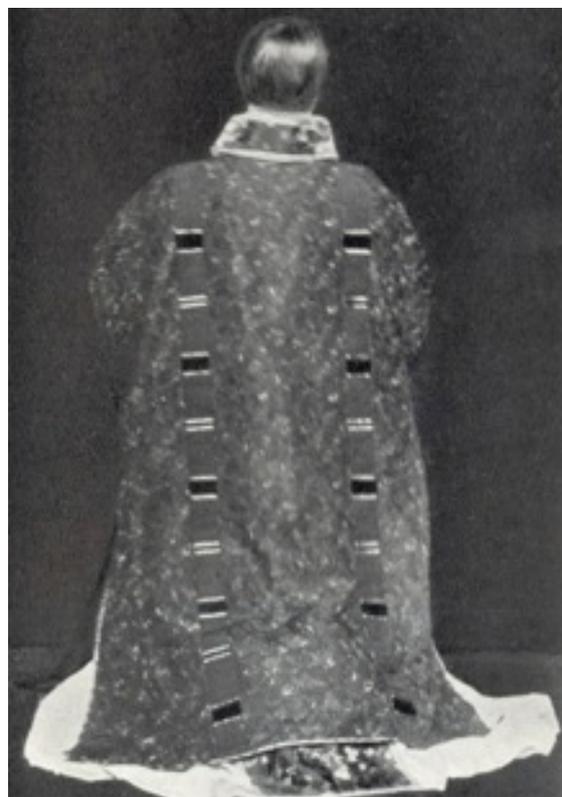
Figure 1.5- English Use vestments (1899)
Staley's desire that the ornaments of the ministers accord with the architectural context of ministration led him to present these images, Plates X and XI, in *The Ceremonial of the English Church* (1911, first edition 1899). They depict the priest and deacon clothed in authentically medieval vestments.

From: Vernon Staley, *The Ceremonial of the English Church*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1911. Plates X and XI.

Fig. 8.—Chasuble, Maniple, Stole, apparelled Alb and Amice.
By the St. Dunstan Society.
Photograph by C. P. Small of Hampstead.

Figure 1.6- English Use vestments (1904)
Percy Dearmer's vestment ideal was similar to Staley's and may be seen here in Figure 8 of *Essays on Ceremonial* (1904), a book of which Staley was editor.

From: Vernon Staley, ed., *Essays on Ceremonial*. London: The De La More Press, 1904. Plate 8.

Figure 1.7- 'Ornaments of the Chancel and of the Ministers (Fifteenth Century)'
The arguments of Dearmer's *The Parson's Handbook* (1913, first edition 1899) were backed up by medieval illuminations depicting the ornaments of the church and of the ministers in a clear architectural context for which Dearmer argued on the basis of the Ornaments Rubric. Of particular note is Dearmer's appeal, in footnotes to the text, to colour in addition to form and design of furnishings.

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Directions both for Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and its Services According to the English Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 4.
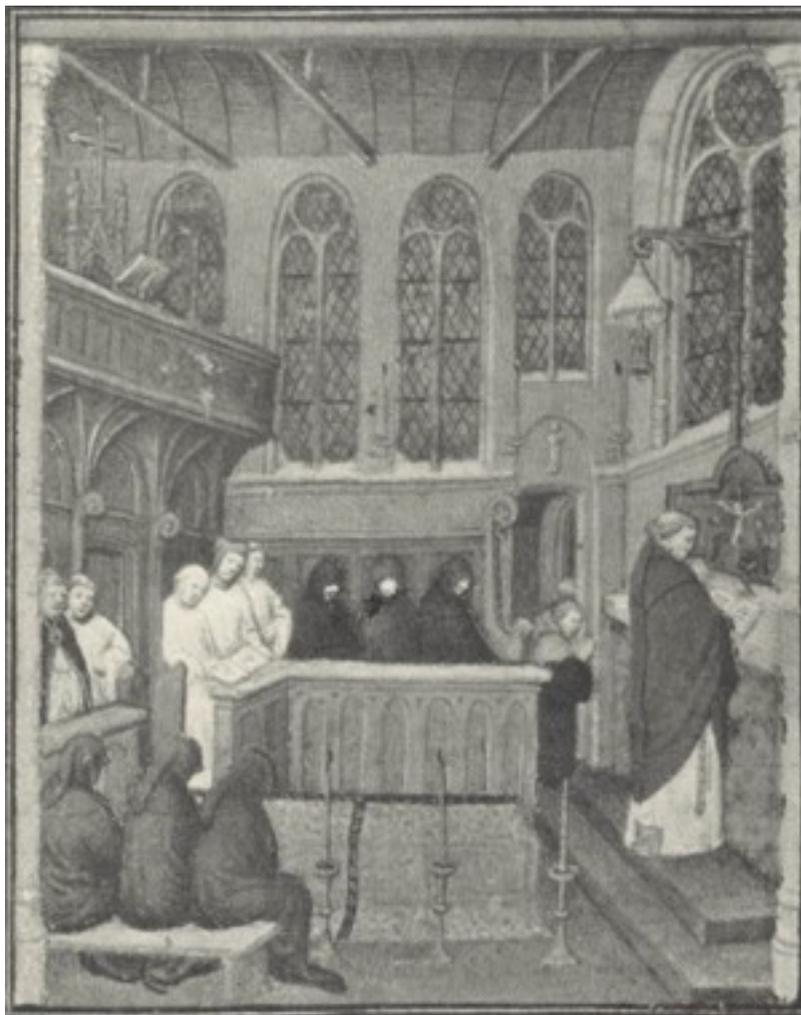
Figure 1.8- 'Within the Rood Screen (Fifteenth Century)'
Another of Dearmer's *Parson's Handbook* images. In addition to the visual representation of furnishings and architectural context, this illumination very subtly implied a return to the full medieval rites and ceremonies of death.

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 5.

Figure 1.9- 'Holy Communion (Fifteenth Century)'
Perhaps the most evocative of Dearmer's selected images for *The Parson's Handbook*, this illumination captures the English Use ethos- an evocation of the late-medieval past in the modern age. The moment of elevation was pictured in various English Use publications, representing the desire to revive Catholic eucharistic theology alongside medieval aesthetics.

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 6.

Figure 1.10- English Altar, St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, Ninian Comper (1920s)
At St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate (1903) Comper revived a second form of English Altar seen in medieval illuminations. Used only rarely, this variant with its supplementary riddel posts also features in Comper's work at Southwark Cathedral and at Chester Cathedral (by Bernard Miller).

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/stevecadman/2990751497/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 1.11- English Use vestments, Warham Guild (1913)
In this image from *The Parson's Handbook* Dearmer presents the work of the Warham Guild, correctly medieval vestments available for purchase. The English Use was an ideal that could be implemented in the parish, not merely an antiquarian pursuit.

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 13.

Figure 1.12- 'A Procession Before the Eucharist'
The seventeenth plate in *The Parson's Handbook* is, after the book's frontispiece, perhaps its most important: 'An intensely romantic view of a liturgy performed with consummate grace and precision in which all the participants understand their role and are eager to please God through a dignified ceremonial.'

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 17.

Figure 1.13- English Use vestments (1913)
The Server and Clerk from *The Parson's Handbook* could be the same men pictured in Figure 1.12.
Here painted depiction becomes photographic reality.

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Plate 19.

Figure 2.1- 'And The Chancels Shall Remain As They Have Done In Times Past'
Geoffrey Lucas' frontispiece for *The Parson's Handbook* presents eloquently the English Use ideal. Its precise depiction of furnishings in context makes it as much an instruction as it is an evocative image. Dearmer described it with the caption: 'A typical chancel of fully developed English Gothic architecture with its furniture, showing the arrangement which the Prayer Book rubrics were designed to continue, and which should be in use now, allowances being made for varying styles of architecture.'

From: Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Frontispiece.

PLAN OF A CHURCH ILLUSTRATING THE CEREMONIAL DIRECTIONS
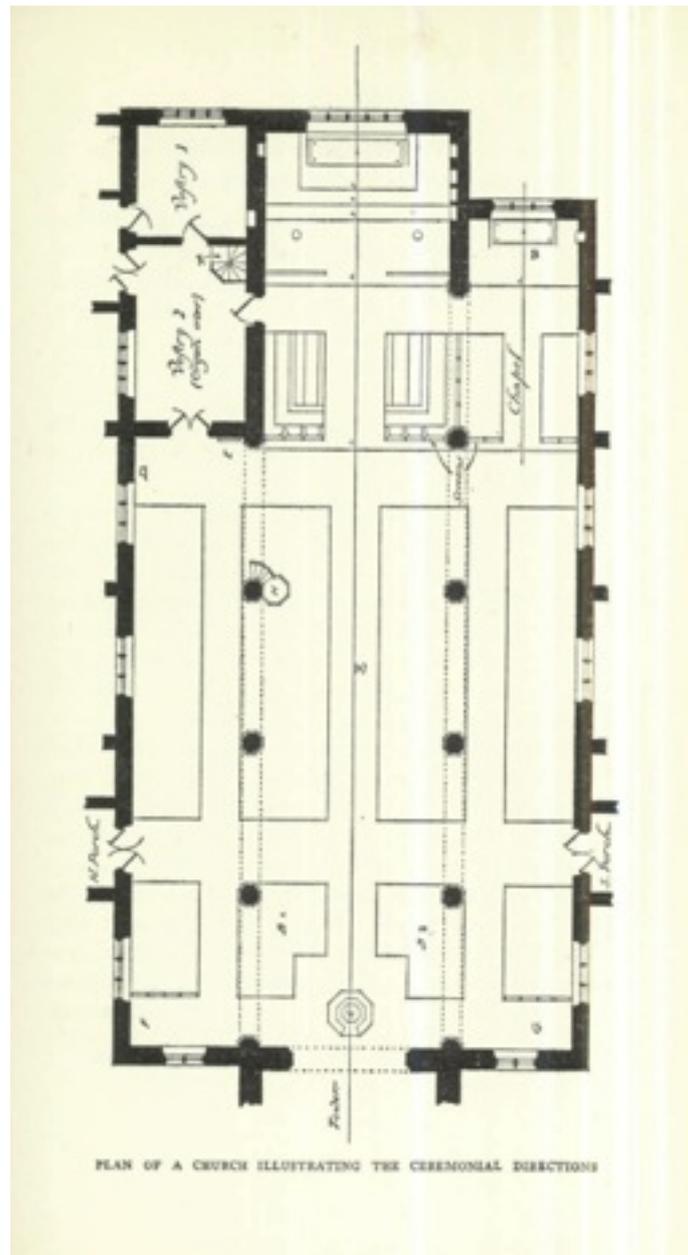
Figure 2.2- Plan of a typical English Use church (1932)

This illustration from Colin Dunlop's *Processions* (1932) shows the plan of an ideal English Use church including a chancel which replicates in plan that depicted in Lucas' frontispiece for *The Parson's Handbook*. Such continuity between texts demonstrates the unity of sentiment regarding correct English Use practice.

From: Colin Dunlop, *Processions: a dissertation together with practical suggestions*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1932. Page 61.

Figure 2.3- Aumbry, North Muskham, Nottinghamshire, F.E. Howard or W.H. Randoll Blacking
The aumbry at North Muskham, Nottinghamshire is a concrete version of the type of reservation cupboard depicted in *The Parson's Handbook* frontispiece and shown on the plan from Dunlop's *Processions*. Coloured and gilded, it is suggestive of late-medieval work without being purely imitative.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/vitrearum/4639612267/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.4- North transept window, Holy Angels', Hoar Cross, Burlison & Grylls (c. 1890)
Burlison & Grylls were the firm selected by G.F. Bodley to glaze his church at Hoar Cross. This,
the N. Transept window, shows the steps being taken by stained glass artists to recapture the late-
medieval aesthetic and quality of light.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/amthomson/7533817884/sizes/l
(Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.5- 'The Prayer for the State of the Church' (1924)
In 1924 the Alcuin Club published *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs*, a pictorial guide intended as a manual of English Use ceremonial. Recalling the medieval illuminations favoured by Dearmer, the images show the effect of English Use scholarship on church architecture and on the ornaments of the church and of the ministers.

From: The Alcuin Club. *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1924. Plate X.

Figure 2.6- 'The Prayer for the State of the Church' (2002)
The Guild of Clerks recreated *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* in 2002 using the original vestments. Colour photographs show the crystalline brightness, in line with medieval exemplars, which puts to rest the claim that English Use churches were meant to be 'pale and chaste.'

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/vitrearum/429109128/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.7- East window, St Wilfrid's, Cantley, Ninian Comper (1893)
Comper's early glass resembled that of his teacher, Charles Eamer Kempe in its excessive leading imitating heavily-repaired medieval windows. Pictured here, the east window of St Wilfrid's, Cantley demonstrates Comper's indebtedness to earlier Victorian conceptions of glazing.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.8- East window, St Mary's, Egmanton, Nottinghamshire, Ninian Comper (1894)
Comper's study of medieval glass led him to discard the heavy leading of Kempe and move towards
a style distinctly his own, inspired by glass in York, Oxford, Fairford, and the school of East Anglia.
At St Mary, Egmanton, Nottinghamshire (1894) he placed the figures of John Glasier's windows in
the Chapel of All Souls' College, Oxford (1441) in a five-light reticulated window below a complex
of heraldry and an Annunciation scene.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.9- Window, All Soul's Chapel, Oxford, John Glasier of Oxford (1441)
The work of Glasier presents both the images and quality of light sought by advocates of the English Use. His windows for All Souls' College Chapel possess that silvery quality to which Milton referred using the phrase 'dim religious light.' Comper's use of Glasier's figures shows the degree to which the English Use in its early days plundered the treasure house of the late-medieval past for inspiration.

Digital image. Available from http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?mode=LOCATION&photodataKey=12793&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rowsPerPage=20&selectedPage=1&recPagePos=16 (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.10- South chancel window, St Wilfrid's, Cantley, Ninian Comper (1917)
Having developed his own style over a period of two decades, Comper returned to St Wilfrid's,
Cantley and created a window depicting the hierarchy of angels (1917). Its colour and structure is
heavily indebted to glass of the York School of glaziers.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.11- The Angelic Hierarchy, St Michael, Spurriergate, York (Fifteenth century)
The Angelic Hierarchy window at St Michael, Spurriergate in York is likely to have been one of
Comper's sources.

Digital image. Available from http://www.cvma.ac.uk/jsp/record.do?
mode=LOCATION&photodataKey=24582&sortField=WINDOW_NO&sortDirection=ASC&rows
PerPage=20&selectedPage=4&recPagePos=10 (Accessed September 21, 2015).
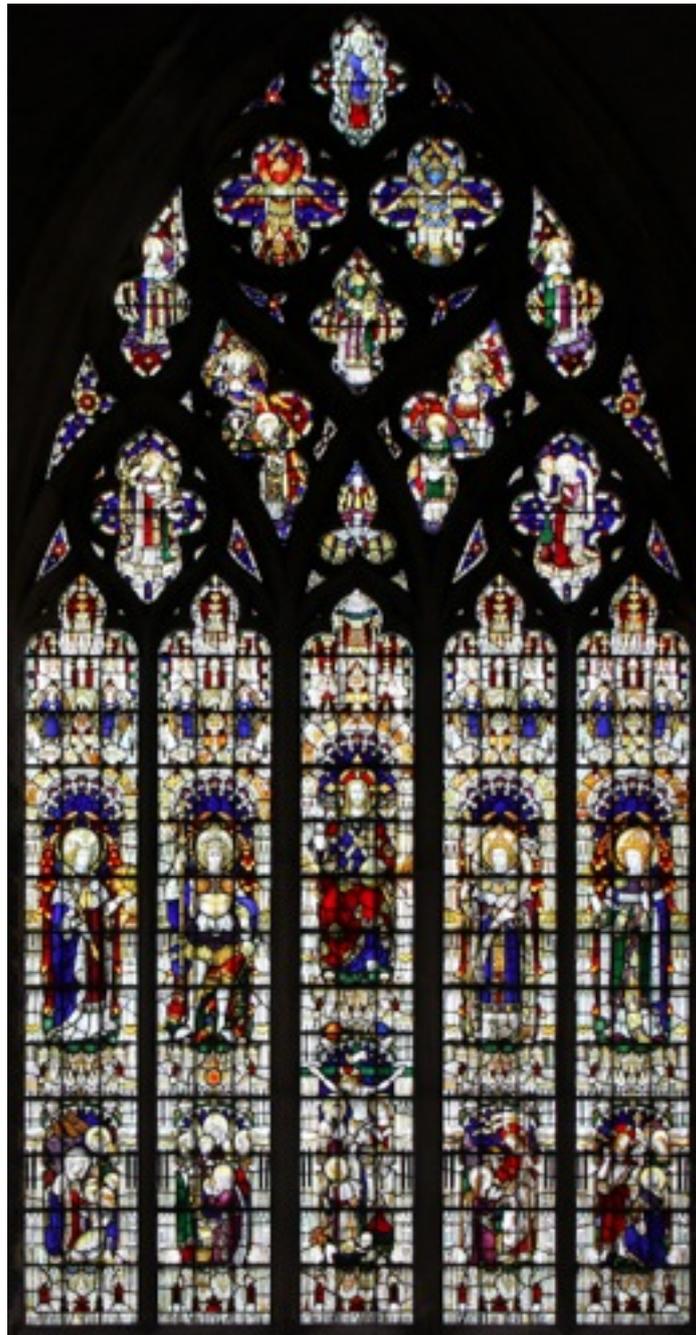
Figure 2.12- East window, St Mary's, Low Harrogate, J.N.C. Bewsey (1919)

J.N.C. Bewsey, perhaps even more than Comper, captured the spirit of the late middle ages in his glass. 'The east window of St Mary, Harrogate (1919) is a celebration of angels and saints set under grisaille canopies and clothed in sparkling blue and red… The five scenes from the life of Christ in the lower portion of the window again mimic the York school of glass-painters.'

Digital image. Available from http://www.sir-walter-tapper-churches.co.uk/StMaryImgsInt.asp (Accessed September 21, 2015).
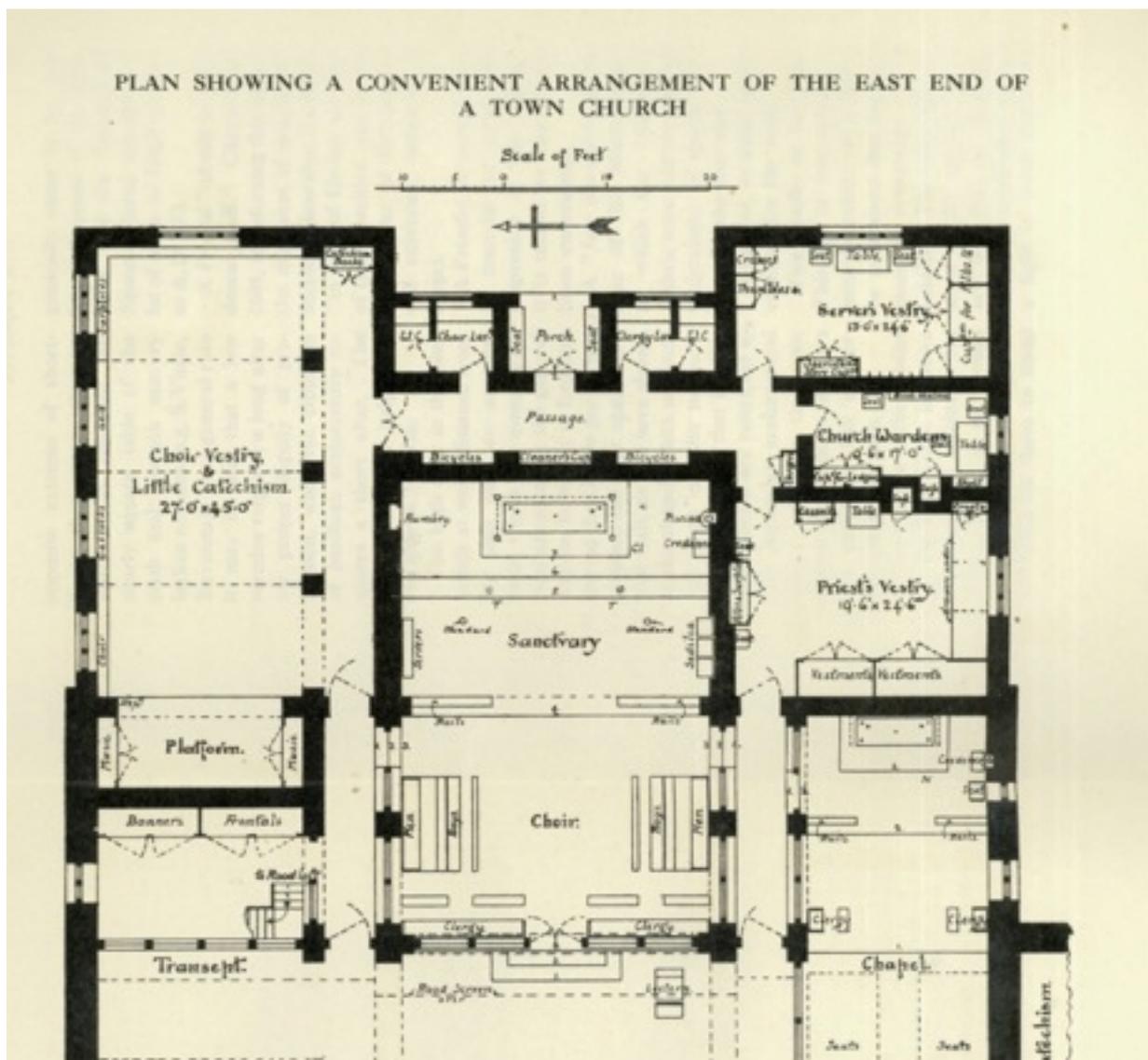
Figure 2.13- 'Plan Showing a Convenient Arrangement of the East End of a Town Church'
Appended to *Illustrations of the Liturgy* (1912), another work by Dearmer, this plan, drawn by
Clement Skilbeck, 'demonstrates the new concern for adequate ancillary spaces to accommodate
growing collections of vestments as well as greatly enlarged cohorts of secondary ministers to the
altar.'

From: Percy Dearmer, *Illustrations of the Liturgy.* London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1912.
Unnumbered fold-out image between pp. 72-3.

Figure 2.14- St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate, London, Ninian Comper (1903)
St. Cyprian's, Clarence Gate (1903) is Comper's most perfect evocation of a late-medieval church. Its 'elegant whitewashed interior contrasted with a lacily carved, gilded rood screen and jewel-like eastern windows' represents his ideal, and to a degree Staley's also, of an English Use interior.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/2677619055/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.15- 'The Christmas Mass', *Tres Riches Heures* (early fifteenth century)
Comper's liking for rich, clear colour was inspired by illuminations like this from the *Tres Riches Heures*, made for the Duc de Berry in the early fifteenth century.

Digital image. Available from: Wikipedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Très_Riches_Heures_du_Duc_de_Berry#/media/File:Folio_158r_-_The_Christmas_Mass.jpg (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.16- Rood screen panels, St Mary's, Egmanton, Ninian Comper (1897)
'Painted saints in bright blue, green, pink, orange, and gold mimic those of the Norfolk tradition' at St. Mary the Virgin, Egmanton, Nottinghamshire (1897). In his restoration of the church, Comper blurred the 'line between pure historical scholarship and vibrant imagination' and re-created the rood screen as it might have been.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.17- Rood screen panels, St John the Baptist, Lound, Suffolk (1910)
In imitation of St Helen's, Ranworth, Comper placed a subsidiary altar under a panelled reredos at
St. John the Baptist, Lound, Suffolk (1909-14). His unique sense of colour and figure drawing
combined with real historical detail makes for a vibrant demonstration of the capacity of the English
Use to generate living design.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/norfolkodyssey/2564222360/sizes/l
(Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.18- Rood screen panels, St Helen's, Ranworth, Norfolk (fifteenth century)

In drawing on the general design of the fifteenth-century rood screen at Ranworth, Comper engaged in the archaeological tradition he inherited from his master Bodley. Careful study of precedent contributed to his understanding of scale and colour and enabled him better to engage in new work.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/80161033@N00/2814112096/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.19- St John the Evangelist, New Hinksey, Oxford, Ninian Comper (1898)
St. John the Evangelist, New Hinksey, Oxford (1898-1900) combines the structural awareness which Comper apprehended through his instruction under Bodley with an attuned sense of scale learned during his earlier restorations.

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 85.
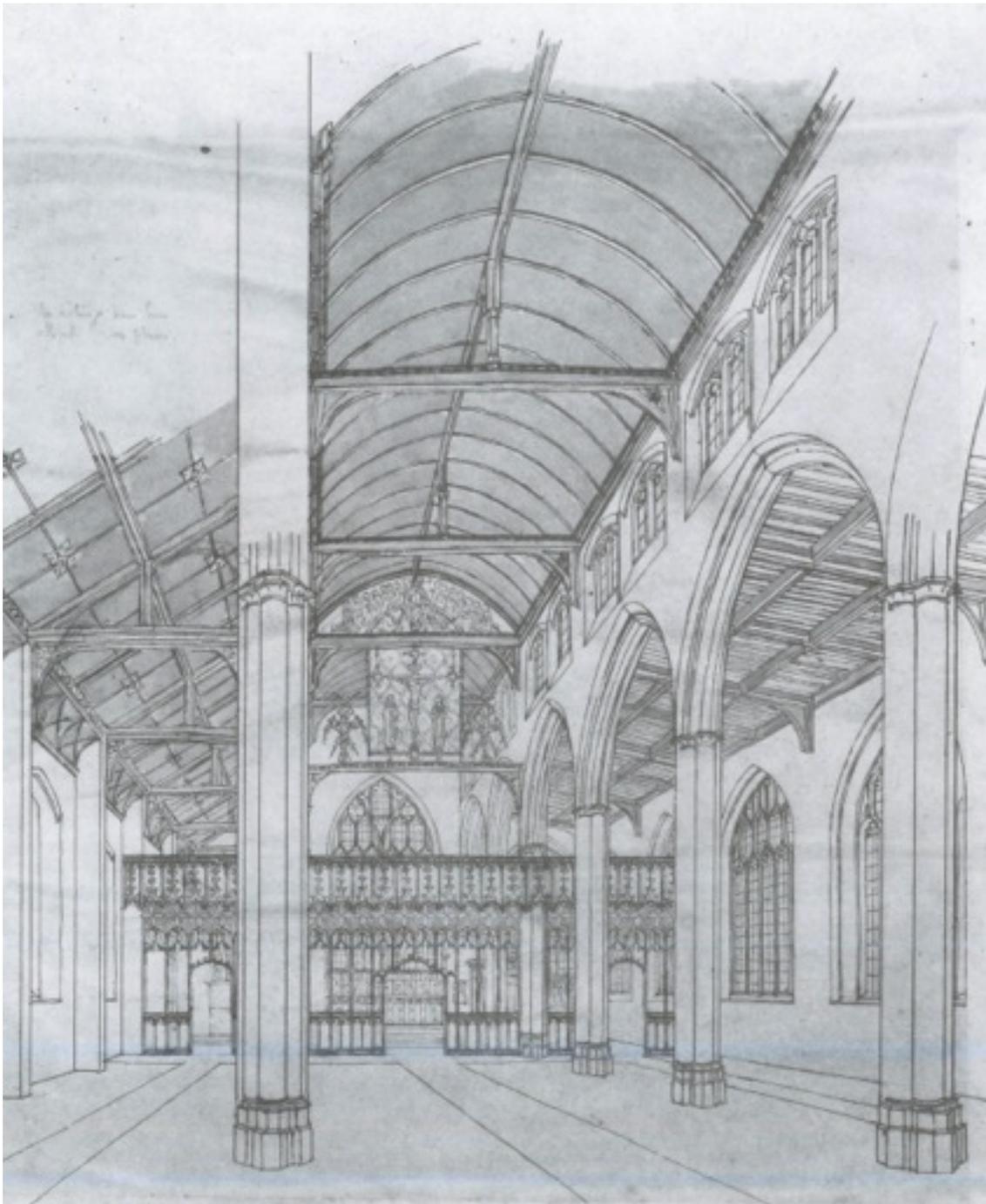
Figure 2.20- An early design for St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate
'Comper was not able to draw St. Cyprian's into existence in one single creative act.' An early design shows the basic elements of the completed work, but with notable differences such as the varying aisle roofs and the rood group placed on a beam above the screen.

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 89.

Figure 2.21- A later design for St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate
In finalising his design for St Cyprian's, comper unified the interior by removing most of the variations seen in his earlier drawings. Two elements from this late drawing not included in the church as built are the Gothic pulpit and the large ogee arches over the centre openings of the rood screen.

From: Margaret Richardson, ed., *Architects of the Arts and Crafts Movement*. London: Trefoil Books, 1983. Plate 99.

Figure 2.22- High altar and hangings, St Cyprian's, Clarence Gate

Comper's use of gilded leather hangings for the high altar of St Cyprian's accords with 'the serene perfection Staley so adamantly argued was the only legal aesthetic of the English Church.' The central scene of the frontal depicts the eating of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. That of the dossal presents the crucifixion as the resolution to the problem posed by the Fall in the Garden.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.23- 'The Preparation of the Elements'
'Before the Communion Service in the English Use the bread and wine were permitted to be prepared at a side altar and the placement of two chapels directly alongside the chancel permitted this preparation to take on a public character.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1924. Plate I.

Figure 2.24. 'The Exhumation of St. Hubert,' Rogier van der Weyden (c. 1430)
Comper's design of the ornaments of the church and of the ministers were influenced, in both form and colour, by Flemish painting of the fifteenth century.

Digital image. Available from: Wikipedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/
File:Rogier_van_der_Weyden_and_workshop_-_Exhumation_of_St_Hubert_NG_783.jpg
(Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.25- St Wilfrid's, Harrogate, Temple Moore (1908+)

Temple Moore's masterwork, St. Wilfrid, Harrogate, N. Yorkshire, was built in stages from 1908. It reflects all that had learned as a pupil of George Gilbert Scott, Jr. Particularly evident is a finely attuned sense of proportion, detail, and colour. The same sense that may be seen at Scott's St Agnes', Kennington where Moore first worked, designing many of the church's major furnishings.

Photograph taken by the author.
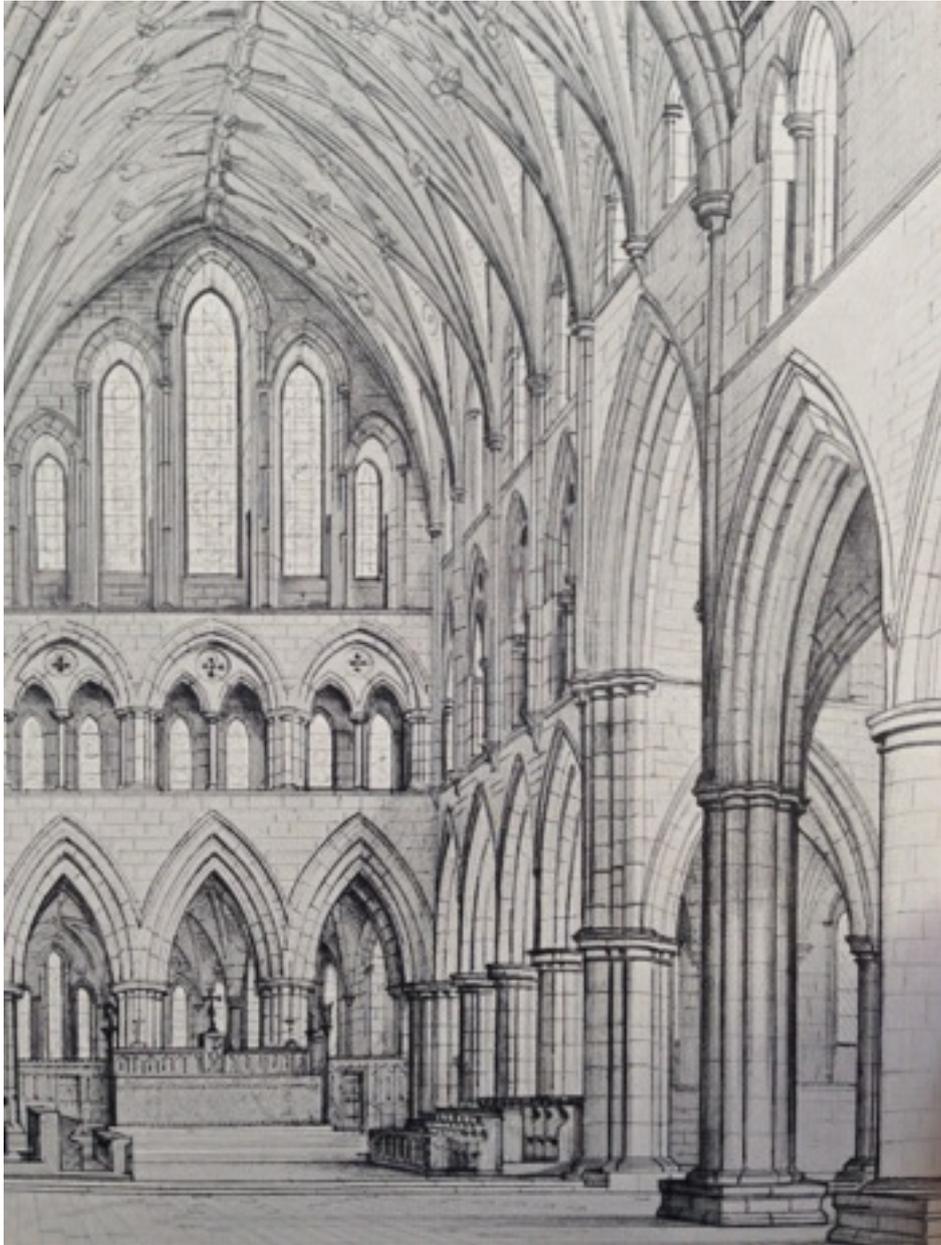
Figure 2.26- An early design for St Wilfrid's, Harrogate
As built, St Wilfrid's is plain thirteenth-century Gothic but this drawing, published in 1905, shows Moore experimenting with a fourteenth-century lierne vault reminiscent of Gloucester Cathedral.

From: Alexander Koch, ed., *Academy Architecture and Architectural Review*, vol. 28. London: Academy Architecture, 1905. Plate 1570.

Figure 2.27- South transept, St Wilfrid's, Harrogate

Tournai and Noyon cathedrals make a subtle appearance in the south transept at St Wilfrid's. Moore was not averse to following non-English precedent. The effect is distinctly English Use; Continental elements are subordinated to an overall English whole.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.28- North transept, St Wilfrid's, Harrogate

Just as Moore was willing to make use of French elements, he was comfortable incorporating aspects of familiar English buildings as well. The north transept at St Wilfrid's is a clear imitation of the night stair at Hexham Abbey, a building which Moore was engaged in restoring and rebuilding from 1899.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.29- North transept (exterior), St Wilfrid's, Harrogate
The exterior of the north transept of St Wilfrid's makes use of an odd lobed arch which may be seen at St Mary's Abbey in York. Goodhart-Rendel believed Moore's work to be kin to the 'powerfully massed abbeys of North Yorkshire.'

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.30- Chancel, St Wilfrid's, Harrogate
Moore's use of a three-part elevation in the chancel of St Wilfrid's is not without precedent, though it is unusual for a parish church.

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.31- Chancel, St Leonard's, Hythe (thirteenth century)
The chancel of St Leonard's, Hythe, may have inspired Moore's work at St Wilfrid's. Moore's use of responds to link the three parts of the elevation and his enlarging of the triforium creates a cage-like effect lacking in the more solid thirteenth century original.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/the_warren/8066721662/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).

Figure 2.32- Lady Chapel, St Wilfrid's, Harrogate, Leslie Moore (1935)
'Behind the chancel sits the Lady Chapel, an elaborately vaulted multi-sided space which utilises thin colonnettes in a manner reminiscent of Pearson to create miniature aisle-like spaces as well as smooth the transition from the square-ended chancel.'

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.33- 'Feretory', Lady Chapel, St Wilfrid's, Harrogate
'The use of tall thin piers creates a feretory just behind the high altar and one can imagine an elaborate reliquary being enshrined behind it, the Lady Chapel providing a processional route through the building.'

Photograph taken by the author.

Figure 2.34- St Wilfrid's, Harrogate
'Moore's spatial experimentation is showcased in that the church makes the most of a tight site, incorporating no fewer than five altars into a building that suggests it has developed over a long period of time.'

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/30120216@N07/8067816688/sizes/l (Accessed September 21, 2015).
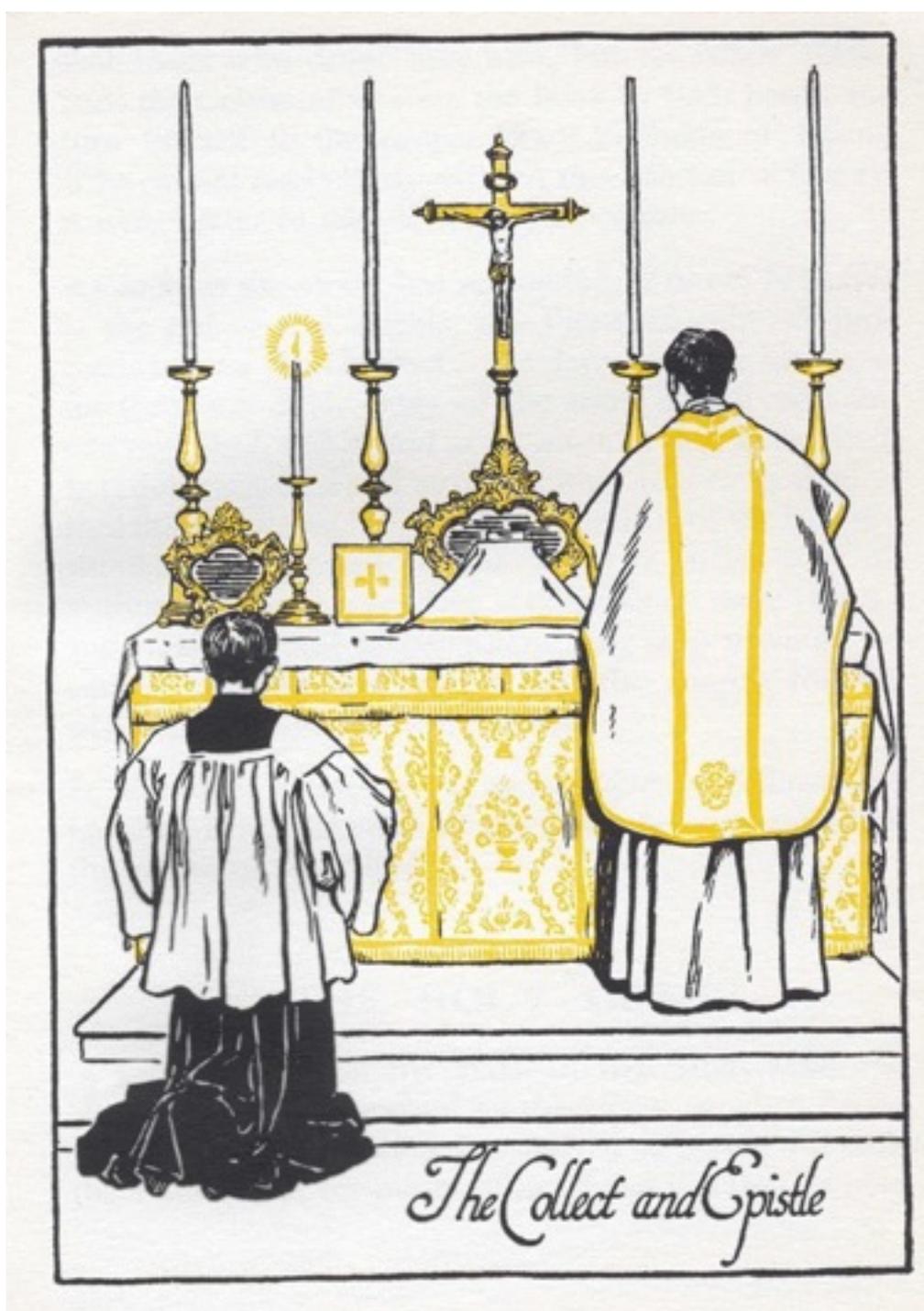
Figure 3.1- The Western Use (1916)
Pictures of the English Liturgy (1916) presented the Roman manner of celebrating the Holy Communion of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Those who favoured this, the Western Use, often denigrated the English Use as 'British Museum Religion.'

From: S.S.P.P. *Pictures of the English Liturgy: Volume 2, Low Mass*. London: Society of SS. Peter & Paul, 1916. Plate 3.

PRIEST IN CASSOCK, AMICE, ALB, GIRDLE, MANIPLE, STOLE, AND CHASUBLE.

65

Figure 3.2- English Use vestments (1921)
A Directory of Ceremonial (1921) presented typical English Use vestments, full and dignified, as the legal alternative to Roman style.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial vol. I*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1921. Plate III.
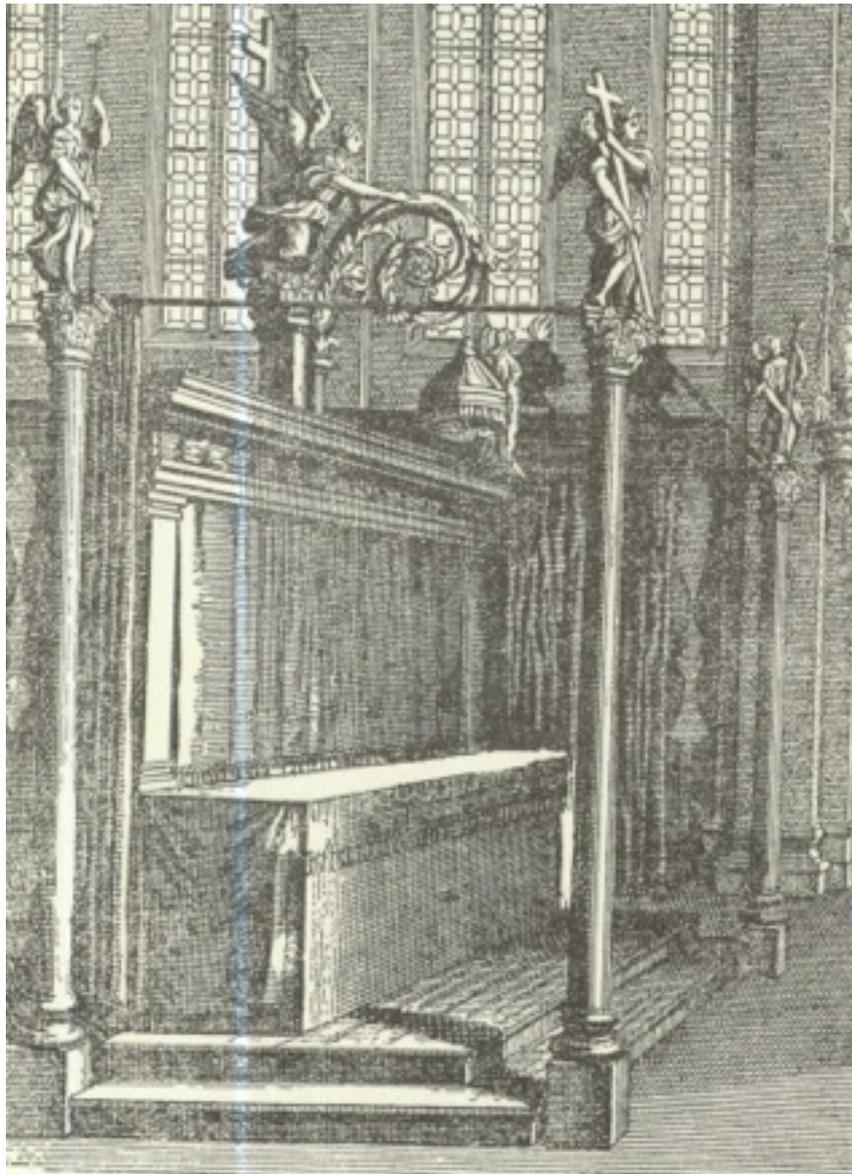
Figure 3.3- 'A Renaissance Altar' (1947)
By the middle of the twentieth century the English Use was beginning to incorporate Continental elements. The frontispiece to the fourth edition of *A Directory of Ceremonial* (1947) shows an eighteenth century variant on the typical English Altar. its riddel posts take the form of classical columns and the hanging pyx is supported by a scrolling vine held by a baroque angel.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial vol. II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1947. Frontispiece.
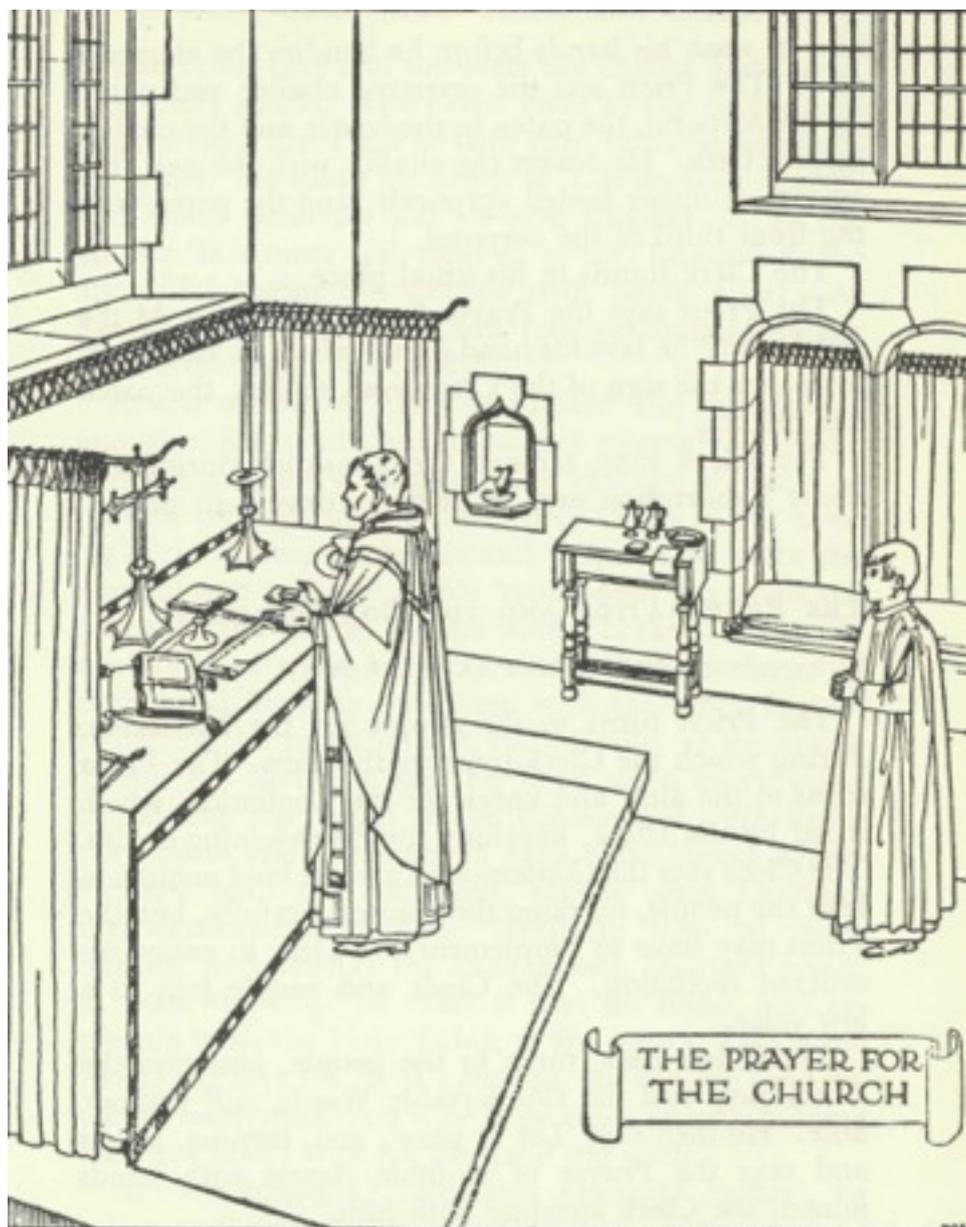
Figure 3.4- 'The Prayer for the Church' (1935)
A Directory of Ceremonial (1947) contained one other illustration, a reproduction of one originally created for *A Server's Manual* (1935). In its indistinctly Gothic setting, it depicts the familiar English Use atmosphere. The precision with which all the necessary elements for performing the Communion Service are presented demonstrates the degree to which illustration and text were unified in their prescriptive nature.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Server's Manual for the Holy Communion*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1935. Frontispiece.

Figure 3.5- 'The Blessing of the Incense' (1924/47)
The images originally published in *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs* (1924) reappear in the index to *A Directory of Ceremonial* (1947). 'The ideal of the English Use, once attained, need not, in the minds of its advocates, to change.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *Ceremonial Pictured in Photographs*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1924. Plate III.

Figure 3.6- Reredos, Merton College Chapel, Ninian Comper (1910)
In his 1910 reredos for Merton College Chapel, Comper anticipated the incorporation of classical elements into the English Use.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/3330768812/sizes/l (Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 3.7- Hanging pyx, Grosvenor Chapel, Mayfair, London, Ninian Comper (1922)
In 1922 Comper devised a hanging pyx for Grosvenor Chapel, Mayfair in a baroque manner. Again, Comper's use of classical design, here an almost direct replica of the hanging pyx shown in the frontispiece to the fourth edition of A Directory of Ceremonial (1947), anticipates the greater acceptance of Continental elements by English Use advocates.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/2848682479/sizes/l (Accessed September 22, 2015).
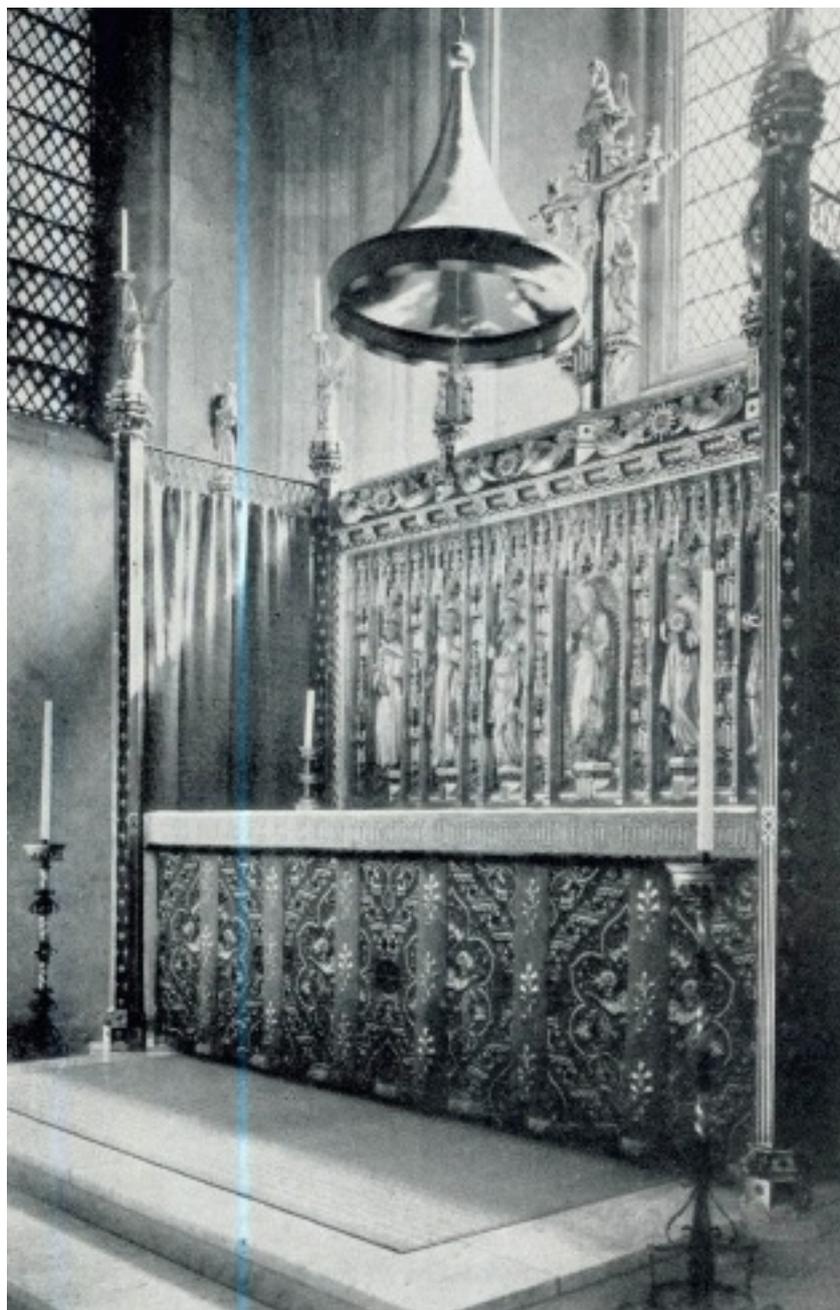
Figure 3.8- Hanging pyx and canopy, Convent of the Holy Name, Malvern Link, Worcestershire, Ninian Comper (1920s)
In *Reservation: Its Purpose and Method* (1923) Comper's English Altar and hanging pyx at the Chapel of the Holy Name, Malvern Link are presented as an English Use ideal.

From: The Alcuin Club. *Reservation: Its Purpose and Method*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1953. Unnumbered plate between pp. 16-17.

Figure 3.9- Hanging pyx, Amiens Cathedral (eighteenth century)
Reservatio: Its Purpose and Method (1923) also includes a photograph of the Baroque Eucharistic dove, at Amiens Cathedral. In featuring this dramatic confection alongside the more sober Gothic of Comper's chapel at Malvern Link there seems to be an early example of a willingness to accept styles other than Gothic.

From: The Alcuin Club. *Reservation: Its Purpose and Method*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1953. Unnumbered plate between pp. 24-5.

DIAGRAM I. Candlemas.
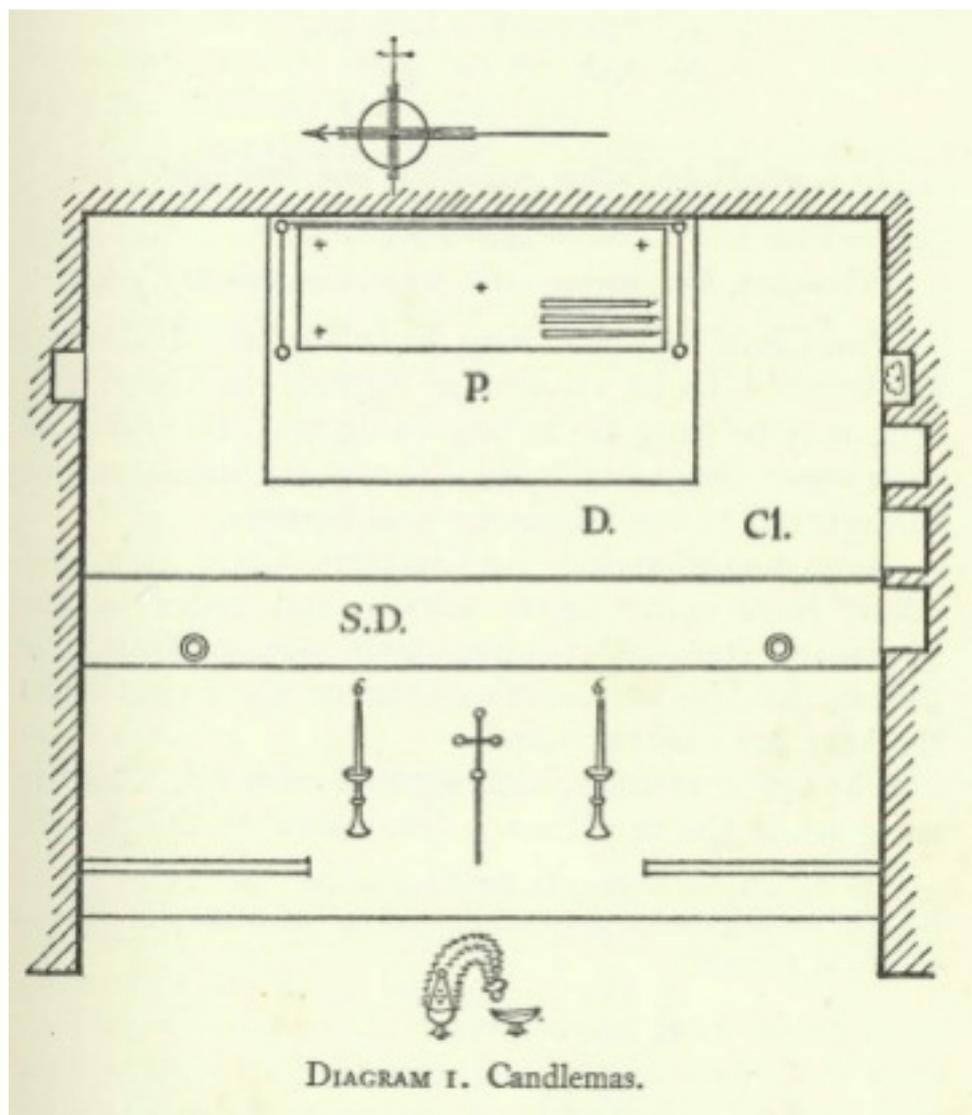
Figure 3.10- 'Candlemas'

A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. II (1930) includes diagrams for setting out ceremonial on high and holy days. The placement of figures (represented by abbreviations or symbols) cements the relationship between action and architectural space, this implied as requisite to proper performance. '"Candlemas" shows the chancel having a stone altar with riddel posts and curtains on a footpace with two further steps below and one additional step between the sanctuary and the quire (marked by the altar rail). A three-seat sedilia and piscina are built into the south wall and an aumbry in the north. Two standard candlesticks are placed on the subdeacon's step.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Part II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930. Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 2. Ash Wednesday.
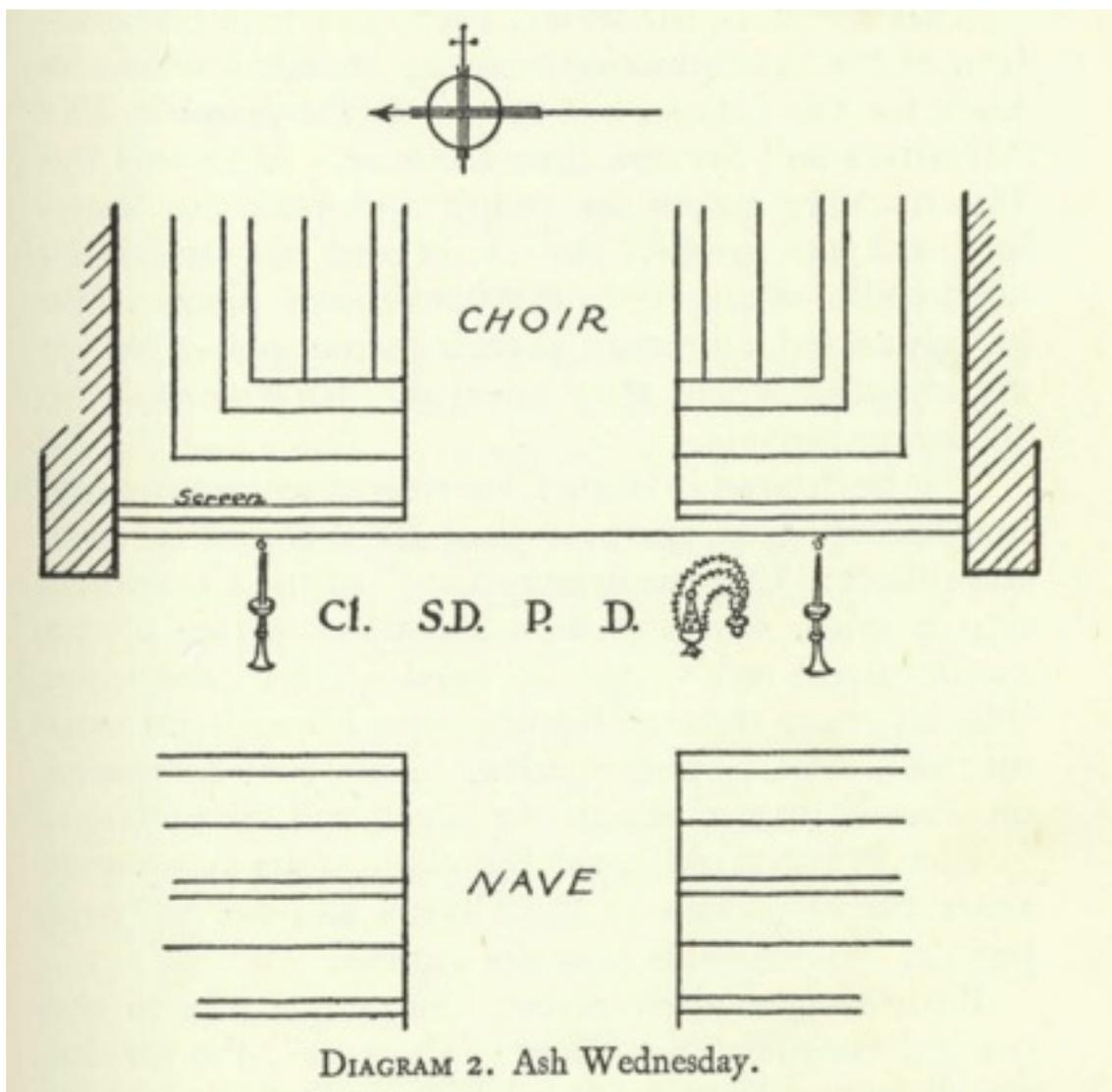
Figure 3.11- 'Ash Wednesday'
'"Ash Wednesday" shows the western end of the quire divided from the nave by a rood screen. The clergy stalls are returned and the quire is set one step up from the nave floor.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Part II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930. Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 4. Palm Sunday (II).
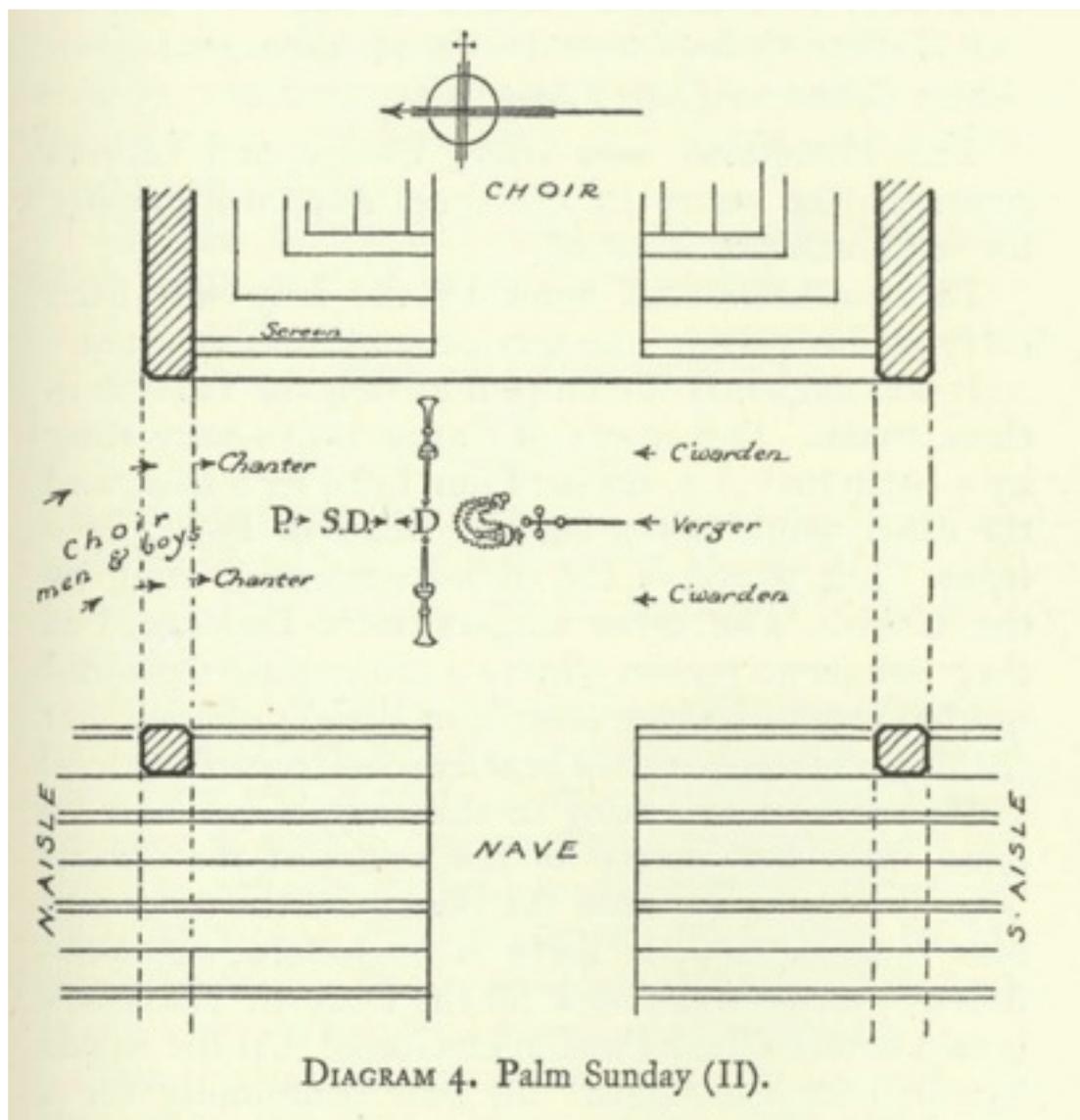
Figure 3.12- 'Palm Sunday (II)'
'"Palm Sunday (II)" shows that the church has two aisles.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Part II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930. Diagram 4.

DIAGRAM 5. Easter Eve (I).
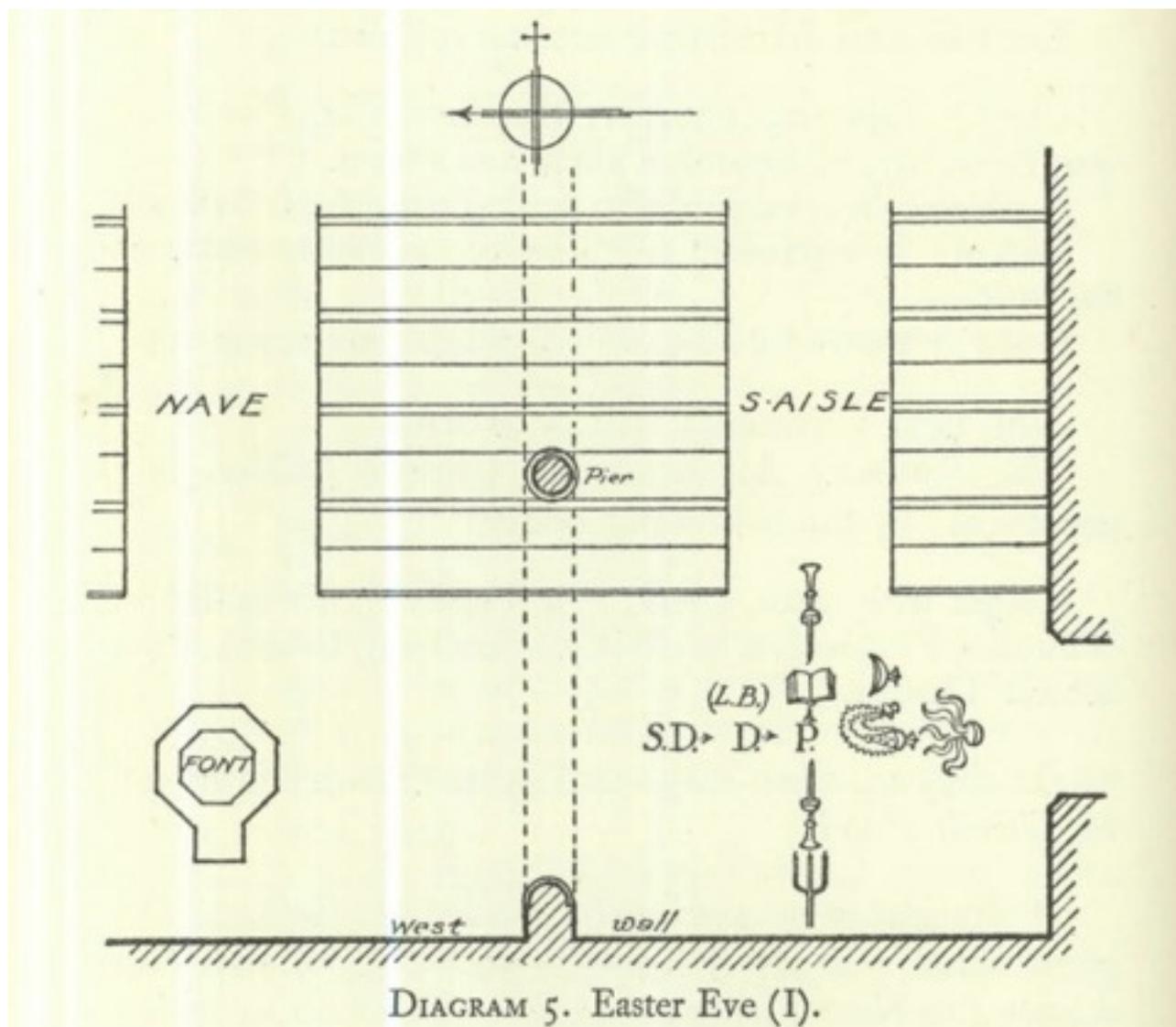
Figure 3.13- 'Easter Eve (I)'
'"Easter Eve (I)" shows the font placed at the west end of the nave at the centre. There is also a south porch.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Part II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930. Diagram 5.

DIAGRAM 6. Easter Eve (II).
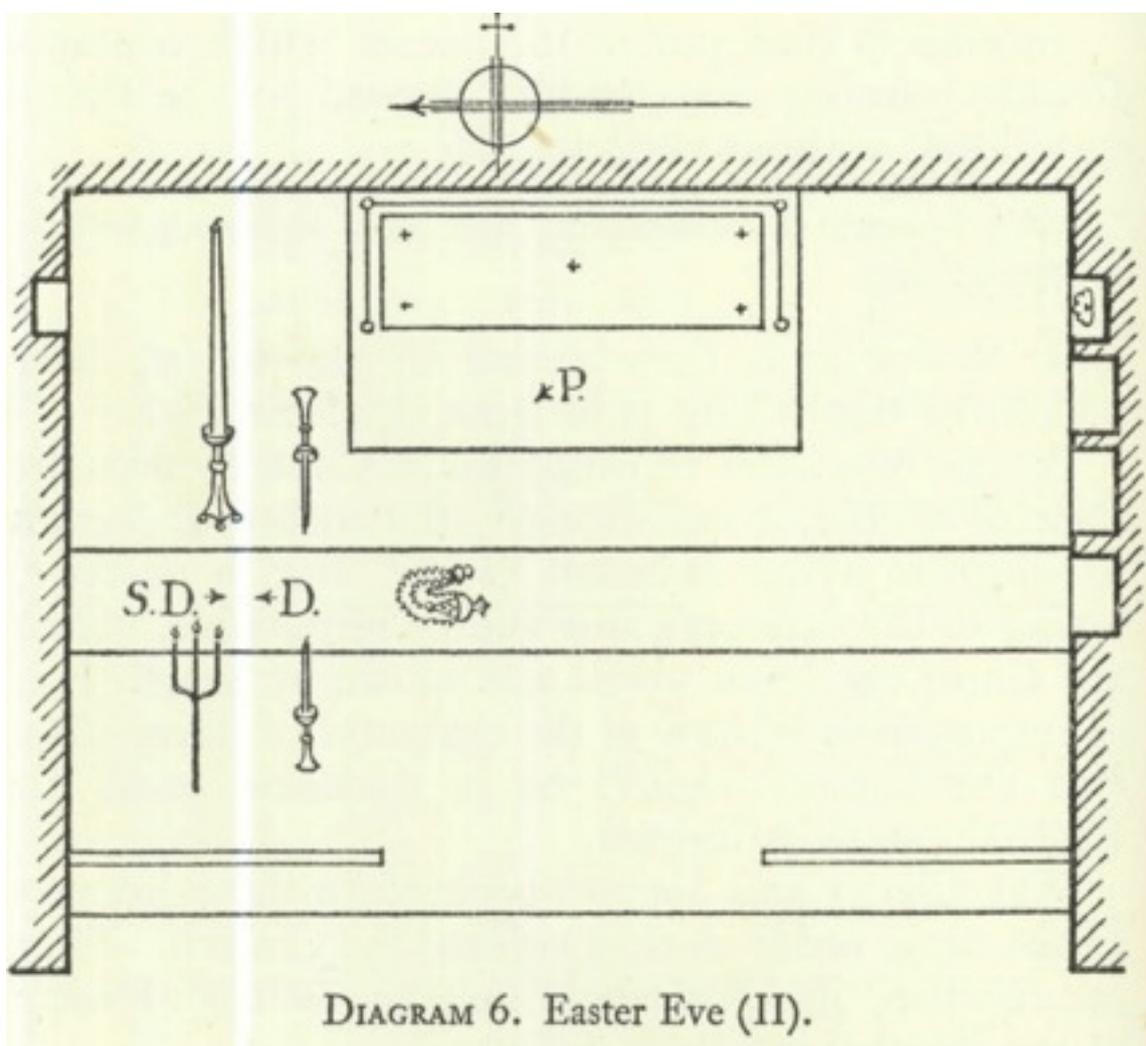
Figure 3.14- 'Easter Eve (II)'
In '"Easter Eve (II)" the Pascal Candlestick is shown in its place on the deacon's step in the sanctuary.'

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial Part II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1930. Diagram 6.

Figure 3.15- 'The Giving of Palm'
The second edition of *A Directory of Ceremonial, vol. II* was published in 1950. The diagrams of
the earlier edition were supplemented by photographs showing the ceremonies being performed in
context. 'The Giving of Palm' demonstrates not only the dress of the ministers but their positions
within the church and the use of the space by the laity.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial vol. II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.,
1947. Unnumbered plate between pp. 28-9.

Figure 3.16- 'Singing the Passion'
The furnishings shown in 'Singing the Passion' include a medieval style double-sided lectern and a black and white marble floor of the kind laid down in many a college chapel during the Laudian Reformation of the early seventeenth century.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial vol. II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1947. Unnumbered plate between pp. 40-1.

Figure 3.17- 'Lighting the Pascal Candle'
In addition to showing the ceremonial action taking place, images like 'Lighting the Pascal Candle' demonstrates the degree to which catholic ceremonies were returning to the Church of England.

From: The Alcuin Club. *A Directory of Ceremonial vol. II*. London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1947. Unnumbered plate between pp. 50-1.
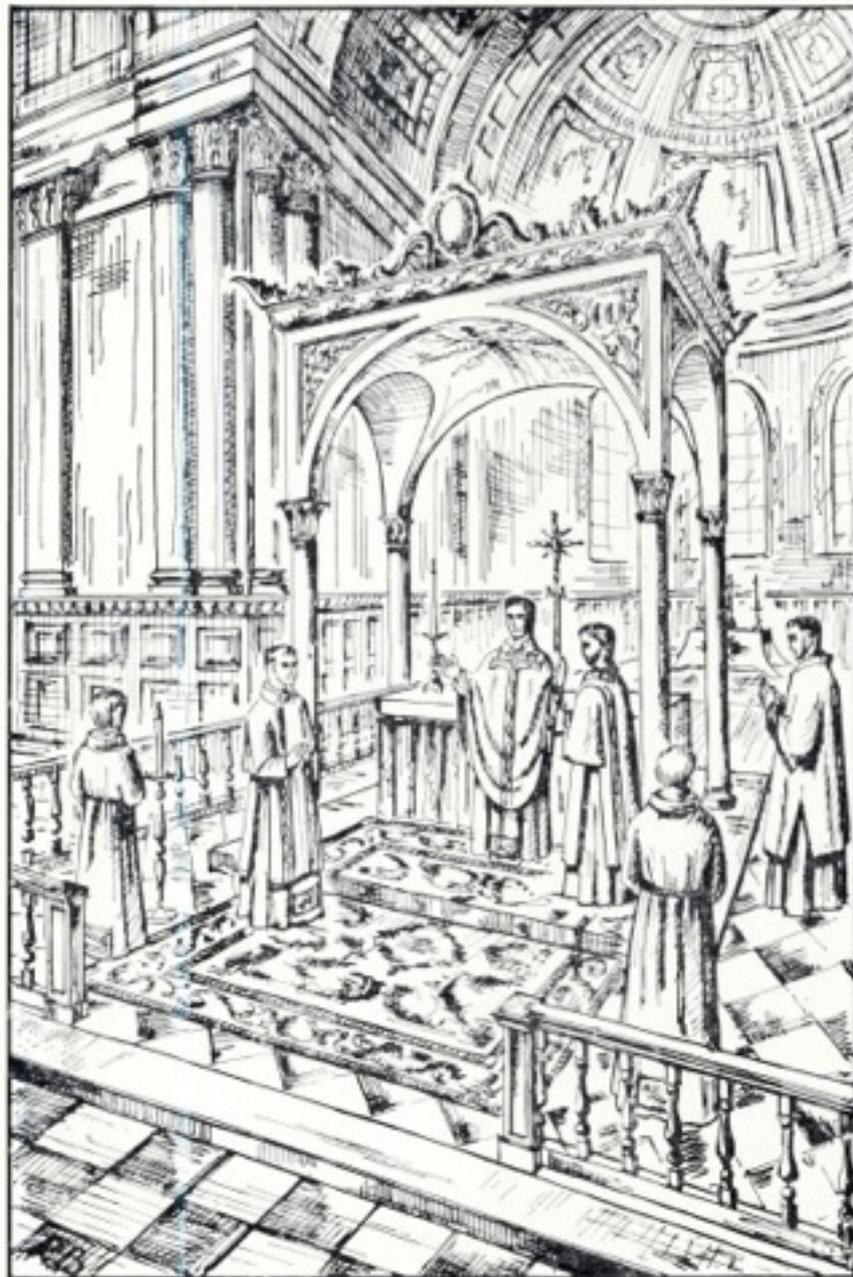
SURSUM CORDA

Figure 3.18- 'Sursum Corda'
The Parson's Handbook was heavily reworked by Cyril Pocknee and reissued in its last edition in 1965. Its frontispiece shows the lively combination of English Use medievalism with some aspects of Continental style. It also gives the nod to Comper's revival of the freestanding altar under a ciborium.

From: Cyril Pocknee, *The Parson's Handbook: Practical Directions for parsons and others according to the Anglican Use, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer on the basis of the twelfth edition by Percy Dearmer, D.D.* London: Oxford University Press, 1965. Frontispiece.
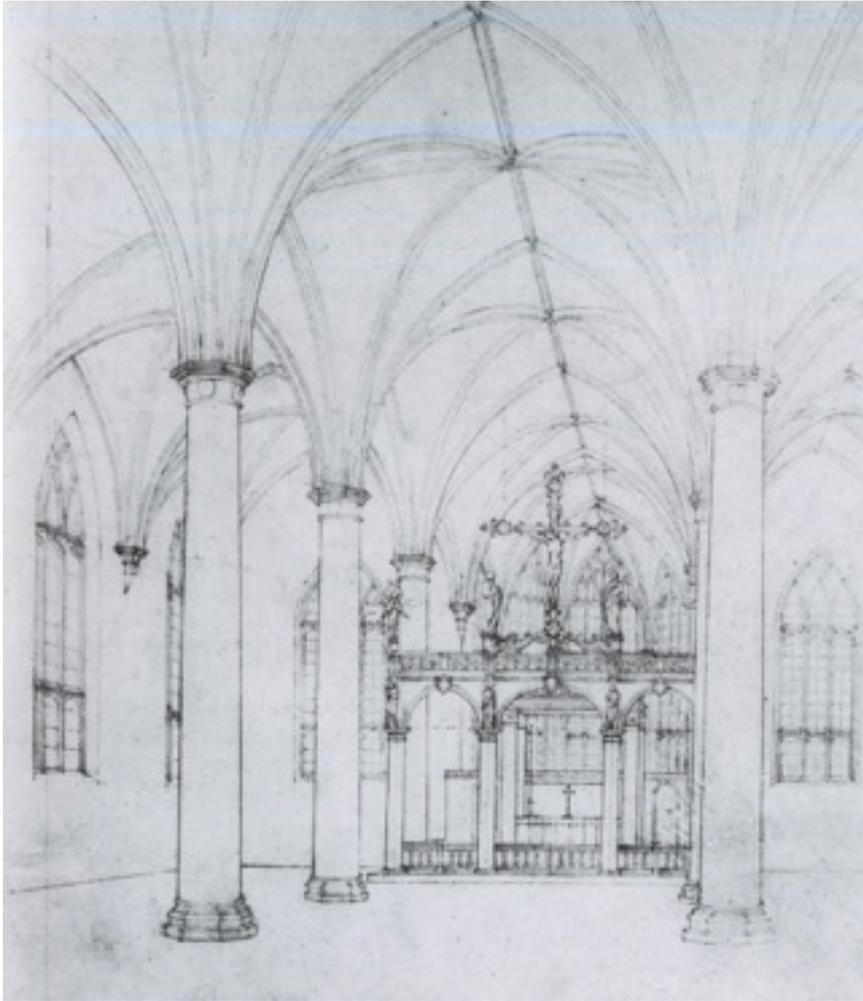
Figure 4.1- Sts Andrew and George, Rosyth, Fife, Ninian Comper (1926)
Sts George and Andrew, Rosyth (1926) was Comper's 'vision of triumphant Episcopalianism...
intended to be filled with white and gold flashed with blue from stained glass in the immense
windows.' Resembling a hall-church of near-equal square bays, the interior signals a new direction
in twentieth-century church planning.

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books,
2006. Page 108.

S. Antholin
Medina del Campo
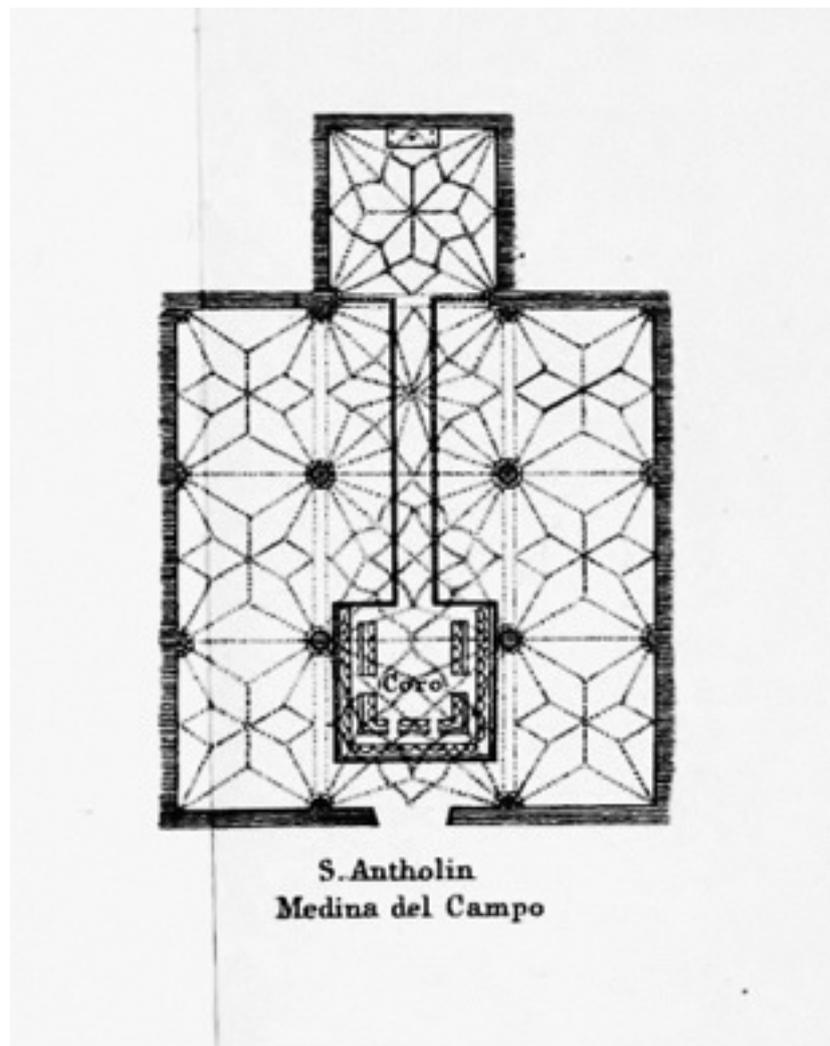
Figure 4.2- Plan of S Antholin, Medina del Campo, Valladolid (sixteenth century)
Comper's new approach to liturgical planning was inspired by churches of the Spanish tradition like S Antholin, Medina del Campo. In positioning the quire (coro) away from the high altar, the laity were granted a closer relationship to the ceremonies there taking place.

From: Comper, J.N. *Further Thoughts on the English Altar, or Practical Considerations on the Planning of a Modern Church*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933. Unnumbered plate between pp. 74-5.

Figure 4.3- Design for All Saints', Mortlake, J.B.L. Tolhurst (1926)
J.B.L. Tolhurst's unbuild design for All Saints, Mortlake (1926) is an early example of the combination of Gothic and Classical influences in church design that increased as the century wore on. Though unadventurous in plan, what Tolhurst proposed here would have been unheard of even a few decades earlier.

From: Kenneth Richardson, *The Twenty-Five Churches of the Southwark Diocese: An inter-war campaign of church-building*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 2002. Page 45.

Figure 4.4- St Katherine Cree, London, architect unknown (1631)
St Katherine Cree, London (1631) is one of a few notable churches built during the seventeenth century which combined England's Gothic tradition with new Classical ideas from the Continent. The fresh style thereby generated accorded with the scholarly approach to liturgy then in the ascendency.

Digital image. Available from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/sites/default/files/publications/pubid-1295/images/fig298.jpg (Accessed September 22, 2015).
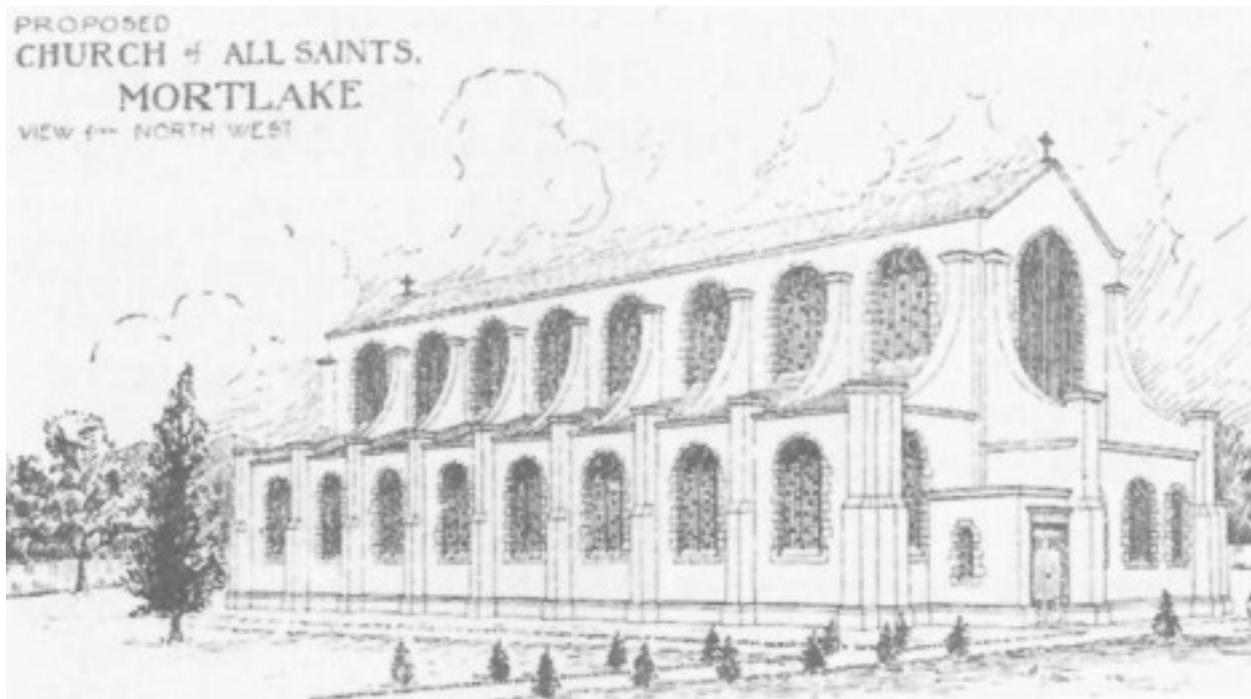
Figure 4.5- Design for All Saints', Mortlake (exterior)
The exterior of All Saints, Mortlake shows the extent of the uniqueness of Tolhurst's design. Window tracery in the style of fifteenth-century France is incorporated into an exterior that resembles a Renaissance basilica.

From: Kenneth Richardson, *The Twenty-Five Churches of the Southwark Diocese: An inter-war campaign of church-building*. London: The Ecclesiological Society, 2002. Page 44.
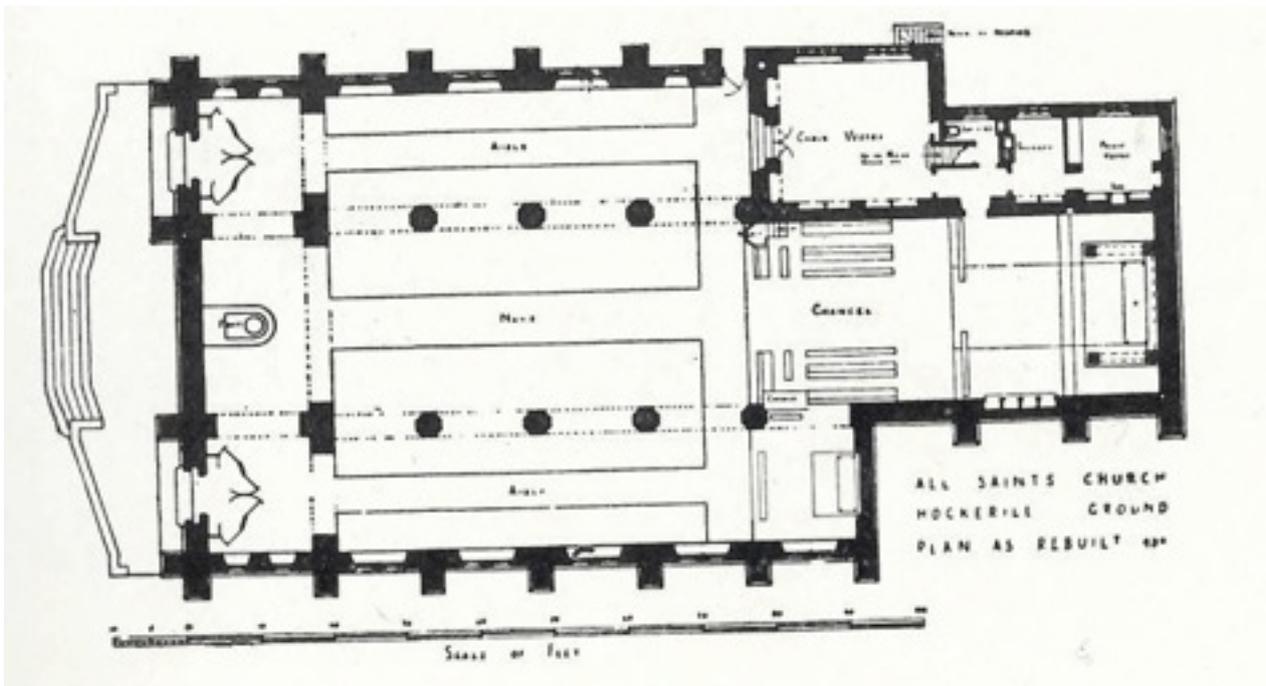
Figure 4.6- Plan of All Saints', Hockerill, Hertfordshire, Stephen Dykes Bower (1936)
Dramatic exterior aside, All Saints, Hockerill is less adventurous on the interior where the plan is
that of a typical English Use church.

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground
Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected
During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 27.

Figure 4.7- Nave, All Saints', Hockerill
The west end of All Saints, Hockerill is simply articulated with tall lancets, providing a great deal of light. The difference between the atmosphere of such an interior and most Victorian churches is obvious.

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 25.

Figure 4.8- East end, All Saints', Hockerill

Dykes Bower's treatment of the plan of the sanctuary of All Saints, Hockerill is fairly ordinary but his use of a rose window (a la Shearman) and enlarged riddel posts suggestive of a ciborium is unexpected and shows an experimental side.

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 26.

Figure 4.9- St Alban's, Abington, Northamptonshire, W.H. Randoll Blacking (1938)
W.H. Randoll Blacking designed St Alban's, Abington in 1938. It is an 'eminently practical, but not especially adventurous' building meant solely as a backdrop to the correct *Parson's Handbook* liturgy.

From: W.H. Randoll Blacking, "The Arrangement and Furnishing of a Church." London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, c. 1938. Unnumbered plate preceding page 1.

Figure 4.10- Rood screen, St Alban's, Abington

The rood screen at St Alban's, Abington was designed by Blacking as a frame for the action of the sanctuary. The use of Classical columns was a favourite technique of his and represents the continuing ingress of Continental elements in the context of English Use aesthetics.

From: W.H. Randoll Blacking, "The Arrangement and Furnishing of a Church." London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, c. 1938. Unnumbered plate preceding page 1.

Figure 4.11- Rood screen, St Mary's, Bruton, Somerset, W.H. Randoll Blacking (1938)
Blacking's screen at St Mary's, Bruton shows the degree to which Classical and Gothic elements could be integrated into a successful whole.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/13481191@N06/7567599508/sizes/l (Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 4.12- Rood screen, St Alban's, Abington
Such a visual statement of the intimate relationship between Church and State is a manifestation of
the liturgy of the *Book of Common Prayer* which placed a Collect for the King/Queen at the
beginning of every service of Holy Communion.

Digital image. No longer available online.

Figure 4.13- Rood screen, St Mary's, Kemsing, Kent, Ninian Comper (1908)
The rood and Royal Arms which top the screen at St Alban's, Abington have the same effect as
Comper's earlier work as St Mary, Kemsing in 1908.

Digital image. Available from https://www.flickr.com/photos/pauls_fotos/698075756/sizes/o/
(Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 4.14- All Saints, Hillingdon, London, Charles Nicholson (1932)
All Saints, Hillingdon (1932) is one of several churches designed by Charles Nicholson for the expanding suburbs around London. Its subtle exterior is suggestive of many a country church that has grown accretively over successive generations.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 54.

Figure 4.15- Nave, All Saints, Hillingdon

Peter Anson remarked on the Caroline atmosphere of many of Nicholson's churches, 'A typical Charles Nicholson interior reflects the spirit of the Caroline Divines. Both Archbishop Laud and Bishop Andrewes would feel quite at home in them.' The gentle arcade and flat panelled ceiling of All Saints, Hillingdon have rather the feel of a rebuilt medieval church.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 54.

Figure 4.16- St Laurence, Eastcote, London, Charles Nicholson (1932)
St Laurence, Eastcote (1932) shows Nicholson's sensitivity to historical developments of style in relation to the classical English parish church. His pilastered south porch gently alludes to the time of Inigo Jones and the new post-Reformation manner of building.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 85.

Figure 4.17- Nave, St Laurence, Eastcote
The interior, St Laurence, Eastcote is reminiscent of a medieval church rebuilt in the post-Reformation period. Its furnishings follow English Use prescriptions but in a plain Classical style which fits with an architectural context evoking the seventeenth rather than the early sixteenth century.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 86.

Figure 4.18- Lady Chapel, St Laurence, Eastcote

Nicholson's only noticeable concession to medieval style at St Laurence, Eastcote is the painted ceiling of the Lady Chapel. Yet even this might very easily be provincial decoration of the late seventeenth century. Similarly, the vaguely Tudor windows more closely resemble post-medieval examples than those dating from before the 1550s.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 87.

Figure 4.19- Font cover, St Laurence, Eastcote

The English Use's newfound comfort with Classicism may be seen more clearly in furnishings. The font cover at St Laurence, Eastcote could easily have been installed during the Laudian period.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 87.

Figure 4.20- Frontispiece, *The Divine Banquet*, Thomas Crouch (1696)
The architecture and furnishings designed by Nicholson often feel as though they could be the backgrounds depicted in engravings for seventeenth-century devotional works like this frontispiece for *The Divine Banquet* by Thomas Crouch (1696).

Digital image. Available from http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/everyman_history/ fig52_divine_banquet.jpg (Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 4.21- St Augustine's, Tooting, London, H.P. Burke Downing (1931)
H.P. Burke Downing's church of St Augustine, Tooting (1931) utilises a spare Gothic vocabulary and the expected English Use furnishings but lacks the sense of dignity engendered by space. The dependence on Victorian planning conventions seen here demonstrates change to be slow in coming.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 99.

Figure 4.22- St Augustine's, Tooting (exterior)
The exterior of St Augustine, Tooting, like its interior, is generically Gothic. It possesses the positive quality of being suggestive rather than quoting specific sources but generally lacks imagination with the exception of the 'rather adventurous' tracery of the Lady Chapel east window.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 98.

Figure 4.23- St Nicholas', Burnage, Manchester, N.F. Cachemaille-Day (1936)
St Nicholas, Burnage (1936) was described as being built in the style of 'any typical cinema or
cocktail bar.' The clothing of a traditional plan with up-to-the-minute style was an attempt to relate
the church to the modern world.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and
Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London:
Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 88.
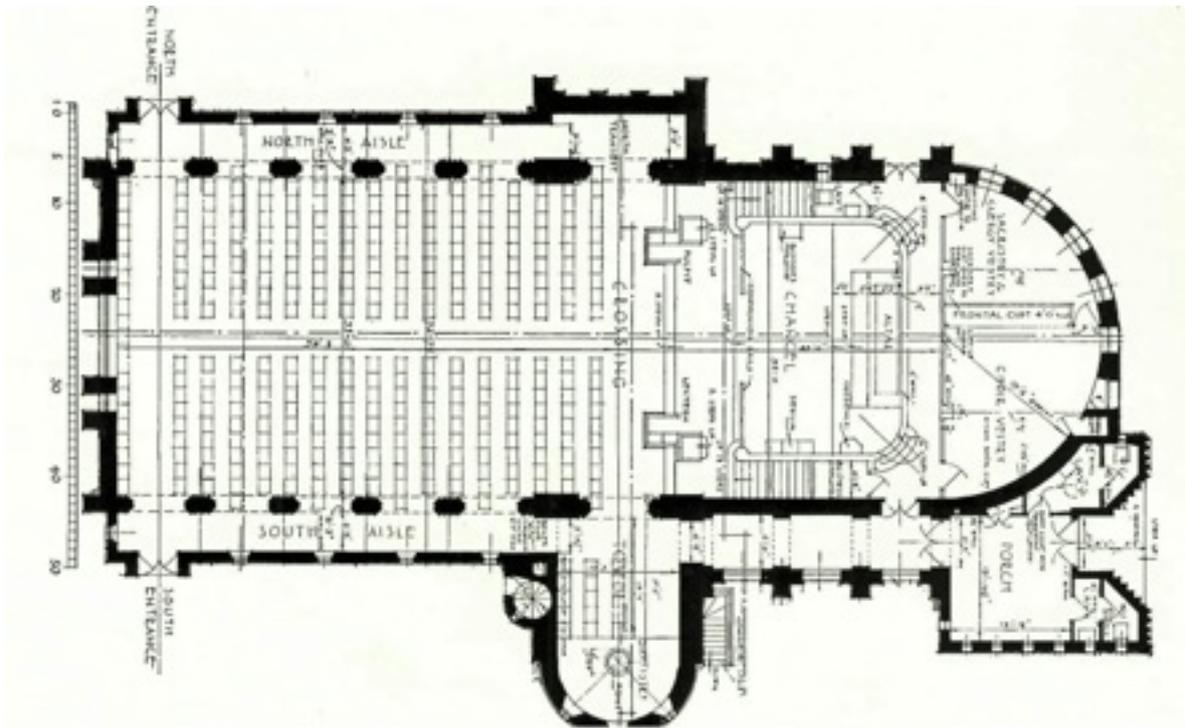
Figure 4.24- Plan, St Nicholas', Burnage
As the plan of St Nicholas Burnage demonstrates, some of the experimenting architects of the 1930s conceived of modern churches solely in terms of style. The essence of the Victorian church remains, with a few period quirks, and though the English Use liturgical consciousness has been partially absorbed the late medieval aesthetic has not.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 89.

Figure 4.25- Chancel, St Nicholas', Burnage
St Nicholas, Burnage's English Altar, visually accessible sanctuary, and (intended) western choir gallery show English Use influence. However the Deco style of the space contradicts the careful medievalism which the English Usagers were so keen to promote.

From: Cecil Harcourt-Smith, ed. *New Churches Illustrated: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Fifty-two Churches Erected During the Years 1926-1936*. London: Incorporated Church Building Society, 1936. Page 90.

Figure 4.26- John Keble Church, Mill Hill, London, D.F. Martin Smith (1936)
John Keble Church, Mill Hill (1936) 'cannot be labelled a complete embracing of Modernism' but 'shows the extent to which architects struggled to express the growing sense that change of some kind was necessary if the church was successfully to minister in the modern age.'

The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 34.
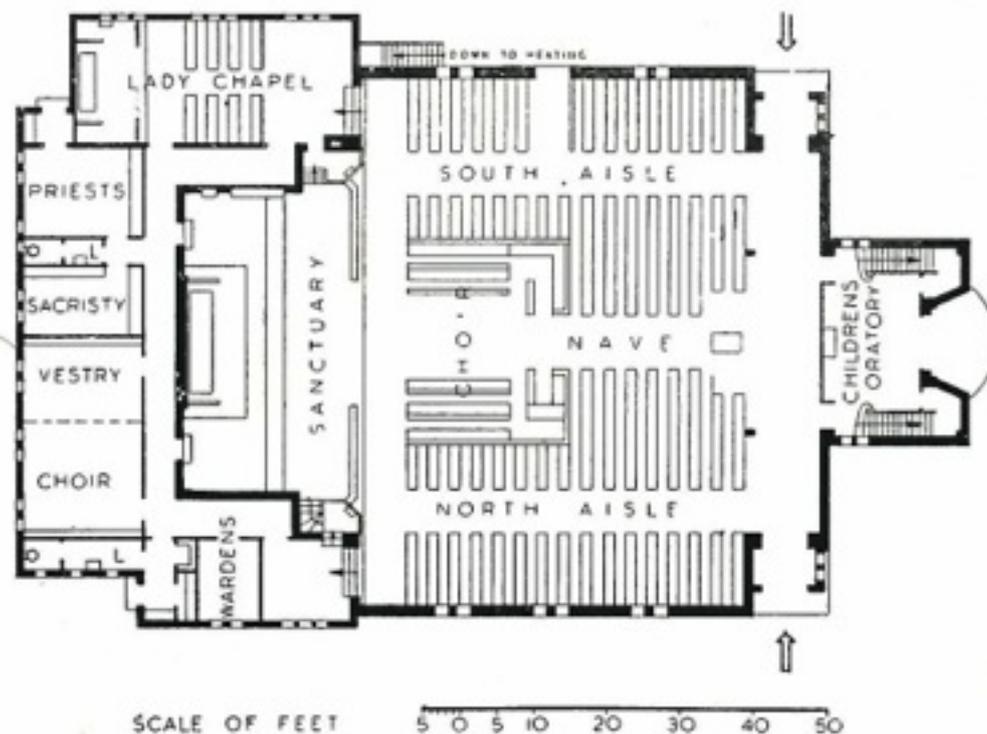
Figure 4.27- Plan, John Keble Church
At John Keble Church the traditional elements of a Victorian church have been rearranged better to represent visually the new Parish Communion movement which emphasised the unity of the congregation around the sacrament of Holy Communion.

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 35.
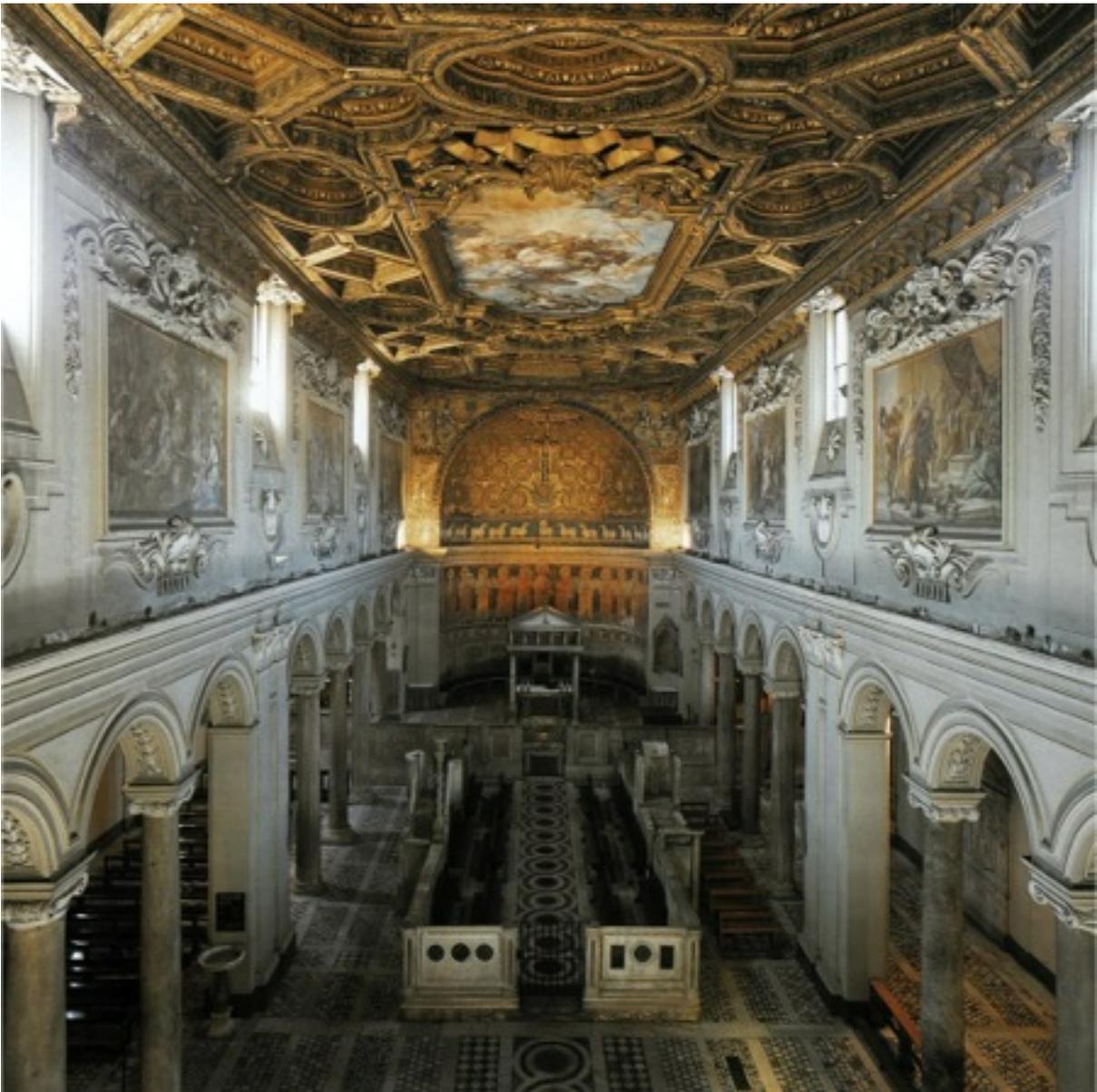
Figure 4.28- San Clemente, Rome (twelfth century)

'The whole composition [of Keble Church] is rather like that of a twelfth-century Roman basilica with its *schola cantorum* interrupting the architectural volume of the nave and its altar in an apse- at Keble Church, a shallow rectangular sanctuary- at a remove from some of the laity but permitting their ready surrounding of it to the sides.'

Digital image. Available from http://bestguidedtoursinrome.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Secret-Rome-Church.jpg (Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 4.29- Nave, John Keble Church
'[Keble Church's] style is vaguely Scandinavian modern and the furnishings themselves are clearly English Use in conception and placement, yet there is a subtle looking back to precedents far earlier than medieval for the plan and, one might say, the spirit of the liturgical space.'

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 36.

Figure 4.30- Chancel, John Keble Church
The sanctuary of Keble Church possesses all the expected furnishings of an English Use church but made from modern materials such as iron and set in a broad space rather than one that imitated a long medieval chancel.

From: The Incorporated Church Building Society. *Fifty Modern Churches: Photographs, Ground Plans, and Information Regarding Thirty-five Consecrated and Fifteen Dedicated Churches Erected During the Years 1930-1945*. London: The Incorporated Church Building Society, 1947. Page 37.
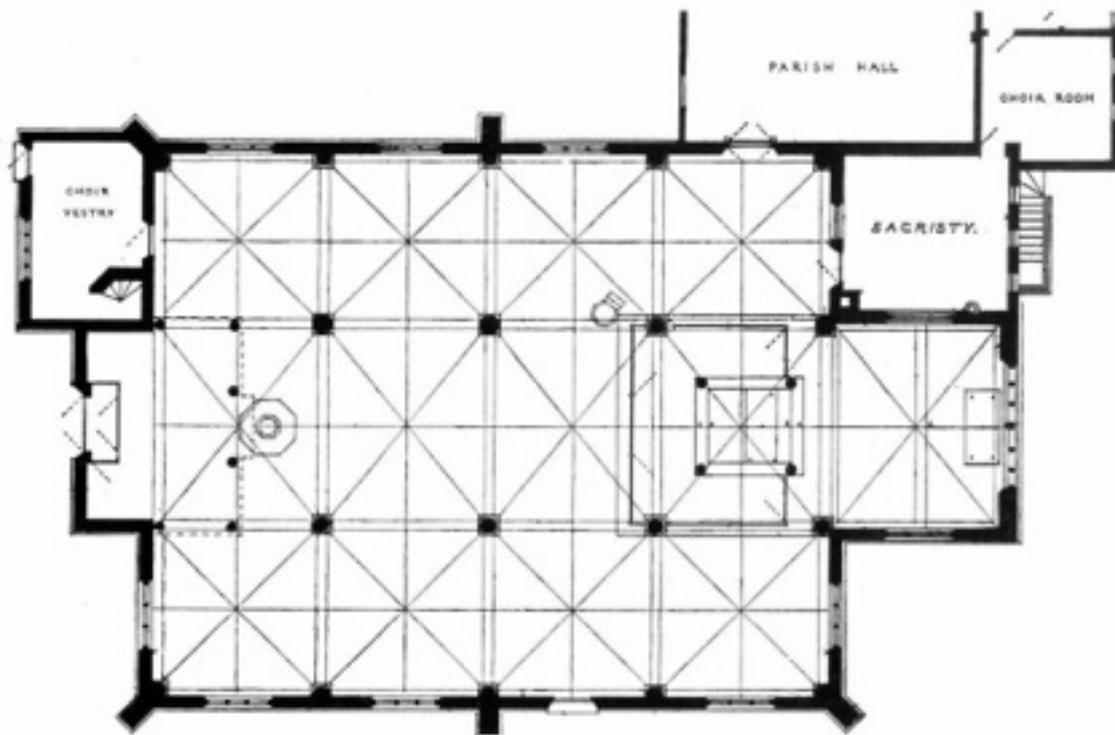
Figure 4.31- Plan, St Philip's, Cosham, Portsmouth, Ninian Comper (1936)
St Philip's, Cosham was built by Comper in 1936. Praised by Modernist Peter Hammond in 1960, it combined a liturgically progressive plan with traditional elements- a synthesis of Gothic and Classical.

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 207.

Figure 4.32- St Philip's, Cosham

The interior of St Philip,'s Cosham 'reflects the spatial relationship of S Antholin, that example of Spanish Gothic which Addleshaw and Etchells viewed, along with Comper, as a possible solution to the problems facing Anglican architecture in the twentieth century.'

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 167.

Figure 4.33- Font cover, St Philip's, Cosham
'The font [of St Philip] stands at the west end under a gilded canopy- a curious and amusing tempietto topped with a crocketed ogee dome.'

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 169.

Figure 4.34- Ascension, Crownhill, Plymouth, Potter & Hare (1954)
Built at Crownhill in 1954 'Ascension is, very clearly, a reworking of Comper's St Philip, Cosham, albeit in updated dress.'

Digital image. Available from http://www.bestmodernchurches.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Crownhill-The-Ascension-Exterior-2-1024x768.jpg (Accessed September 22, 2015).
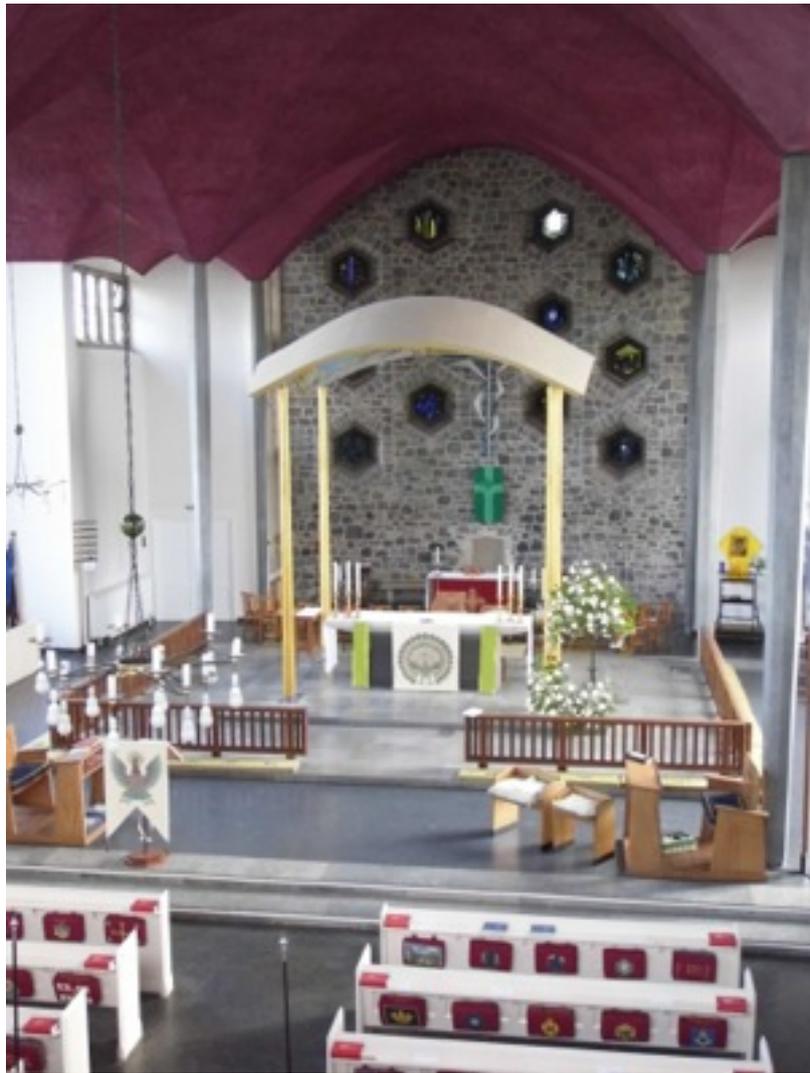
Figure 4.35- Nave, Ascension, Crownhill
Peter Hammond praised Ascension, Crownhill for its liturgical sensitivity but also for its style, an aspect for which he gave no praise to Comper's St Philip, Cosham from which Ascension's plan is almost directly copied.

Digital image. Available from http://www.bestmodernchurches.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Crownhill-The-Ascension-Sanctuary-768x1024.jpg (Accessed September 22, 2015).

Figure 4.36- Ascension, Crownhill pictured in *Liturgy and Architecture*
Though praised by Modernist thinkers, the liturgy as pictured at Ascension is little different from
that proposed as the ideal of the Anglican Use a few years later by Cyril Pocknee. 'Two churches
nearly identical in plan and in suggested liturgical performance must be divided by more than mere
style.'

From: Peter Hammond, *Liturgy and Architecture*. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960. Plate 34.

Figure 4.37- St Paul's, Bow Common, London, Maguire & Murray (1960)
St Paul's, Bow Common (1960) 'was better suited to a liturgical expression that, though hinted at in the Liturgical Movement, would not fully manifest until the implementation of the Alternative Services of the 1980s.'

From: Peter Hammond, ed. *Towards a Church Architecture*. London: The Architectural Press, 1962. Plate 47.
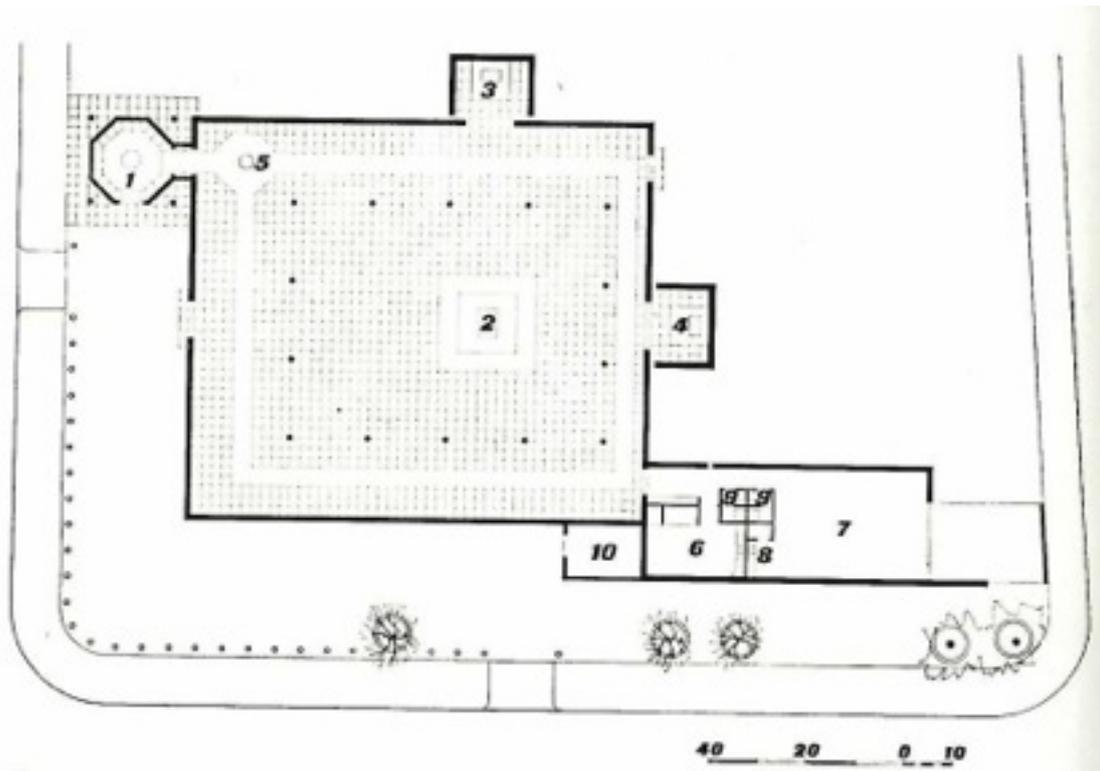
Figure 4.38- Plan, St Paul's, Bow Common

At St Paul's, Bow Common 'there is no sense of nave and aisles, but rather a great open space surrounded by a processional pathway articulated by columns and entered through a small octagonal porch. Chapels, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and for the reserved sacrament, project to the north and east, providing some respite from the otherwise unarticulated brick walls. The whole is lighted from above by an enormous lantern.'

From: Peter Hammond, ed. *Towards a Church Architecture*. London: The Architectural Press, 1962. Plate 48.
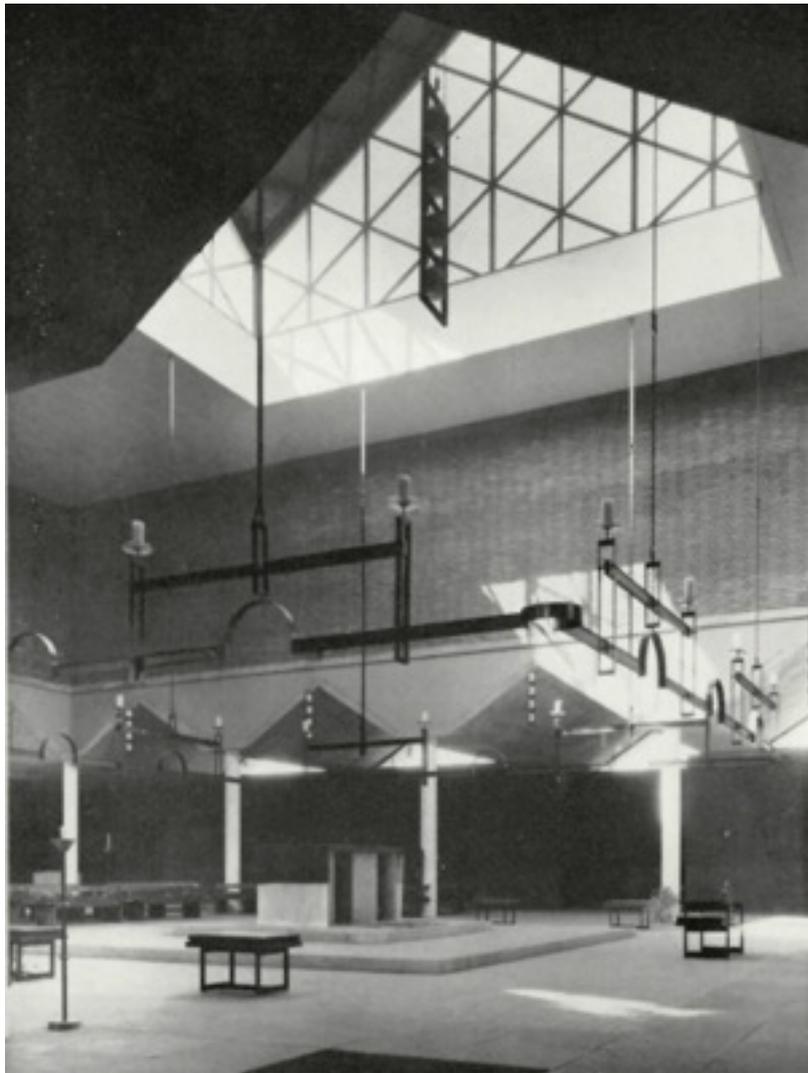
Figure 4.39- Nave, St Paul's, Bow Common
'The typical furnishings of an Anglican parish church are nowhere to be seen' in the interior of St Paul's, Bow Common. Even after the introduction of a ciborium over the altar, the lack of traditional stylistic references make this seem a revolutionary space, presumably intended to contain revolutionary liturgy.

From: Peter Hammond ed., *Towards a Church Architecture*. London: The Architectural Press, 1962. Plate 45.
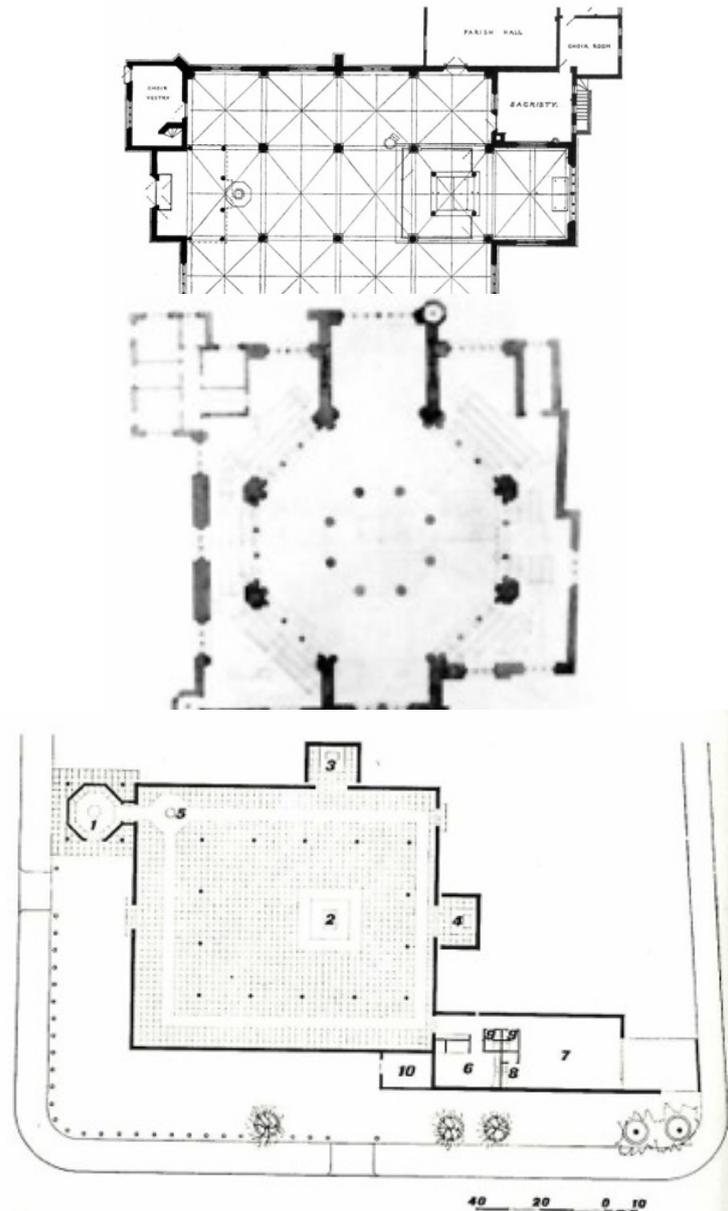
Figure 4.40-42- Plans of St Philip's, Cosham, St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, and St Paul's, Bow Common

In comparing St Paul's (1960), St John of Jerusalem (1943), St Philip, Cosham (1936) is is apparent that 'St Paul's might rightly be said to be a synthesis of the two earlier churches, a rectangular space with the altar at near-centre, but lit from above and surrounded by a processional aisle.'

From: Anthony Symondson and Stephen Bucknall, *Sir Ninian Comper.* Reading: Spire Books, 2006. Page 207., Harwood, Elaine, 'Liturgy and Architecture: The Development of the Centralised Eucharistic Space' in *The Twentieth Century Church*, vol. 3, Twentieth Century Architecture. London: The Twentieth Century Society, 1998. Page 37., Peter Hammond, ed. *Towards a Church Architecture*. London: The Architectural Press, 1962.. Plate 48.

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