

DEVELOPMENTS IN
CATHOLIC CHURCHBUILDING IN THE
BRITISH ISLES 1945-1980

Paul D Walker

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
1985

Volume II

University of Sheffield



IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

**ORIGINAL COPY TIGHTLY
BOUND**

IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

**TEXT CUT OFF IN THE
ORIGINAL**

Section Three

SECTION THREE

Section Three

CHURCHES

Considerations must now turn, in this third and final Section, to the actual church buildings themselves. Catholic churchbuilding during the post-war period has been both extensive and diverse. In England and Wales alone, about one third of the four thousand or so parish and other churches, has been newly built or replaced during this period, and, in particular during the especially busy era from the early fifties to the late sixties. Several key factors have motivated this enormous commitment, and many others have borne in upon it, giving whole groups of buildings distinctive characteristics which can be described as trends within the overall development.

The topics and issues that have been discussed in the preceding Sections have been intended as a description, exploration and analysis of the motivations, influences, perceptions and contingencies that have served to shape post-war Catholic churchbuilding as an activity, and church buildings as physical forms. It would be extraordinarily convenient if within the trends discerned there were clear-cut ends and beginnings, but in any activity where there is the exercise of choice, as there has been generally in Catholic churchbuilding, no such neat arrangement presents itself. Faced with some one and a half thousand buildings in the lists presented in the following Appendices, the task of mapping the growth and decline of trends is not without its difficulties. It could well have been the task of this survey somehow to have graphically presented such a chart, but that must wait upon some future researcher. Here will not be found a comparative study of

incidental architectural details, but a survey adumbrating trends, stages and issues within the overall development of Catholic churches in the post-war period, in the British Isles, for which the criteria will be simply those of appearance and use.

During the post-war period, traditional patterns of church use and appearance came under close scrutiny and influence, both of the liturgical movement in the Church, and the modern movement in architecture. Greater significance was given to the plan as the encapsulation of a more pastorally related use of space for liturgical worship, and studies were developed in order to provide a more critically informed design brief, from which the plan could evolve. It was a programmatic approach promoted in strong reaction to those stylistic preoccupations with facades and features, as if they were the whole raison d'etre of church architecture, beloved by many since first classified in the nineteenth century.¹ But it was an approach that was more or less restricted to determining the plan; for the actual appearance and spatial configuration of a church building's superstructure, other formal and functional principles had to be employed; from those evolving in modern art and architecture. So in this survey of developments in Catholic church buildings during this post-war period, appearance and use are two related, but not always interdependent, criteria of evaluation.

In England and Wales information on what has been built by the Catholic Church, has been greatly assisted by the Catholic Building Review, published annually between 1953 and 1981 in North and South editions.² As the response to the publisher's invitation to submit information on current and recently completed projects was entirely

voluntary, the Review cannot be taken as being the full, official and definitive record of all church (and other) building in England and Wales. But in the absence of such a record (published or unpublished), the Review can be taken as being the most comprehensive dossier available of developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the post-war period.

In at least three of the earliest Northern editions of the Catholic Building Review, Scottish churches were included, and it is a pity that their inclusion was discontinued. Of the three territories of the Catholic Church in the British Isles therefore, Scotland has the fewest churches listed. But of those that are listed, it can safely be said that they constitute a significant contribution to the post-war development of churchbuilding.

In Ireland too, there has been no regularly published review of churchbuilding. Reviews of various individual projects have appeared in journals and other publications, but there has never been a compendium comparable with the Catholic Building Review, nor for that matter, with the more editorially selective Churchbuilding (of the 1960s) or the more academically biased annual and occasional Research Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham. In view of the early consideration given to the integral role of church architecture in the liturgical renewal, in Ireland, it is somewhat surprising that more has not been published.

However, since the housing of the Irish Institute for Pastoral Liturgy at Carlow in 1978 a library of photographs and other information on churchbuilding has been added to and developed under

the particular aegis of Wilfrid Cantwell. He has also produced a selective gazetteer of modern churches in Ireland. Unlike the Catholic Building Review where the good, the bad and the indifferent are to be found side by side, and any hard information almost invariably embedded in unctious prose, Cantwell's list is very discerning and economic. But because it is selective, it does not offer a further profile of what has been built, which the C.B.R. does. The imminent publication of a survey from the 1930s to the present of Catholic churchbuilding in Ireland by Cantwell and Richard Hurley (together with a commentary by Austin Flannery OP) promises to be equally selective - but very instructive and stimulating.

In order to pursue a comparative analysis of churchbuilding in all three territories, it would be necessary to have less of an imbalance in the lists of churches built than has been managed here. But it was never the intention to mount a comparative study of that kind. Again, that is a task which some future researcher may embark upon, using such lists as have been compiled here as a useful basis or contribution.

Because the list for England and Wales is the most comprehensive and diverse, it has provided the most cues for structuring a discussion of groups of church buildings in this last Section. Where buildings from Scotland or Ireland are included, it is hoped that their distinctive contribution to their own territorial development of churchbuilding will remain discernible.

Finally, this last Section is divided like its predecessors into three chapters. The first begins with a few significant developments

in churchbuilding in the period prior to 1939, so that some of the character of the immediate post-war trends can be better assessed. It was not until after the mid-1950s, when restrictions on the use of building resources were relaxed and it once again became possible to erect churches that the character of those trends became evident. They exhibited both backward-looking and forward-looking tendencies, which indicated a growing need for greater clarification of aims from within the Church. That clarification came in the early 1960s with the Second Vatican Council, which was a great watershed in the life of the Church. So it provides a natural dividing line between two phases of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, and thus between the first and second chapters.

A distinction between the second and third chapters has no organised event within the Church, such as Vatican II, to aid a characterisation of the tendencies that form their focus of concern. But in the late 1960s certain crises of world-wide significance outside the Church, and of universal significance within it, seem to have caused a major shift in priorities in Western society, not excluding the British Isles. Whether or not as a causal effect of these shifts, there was also a change in churchbuilding tendencies, which in the British Isles were particularly marked in England and Wales. The trend was evident not only in a reduction in number and size of buildings erected, but also in their diversity of function and economy of construction. More multipurpose, and ecumenically shared and jointly-owned, churches were built, indicative of new practices and priorities in a more pragmatic pastoral strategy. In the 1970s too, practical concerns for the best utilisation of resources made redundant and near-redundant churches more vulnerable

provoking reaction from the conservationist lobby which was already alarmed at the extent of the impact made on church buildings by the schemes of reordering that had followed in the wake of Vatican II. So this last chapter leads inevitably towards questions concerning a compatibility of intention in current developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, which, in part, it will be the task of the Conclusion to address itself.

Chapter One

Pre-War and Pre Second Vatican Council

Throughout the nineteenth century, in Europe, there was a persistent search for the primitif, that had begun at the time of the cultural crisis at the end of the preceding century. It was also the time when the Liturgical Movement can be said to have begun. Via the Benedictine abbeys of Solesmes, Beuron and Maria Laach an architectural aesthetic developed, the 'primitive' intention of which was to place 'at the service of the great theological ideas the basic shapes of a geometric and aesthetic nature of which God made use in creating his universe',³ and was regarded as 'being parallel to the reform effected in music by the Gregorian chant'.⁴

So it was apt that Cardinal Vaughan should think that 'to build the principal Catholic church in England in a style which was absolutely primitive Christian, which was not confined to Italy, England, or any other nation, but was, up to the ninth century, spread over many countries, would be the wisest thing to do'.⁵ The design of Westminster Cathedral (1903) by J F Bentley was clearly intended to stand as an embodiment of the primitive ideal; it was also intended as a conciliatory solution to the factious issue of 'indigenous Gothic' versus 'ultramontane Classicism'.

The primitive aesthetic embodied in Early-Christian-cum-Byzantine-cum-Romanesque style persisted well into the twentieth century until it had become so etiolated and vestigial that Sir Nikolaus Pevsner berated it as being 'one of the deadest ends in mid-twentieth century

ecclesiastical architecture' produced in preponderance by 'Catholic architects without much courage or creative ability ... all over England'.⁶

In the nineteenth century the Byzantine style used by John Hungerford Pollen for the Catholic University church, Dublin (1855), caused a furore among the Puginites. J H Newman, then Rector of the University, while admitting a personal preference for Gothic, regarded the style in which the church was built as being 'more in accordance with the ritual of the present day, more cheerful in its interior, admitting more naturally of rich materials, of large pictures or mosaics, and of mural decorations'.⁷ By the turn of the century however, it was the Gaelic cultural revival which motivated architects and clients alike to build churches like those at Spiddall, Co. Galway (1908) by W. Scott,⁸ and Newtown, Co. Mary (1918) by R Butler,⁹ in the Hiberno-Romanesque Revival style.

The Scottish Baronial Revival of the nineteenth century was a Celtic awakening similar to, but distinct from, that in Ireland. The twentieth century churches at Rothesay on the Isle of Bute (1923) and at Fort William (1934) by R Fairlie in a stark, massive and simple Romanesque, use hand hewn reconstituted stone and concrete round-arched roof trusses to create a 'new architecture out of the Scottish inheritance'.¹⁰ At Fort William the sanctuary is contained in a large squat tower which, like that at Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight (1912) by Dome Bellot, provides a lantern and architectural emphasis to the liturgical space. At Quarr the construction is of superb Flemish brickwork. Brickwork (reminiscent of the architect's native Italy) was also an outstanding feature of St Anne's, Glasgow (1936) by J Coia, with its neo-Byzantine stonework detailing.

In England a striking example of Continental influence in this Byzantine-cum-Romanesque style, was Low House, St Helens (1930) by C Powell of Dublin; it has round-ended transepts, a dome above its crossing, an ambulatory, a vault of hollow brickwork built by Belgian contractors, and glass from a studio in Ghent. In the Midlands, Our Lady of Lourdes, Ashby-de-la-Zouche (1915) by F A Walters is regarded as being the architect's best essay in Romanesque. While in the London area, Holy Cross, Parson's Green (1924) by T H B Scott and B Williamson was one of many churches designed in this style by this architect and priest. In Yorkshire C E Foxe of Dewsbury designed several for the fund raised by Bishop Cowgill for new churches in the Leeds diocese. St Catherine's, Sheffield (1926) is an example; designed in an Italian Romanesque style, with red brick and stone dressing, it complements well the terrace housing of the district. Inside is a fine, painted wooden ciborium, which was an architectural device reintroduced to give emphasis to altars that were more free-standing and devoid of elaborate reredoses.

Symbolically, the ciborium signified the regality and centrality of the altar of Christ, which received further emphasis in 1925 with the inauguration of the Feast of Christ the King by Pius XI as the focus of his pontificate's main objective: 'To reconcile all things in Christ'.

At Fort William there is a magnificent wrought iron ciborium designed by Fairlie, while at Fort Augustus (1917) he designed one covered with painted deer skin, and at St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh, he introduced one of stone (1927). Stone ciboria referring back to those in the Roman basilicas such as Santa Sabina or San Giorgio in

Velabro, were designed by Scott and Williamson at St Gregory, Earlsfield, and St Agnes, Cricklewood (1930), both destroyed by 'enemy' action - the one by German bombers, the other by unsympathetic reorderers (1978). Even shorter-lived was the ciborium erected at Liverpool in 1934 for the laying of the cornerstone of the new cathedral with its own un-realised ciborium designed by Sir E Lutyens.¹¹ But perhaps the best known of all these structures is the ciborium supported on Verona marble columns designed by J F Bentley for Westminster Cathedral.

Differing from Westminster Cathedral in that nearly all of its mosaics have now been finished (to the designs of G Pippet) is the church at Droitwich (1921) by B Peacock. They cover almost every inch of the interior and are of a brilliance more convincing than those by Anrep, Vulliamy and others at Westminster. At St Oswald, Ashton-in-Makerfield (1930) by J K Brocklesby it is the windows by the Irish stained glass artist Harry Clarke¹² that provide a brilliant and brooding intensity to the interior, with their combined Byzantine dignity and Beardsley-esque decadence. But at Ampleforth Abbey (1922-61) by Sir G G Scott, it is to the twelfth century church at Perigueux, with its saucer domes over each structural bay, and absence of mosaics, that the design looks for the source of its inspiration.

For the great single-domed church of St John, Rochdale (1925) by E Bower Norris of Hill, Sandy and Norris, the Byzantine style was regarded as being 'aptly chosen both by reason of its historical fitness and by the readiness which its constructional need is met by the most modern method'.¹³ 'Simple in character and massive in scale' the building is essentially a massive monolith concrete

structure. The reinforced concrete dome and the barrel vaults over the transept arms of cross plan within a square, are erected in one single slab of concrete reduced to five inch thickness at the crown. The concrete dome was left exposed and is 68 ft. in diameter and 95 ft. high. The space beneath the dome could accommodate up to twelve hundred people, and was lit by three five-light windows in three of the transept arms, with thirty-six smaller windows around the base of the dome. Both internally and externally the concrete frame and shell was clad in 'the same bricks that have built a thousand cotton mills'.¹⁴ (In 1953 however, much of the brickwork had to be removed in order to treat the concrete for damp penetration, and replaced.) One item not built was the ciborium over the main altar; and the embellishment of the sanctuary with a quite impressive set of mosaics by E Newton,¹⁵ had to wait until 1933 for completion. Originally conceived before the First World War at a cost of £12,800, the church was finally completed for £21,000 (plus a further £5,000 for the tower - if it had been built), which represented, according to the architect, a very low cost per cubic foot. Norris used this concrete shell technique as a means of reducing costs on large church buildings; for SS Peter and Paul, New Brighton (1935) before the war, and St John Vianney, Blackpool (1959) and Ratcliffe College chapel, Leicester (1961) with its single central dome reminiscent of Rochdale, after the war.

Another church constructed before the war as a cast-concrete shell, was St Teresa, Abergele (1934) by G Rinvoluceri, who was a civil engineer responsible for designing a number of viaducts in his native Italy.¹⁶ In 1925, he settled in North Wales and became interested in church architecture. The five churches he designed were all completed before the war; the others are at Pwllheli (1926),

Amlwch (1935), Ludlow (1936) and Princes Risborough (1937). Of these, the church at Amlwch, in Anglesey, is particularly interesting because it is an entirely exposed concrete shell set between parabolic concrete ribs. There is a series of roof-lights let into the top of the shell from one side to the other, in between the ribs, with star shaped windows at the East and West ends. The reredos is described as being a 'halved hollow parabolic one with the apex some twenty feet above the altar'. And the whole structure was set on a rag-work plinth which forms the parish hall beneath the church. Built literally on the coast, its parabolic form has frequently been 'explained' as being analogous to an upturned boat, but Roulin was probably much nearer the mark when he referred to the vast reinforced-concrete parabolic arches of the airship hangars at Orly (1916) as being the likely stimulus for Rinvoluceri's design¹⁷ - the hangars had been designed by E Freyssinet, another, but more famous, contemporary bridge-builder.

The dangers of a too literal architectural symbolism, especially in the plan of a church, where the significance could not possibly be seen other than from an aerial viewpoint and with the building's superstructure removed, was criticised by Hammond when he referred to the church of St Francis Xavier, Kansas City (1948) by B Byrne, which was in the shape of an early Christian pictograph of a fish. Byrne was a Chicago architect influenced by Lloyd Wright. Quite surprisingly he designed the first modern church in Ireland at Christ the King, Turner's Cross, Cork (1937) together with a local architect, B Barrett. Its plan too could be literally interpreted as being 'fish-like', but is actually a faceted and extended nexagon, with a V approach to the main entrance. The facets are eight

slender windows at the sanctuary end, and seven at the other, rising in height on each side.

We should note the qualities of this edifice: the wise and successful equilibrium of the great enveloping form, the plan permitting all the congregation to see the altar easily, the many vertical lines of the bays and of the supports, the zig-zag lines of the great vault ...

... Unusual it certainly is, and also practical. But the sanctuary, thrust forward, has not that character of religious respect which more than fifteen centuries have given it by setting it in an apse, somewhat separated from the nave. Moreover the two side altars are in the sanctuary, which should be reserved to the high altar. 18

Those were the positive and negative critical comments written by Dom Roulin in 1938, and he further described the immense retable of terrazo enriched with gilt mosaic, but lacking a canopy for the tabernacle (as the rubrics then required) for which the architect had to design a copper canopy or tegimen. His most significant comment perhaps though, was that of the sanctuary being within a single worship space.

The same year that the Cork church was completed, the Anglican church of St Michaels, Wythenshawe, Manchester (1937) by N F Cachemaille-Day P1 13 was opened. It too was faceted, but as an eight-pointed star form, with a chancel that thrust forward into the 'nave'. The intention clearly was to provide for a more immediate liturgy; some of the seating was angled towards the projecting chancel, and the reinforced-concrete 'Diagrid' roof rested on slender columns with the minimum of visual interference. But after episcopal intervention, the altar was finally placed in the outwardly salient projection at the rear of chancel, the forward part of which became the inevitable location of the choir.

So a new architecture for the liturgical movement was being sensed by the Church of England too, but, as in the Roman Catholic territories of the British Isles, convention and conservatism applied a brake to speedy progress.

One further Catholic example of development worth mentioning is the church of First Martyrs, Bradford (1937) by J H Langtry-Langton.

Pl 14
Fig 8

Progress here was suddenly very speedy; the altar was placed centrally in an octagonal plan. Before this there had been a growing number of examples where the altar was placed centrally or near centrally, in a cruciform plan whether of extended or compacted dimensions. Ampleforth abbey church is a case in point, with a monk's retro-choir forming the fourth arm behind the 'double' altar;¹⁹ another, later example, is the church at Gorleston (1939) by E Gill in conjunction with J E Farrell.

Gill was an avid proponent of 'returning the altar to the people', and a correspondent of the commissioning priest for the church at Bradford, Fr J O'Connor, who had been deeply influenced by the archaeological evidence for free-standing altars, particularly that published by the German Jesuit J Braun in Der Christliche Altar In Seiner Geschichtlichen Entwicklung (1924).²⁰ Fr O'Connor had already built the Byzantine-cum-Romanesque church of The Holy Spirit, Heckmondwike (1915) by C E Foxe, with a central dome and an apsidal altar. And the first design submitted by Langtry-Langton for the Bradford church had a large dome over a central altar in a cruciform plan. But the diocese considered the lowest tender price of £7,500 as being beyond the resources of the parish.²¹ The octagonal church that was finally built, cost £5,700 (i.e. slightly less than 9d per cu ft).

Internally, the liturgical ordering comprised a relatively small altar-table centrally placed, and facing 'West', with little more than what appears to be a processional cross in front of it.²² Behind it, and outside the sanctuary, but on the central axis, was the pulpit; and behind the pulpit were three arches, the central one containing the confessional, the right-hand one the tabernacle on a fixed side altar, and the other the entrance to the sacristy. The font was situated in the main entrance area. Subsequently, episcopal requirement had the tabernacle placed on a central oblong altar. But in 1974 the church was re-ordered by J H Langtry-Langton and the main central axis had placed on it the tabernacle in the central arched recess, a font between it and a new altar, and a podium projecting towards the sanctuary accommodating the presidential chair and ambo. The emphasis on the central axis of the new scheme has divided the congregation into two opposing segments rather than unified it, as the original 'U' segment did. So for this reason alone the reordering has not been a complete reversion to the original scheme. Nevertheless, the liturgical design bravely presaged principles that would only become more evident a quarter of a century later in the British Isles, and its experimental form should have been much more critically observed and taken account of when these were being considered.

Internally, in addition to the daring novelty of a central altar, the brief called for the worship space to be also adaptable to social use. The seating, predella, altar-rails and the altar itself, were to be made so that they could easily be removed, and large trap-doors were designed to allow them to be moved to the basement. But the dual-purpose function was abandoned; instead more

of the basement than originally had been intended, was then, and subsequently, developed as a social centre.

Externally, the octagonal form of the church, with its Romanesque detailing, suggests a supported central structure surrounded by a wide ambulatory. In fact, internally there are no vertical supports; the roof is a flat dome with a lantern. The whole is an exercise in structural engineering with the eight steel ribs restrained by steel purlins supporting the dead weight of the lantern, resting on buttressed stone walls. The whole feeling is heavy and engineered - a characteristic which was to remain evident in the many post-war churches built by this practice. (Interestingly, the principal of the practice was originally a structural engineer, and was very critical of the construction of several widely acclaimed modern churches, including the use of 'legs' at Liverpool Cathedral (1967) by Sir F Gibberd, to buttress its conoid roof and lantern.)

Gill's church of St Peter, Gorleston (1938) is structurally and liturgically less interesting, it has to be admitted. Even architecturally, it is disappointing by comparison with contemporary Anglican churches being designed by N F Cachemaille-Day and Lander, and A Randall-Wells (e.g. St Nicholas, Burnage, Manchester (1932); St Wilfrid, Halton, Leeds (1938)). Gill himself admitted to being disappointed with the outcome, primarily because the altar, 'the central feature and whole raison d'etre of the building' didn't show up sufficiently.²³ Everything in the plan and structure, he felt, should grow from the centrality of the altar; the external form should be simply the result of this internal reality, which to him signified Calvary in the middle of the world.²⁴ Since then, in 1964, when the church was reordered in time for its jubilee, and consecration,

the altar has been moved its own width further forward into the crossing, while above it, and under the hanging crucifix by D Tegetmeier, a canopy by B C C Hastings has been suspended. Tegetmeier also executed the Stations of the Cross and the large mural on the West wall of the central lantern tower, of which Gill was particularly proud - its crossed arches springing from the floor making an octagonal central space. Also in 1964 the tabernacle was removed from its side altar and placed on the rear wall of the Eastern arm of the church, which had been the Lady chapel. Gill's too small confessional was converted to a cupboard, the pulpit taken away, the open porch glassed in, and new glass put in the East Window by E J Nuttgens, another of Gill's associate artists.

Gill worked and wrote as though he should, and could make a Catholic culture exist. His spirited arguments for Mass for the Masses made him a determined campaigner in sympathy with the liturgical movement. St Peters, Gorleston, is not a great building, but the ideas on liturgy and plain architecture which it embodies have come into their own. Perhaps the best tribute to it would be by Gill himself: it is a 'jolly decent and holy house' of 'just brick-layers', 'tilers', and carpenters' work'.²⁵

In this pre-war period then, there were positive indications that architects and clergy were perceiving a need to come to terms with emphasis on the liturgy. Sometimes the preoccupation was with disguising these trends in historicism; sometimes with the engineering of the superstructure over a novel plan-form; and sometimes with the art-worthiness of a building and its furnishings. These would all reappear after the war, but the point to remember is that developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, were afoot one, two and more decades before the advent of World War II.

War Damage

War is no discriminator of persons or property, and during the 1939-45 war Catholic churches did not escape being damaged and destroyed. Immediately after the war, licensing restrictions were severe on public building projects, including those of the non-Established Churches. When major repairs and reconstructions finally began in the early 1950s, sufficient time had elapsed for some well-thought-out criteria to have been established, and some bold and imaginative decisions taken, as in Germany. But a search in the British Isles to find an uncompromisingly modern reconstruction equal to the Franciscan church (1952) by E Steffann, or the Liebfrauenkirche (1955) by R Schwarz, in Cologne, will be in vain.

Nor will be found some dramatic use of a war ruin equal to Alt St Alban, Cologne with its powerful memorial of mourning parents by Kathe Kollwitz, or the Lutheran Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtniskirche, Berlin (1963) by E Eiermann; or in the British Isles, the cathedral of St Michael, Coventry (1962) by Sir B Spence.

Even where a church was completely demolished and replaced, the new building was rarely modern. St Mary's, Highfield St, Liverpool (1953) by Weightman and Bullen, Holy Apostles, Pimlico (1958) by Hadfield, Cawkwell and Davidson, and St Joseph's, Hanwell (1962) by Reynolds and Scott, were among the few exceptions. And so were the German church of St Boniface, Stepney (1960) by D Plaskett Marshall.

Ironically the original church (1875) by J Young already had the distinction of having been hit by a Zeppelin bomb in 1917, before it was totally destroyed in 1940. The new building was a wide, boxy, and aisle-less hall-church, of brick-clad concrete-frame construction,

with an impressively tall and straight-sided bell-tower. Inside, there was a generous sanctuary and predella with a firmly proportioned, free-standing, black marble altar, that looked to the Continent for the source of its inspiration. On it was a low-set tabernacle, while above it, on the rear wall, was a large coloured plaster and scraffito mural by a German artist, H Reul.

Another church which had an added dimension to its fate of being bombed, was St Benedict's abbey, Ealing (1899) begun by F A Walters. Three nave bays of the incomplete church were destroyed and had to be reconstructed when work began in 1953 to build the transepts and the lower stage of a central tower to the designs of S Kerr Bate, who took over Walters' practice. The style of the reconstruction and the additions was not reflective of the fifty years or so which had elapsed since the building was started, but of the neo-Perpendicular of the original design, and of the later additions by Walters' own son, E J Walters. This was how the majority of war damaged and destroyed churches were to be reconstructed and built anew - in some historicist style. Where detail could not be afforded (or some tentative gesture was being made towards being modern), a plainer version was adopted. The general criteria seemed to be that 'the new ... should be a replica of the old, with improvements'.²⁶

Outside London St Osberg, Coventry (1845) by C Hansom was partially reconstructed by Harrison and Cox, and the South aisle of another Hansom church, St John's, Bath (1863) which was hit in 1942, was reconstructed (1953) by A French and Partners. In Hull, St Wilfrid's was badly damaged, and in Sheffield, at St Vincent's (1856) by Weightman, Hadfield and Goldie, the side chapel and sacristy were

totally destroyed and were replaced by a very plain mortuary chapel (1964) by Hadfield, Cawkwell and Davidson. In Cardiff, St David's Cathedral (1887) by P P Pugin was largely gutted in 1941. Its spacious eight-bay nave allowed for possibilities in designing for a more publicly accessible liturgy, and the sanctuary was boldly thrust forward two bays (1959) by F R Bates and Son. But it was canon's stalls and not a generously accommodated free-standing altar, which took up the space.

In London, opportunities were also missed, which, with more foresight and critical interest on the part of the commissioning bodies, ought not to have been missed. At Bow Common, the reconstruction (1957) by D Stokes of the church of the Holy Name (1894) by F A Walters, made a poignant comparison with the seminal design of the Anglican church, in the same district, of St Paul (1960) by R Maguire and K Murray, which was also a war-damage replacement building.

Pl 15

Stoke's design was a reconstruction of the original: neo-Gothic, axial, with six bays, aisles and clerestories. But it had a sensitivity of scale and a clarity of form, together with a ciborium of aluminium and other well designed furnishings that were a genteel nod in the direction of modernity.

Anything but genteel was the church of St Mary and St Joseph, Poplar (1954) by A G Scott. 'Pretentious and timid', 'aggressive and flaccid' was how Ian Nairn described it,²⁷ with a grandiose conceit asserted from far and near. The coffin-shaped windows, and the Egyptian-arched main portal, served only to endorse Nairn's view of this massively centralised pile of brick as being a 'free standing crushing bathos'. The original church (1856) by W Wardell was destroyed in 1940.

In 1945 Goldie and Child's church of Our Lady of Victories, Kensington (1869) and the nearby Carmelite church (1862) by E W Pugin, were gutted. It was then a parish of five thousand people and in 1950 seventeen Masses were having to be said on a Sunday in temporary premises. The estimated cost then of rebuilding each of these churches was £100,000, yet the required licence to rebuild was refused on the ground that building materials were not available.²⁸ By 1957 however, building had finally started on Our Lady of Victories to another stolid design by A G Scott. An arid reordering of the early 1970s by Archard and Partners, which removed the original altar and placed little of architectural or liturgical consequence in its place, has done nothing to relieve the original grey outmodedness.

The nearby Carmelite church, also in Kensington, was designed by A G Scott's brother, Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, and is marginally more interesting. Like Our Lady of the Rosary, Marylebone (1964) by H S Goodhart-Rendel, it has pronounced pointed transverse arches on top of which are lesser arches supporting the flat ceiling and forming a clerestory. The internal buttresses as at Our Lady of Victories have passage aisles, and shrines and confessionals between them. But there is no structural distinction between the nave and sanctuary, so that the five bays are continuous, with the sanctuary occupying one of them. This boldness and openness is quite effectively counterpointed by a soaring neo-Perpendicular reredos with carved panels of the Life of the Virgin, that focuses attention on the altar. Openness and an illusion of grand scale is also the impression given by the interior of Holy Trinity, Dockhead (1960) by Goodhart-Rendel, with its four saucer-domed vaults, and tall passage aisles. And externally, it certainly has a boldness in its patterned brickwork and neo-Byzantine lunette windows, so characteristic of Goodhart-Rendel's churches.

On a smaller scale, and as a reminder that it was not only the large and prominent churches which were devastated, there were the conventual chapels and oratories. The church of the Sacred Heart of the Convent of Perpetual Adoration, Horseferry Rd, bombed in 1944 was redesigned (1963) in plain Gothic eclecticism by H G Clacy.

At Digby Stuart College, Roehampton, the chapel of the Convent of the Sacred Heart was added to the only surviving chapel of the original, by L H Shattock in 1960. The sense of incongruity between the expensive hotch-potch of the altar and reredos, and the plain utilitarianism of the building's construction, is almost painful as an architect, whose preference for marble cladding would be accommodated more happily in a neo-Byzantine or neo-Classical style, attempts to apply his preference to the functional and economic forms of post-war modernism. His endeavours are even more pronounced in the triple chapel of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, Windlesham (1968). Shattock's heyday was really before the war when in 1934 he was responsible for enlarging the great pulpit in Westminster Cathedral.

Looking backwards too, was F G Broadbent's design for the Martyrs' Shrine, Tyburn (1963), that was, in part, bland neo-Georgian, with a few external alien touches.

But of the large and prominent churches which were destroyed, St George's Cathedral, Southwark (1848) by A W N Pugin, was generally regarded as the one example which most epitomised the slow process of reconstruction.²⁹ The building was gutted by incendiary fire in April 1941, and suffered other damage from shrapnel, blast and fire both before and after. When the devastation occurred, the

whole process of coping with emergency repairs and compensation claims was so new,³⁰ that it was several weeks before what should and could be done, was satisfactorily clarified.

Early advice was given by the architects Meakin and Archer, recommending the use of reinforced concrete to secure the shell of the building in order to avoid unnecessary demolition; and by A J Sparrow, recommending temporary measures for roofing over the shell. As the diocese did not have the original drawings available, C H Purcell of the surviving practice of Pugin and Pugin, was asked for information on the building's fabric, so that a thorough evaluation could be made. As his response was apparently confusing, the diocese decided to seek the services of a 'constructional engineer'. In June, Messrs Redpath and Brown recommended R B Craze of Milner and Craze to E J Walters, who was acting as consultant architect, and after due consideration of Craze's experience in surveying old churches, the diocese appointed him. However, as it was to turn out, Craze was to be not only the surveyor of the surviving shell in order to determine what provisional measures might be taken, but also the architect of the new reconstruction.

One of Craze's first tasks was to see that compensation claims were fully detailed. His report, submitted in September 1941, estimated that a rebuilding of the cathedral would cost £200,000, whereas a reconstruction would be only £70,000. A building in a new idiom, however, would cost an estimated £100,000, but he believed that the diocese would be prouder of a building which was more or less faithful to Pugin's original. After a moment's hesitation while it considered what the sale value of the site might be worth in any new town-planning measures, such as were beginning to be discussed even at

that time, the diocese acceded to Craze's request to make measured drawings in preparation for a reconstruction.

From 1941 to 1943 claims for emergency repairs to the ruin totalled £1,337. For the much bigger sum, which would be required for the eventual reconstruction, an appeal fund was set up. The propriety of such an appeal was checked with the War Damage Commission; it had no objections to appeals being made in Ireland and America (though it had curtailed large Anglican appeals).

In 1943 queries were raised by Milner and Craze over the role being played by Walters, as he commented on their designs for reconstruction that were submitted to the Reconstruction Committee. During this time too, discussions were still going on over the erection of a temporary structure using sections of the surviving shell. There was continuing concern over any effects such a measure might have on the final compensation to be paid, and on the eventual reconstruction work proper. On yet another level, discussions were taking place over rebuilding priorities in general, with other Churches, in the London area and nationally.³¹ Having to consult with these and other bodies, made it clear that the Churches would no longer be able to build just as they would wish.

After the end of the war, Catholic hopes for starting the task of rebuilding were periodically raised and dashed by successive Government policies. The general realisation though was that no major programme of churchbuilding would be likely to be approved until the early 1950s. But it was felt that for a cathedral, some priority would be allowed, and hope again rose when, on the last day of 1947, Craze made an approved application to the Regional Licensing Officer of the Ministry of Works, for a licence to expose the cathedral's foundations in order to survey them.

By the summer of 1958 the rebuilding of the cathedral was complete. The surviving outer walls of Pugin's church had been kept, but neither their buttresses nor the truncated Western tower, were built up and pinnacled as the published drawings by Craze suggested. Internally, there was, seemingly, little resemblance to the original which had been built without its clerestory and so was dimly lighted. By flattening the pitch of the roof, and raising the height of the nave walling, Craze had managed to introduce a clerestory. However, the lack of money did not allow the stone vaulting, again hoped for in the plans. Instead, there was a timber ceiling resting on the transverse arches of the eight bays. And here too, as at Cardiff, the sanctuary was thrust forward, but only by one bay, not two, allowing the altar-rail to extend the full width of the nave.

War Delayed

The war not only damaged and destroyed Catholic churches - it also delayed the completion of many of those started before it began. Most affected were the large and long-term projects, some of which were fortunate enough to have reached a satisfactory stage in completion during the thirties. Mount St Bernard's Cistercian abbey church (1844) begun by A W N Pugin, was completed between 1935 and 1939 mainly to the designs of A Herbert. But it had to wait until 1945 to be consecrated. Like Ampleforth, the altar is placed beneath a central tower, and faces both Pugin's nave, which became the monk's choir in the new scheme, and the Eastern extension to accommodate a lay congregation. And at Ampleforth itself, between 1958 and 1961 the transepts, tower and an additional bay were completed to Scott's designs, if somewhat more economically than the original works of the 1920s.

Economy was the keynote in schemes which spanned the war, as comparisons were made between pre- and post-war costs. War caused not only delay but also inflation, and schemes had to be curtailed or stopped altogether. It was not a new problem; a start on St John's, Rochdale, as has already been noted, was delayed by the First World War, and the completion of the neo-Gothic Benedictine church at Lostock Hall, near Preston (1961) by W C Mangan, was delayed by both World Wars. In 1938, St Edmund's, Liverpool, was designed in neo-Gothic by A Ellis, but it was 1951 before a building licence could be obtained. While at Sutton Manor, in 1957, W & J B Ellis completed a neo-Romanesque church begun in 1931, with voluntary labour, because, even before the war, the economic crisis of the thirties was taking its toll. In this case, a building which it had been intended to build completely in Rainhill red sandstone, was completed in brick and reinforced concrete.

In Scotland, at the abbey church of Fort Augustus begun (1893) by P P Pugin, R Fairlie added to his Blessed Sacrament chapel of 1917, the nave, between 1949 and 1958. To this was then subsequently added, the baptistry and porch by C Gray (1966), a former pupil and partner of Fairlie, and the apse and new sanctuary levels and altar by W W Allen (1980). Gray's plain and overscaled porch seems hardly to be by a close associate of Fairlie. Yet it is, as is the revised design for the Franciscan church, Dundee (1959) by A R Conlan. The original (1932) design for this church by Fairlie, was inspired by the thirteenth century cathedral at Albi,³² but its post-war cost was estimated as being a prohibitive £170,000. So a plain utilitarian box without any inspired sense of the ordinary, was produced by Conlan for a quarter of the original cost. Not even the sculpture over the entrance by H Lorimer could relieve yet another example of 'crashing bathos'.

The sad inadequacies of buildings not completed to a single design, or within the framework of a single concept, was visible up to 1954 at Northampton, where the bishop euphemistically referred to the unfinished cathedral project and its precinct, as 'amorphous'.³³ On the site there existed the original tiny church of 1825 serving (then and now) as sacristy, the collegiate chapel of 1844 by A W N Pugin at a cost of £1,200, and butted on to its Western end a much higher extension of five bays and a chancel (thus reversing the orientation) of 1864 by E W Pugin. In 1945 Bishop Parker, impressed by the additions to the Pugin abbey at Mount St Bernard, invited the architect, A Herbert, to undertake the completion of the cathedral at Northampton. The scheme devised included the demolition of the earlier Pugin chapel, so that a new sanctuary and transepts could be added - thus once again reversing the orientation. In 1948 when it was first costed, it was thought that the final total would not exceed £50,000, whereas, due to inflation and certain remedial work to the nineteenth century section, it was actually twice that in 1960. And just sixteen years later a further £42,000 was incurred in reordering, renovating and re-equipping the building by Greenalgh & Williams. As the scheme at Mount St Bernard's with its central altar had been so admired, it is puzzling to understand why no allowance was made in the Northampton scheme for the liturgical changes that were imminent at the time of its completion in 1960.

It is further puzzling to look at some of the grandiose pre-war schemes, and wonder just what the motivation for them was. Was it a misguided triumphalism; or was it the Church seeing itself as providing work for the masses of unemployed, as a sort of ecclesiastical Cunard? If so, then one of its fleet of Petrine liners was left with barely its keel laid, on the Cotswold hills.

In the 1930s, Prinknash Benedictine abbey by H S Goodhart-Rendel was to have been a vast neo-Byzantine complex of cloistered buildings set out in mediaeval manner.³⁴ The cruciform abbey-church was to have been larger than the Order's pre-Reformation abbey-church in Gloucester - now the Anglican cathedral. Almost unbelievably, this vast enterprise was started in 1939, and was stopped almost immediately when little more than the foundations had been laid.

After the war, it was estimated that to complete the original scheme it would cost 'several million pounds'. So a revised scheme to be based upon the existing foundations was requested from F G Broadbent who had once worked with Goodhart-Rendel. Broadbent's scheme abandoned all claustral arrangement and concentrated on using to the full the foundations of the abbey-church, but with a new L-shaped abbey-church attached to the Western end. The first phase of building was to be the development of the subcrypt as a temporary church, with a library and four floors of monks' cells above it; the second phase was to be all the ancillary facilities and other accommodation ranging West. In 1968, a contract for £200,000 was negotiated for the first phase, and a windfall of £273,000³⁵ made it possible to start the second phase simultaneously. The third phase, which was the new abbey-church, was not embarked upon.

While Goodhart-Rendel's abandoned project might have been the fortuitous avoidance of the greatest monastic pretention, in recent English Church history Broadbent's forced avoidance of all preconception of monastic church architecture, served only to produce an imposingly plain building - of the Shell-Mex House variety.³⁶

But the greatest 'might have been' of all the pre-war projects, and the one whose abandonment was to lead to such an influence on post-

war Catholic churchbuilding in England and Wales (if not further afield in the British Isles) was the Metropolitan cathedral of Christ the King, Liverpool by Sir E Lutyens.

The saga of Liverpool's sad inadequacy to provide a proper cathedral began in 1856 when E W Pugin's design for a cathedral sited in Everton, was abandoned after only the Lady chapel had been built. So from 1850 to 1959 the Regency Gothic church of St Nicholas (1815 closed 1972) acted as pro-cathedral. At his appointment in 1928 Archbishop Downey resolved to finally build a cathedral, and in 1930 commissioned Lutyens. The Brownlow Hill site was purchased for £100,000 and the foundation stone of Lutyens' vast edifice was laid in 1933. But by 1941, with the crypt in use but only partially completed, building had to cease. Even before the war, the cost of three million pounds was enormous, but by the early fifties it had risen to nine times that amount, and was impossible to find. A new archbishop (Godfrey) in 1953 gave fresh impetus; his solution was to engage A G Scott to carry out a scaled-down version. It was stressed that even for this to be a success there would have to be a rapid flow of funds, but by 1955 it seems that the nett receipts totalled only £800,000. So when yet another archbishop (Heenan) took over in 1959, he quickly decided to complete the crypt, transfer his cathedra to it, abandon Scott's design, and hold a competition for a completely modern building to cost one million pounds and be built in ten years.

The dimensions and logistics of Lutyens' design were enormous. It would have been two hundred feet higher and longer than St Paul's, London, and its dome would have been wider than that of St Peter's, Rome. By 1941 £500,000 had been paid for the crypt for which four million bricks and forty thousand cubic feet of Penrith granite had been laid. With such physical density in the crypt alone, the

building essentially seemed to have been a mass pierced with arcuated vistas down aisles, and across and between massive piers. The central vista opened up into a huge circular space beneath the dome, on the Eastern side of which was the high altar, in order to emphasise its Christocentric character. And, as if to embody that character in the dedication of the cathedral to Christ the King, the whole arcuated system which formed the binding intellectual concept within the design, has been identified by Summerson, as being based on the theme of the triumphal arch of which Lutyens had designed several as memorials to the dead of World War I - most notably that at Thiepval.³⁷ Even more than Bentley's design for Westminster, Lutyens' design displayed imperial pretensions with eclectic forms and details redolent of London and Rome, if not also of Constantinople and Delhi. Architectural historians may differ over a designation of its overall style and source of inspiration, but probably it is best described as being, externally, Roman in concept, internally, Romanesque in feeling, and overall, Renaissance in detail. Whether the 'gargantuan joke'³⁸ of the detail that was completed on the crypt, is a criticism that could be extended to the whole building, seems like a petty presumption in the face of 'infinitely the largest, most original, and most perfectly integrated church ever to have been projected as a homogeneous whole by a single architect.'³⁹

The termination of Lutyens' design posed (and continues to pose) several key questions regarding the nature of architecture, and in particular, church architecture. Culturally, it seemed to raise doubts concerning architecture as a high intellectual activity, where the end justified the means. Doubts too, concerning the prerogative of a single individual to engage in such an activity, even though the end may well be considered justified by many; doubts concerning the ability to discern a significance of architectural form beyond the

quantifiable and functional; and doubts concerning an economic will that is prepared to pay and not to count the cost. These are doubts that the Church today considers wholly justifiable, as Lutyens' concept represents a Christianity that is no longer readily subscribed to. But in 1932, Christopher Hussey was clear in his belief that to 'those with eyes to see it the design itself connotes a lofty and gentle Christianity as informing it'.⁴⁰ So the decision to terminate Lutyens' design completely, and 'to go modern', represented a major watershed in the cultural, liturgical and pastoral life of the Church in England and Wales, and thoroughly anticipated the slogan of 'aggiornamento' which characterised the thinking of Vatican II. After the decision, Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, could never be the same; historicism would be expurgated.

Historical Melange

Following the easing of building-licence approval in the early fifties, new Catholic churches began to be built, especially on the new housing estates of post-war Britain. But what was erected as the Catholic contribution to the architectural realisation of this new society was at first generally stolid and traditional. It was as if nothing had happened in the intervening years since those tentative sorties in the twenties and thirties, to develop the architectural concept of a church in the official Catholic mind of the British Isles. So what was resorted to, was a further resurrection of historical styles, and in particular of Romanesque and of Gothic, which critical pundits had thought dead or lingering near to death in one or two notably protracted cases.

When the great Anglican cathedral in Liverpool, designed by one Catholic architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, was finally brought to

a completion in 1978, it was referred to as 'the last Gothic cathedral in the world'.⁴¹ After seventy four years and £5,250,000 being spent on its construction, it was questioned whether a city would ever again think it worth building such a monument to Christian piety. The implication was that Gothic principles of construction and style of detail, were dead.

Obsolescent in general the Gothic style might be, but on the great mediaeval structures such as at York and Canterbury, stone-masons and glaziers were and are continually at work refurbishing the structure and detail. And on neo-Gothic structures too; in the same year that Liverpool Anglican cathedral was completed, a major scheme of restoration was begun on the Catholic cathedral, Norwich (1884-1910 by George Gilbert Scott and John Oldrid Scott) by Purcell, Miller Tritton & Partners at a projected cost of £648,000. In 1980 the Seely & Paget Partnership published a scheme for finally curtailing the incomplete nave designed (1922-25) by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott at the Benedictine abbey, Downside (begun 1880 by A Dunn and E Hansom),⁴² with a finely detailed Western facade and galilee. But such distinguished recent exceptions in the use of Gothic may not be regarded as typical, so when did its obsolescence begin and what were symptomatic examples of its demise?

Did Gothic obsolescence begin in 1947 with the rejection of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's design for Coventry cathedral, by the Royal Fine Art Commission? Or did it begin in 1960 when Scott died, leaving such works as the extension of his church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Broadstairs (1931/63), and the erection of Christ the King, Plymouth, (1962) to be completed by his son, and partner? Or did it begin when his brother Adrian Gilbert Scott died shortly afterwards, and the whole design philosophy of the Scotts was transformed by Richard Scott,

and Robert Brandt when they designed the expressionist concrete structures of Our Lady Help of Christians, Tile Cross (1967) and St Thomas More, Sheldon (1969) in Birmingham? Or was it not the demise of the Scotts at all which marked its beginning, but of the Pugins, when C H C Purcell, the last surviving member of Pugin & Pugin, died in 1958, leaving the completion of two Glasgow churches (St Ninian, and St Robert Bellarmine) and another at New Stevenston (St John Bosco) to S Stevenson-Jones?

Pl 16/17

Pl 18/19
Fig 9

Whenever the general obsolescence of neo-Gothic began, its brief revival after the war was thoroughly dissipated by the latter half of the sixties.

Purcell's churches externally looked not unlike some of those designed by E W Pugin for poorer parishes in the late nineteenth century. They are large, emphatically single-axis, basilicas with transepts extending barely beyond and not above, the side aisles. Window apertures in the clerestories, aisles, apse and Western end are well-proportioned and firmly drawn, even if their tracery is a mixture of Early English for the smaller windows, and Early Perpendicular for the larger. Internally the arcading springs from octagonal piers without capitals, though the chancel arch has mouldings, shafts and capitals a la Perpendicular. The altar is sited at the back of a generous polygonal apse and its sanctuary extends beyond the chancel arch, so that the altar rail runs the full width of the church between the first bay arcades. The pulpit is situated by the first full nave arcade pier on the North side. In the apse the vaulting is of timber, but in the nave the barrel-vaulted ceiling is supported on angled I-section girders resting on corbels, reminiscent of the collar-braced timber roofs of nineteenth century churches, where stone vaulting could not be afforded.

Further examples of the progressive dissipation of Gothic in the manner of Purcell's churches (but smaller) can be seen in Our Lady of Mount Carmell, Doncaster (1955) by R A Ronchetti, and St Aidan's, Northampton (1965) by J S Comper. In the Wirral St Joseph's, Upton (1953) by A G Scott was the realisation of a dream to have 'the little sister of a cathedral' across the Mersey; and the Sacred Heart, Moreton (1957) by Reynolds & Scott, also has a Western tower and was designed 'on modern Gothic lines'. Internally, it has plain and barely pointed, transverse nave arches and aisle arading, leading across shallow transepts to the sanctuary. At Upton, there are no aisles, so there was no arcading, also there was no nave cross-arching, except the most un-Gothic straightened parabolic arches of the sanctuary and transepts. At Hale Barns, Cheshire, the church of the Holy Angels (1964) by A Farebrother, seems little different in its general external massing than the Romanesque church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Wallasey (1961) by the same architect, except that the style of the former is intended to be 'an interpretation in brick of French Gothic' complete with flying buttresses. In fact, technically and conceptually it is a travesty whether one compares it to mediaeval French Gothic, or the brickwork of the French Benedictines at Quarr. While at St Joan of Arc, Highbury (1962) by Walters & Kerr Bate, the design was described as being 'of Gothic origin which has somehow achieved a 1960 freshness' that seemed 'to fit admirably the extremely simple but nevertheless up-to-date treatment of a traditional subject'.⁴⁸ The triangulated simplification of the exterior was certainly expressive of a Gothic origin, and the solid buttresses continuing the pitch of the roof from clerestory through side aisle, were structurally more convincing than those at Hale Barns. But even here, where externally the simplification of triangulated forms seemed to have a corresponding structural integrity internally, conviction was not sustained, as the parabolas of the massive transverse arches, and aisle arcading assertively made clear.

At Bromborough, Cheshire, the church of Christ the King (1964) by Reynolds & Scott, had a westwerk (a broad Western tower or pylon) vaguely reminiscent of Romanesque, but all its arched openings and arcadings were depressed, reminiscent of Tudor. This type of arch was also used at Our Lady Queen of Peace, Burnham (1958) by H Bingham Towner, St Swithin's, Gillmoss, Liverpool (1959) by L A G Prichard & Son, and at Holy Cross, Hucknall (1960) again by Reynolds & Scott. At Burnham the explanation for its use for the arcading was that the side-aisle roofs were able to be lower, but at Hucknall and Gillmoss where there are no aisles, another hint for its use lay in its echoing the profile formed from the boomerang-shaped portal frames. Its use seems to have been the last vestigial reference to a Gothic arch. So it is understandable that those who would wish to purge church architecture of all Gothic reference would discern it in such structural features as the flattened W-arcading of Our Lady Queen of All Creation, Hemel Hempstead (1957) by Archard & Partners.⁴⁴ PI 21/22

Of the criticisms of the continuing use of historical styles into the mid-twentieth century, none were more searing than those of Pevsner in condemning 'Catholic architects (who) without much courage or creative ability' were responsible for the preponderance of Italian Romanesque all over England.⁴⁵ It was, he thought, 'one of the deadest ends in mid-twentieth century ecclesiastical architecture'. In fact, it was used in preponderance not only in England but all over the British Isles. Why that should be, has been amusingly alluded to by J S Comper with reference to his church at Newmarket (1966): It was 'to ensure that the Irish jockets and stable hands in its congregation would know at a glance that here is a church'. It was an allusion not without serious foundation.⁴⁶

In 1950, Lord Killanin, used an argument against the use of Gothic as part of his rationale for the use of Romanesque (albeit Hibernian rather than Italian) as the proper architectural style for Irish churches.

The nineteenth century was the age of Gothic revival and it is symbolised in Ireland by the work of Pugin. This revival was imported from England and except for the work of Pugin and Gilbert Scott ... was confined largely to England and to Anglicanism.⁴⁷

In Killanin's view, neo-Gothic had originally been used in the nineteenth century 'almost for burlesque', and had only proceeded to being used for 'bad reproductions' - even by Pugin and Scott, for whom he consequently refused to show 'a blind admiration'.

Architects who used Hiberno-Romanesque, on the other hand, he argued, were identifying with the primitive Church in Ireland, and with the 'Celtic Twilight' - literally, it would seem, because he believed that the dim light in a Romanesque building was ideal for the Irish, who went to church 'to tell their beads and pray simply', and not 'to read bulky manuals of devotion'.

To the Irish mind, then, the use of Romanesque seemed to be more loyal, more devotional, and more creative, and its preponderance may have something to do with the projection of that mind throughout the British Isles, by a predominantly Irish clergy. However, that is a speculative view which should be immediately tempered with the observation that the Romanesque employed in post-war churches (in so far as its etiolated and confused forms and details permit an assessment) was probably derived more from Continental examples,

than from Irish - even in Ireland (e.g. the Romanesque-cum-Byzantine church at Clonskeagh, Dublin (1957) by Jones & Kelly).

The majority of neo-Romanesque churches which sprang up in the fifties and sixties, had the basic characteristics of being brick-built, basilican in form, with round-headed arches and openings, and their Western elevation oriented to the street, sometimes with a campanile. A slightly more detailed set of characteristics were well illustrated in a description of the church of the Blessed Sacrament, Preston (1956) by Reynolds & Scott - a practice which was one of the most prolific in designing this type of building:

A simple and yet dignified effect externally had been gained by designing a Mansard type roof buttressed on either side with three high transepts, the sides of the Mansard roof sweeping down between the transepts to terminate in an eaves only 11 feet above the ground ... The main West door and window are emphasised with surrounds of artificial stone.

The plan conforms generally to the liturgical requirements of the parish church. There is a narthex at the West end with choir gallery over, side aisles for processions, the nave in which is contained all the seating and the sanctuary only slightly less in width than the nave. On either side of the sanctuary are the side chapels and the High Altar is set in a shallow apsed recess. Off the South aisles are built the sacristies and confessionals and also the Baptistry. There is accommodation for 524 people in the nave and 50 in the choir gallery. The choir projects beyond the narthex screen wall to gain additional depth and the floor is tiered.⁴⁸

The interior of this church was unplastered, and the partial side aisle arcades rested on plain stone columns with capitals, giving a certain feeling of venerability. At St George's, Norwich (1964) by J S Comper there is a similarly convincing interior, though it is lighter in feeling. Another church by Comper, All Saints, Bletchley (1965) is similar in elevation to Norwich, but internally seems more neo-Georgian than neo-Romanesque, more Methodist than

Catholic. And his neo-Romanesque church of Christ the King, Bedford (1960) demonstrates well the point made earlier, when compared with the externally very similar, but Gothicised, church of St Aidan's, Northampton (1964). At times, extra effort was made to reproduce an historical example 'as pure as modern materials and techniques would allow'.

Punctillious attention to detail was the full intention at St Mary's, Egremont (1960) by N M Phillips, with its open timber roof, its mosaics, and its ciborium. Surprisingly, ciboria do not seem to have been such a common characteristic of this category of post-war buildings; altars seem generally to have been set near to the rear wall of the sanctuary with a high dossal, and tester over. The great simple ciborium in the compactly cruciform church of St John Fisher West Heath, Birmingham (1964) is an exceptional example, as is the church itself. While yet another remarkable exception is the church of St Columba, Chesham (1960) by Archard & Partners, where the sanctuary is set nine steps high above the nave, as if over a confessio.

At the Western end, many of these neo-Romanesque churches had a single or double door, but several had open porches with triple arcading such as Comper includes in his designs for Bletchley and Norwich, and Ivor Day & O'Brien for St Theresa's, Bristol (1960). In other instances, the Western facade had a projecting loggia, as at St Joseph's, Luton (1962) by J E Sterret & Partner, and a semi-detached tower in the form of a campanile emphasising a baptistry or hiding stairs to a choir-gallery, as at Corpus Christi, Leeds (1962) by Reynolds & Scott. Central towers were rare because few plans were cruciform, and an Eastern tower over the sanctuary, as at Our Lady of Lourdes, Yardley Wood, Birmingham (1967) by Harrison & Cox, was even rarer. Fig 10

But of all the formal characteristics of these neo-Romanesque churches, it is perhaps, the use of the Westwerk which is most intriguing. The influential source for it was most probably Germany, where H Herkommer, in particular, designed great Western bastions with tall, round-headed, deeply recessed and usually triple, entrance portals which also contain the lights of a Western window (e.g. the Frauenfriedenskirche, Frankfurt (1927)). But none of the examples in England have the same cubic monumentality. The imposing St John Vianney, Blackpool (1959) by Sandy & Norris has three deeply recessed Western lights, but the recesses do not extend to the ground, and it has a pitched roof (as most of them had). St Monica's, Bootle (1938) by F X Velarde, is flat-roofed and cubic but with stone dressings and sculptural detail. St Christopher's, Speke (1957) is also massively cubic, and with a single high and narrow central portal recess, but its reference could justifiably be regarded as being more municipal, or industrial, Beaux-Arts, than modernised Romanesque. The majority of English churches which used the Westwerk feature, however, looked more like St Joseph's, Wembley (1958) by Reynolds & Scott; while a few rose to being quite sturdy essays, not only in the use of the squat Western tower or Westwerk, but also of the neo-Romanesque style in general (e.g. Our Lady and St George, Enfield (1958) by J E Sterret).

Few, if any, of this historical melange of churches employed such a revolutionary structural technique as the longitudinal lattice truss used by Herkommer, which allowed him to retain a basilican cross-section to his churches, while doing away completely with the need for any colonnaded or arcaded support to the clerestory. At Bushey church (1960) by Archard & Partners there was an attempt to open up the side aisles in a new church by carrying the trabeated clerestory

on low columns. While in some older churches, arcading (and even chancel arching) was either radically widened as at St Anthony's, Edgware (1958) by Burles & Newton, or removed altogether and replaced with slender columns supporting a trabeated clerestory, which is what happened at St John the Evangelist, Balsall Heath (1963) in a scheme by Jennings, Homer & Lynch.

Towards the end of the fifties, and at the beginning of the sixties, then, what began to happen was an experimentation with structural techniques, while retaining a degree of historical reference in the outer shell. Structural innovations became markedly more noticeable internally, so that inside and outside experiences of the same building could be quite different.

At SS Peter and Paul, Swadlincote (1958) by Harrison & Cox, the style chosen was described as a 'simple form of Romanesque adapted to produce a light-weight structure of rigid construction'. And the combination was seen as a 'happy one expressing dignity and beauty on modern lines, with regard for tradition in its architectural conception'.⁴⁹ Plain, slender and lofty columns extended along the side passage aisles and up to the red cedar wood ceiling. The ciborium over the altar was simply arched and also of red cedar, while principal items of metal-work were of oxidised stainless steel. All the more surprising then, when the building is seen from outside, and in particular the West door stone surround, with its hybrid Baroque broken-pediment, and detached Romanesque columns.

At St Hugh of Lincoln, Letchworth (1963) by Nicholas & Dixon-Spain & Partners, it is the ciborium which is richly ornate, while the rectilinearity of the interior is emphasised by great, tall, square-sectioned concrete columns that form a continuous frame with their

lintel. Even in a more obviously economic building such as St Theresa's, Leeds (1953) by S Simpson, where the reason for the use of a reinforced concrete frame is partly due to sub-soil conditions, the fact is externally disguised. Only when any pretense at a historical veneer was removed was a new honesty in the structural use of the frame evident in the external fabric, as at St Ambrose, Speke (1960) by Weightman & Bullen, and even taken to limits of affectation as with Holy Name, Liverpool (1966) by P Gilby & Associates, where it was used as a showy tour de force in the form of an outer bracing frame. Pl 25/24
Fig 11

Another structural development was that of the portal frame. The technique was not new; in the nineteenth century many Anglican churches had been built in the colonies from prefabricated cast-iron arch frames. And not only in the colonies; St George's, Everton (1814) by T Rickman and J Cragg was an 'exceptionally delightful' example of its use for Commissioner's Gothic, according to Pevsner. And older still were mediaeval cruck-framed timber structures - and it was the laminated timber 'cruck' which typified the post-war portal frame. While there were probably earlier examples of the use of the laminated timber portal frame, the particular precedent which comes to mind is for the emergency programme of Lutheran Notkirchen designed by O Bartning, and erected between 1947 and 1949 in Germany.⁵⁰

The development of the prefabricated portal frame would seem to be related to the increasingly common use of the transverse arch as a bold means of bracing the building and carrying the roof. Several examples have already been referred to, including those used by Goodhard-Rendel and A G Scott in their Kensington churches.

Mention has also been made of Rinvoluceri's use of the parabolic rib,

the post-war development of which was to be seen on a much larger scale at Our Lady of the Visitation, Greenford (1960) by D Stokes. Massive too were the rendered steel parabolic arches of St Maria Goretti, Preston (1956) by W C Mangan inside a traditional looking building. In each of these instances, and many others, the intention was to devise an economic way of bridging across the body of the church without any structural and therefore visual intervention, an interior arising from a desire to make the church as wide as possible in order to reduce the length and thus increase the immediacy of liturgical participation. Portal frames did not necessarily help to increase width, but they did provide an economic system with no visual interference.

One of the earliest post-war examples of the use of the laminated timber portal frame was in the construction of the church of the Sacred Heart, Rochdale (1957) by A Farebrother. In this case they were in the form of a flattened Y with one of its arms shorter than the other, and arching the side aisle. Usually though, the profile of such frames was boomerang-shaped (i.e. Y-shaped without one of the upper arms). As a low-cost construction system, it was particularly developed and promoted by Messrs Lanner Ltd for over twenty years from about the mid fifties. Among the early examples of its use by this firm was a design by L A G Prichard for Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Widnes (1958). A variation of the portal frame was the reinforced-concrete Y-frame, where the upper arms formed diagonal ribs to the vault. An elegant, light-weight version of the frame, was used by Spence for supporting the intersected rib-vaulting of the nave canopy at Coventry cathedral, designed in the fifties. Its use there has a faintly mediaeval air, and so did its use at

St Clare's, Blackley, Manchester (1958) by Weightman & Bullen.

P1 25/26

The depressed arch-form of the ribs (and the mullions and transoms of a West window) were redolent of some Tudor chapel. And a similar late Gothic air can be sensed at St Augustine's, Felling (1963) by D Brown, and the Sacred Heart, Gorton, Manchester (1962) by Reynolds & Scott; while at St Patrick's, Corby (1962) by Gotch, Saunders & Surridge its overtones were only slightly less ambivalent. Before there could be no ambivalence, the last vestigial remnants of the historical melange would have to disappear. But even then, where the use of this particular structural form was concerned, there would be hardly any examples that could match its use in such German churches as St Reinhold, Düsseldorf-Gerresheim (1956) by J Lehmbruck, and St Elizabeth, Fulda (1963) by A Giefer & H Mäckler.⁵¹

Similarly, in a greater simplification of Romanesque there were hardly any examples which matched the noble simplicity of St Laurentius, München-Gern (1956) and St Maria in den Benden, Düsseldorf-Wersten (1959) by E Steffann and associates. Ironically, there were examples of simplification in pre-war Anglican churchbuilding that were influenced by developments in Germany. St Saviour's, Eltham (1932) and St Nicholas', Burnage, Manchester (1932) by Welch, Cachemaille-Day & Lander, were particularly noted by Dom E Roulin and P Anson, but the only comparable Catholic example was St Monica's, Bootle (1936) by F X Velarde. Pevsner has referred to it in unusually complimentary terms, as an 'epoch-making church for England', which he immediately qualified by pointing out that the 'inspiration came clearly from Dominikus Böhm's churches of 1928-30 (St Joseph, Hindenburg; Caritas Institute, Cologne-Hohenlind; St Camillus, München-Gladbach)'.⁵²

St Monica's was a great boxy building of brick with a Westwerk that opened up immediately inside through a wide arch into a six-bay basilican nave. The side passage-aisles pierced internal buttresses which projected through the aisle roofs to form external buttresses to the main roof. There is a massing, piercing and proportion which speak of an aesthetic that is seeking to be straightforward and intrinsically right. Only in the East wall to the sanctuary is there a sense of art being applied, and running counter to Velarde's philosophy of art as 'the work itself rightly done - the recta ratio factibilium'.⁵³ In fact Anson referred to the whole altar ensemble as 'Modernistic Baroque'. That Velarde did not use a ciborium as he had done in his earlier and more obviously Romanesque inspired church of St Matthew, Clubmoor, Liverpool (1928), was a pity.

Velarde had a distinct liking of Romanesque churches. Brian Little says that he studied them, came under Beaux Arts influences, and much admired the Dutch tradition of fine building in brick.⁵⁴ Certainly the simple massing of his brickwork is superb and devoid of 'such relative incidentals as decoration and ornament, so often trashy, vulgar and cheap - save in terms of money'.⁵⁵ Yet the massing is not sombre and weighty, possibly because it shows a certain sensitivity of line for edges; possibly because the masses have a simplicity that recalls children's building bricks; possibly because internally there is a lightness of decor with soft colours and gildings (including gilded mosaic on the aisle arcadings); or possibly because of those windows of white stone 'mullions and transoms, and a stark round arch to every light', which Pevsner so admired.

Of the several churches that Velarde designed (mainly in the dioceses of Liverpool and Shrewsbury), these qualities are best embodied in



Our Lady of Lourdes, Blackpool (1957), F X Velarde
Altar by David John

the church of St Alexander, Bootle (1957) now stranded amidst the dockland planning blight. And as one of the finest little statements of Catholic art and architecture of the period there is the delightful votive chapel of Our Lady of Lourdes, Blackpool (1957) built of stone with its sculpted Western facade by David John.

PI 27/28

PI 29/30

The historical melange which had characterised most of the immediate post-war Catholic churchbuilding in England (if not elsewhere in the British Isles), began to be simplified and subjected to a search for a new formal expression aided by new structural techniques. Yet that process of simplification seemed, at times (and maybe mostly), to be in turn characterised by a sense of omission rather than essence. Whether that was because it was not understood how the ordinary and essential might be architecturally expressed in positive form; or because some moral virtue was perceived in obviously doing without, that was akin to an attitude fostered by war-time rationings or because it was genuinely understood to be the character of modern architecture, that it was what had always been built, only without the historical 'twigly-bits', is difficult to say. But as church buildings had become increasingly classified according to applied stylistic motifs rather than principles of construction, the removal of those motifs generally found the same plain form beneath. But the search for new forms and structures had begun; it could not be denied. And the momentum of liturgical reform had increased, requiring re-appraisals of Catholic worship and its architecture - even though there might be vacillation and last-ditch stands. So the period which spanned the years immediately before and after the Second Vatican Council produced a melee of church buildings of a distinctly varying kind.

Transitional Melee

A failure to take up the few pre-war initiatives in new forms of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles led to the period of transition (which inevitably had to come) being generally later than on the Continent. It also led to it being marked with compromises which characterised a native conservatism on the one hand, and an over-eager enthusiasm which characterised immature experience, on the other.

In Ireland, Wilfrid Cantwell has seen the failure of the clergy to appreciate the lessons taught by Byrne's church at Turner's Cross, Cork, as being matched by a similar failure on the part of architects.

It appeared to have no effect at all on the headlong rush of the clergy and their obsequious architects into the quagmire of irrelevant historical eclecticism of design.⁵⁶

However, a number of younger architects in Ireland did sense sufficiently the importance of that initiative of the thirties to use it as a beacon in their advocacy of the use of the modern idiom in church architecture. Many did little better than batten onto particular aspects such as structural ingenuity, and decorative motifs, without attempting to examine and reformulate an architecture in keeping with those changing ideas of the Church that were taking place universally. Even the parish church at Ennistymon, Co Clare (1953) by Corr & McCormick P1 31/32 which can legitimately claim to being the first post-war Irish contribution to modern church architecture, has been criticised for being 'little more than the old formalised approach dressed up in contemporary materials and forms'. But, seemingly, even that small gain was achieved only by the determination of the architects in the face of official opposition. In this first phase then, the

introduction of a new aesthetic of churchbuilding in Ireland prepared the way for a more fundamental change that would be more informed by the renewed liturgy and the deliberations of Vatican II.

The first phase of development lasted from the thirties to the early fifties. The third phase began with the first of the Glenstal conferences in 1954, but because of the time needed for a formative period, the effects of these fundamental examinations and reformulations did not really begin to show themselves architecturally until about the mid-sixties. Therefore the little church at Rossguill, Co Donegal (1954) by B O'Connor, which in its economy and pastoral simplicity anticipated the general character of those later effects had the double irony of not only not having a successor for a decade, but also of its architect never receiving another commission. P1 33/34

What was more characteristic of the second phase (from the early fifties to the mid-sixties) was a virtuoso idealism where architects and clergy were given their head, and acted as if their briefing formulations and creative skills were just what the Church had been waiting for, and had universal significance. The church at Knockanure, Moyvane, Co Kerry (1963) by M Scott & Partners has been taken as being an example of such intellectual conceit. Certainly there is a reference to the idealism of Mies van der Rohe in his chapel at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago (1952), which on a university campus would manifest an intellectual self-assuredness, but on a back-road in rural Ireland (where many churches tend to be) would seem to be somewhat humbled when tarnished by use, dust and weeds. P1 35/36

However, the example which has been taken as being the most extreme of this category, St Dominic's, Athy, Co Kildare (1965) by J Thompson & Associates, was undoubtedly that. The use of the hyperbolic-paraboloid structure, modern art in profusion (especially the glass), and costly surface finishes, was intended from the outset to produce a unique building. It would be admired by the whole of Ireland, and would place Athy 'among the most up-to-date towns in the world'. Furthermore, it would enhance the status of the Dominican order as being the most far-seeing cultural influence in the Church (a status already claimed because of earlier Dominican initiatives in France).⁵⁷ The folly of such conceit could only arise where the specifically unique character of the hapax legomenon failed to be understood; it was not possible to be continually pretending, either, that the pilgrimage church in the Haute-Saone had never been built, or conversely, that every time a relatively startling modern church was erected, a similar uniquely original significance could be attributed to it.

These initiatives, whatever their idealistic and expressionistic vanities, were remarkable in a country where, only a decade before, the views of Lord Killanin on the correctness of the use of Romanesque could be taken as being generally representative. But by 1964 the principle which had been formed from the Glenstal conferences, and the initiatives of the Church Exhibition Committee of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, had become accepted as official policy in a Church where attitudes had become somewhat different following Vatican II. The acceptance of new liturgical practices were complemented by a more realistic architecture in both town and country, as at Our Lady Queen of Heaven, Dublin Airport (1964) by Robinson, Keefe & Devane, and at Tully, Spiddal, Co Galway (1964) by D J Kennedy, which is generally regarded as

being the earliest church in Ireland planned for the celebration of Mass versus populum.

In Scotland churchbuilding was most active in development areas in and around Glasgow with its high Catholic concentration. In the post-war period up to 1965 thirty-five new churches had been built within the city boundaries of the archdiocese, and nine outside (vis-a-vis sixteen and fifteen respectively in the period from 1965 to 1980). The architectural practices mainly involved during the first period were those of W J Gilmour, A McAnally, T Cordiner, and J Coia. McAnally's eclectic design for St Teresa's Possilpark (1960) was typical of that historical melange which also afflicted churchbuilding North of the Border. (Reference has already been made to the neo-Gothic churches of Pugin & Pugin.) But, as in Ireland, and England and Wales, it was contemporary with serious new initiatives to develop a building design rationale for Catholic worship, which was consistent with both the new liturgical, and architectural, thinking.

What was distinctive about the initiatives taken in Scotland, and especially in the Glasgow archdiocese, was that they came mostly, or most significantly, from one practice, that of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia. By the late sixties the practice had designed approximately one-fifth of the churches in the Glasgow area. Each was a resolute design - some would say they were too resolute, and ought really to be considered in the context of the early post-transitional phase. So suffice it here to refer to St Columba's, Glasgow (1941) which had a conventional plan of the period, but with an economical concrete-frame superstructure that had high-pointed transverse nave and passage-aisle vaults. There was little or

no historical detailing, except on the rather light-weight Westwerk. In the development of Coia's work, it provides a useful link between his earlier, squatter, and more sculptural church of St Anne's, Whitevale St, and St Charles', Kelvinside (1960) which is also a concrete-frame construction but with a certain severity and strength that refers back to St Anne's, and forward to the monumental brick essays of the sixties. Its structure has seven bays with a completely semi-circular East end, that creates one unifying space. At the West end is an aluminium bonded glass screen above a free-standing cantilevered choir gallery. The rust colour of the bricks is maintained throughout with a red onyx altar (since reordered) and the terra-cotta frieze of the Stations of the Cross by Benno Schotz.

St Columba's church also has a logical relationship with the large A-frame churches of St Brigid's, Toryglen (1957), and Immaculate Conception, Maryhill (1957) both by T Cordiner. If the transverse arches of Coia's church were turned into struts and extended externally to the ground, and if the Westwerk were triangulated, then a certain continuity of structural expression could be seen. Both Cordiner churches were good examples of an honest search for a new structural aesthetic, which was not covered with a veneer of history or of art. Unlike St Francis Xavier's, Falkirk (1961) by A R Conlan for R Fairlie & Partners, which had a Westwerk in thirties style with integral sculpture by Lorimer, Allan and Dempster. It hid a somewhat conventionally planned building constructed by using a concrete frame with low pointed transverse arches, but with the spandrels pierced at clerestory level, suggesting a transitional stage between the transverse arches of Coia's St Columba, and the struts of Cordiner's Immaculate Conception. P1 39/40

In England and Wales it has already been noted how a use of new constructional techniques began almost covertly, disguised by historical pastiche. As the pace of their introduction increased and became more overt, it did not mean that all other forms of churchbuilding ceased. For about ten years, from the mid-fifties to the mid-sixties, the old pastiche was produced alongside the new. Just because the new was new did not mean that it necessarily had greater architectural integrity and merit. But it was important at the time for the Church to be seen to be accepting of modern culture. In the post Festival of Britain era, the new architecture, which seemed so integral to a vision of the future, seemed also to be integral to a vision of the modern Church. Even before Vatican II the new architecture was capable of providing an environment of greater liturgical immediacy.

In those buildings where there was a retention of the pitched roof over a longitudinal axis, a certain sense of tradition seemed to be satisfied. As with most architectural innovations in Britain, there was a reluctance to take them too far. In the exploration of a triangulation of the structure, as an extension of the pitched roof, the A-frame was developed, but in England and Wales there were few examples. Perhaps the best of these is the church of St Thomas More, Harlow (1963) by Burles, Newton & Partners, where the placing of the enclosing side wall external to the frame, allowed the frame to be fully expressed internally, while providing a degree of spatial escape in contrast to the sense of compression these structures seem to have at their internal apex. But by and large, pitched-roof churches were constructed using the single, and forked, boomerang-shaped portal frame. Where the roof was more depressed and the verticality of the side walls more pronounced,

the overall form was more of a rectangular box. Though the primary purpose behind the design of one such example, that of the Holy Cross, Patricroft, Manchester (1961) by W Stirrup & Son, was to 'erect a simple severe structure, embellished only by examples of artists and sculptors work appropriate to the name and symbol of Catholic faith',⁵⁸ the result was not so severe as those great innovatory churches by Perret, Moser and Schwarz, which Roulin had regarded as being devoid of religious character and redolent only of 'the factory style' of triumphant materialism.⁵⁹ In general though, the architectural effect of this first phase of large modern churches was cumulative and decorative, betraying a lingering sense of virtue in the use of varied materials. There seemed to be a timidity in fully expressing the concepts and tectonics of modern architecture, and a preference instead for listing the different coloured bricks to be used in in-fill panels, the marble, mosaic, terrazzo and P.V.C. tiles to be used for veneering the walls and floors, and the exotic African hardwoods to be used for furniture and furnishings. St Boniface's Salford (1961) by Mather & Nutter is a good example.⁶⁰

The structure consists of precast reinforced concrete portal frames expressed internally and externally with the buff coloured brick infill panels and blue brown brick gable walls. The walls of the Narthex are faced externally with the exposed aggregate panels in Norwegian Quartz. The roof is covered with dark antique pantiles. All windows are in Makore with the exception of the Narthex and the Sanctuary where the metal frames were chosen for aesthetic reasons.

Internally, the exposed facing brickwork has been used on the flanking walls to the Sanctuary. There were churches which exhibited a surer handling of simple mass and plain surface while retaining a certain conventionality of appearance; whose design was something more than just being 'free from rainwater goods, pinned-on sculpture and the clutter of various kinds which frequently destroys scale'.⁶¹ St Paschal Baylon, Childwall, Liverpool (1965) by S Bolland⁶² is a notable example, especially as its architect inexplicably seems to have designed none other. The load-bearing brick walls are externally pierced, cut away and projected, but overall present an introspective face to the world. Inside, exposed timber trusses support a lightweight depressed-pitch roof over a single, structurally undifferentiated space of nave and sanctuary. In the deep and full-width sanctuary are cantilvered a substantial hood over the altar, and three minsters' chairs. The whole effect is impressively simple and uncluttered.

P1 41/42

In the single, undifferentiated liturgical space was realised that sense of corporate worship by which the faithful 'concelebrated' with the 'ministerial priesthood' through the 'common priesthood' of their baptism.⁶³ It was a realisation which, architecturally, gave renewed significance to baptistries, and resulted in their being placed on the central axis, albeit still in a screened and/or gated area of the narthex. But it was the lessening sense of polarisation between sanctuary and nave, which had the greater architectural implication. The longitudinal dominance was already apparently, and actually, being lessened by new constructional methods, so it was not surprising that a broadening of the lateral axis would be developed. An early example was Our Lady of Lourdes,

Farnworth (1956) by Greenalgh & Williams where there was a pronounced widening of the nave towards the altar 'to provide for the largest possible number of communicants'⁶⁴ that resulted in an 'irregular hexagon shaped' (coffin-like) plan.

P1 43/44

The open aisles allowed by the reinforced concrete frame used at Our Lady Queen of Heaven, Hemel Hempstead (1957) by Archard & Partners permitted a more square and less axial seating area than the apparently cruciform plan suggested. Somewhat inconsistently the sanctuary was confined in the Eastern arm; it did not extend into the body of the church with a full nave-width rail. A year later a logical progression was developed in the T plan of Our Lady of Fatima, Harlow (1960) by G Goalen, where the high, glass-walled transepts had the same dimension as the nave. At their junction was a low tower with a tall fleche, beneath which was the sanctuary. It was as if the sanctuary instead of being projected away from the nave was now not only projected towards it, but into it, so that the congregation was seated facing three of its sides. At its centre stood the altar which had a low tabernacle and was so placed (if permission were granted) Mass could be said facing the people.

P1 21/22

P1 45/46

The degree to which any anticipated major liturgical changes as a result of the Second Vatican Council ought to be designed for, was a serious problem for informed clergy and architects at the end of the fifties, and the beginning of the sixties. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was promulgated in December 1963, so many buildings designed and approved in 1964 and 1965 (and even later) had modifications made to their liturgical layout during building.

Of the churches already mentioned, such adjustments were made at the A-frame church at Harlow; St Joseph's, Hanwell; and St Etheldreda's, Newmarket, where a modern-looking free-standing altar not designed by Comper for his thin Romanesque church, was commissioned. At St Bede's, Washington, and Our Lady Queen of Peace, Penshaw (1965) by A Rossi, and at St Joseph's, Mossley (1965) by D Williams, a 'double altar' was introduced. By this it was meant that the altar used for saying Mass versus populum, was set separately behind and higher than the 'altar' carrying the tabernacle - an arrangement which had been condemned even before the war, as being 'singular' and failing 'utterly to give the main altar its proper importance'.⁶⁵

In 1958, when it had first been published, the design for St Ambrose, Speke (1961) by Weightman & Bullen, had allowed 'if so desired, of the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved in its own chapel' was planned to be behind the main altar. But by the time the church was opened, reference to that innovatory possibility was no longer being made. But nevertheless it was still being claimed for the design that it was 'somewhat unique' in its planning compared with other recent parish churches in England, as the sanctuary and 'body' of the church were enclosed in one central rectangular space 'embraced on four sides by a processional way designed to enable the laity to participate in the liturgy by walking in procession and at the same time allowing on big occasions to double the capacity of congregation seated in the fixed pews. The use of a space behind a sanctuary with an Eastward-facing altar, for a Westward-facing section of the congregation was also designed for the later

P1 23/24
Fig 11

church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Partington (1964) by Reynolds & Scott, but in that case, the plan was strictly longitudinal.

Another of Weightman & Bullen's churches in Liverpool, St Margaret Mary's, Knotty Ash was also originally (1957) conceived as being strictly longitudinal, and would have been a particularly fine example. It would have been a high and long rectangular form, with a slight rise and fall of the continuous low-pitch roof ridge line over an Eastern sanctuary. At the Western end, the narthex would have had a tall semi-detached tower on the North side, complementing a semi-detached baptistry on the South. However, during a delay in starting its building, because of the 'greater priority' of a new secondary modern school, its design was completely revised and became more cubic, like its sister church at Speke. Finally completed in 1964, its flat steel truss roof was carried completely over the building, and did not cover just the central area by resting on a reinforced concrete perimeter frame. But in the placing of the tower and baptistry, the outcome was identical; for St Ambrose's the original intention was to have had a semi-detached tower on the South side, and a slightly sunken baptistry at the West projecting outwards on the central axis. As it was, in both cases, the tower was designed to stand on the central axis directly over the projecting Western baptistry, which was separated from the main building, and flanked, by a low, covered, entrance area.

A building which seems to stand no higher than the baptistry at St Ambrose's, is the church of the Holy Ghost, St Leonards-on-Sea (1962) by B Stevens & Partners. Built to accommodate a congregation of two hundred (i.e. less than one-third that of St Ambrose), it is an excellent little essay in the clean and straightforward use of a rectangular hollow section steel grid frame with brick infill, that points towards the low-cost churches of the later sixties and seventies. Here, the baptistry was a bay that opened off the church itself, and the sanctuary was thrust forward from a shallow apse, so that there was congregational seating on three sides. While beneath part of the church was a reinforced concrete parish hall.

The baptistries at St Brigid's, Cardiff (1964), and St Helen's, Caerphilly (1964), both by F R Bates & Son, also opened off from the body of the church - though still at the rear and screened off. But what was more interesting about these two churches was that their plans were of T-form. As with Goalen's church at Harlow, the seating was on three sides, but neither church had side passage aisles, so the sanctuary occupied less of the crossing bay to allow congregational movement. At St Brigid's each of the side walls was slightly splayed outwards towards the sanctuary; at St Helen's the splay was much greater giving the impression, on plan, of four interlocking irregular sided hexagons - three for the seating and one for the sanctuary, with the transeptal seating angled towards the sanctuary. While at St Teilo's, Whitchurch (1964) by the same practice, the plan is wedge shape (i.e. a single space with the side walls splayed inwards towards the sanctuary), with the seating arranged in radial form. Interestingly, and especially as an

Fig 12

example of reciprocating ideas, Goalen's church of the Good Shepherd, Nottingham (1964) combines two large hexagons (for the nave) and two smaller hexagons (for the sanctuary) in a generally wedge-shaped plan.

Pl 47

The T-plan was used by other new churches such as St Richard, Chichester (1964) by Tomei & Maxwell; and by existing churches in schemes of adaptation and reordering as at St Joseph's, Rochdale (1962) by Reynolds & Scott, and St Mary's, Bolton (1962) by Greenalgh & Williams. It wasn't such a novel innovation, as those familiar with its use in early nineteenth century (and later) churches in Ireland would know.⁶⁶ And it would be known in numbers of conventual chapels - as would the L-plan. But whereas in the traditional use of the L-plan the altar would be at the end of one of the axes (thus establishing it as the principal axis), its innovatory use in the early sixties at St Mary's, Swinton (1964) by W & J B Ellis placed the altar on the diagonal in the corner so that equal importance was given to each arm of the plan. Innovatory it might have been in England, but there were at least two celebrated Continental precedents for the Swinton positioning of the altar: the chapel of the Holy Rosary, Vence (1951) by Matisse and de Peillon, and the restored Franziskanerkirche, Cologne (1954) by E Steffam - both 'liberated' conventual L-plans.

Nor were circular, and near-circular, churches all that innovatory when they began to appear in the late fifties and early sixties. Apart from those known in Christian antiquity and the mediaeval Church, when the circular, octagonal and other polygonal forms had greater symbolic and associative significance, they were promoted as

perfectly valid and viable options in the nineteenth century. And one of the factors of their viability then promoted, was that of cost-effectiveness. In 1884 it was demonstrated that a circular figure with a circumference the same measurement as that of the perimeter of a square figure had more than a quarter more area, and more than half more area than a rectangle in the form of a double square with the same perimeter measurement.⁶⁷ But despite this convincing statistical argument, it was thought too innovative, and though suitable for small churches, unsuitable (inexplicably) for cathedrals.⁶⁸

Our Lady Help of Christians, Hurst Green (1961) by Pollen and Jebb, was a small hexagonal church for eighty people with only a limited budget. The folded timber roof rested on whitewashed brick walls, with light provided by the six glazed gables. This was a simple, low-cost structure; others were larger and more embellished, if not more structurally complex. But whether hexagonal or octagonal, the folded roof was a general characteristic, sometimes surmounted with a lantern and/or a flèche, and resting on a reinforced concrete ring beam. St Catherine's, Lowton (1959) by Weightman & Bullen had a continuous gable ring beam as an integral part of its reinforced concrete frame. On each face there were low external projections accommodating chapels, sacristies and at the West end, the baptistry, with a tall tower above it as at Speke and Knotty Ash. Internally, there was an apsidal recess with a generous sanctuary projecting into the body of the church. The sanctuary of the octagonal English Martyr's church, Horley (1962) by J H Alleyn simply projected into the church, with an ambulatory passing around the church and behind it, linking together the external ancillary

abutments. The seating was not arranged in radial form as at St Catherine's. Where a building structurally expressed a radial use of seating through 180° the arrangement produced a D-plan. At St Mark's, Wickham (1963) by Bingham Towner Associates, the plan was arrived at through the use of a compressed or irregular sided hexagon; at St Patrick's, Walsall (1964) by Harrison & Cox, a more satisfactory expression of the plan was arrived at through the partial extension of a wedge or V-plan. The rear wall was flatter, and the sanctuary was both recessed and projected in semi-circular arcs making it expressive of a pivotal function. Obviously the fullest geometrical expression of that function was to place the altar and sanctuary in a position central to a circular plan - as Gibberd had done for the new Metropolitan cathedral at Liverpool, the plans for which would be well known after their publication in 1960. In Birmingham, the cathedral-size church of St Catherine (1965) by Harrison & Cox, had a circular sanctuary slightly to the rear of centre. The altar was without a tabernacle, and freestanding, with a predella which projected equally to front and rear. P1 48

Initially, however, it was used in the Eastward-facing position. At the back of the sanctuary was a screen up to the roof, behind which was a chapel of reservation containing the tabernacle, with an organ gallery above. In the segment in which it was placed, the screen tended to compress the space towards the centre of the church and give emphasis to the sanctuary.

At St Mary's, Dunstable (1964) by D Williams & Associates, on the other hand, the effect was quite different, because there the altar was placed on the perimeter and in a very definite Eastward-facing position (complete with tabernacle). The clear intention was to

emphasise the main central axis, but, interestingly, because of the matching lateral dimension of the building, and the crescent-shape arrangement of the seating, any longitudinal dominance was alleviated. The overall feeling was expansive rather than compressive, outward rather than inward, aided by the amount of glazed infill of the perimeter structure. Whereas, at St Catherine's the expansiveness was more upwards, as the rear compression of the sanctuary space was 'released' through the large central roof-light above it.

An occasional interest in a more free-flowing sense of space within a church building showed itself in the use of a more free-flowing roof structure. As the simplest of geometric figures became used for the general plan of single-chamber churches, it was noticeable that they had a certain inherent determinancy of form. So the use of the more free-flowing form of the hyperbolic-paraboloid roof was seen as offering, instead of a vaulted enclosure, a vaulted cover, one that was less of a determinant in the freest possible use of the space beneath it. On a grand scale, as was envisaged for the new Anglican cathedral at Coventry, in the 1951 competition designs of A & P Smithson, that purpose seemed highly feasible.⁶⁹ P1 49

But no example of its use for a Catholic church, was quite on that scale. Where it was used, its success was limited. At St Agnes', P1 50/51

Huyton (1965) by L A G Prichard a triple hyperbolic paraboloid roof was used to cover a 'semi-hexagon'. Internally there was a certain sense of structural and spatial flow, but it was not sustained in and around the meagre sanctuary, which was compressed into the already disruptive long wall of the D-plan. Externally it succeeded where it succeeded internally, and failed where it correspondingly

failed, particularly in the somewhat arbitrary aggressiveness of the pointed forms which projected upwards, and outwards, in a poorly resolved cluster at the entrance. They too might have been described as 'wildly neo-Expressionist' which was how Pevsner described another example of the use of the hyperbolic paraboloid roof, at St Mary's, Denton (1963) by W Stirrup, where the architect had used it to overcome the 'difficulty' of roofing a square plan.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, it looked like a very 'arty' piece of architecture, as if it were trying to do for Denton what St Dominic's was intended to do for Athy. Not satisfied with being just a novel structural form for covering a space for worship, these buildings assumed an expressive intention, which in more ways than one, could be held to be suspect.

Buildings which set out with the intention of being 'unique' or 'beautiful' seemed doomed to failure. Reference has already been made to the pretensions motivating the design and embellishment of the Irish Dominican church at Athy, the inevitable failure of which was evident in the lack of artistic co-ordination.

Cumulatively, elements which could have been significant and delightful on their own, detracted from each other and ipso facto from the ultimate harmony of the whole. The reported reference to the works designed, executed and erected by the Dublin Glass and Paint Company as being 'coloured antiques' was one indication of a lack of understanding of not so much what art was, as what could be expected of it.⁷¹ A love of art was popularly held to be a reverence for those 'treasures' from the past which had served some high purpose in the life of the Church, and the development of Western society. So the simple expectation was that by adopting

contemporary developments for the high purposes of the Church, modern 'treasures' would be formed and would become the instant 'antiques' of the future. Somewhat ironically, it seemed that the thought of a new tradition being formed, with an assured venerability that guaranteed its present value, was a necessary consoling prerequisite of any apparent break with tradition.

Not every earnest intention to build a 'beautiful' modern church wished to break completely with tradition. Good design, some felt, could best be achieved by being 'based upon tradition with certain modern features', and that was certainly the rationale for the design of St Mary's, Failsworth, (1964) by Greenalgh & Williams. P1 52/53 Its plan was intended to be generally traditional by being longitudinal with a nave and side aisles, a sanctuary with chancel arch, and an Eastward facing altar. Its structural, decorative and liturgical 'features' were intended to be modern. The forty ton spire was of concrete and had fins; the baptistry was circular and semi-detached; and the art was everywhere, not just as decorative relief but as 'the story of the evolution of the doctrine of Our Lady', and as a 'craftsman's meditation in stone'.⁷²

There were depictions in stone, glass, mosaic, metal and fibreglass of the Rosary, the Immaculate Conception, the Assumption, the attributes of Our Lady, Our Lady of the Globe, Our Lady Queen of Heaven and Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal - all carried out by studios and contractors with long-standing experience of supplying art for Catholic churches. The serious doctrinal and pedagogic intent was there, the expertise and quality of materials was there, and yet arguably, it did not succeed. The reason was because it



St Aidan, East Acton, London (1961), Burles Newton & Ptnrs
Painting by Graham Sutherland

was too bland and too safe; it tried too hard 'to keep a foot in both camps (traditional and modern), following approved lines of elegance'. It was kitsch, self-indulgently emphasising surface and style at the expense of content. There was also a sense of gratuitous application; the intention was for integration with the building's fabric, but it seemed only like a veneer that was no more consequential than the bricks, marbles, mosaics and terrazzo infills listed for the embellishment of St Boniface's, Salford.⁷³

The failure at Failsworth serves to point up the problem faced by those who had a genuine and earnest desire to incorporate art in post-war church buildings, as a means of having their people 'pray before beauty'.⁷⁴ On the one hand they wished to 'rid their churches of the products belched forth from the cellars of religious mercantilism'; while on the other, they wished not to introduce into their churches the 'individual emotions' and 'religious sensibility' of artists themselves. But there were notable exceptions.

At St Aidan's, East Acton (1961) by Burles Newton & Partners a strong personal conviction on the part of the parish priest, Fr Ethrington, secured a positive break with the 'bad old tradition ... of sentimentality and triviality',⁷⁵ by having a number of Catholic artists produce works for the church. The building itself was a large, simple, longitudinal type with side aisles-cum-chapels, and a narthex containing the baptistry. The construction was a reinforced concrete frame with no structural differentiation between the sanctuary and nave. Writing in 1964 Terence Mullaney, the art critic of the Daily Telegraph described his first impression of the church as being one 'of airiness, of space and of light'.

The white, cool church is unequivocally of the twentieth century. Over all broods Sutherland's great 'Crucifixion'. For the rest the other works do not obtrude. Yet in its own way each has a part to play both in conveying a Christian message and in creating an aesthetic effect. 76

It was a veritable gallery of Catholic art, with works by Sutherland, Weight and de Maistre (paintings); Fourmaintraux (glass); Ayres, Campbell, Lindsay Clark, Fleischman and Parbury (sculpture); and Kossowski (ceramics). At least seven of them were Catholics.

While the intrinsic merit of each of the works was never in doubt, there was doubt about their being a distraction or clutter, and about the advisability of commissioning so many individual works, because not even from experienced and eminent artists did it necessarily follow that their works would live together happily, let alone form a unified scheme. In fact the outcome was successful (though opinions have varied) because the integrity of the works was not compromised by their being arbitrarily classified as additional features, finishes, furnishings, or effects, but was gently subjected to the overall integrity of the building itself.

In being deferential towards works of modern art in churches there was an inherent irony: it served to bolster the notion that art was self-referential and autonomous. Initiatives, such as those taken at St Aidan's, were intended to be ways of modifying that notion, but they contained a second irony: the greater the number of individual modern works placed together, the more self-referential and vying they would seem to be. Even where many or all of the artists were in sympathy with the general intentions of such

initiatives, there was always the possibility that vying would be accidentally induced. It may have been largely avoided at St Aidan's, but it was precisely because it had not been earlier avoided in many other places, that Hammond wrote his celebrated rejoinder condemning churches which primarily sought to provoke an 'aesthetic frisson' by being 'pavilions of religious art'.⁷⁷

Hammond's condemnation was directed towards a subjective, incidental and derivative aesthetic of church art and architecture. Sound liturgical understanding was the corrective, because its concern with 'realities' rather than 'experiences' produced an art which was objective and integral to the structures of both building and worship, while maintaining the integrity of its individuality. Works which were produced by several artists on the basis of such an understanding, even when they were produced quite separately, would be far less likely to promote their own individual autonomy. In countries (which included Ireland) where art and architecture had been part of the development of sound liturgical understanding, there was an especially implicit sense of co-ordination derived from this quite explicit referential system outside of the self. To have been subjected to schemes of greater architectural determination or artistic direction, would not have been acceptable to many artists, because of that somewhat perverse and arbitrary discrimination in the visual arts, which divided works into categories of 'fine', 'decorative', and 'applied'. Works which were produced as specified items in architectural schemes were considered not to be 'fine art' because they had compromised their self-referential autonomy. This was a particularly ironic discrimination in England which had fostered the reintegration of

the visual arts in the late nineteenth century Arts and Crafts Movement. And it was doubly ironic; because the integrated rationales of liturgical art and architecture evident on the Continent, especially in Germany, had been developed from Arts and Crafts principles and objectives, and such an integrated environmental design aesthetic was obviously what a reintegrated liturgy called for. The inevitable conclusion was that artists who would not subscribe to such an aesthetic in relation to Catholic churchbuilding, were deficient in their liturgical understanding. But where schemes were produced exclusively or extensively by an artist or artists committed to the rationale of integration and not accumulation, the result was more likely to be that of 'noble simplicity' which was the ideal to be attained.

The most celebrated of the artists who has developed a commitment to the new rationale has been Franc Kacmarcik in the U.S.A., but in the British Isles most notable have been Ray Carroll in Ireland, and David John in England (cf. Appendices 2. 41 & 2. 42). In Ireland there have been others who have worked in a co-ordinated and integrated way. If such churches as Our Lady, Star of the Sea, Buncranagh, Co Donegal (1964) by Corr & McCormick, and St Teresa, Sion Mills, Co Tyrone (1964) were added to those mentioned at the beginning of this part, the names of artists such as Oisín Kelly, Imogen Stuart, Helen Moloney, Werner Schurmann, Patrick Pollen, Patrick McElroy, Patrick Pye, and several others would be to the fore. And a certain cool control would also be in evidence in the churches themselves.

In England there have been far fewer, if any, who have worked in the way of the Irish. Artists such as Adam Kossowski and Michael Clark have produced works en suite (e.g. the Carmelite shrine of St Simon Stock, Aylesford (1964) by A G Scott) and Patrick Reyntiens especially, has devised extensive glazing schemes that have had considerable environmental effect (e.g. Goalen's church of the Good Shepherd, Nottingham), but the majority seem to have remained pliant to the 'fine art' discrimination, the cumulative effect, and the production of isolated works.

P1 148
p 545

P1 47

As the new architecture of post-war churchbuilding became simpler in form, the function and form of art in the context of Catholic worship was reassessed. Its twin relationship with the ceremonial and devotional practices of the Church, and with structural and environmental design, became more obvious and essential to understand. With the new architecture the old usages of Catholic art became more exposed by a lack of mouldings, niches and odd corners; the pretensions of art 'bought by the yard' were shown up. Not that a bland art was necessarily a bad thing in itself, but its tendency towards uncritical profusion and the simple satisfaction of 'the emotions of childhood' rather than 'the reasoned standpoint of a mature mind'⁷⁸, did not help that process of coming to terms with twentieth century culture which the new liturgical thought and practise included.

Conversely though, in the more exposed architecture there was a danger that the autonomy which modern art sought for itself, would become too self-referential and assertive. It would be alien, if not hostile, to the needs of the worshipping community. But, because

of a fear of this, to have abandoned the use of art altogether, and to have stressed instead the simple ideal that art was 'the work itself rightly done - the recta ratio factibilium' would have been for architecture to have become vulnerable to the limitations of utilitarianism, and to have forgotten its propensity for environmental image-making. While the artist was the master of the node within a topological understanding of the environmental image, the architect was the master of the paths and domains. The complete image required the mutual co-operation of artist and architect. And in order to be fully complete as an environmental image of Catholic worship, both artist and architect needed to work from an objective and systematic understanding of the liturgy. Such a working was more evident in Ireland than in England, even before Vatican II.

Besides the reassessment of art in relation to churchbuilding during the 'transitional melée', there was a reassessment of the liturgical form of church buildings themselves. The accommodation of a greater number of people at communion by increasing the length of the altar-rail has already been noted. Such a sense of greater immediacy in the liturgy was pursued even further in this transitional period. Sanctuaries were structurally less differentiated from naves, and interiors even became a single unified space. The congregation was brought nearer to the sanctuary by reducing the longitudinal axis, increasing the lateral, and adopting various plan-forms which accommodated and expressed a community gathered around the altar. In the single space and gathered plan, the sanctuary projected inward rather than outward. Altars moved further forward, even in already well projected sanctuaries, and were clearly free-standing.

Sometimes they were on a generous predella which extended to the rear as well as to the front, though they were still oriented to the liturgical East. Pulpits were placed within the sanctuary, and there were some twin ambones. At the Western end, baptistries became quite pronounced and even projected as ancillary structures. There were also many which were set on the central axis, and some had access directly into the body of the church; but they were still enclosed with rails or screens.

Structurally, buildings were increasingly a single chamber with side aisles and auxiliary spaces much more open, or non-existent. For their construction the portal frame of concrete, steel or laminated timber was widely used, as was the overall steel or reinforced concrete frame, erected in situ. Load-bearing brick walls with steel or timber trusses were used less frequently, and the poured concrete shell (including the hyperbolic paraboloid roof) was used least of all. The pitched roof continued to be widely used, even for splayed-wall and polygonal plan-forms, but for the latter the folded-slab roof was quite common, and was even used in a few cases for longitudinal buildings. And there were a minority of instances where the flat roof was used, either level or as a monopitch; and where the dome was used, in flattened or light-weight form.

So within the few years of the transitional period, immediately before and up to the end of the Second Vatican Council in 1964, there was a burst of exploration which produced an architecture of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles which was quite different from preceding forms. And the following years of the sixties would see even further consolidation of its use, as the liturgical changes promulgated by the Council made additional demands of it.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter dealing with some thirty years of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, a few general comments can be made by way of summary.

It is clear that when churchbuilding was resumed after the war, neither the few initiatives taken in the British Isles, nor the many taken on the Continent, were readily accepted as models to be developed in any of the three territories of the Church. Though it had not been possible to build churches for more than a decade, it was to have been expected that some active critical thinking would have been going on, and would have been evident the moment it was possible to resume building. But it apparently did not, and manifestly was not. Instead, the belief prevailed that somehow after the war the status quo ante would be restored; that things would continue as before. It was a thoroughly mistaken belief and as a consequence, too many early post-war churches stand as witness to it.

When, in the late fifties, a new thinking was more in evidence it led to a period of several years during which it existed side by side with the old. During such a period of transition it was to be expected that there would be buildings distinctly erected according to the old and the new principles. What is so surprising is the number of buildings which used modern construction techniques for their basic structure, yet appear in historical guise. They seem like the ultimate in the 'double-think' which characterises pastiche. For a while, it appeared that new

structures served only to maintain the semblance of old externals - as was happening in the liturgy.

The post-Tridentine liturgy was a complex edifice erected on the dogmatic theology of the Counter-Reformation. But in an era of the Church when the emphasis had shifted to a more relative and pastoral theology, there was a need for a corresponding shift in the liturgical design rationale of churchbuilding. Many of the early and transitional characteristics of that shift have been described in this chapter, and serve to bring home the fact that liturgical changes were afoot before the promulgations of Vatican II. They had been progressively initiated for more than fifty years before the Council - the last phase having been begun in the immediate post-war period and marked by Pius XII's famous Encyclical Mediator Dei (1947). Inevitably, a quickening of the pace of change was induced, making the calling of a worldwide Council of the Catholic Church almost inevitable. And the changes were not only liturgical; but as the 'summit and source' of the Church, it was the liturgy which acted as key indicator and agent of change. That change and its quickening pace were architecturally discernible in developments in Catholic churchbuilding throughout the British Isles, and remained so in the years following the Council.

Footnotes

- 1 The most influential nineteenth century classification of ecclesiastical styles of building was Thomas Rickman's An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture (1817). His categorisation of phases of Gothic churchbuilding as Norman, Early English, Decorated and Perpendicular preceded and outlasted the terms preferred by the Ecclesiologists and devised by Augustus Pugin, viz: Early, Middle and Late Pointed. In the twentieth century Rickman's classifications were especially enshrined in popular books on churches (e.g. those published by the Batsfords), and on the widespread textbook use of such a work as Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method (1896 et seq).
- 2 The Catholic Building Review ceased publication after its last edition in 1981. At Easter 1984 there was the first publication of Church Building which is intended to be a twice a year review of building being currently undertaken by the Catholic Church in England and Wales, and the Church of England. This new publication confusingly has the same name as that published in the 1960s by John Catt & Co, which did so much to promote the thinking of the New Churches Research Group in particular. Hopefully, the new publication will bring together the strengths of its two predecessors, viz: it will be a fully inclusive gazetteer of current building by the two Churches; and an informative and critical agent for the many matters affecting architecture, especially the architecture of worship.
- 3 Chasse C The Nabis and Their Period (1960/69) p. 112.
- 4 Dennis M quoted Roulin E OSB Modern Church Architecture (1938/47) p. 817.
- 5 Bentley J F quoted Victorian Church Art Victoria & Albert Museum (1971) p. 104.
- 6 Pevsner N The Buildings of England: South Lancashire (1969) p. 51.
- 7 de Breffny B & Mott G The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland (1976) p. 160.
- 8 Cf. Roulin (Roulin 1938/47) p. 181.
- 9 Cf. de Breffny & Mott (1976) p. 179.
- 10 Nuttgens P Reginald Fairlie 1883-1952: A Scottish Architect (1959) p. 9.
- 11 Cf. Roulin (1938/47) p. 601 illus. 488.
- 12 Harry Clarke (1889-1931) Clarke provided the Pre-Raphaelite tradition with a 'glorious swansong' (Cf. Harrison M Victorian Stained Glass (1980) p. 73. His first major commission

for Cork University chapel (1915-17) was regarded as knocking the 'William Morris and Burne-Jones windows hollow' (Cf. White J & Wynne M Irish Stained Glass (1963) p. 13). He began in the firm founded by his father Joshua Clarke in 1886. Harry Clarke Studios continued after his death, becoming Harry Clarke, Stained Glass Ltd.

- 13 Bower Norris E 'The New Church of St John, Rochdale, Lancs' The Architects' Journal (29 July 1925) pp. 162/7.
- 14 'Dignity with a Familiar Face' Rochdale Observer (3 May 1975).
- 15 Eric Newton (1893-1965) was better known in the post-war period as an art critic of the Manchester Guardian, the Sunday Times and Time and Tide, and as an author of several books, including European Painting and Sculpture (1941) which carries the comment that though he was originally determined to be an artist he 'only succeeded in turning himself into a craftsman (in mosaic)' before turning to art criticism.
- 16 Information supplied by Mme J Moore-Rivoluceri in letter of 2 July 1979:

... Giuseppe Rivoluceri, son of Guglielmo Rivoluceri and Anna-Maria Rivoluceri Ferrara, was born on Sept 8 1890 in Savigliano, Italy. He studied classics and mathematics at the Liceo in Mondovi and got his doctorate in Civil Engineering & Architecture at the Polytechnico in Turin. He was mainly concerned with the building of viaducts in Italy. He came to England because of his first wife's health and settled in N. Wales in 1925. It was here that he became interested in ecclesiastical architecture, after designing the Stations of the Cross in the grounds of Conway's Catholic church ...

... My husband was offered associate member(ship) of the R.I.B.A. but refused the honour ...

- 17 Cf. Roulin (1938/47) pp. 349/351.
- 18 Roulin (1938/47) pp. 198/199.
- 19 ... At Ampleforth, two altars are united, one facing the religious, and the other the faithful. The tabernacle and candlesticks are on a low gradin which extends over the line of junction of the two altars ... The priest who celebrates the conventual Mass on weekdays, does so on the altar facing the monks' choir; on Sundays and great feasts, Mass is celebrated at the other side at the altar, the side facing the faithful.
- Roulin (1938/47) p. 506 Cf. also p. 534 fig. 428 and p. 547 n. 6.
- 20 Cf. Gill E 'Mass for the Masses' Sacred and Secular (1940); Shewring W ed. Letters of Eric Gill (1947) Nos. 273 & 287; Anson P Fashions in Church Furnishing 1840-1940 p. 361.

- 21 Information supplied by J H & P H Langtry-Langton & Ptnrs
7 March 1978. Final cost published in 'The Church of the
First Martyrs, Bradford' The Parthenon (March 1937) p. 198.
- 22 Cf. Illustration to 'Church of the First Martyrs, Bradford'
The Builder (14 May 1937) p. 1029.
- 23 Cf. Shewring ed. (1947) Letter No. 314 p. 433.
- 24 Cf. Shewring ed. (1947) Letter No. 302 p. 419.
- 25 Cf. Shewring ed. (1947) Letter No. 298 p. 412.
- 26 Howard R T. Ruined and Rebuilt: The Story of Coventry Cathedral
1939-62 (1962) p. 28.
- 27 Nairn I 'Lansbury Centrepiece' Architectural Review (Oct 1954)
pp. 263/4.
- 28 Cf. Hood H J 'London's Bombed Catholic Churches: Their Case
for a Higher Priority in Building Licences' The Tablet
(8 July 1950) pp. 26/7.
- 29 The following information was obtained from a minute book of
the RC diocese of Southwark for the war period, access to
which was granted by the Auxiliary Bishop of Southwark via the
diocesan Finance Office.
- 30 Southwark RC Cathedral was gutted by fire during the night of
16/17 April 1941. The War Damage Act (1941) received Royal
Assent on 26 March 1941. But from 1936 the Government had been
pursuing the possibility of introducing a comprehensive scheme
of compensation, and in 1939, prompted by the imminent threat
of war a number of Acts of Parliament were passed empowering
requisitioning and repairing of property. Also a decision was
announced regarding arrangements for the collection and
collation of war damage claims by the Valuation Office of the
Board of Inland Revenue. Copies of a claim form (the V.O.W.1)
had already been distributed.

The minute book of the RC diocese of Southwark referred to,
records queries regarding the status of presbyteries, schools
and halls (23 Dec 1940), and control of Charitable Trustees in
matters of rebuilding. (13 Jan 1941).

It records that in a meeting with bishops, the Chancellor had
clarified that the State would pay for damage to charitable
and ecclesiastical property; and that church contents could be
insured as 'chattels'. (20 Jan 1941).

The Board of Trade was recorded as regarding organs as 'contents'
(i.e. as 'chattels') and therefore any damage would be
claimable under Part II of the Bill. (24 Mar 1941). A later
entry referred to an organ as a 'costly but a luxury article'.
(26 May 1941).

Altars were claimable under Part I (i.e. as integral to the
fabric), but with a limit on their estimated value. (24 Mar 1941).

A month later there was another recorded query regarding whether damage to side-altars was claimable under Part I or Part II. (28 April 1941).

The Board was recorded as not countenancing claims for the restoration of any 'artistic contents' (e.g. pulpits) above £100. (24 Mar 1941). But a month later it was recorded that a 'work of art' could not be insured for more than £150.

Another set of minutes refers to other churches in the diocese: e.g. the Secretary to the Trustees of the Diocese of Southwark wrote to the War Damage Commission regarding queries concerning completion of the claim form V.O.W.1 in respect of damage to property in Paradise St in the parish of St Peter & Guardian Angels, Rotherhithe. It received a reply indicating a separation of claims for church, presbytery, hall and school. (27 Mar 1941).

For additional discussion of the operation of the War Damage Commission and its compensation scheme, see above Section 2 Chapter 3 pp. 260/266 and footnotes 1-18.

- 31 The Christian Churches Main Committee first met in January 1941 and included representatives of the Church of England, the Free Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. See above reference to Section 2 Chapter 3 pp. 260/262 footnotes 4, 5 and 7.
- 32 Cf. Nuttgens (1959) Plate 29.
- 33 Cf. The Northampton Diocesan Magazine (Spring 1960) p. 2.
- 34 Cf. Little B 'The New Prinknash Abbey' The Clergy Review (Dec 1972) p. 987.
- 35 ... To raise further funds the community decided to sell the Bassano painting of 'The Flight into Egypt' selected and given to them by Mr Goodhard-Rendel from his collection at Hatchlands prior to the property being given to the National Trust. The picture on which a reservation of £30,000 was placed, in fact was sold for £273,000 which encouraged the community to complete the second phase of the monastery - and the crypt in particular where Mr Goodhart-Rendel and Abbot Upson are buried.
- 'Prinknash Abbey' The Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1971) p. 132.
- 36 Shell-Mex House, South Bank, London (1959) by Easton & Robertson.
- 37 Cf. Summerson J 'Arches of Triumph: The Design for Liverpool Cathedral' Arts Council Lutyens (1981) p. 45 illus. 298.
- 38 Pevsner (1969) p. 52.

- 39 Hussey C quoted in 'Liverpool Cathedral' Arts Council Lutyens (1981) p. 158.
- 40 Hussey C 'Cathedral Church of Christ the King, Liverpool: Sir Edwin Lutyen's Designs' Country Life (30 Apr 1932) pp. 490/493.
- 41 McNay M 'Liverpool's Anglican Cathedral' Guardian (24 Oct 1978)
- 42 Dunn & Hansom's original designs of 1872 were much revised by the time building began in 1880. Hansom was succeeded in 1895 by F A Walters and in 1898 J N Comper was engaged to advise on interior design, which he did for over forty years. In 1900 an amended design for the choir by T Garner (after his separation from Bodley) was approved and begun in 1902. After Garner's death in 1906, Walters continued working to his designs. After Scott took over, he began the construction of the nave, which was intended to have two more bays than Hansom's original design; in 1934/5 he remodelled the sanctuary and in 1938 he completed the tower.

Cf. 'Downside Abbey Church, Bath' The Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1980) p. 11.

- 43 The Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1963) p. 62.
- 44 Cf. Smith P 'Post Religious Churches' RIBA Journal (May 1974) pp. 12/17. The caption to illustration 7 reads:

The roman catholic church in Hemel Hempstead, where a veneer of modernity fails to hide a gothic church.

For the architect's reply cf. RIBAJ (July 1974). Colin Gowers believed that Smith based his criticism on a 'facile and faulty theology'. He continued:

... Those who actually built our gothic churches, as distinct from those who commissioned them, were not interested in perpetuating the power and authority of the church, but in using their best genius to create holy places for god, which were as beautiful as they knew how to make them. I am proud to have tried, however imperfectly, to follow in their footsteps. At least my 'skin' or 'veneer' covers some good, honest, traditional gothic bonework, and may well, therefore, stand long after the poor skins (without bones at all), which Smith advocates, crumble into the lifeless, uninspired dust from which they sprang. ...

Unfortunately, the concrete used in Gower's church at Hemel Hempstead has seemingly deteriorated, and consideration has been given to demolishing the building.

- 45 Pevsner (1969) p. 51.
- 46 Little B Catholic Churches Since 1623 (1966) p. 212.

47 Killanin, Lord St Enda's, Spiddal (1950) reproduced from The Furrow (May 1950) Wilfrid Cantwell, architect and long-standing member of the Committee for Sacred Art & Architecture of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland, presented a paper at the Community Centre, Tuam, Co. Galway (8 December 1974) on 'Modern Churches in Ireland'. His sentiments when referring to Pugin echoed those of Lord Killanin:

This fanatical English genius (Pugin) built only a few churches in Ireland ... but the influence of these works together with his impassioned writings and superb drawings, was such that he established a firm conviction in the minds of both clergy and laity that church design must always observe certain principles, derived from a romantic mythology of mediaevalism ...

48 The Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1956) p. 84.

49 The Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1958) p. 126.

50 The 'Auferstehungskirche' Pforzheim (1947) was the first of the 48 emergency churches which together with 55 church community centres, were constructed from prefabricated parts made in Switzerland, and erected in all occupation zones of Germany. These buildings were founded by the Oecomene: World Council of Churches, Lutheran World Union, Evangelical and Reformed Church USA, Presbyterian Church USA, Hilfswerk der evangelischen Kirchen der Schweiz.

CF. German Church Architecture of the 20th Century (1964). The catalogue of an exhibition organised by the Council for the Care of Churches in co-operation with the Kulturabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn p. 15.

51 Cf. Schnell H Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (1974) p. 107.

52 Pevsner (1969) p. 93.

53 Velarde R & F X 'Modern Church Architecture and Some of Its Problems' The Clergy Review (Sep 1953) p. 513.

54 Little (1966) p. 193.

55 Velarde (1953) p. 513.

56 Cantwell, Tuam Paper (Dec 1974).

57 The particular initiatives which gave claim to the Dominican Order being a cultural leader in the Church, were those taken by the Fathers Couturier and Régamey in France in the immediate post-war period. Both had responded before the war to the problems arising from modern cultural concerns and forms vis-a-vis the Church, as posed by Maritain's Art et Scolastique: Art and Scholasticism (1920/30). They recognised a need to come to terms, in a creative way, with modern art and architecture, as part of the intellectual renewal of the Church in the twentieth century.

In 1952 Fr Régamey published his seminal treatise: Art Sacré au XXe Siecle? published in English: Religious Art in the Twentieth Century (1963).

Fr Couturier, on the other hand, actively sought to engage the avant-garde in several churchbuilding projects, viz:

Notre Dame de Toute Grâce, Audincourt (1947) by M Novarina

La Sacre Coeur, Assy (1950) by M Novarina

Of the artists who accepted the invitation to contribute works to these two churches, two were Communists (Léger and Lurçat), two were Jews (Chagall and Lipchitz), two were practising Catholics (Rouault and Bazaine), the rest, including Matisse, Bonnard, Braque and Germaine Richier, were either atheists or non-practising Catholics.

Notre Dame du Haut, Ronchamp (1955) by le Corbusier

St Marie de la Tourette, Eveux-sur-l'Arbresle (1960) by le Corbusier

Ronchamp replaced a nondescript church damaged by the war. La Tourette was a new Dominican friary.

Notre Dame du Rosaire, Vence (1951) by Matisse (& M de Peillon)

Designed for a community of Dominican nuns in gratitude for their care when Matisse was seriously ill.

Cf. Barrett C S J 'Art and the Council' The Month (Jan 1964) pp. 17/18. Also Billot M 'Le Père Couturier et L'Art Sacré' Centre Georges Pompidou Paris 37 - Paris 57 (1981) pp. 196/205.

Obviously, the Dominicans at Athy would have been deluding themselves if they had thought that their project was comparable to any one of those arranged by the French Dominicans.

58 The Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1961) p. 84.

59 Roulin (1938/47) p. 147 fig. 62.

60 The structure consists of precast reinforced concrete portal frames expressed internally and externally with the buff coloured brick infill panels and blue brown brick gable walls. The walls of the Narthex are faced externally with the exposed aggregate panels in Norwegian Quartz. The roof is covered with dark antique pantiles. All windows are in Makore, with the exception of the Narthex and the Sanctuary where the metal frames were chosen for aesthetic reasons.

Internally, the exposed facing brickwork has been used on the flanking walls to the Sanctuary and up to eight feet above floor level in the side aisles. The remaining walls are plastered and the acoustic spray has been used

on the ceiling of the Nave and the Sanctuary, while the ceiling of the chapel has been lined with cedar boards. Mosaic has been used for facing of the circular columns separating the Nave from the North aisle. The floor of the Nave, Narthex, Baptistry and the Balcony are in terrazzo tiles laid to patterns, while the Sacristies and Confessionals have P.V.C. floor tiles.

The Sanctuary is paved in Marble tiles. Marble has been used for the Reredos, Altars, pulpit, font and for all the statues. All the Sacristy fittings are veneered in West African Mahogany.

The Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1961) p. 70.

- 61 Cf. 'Roman Catholic Church at Ewell' Churchbuilding Noll (Jan 1964)
- 62 Sidney Bolland was a member of the F X Velarde Partnership formed in 1961 after F X Velarde's death in 1960. In 1963 he left the practice and took with him the project for St Paschal Baylon church. In its sense of massing, and lack of clutter, the building is in the Velarde tradition.
- Information supplied by Richard O'Mahony (6 Sep 1977).
- 63 Cf. Pius XII Encyclical Mediator Dei (1947) art 84 to art 116.
- 64 The Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1957) p. 104.
- 65 Roulin (1938/47) p. 545 fig. 438.
- 66 Cf. de Breffny & Mott (1976) p. 151 for illustration of the old Catholic church Johnstown, Co. Wicklow (1803). Another example, with an 'arrow-head' plan, is the church at Killasser, Co. Mayo.
- 67 Cf. Lunn J R 'Arrangements of Parish Churches, especially smaller ones, considered with reference to the Primitive Liturgies, and the wants of the English Church. A Paper read at the Joint Meeting of the Lincoln and York Architectural Societies at Hull, July 3, 1884' Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies Vol XVII Pt II (1884) pp. 250/269:

If the site is awkward or very confined, the circular form may well be taken into consideration. Its great advantage is compactness of plan and greater accommodation. The circle contains the greatest possible space with a given circumference ... This means that, having a given quantity of material to build a wall with, the circular form will hold the most.

This hypothesis can be demonstrated by the following geometrical figures which all have a total perimeter measurement of 100 units:

Rectangle has an area of 400 sq units with sides 10 units by 40 units

Rectangle has an area of 561 sq units with sides 17 units by 33 units
Rectangle has an area of 625 sq units with sides 25 units by 25 units
Hexagon has an area of 722 sq units
Octagon has an area of 750 sq units
Circle has an area of 796 sq units

So a circular plan contains approximately twice the area of a longitudinal plan.

- 68 Lunn art cit (1884) p. 266.
- 69 Cf. 'Design for Coventry Cathedral 1951' Churchbuilding
 No. 8 (Jan 1963) pp. 5/17.
- 70 Pevsner (1969) p. 105 Also Souvenir Brochure of the Blessing
and Opening of the New Church, 25 June 1963.
- 71 Cf. de Breffny & Mott (1976) pp. 185/6.
72. Souvenir Brochure of St Mary's, Failsworth 1845-1964.
- 73 Cf. Footnote 60.
- 74 Maritain (1920/30) p. 101.
- 75 Mullaly T 'Art at St Aidan's' St Aidan's, East Acton : The
Church and Its Art (1964).
- 76 Mullaly art cit (1964).
- 77 Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture (1960) p. xiii & p. 29.
- 78 Velarde art cit (1953) p. 517.

Chapter Two

Post Vatican Council

The twenty-first Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church (commonly referred to as the 'Second Vatican Council' or 'Vatican II') was announced in 1959, opened in 1962 and closed at the end of 1965. It endorsed and guided the post-war development of a more critical and pastoral role of the Catholic Church in the modern world; a development which inevitably included a re-appraisal of the Church's stance vis-a-vis contemporary culture. Of the many promulgations of the Council, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (1965), in particular, acknowledged the profound changes in human society and sought to promote a concept of the Church that would be more vitally related to the ideas and values of the twentieth century.

Another of the Council's promulgations, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (1964), directed the Church to a re-appraisal of itself. Authority was to be regarded more in scriptural, than juridical, terms; and doctrine was to be defined and practised in a less defensive and more outward-going way. The episcopal structure was to become more collegial and so aid the pastoral development of each local Church. While the laity were called to share in the missionary vocation of the Church and to become its 'pilgrim people'.

The Council also expressed the Catholic Church's desire for the restoration of unity among all Christians, in its Decree on

Ecumenism (1964). A desire which was further expressed in the Joint Declaration on Cooperation (1966) published after their meeting in Rome, by Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsay.

But it was the first promulgation of the Council which had that profound effect upon Catholic worship and has come to symbolise, more than any other, the changes wrought by that event. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1963) defined the norms of liturgical renewal that were amplified by the Consilium which followed the Council, and implemented through the Congregation for Divine Worship.

After the Council, Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles began to reflect many of the changes that it instigated - not all at once, and not evenly everywhere. As a more pastoral and less dogmatic emphasis was given to an understanding of the Church, so there was a corresponding desire to be more locally identified and community centred. There seemed also to be a growing degree of pragmatism and provisionality: church buildings were described more in terms of 'plant' and 'shelter' than of 'place' and 'shrine'.

As was to be expected, in the years following the Council there was a certain consolidation of design principles for architecturally embodying the liturgical renewal. In 1966 the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland published its Pastoral Directory on the Building and Reorganisation of Churches. While two years later the National Liturgical Commission of England and Wales published its own Pastoral Directory for Church Building, coinciding precisely

with the peak post-war period of Catholic churchbuilding in those two countries. After 1969 there was an increasing decline in the amount and scale of churchbuilding projects, but it seemed to be inversely proportionate to the application of a greater diversity of design criteria resulting in the production of a wider range of church building types - or perhaps more accurately - the cost-effective production and adaptation of a wider range of permanent and temporary architectural environments for Catholic community life, including worship. It is the description of examples of that post-Conciliar process of consolidation and diversification, which is at the heart of these two final chapters.

Major Affirmations: New Cathedrals

What could have been more of a motif seeking to express a consolidated commitment to the liturgical renewal than the commissioning of a new cathedral for a metropolitan see?

In 1962, when explaining his design for Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral, Sir Frederick Gibberd maintained that, compared with the cathedral, other buildings were 'never so loaded with aspiration, never so staggering in their invention, never so charged with feeling, and never so universal in their appeal'.¹ While at first, his design may not have enjoyed an appeal that was fully universal, it was certainly loaded with aspiration, impressive in its invention and charged with the feelings it aroused.

P1 57/58
Fig 13

Gibberd's design matched not only the motif of Scott's Anglican cathedral at Liverpool, by being so diametrically different, but also Spence's re-born cathedral at Coventry. The design for Coventry may well have raised the public debate in the British Isles concerning the relationship of modern art and architecture to post-war religious sentiments, but that for Liverpool sought to embody in one dramatic form what was manifestly lacking in Coventry, viz: the urgency of promoting through the liturgy a renewal of the Church that was actual, fundamental and universal.

The dramatic motif achieved by Gibberd at Liverpool, simply and somewhat obviously, placed a single massive conoidal form over the prime liturgical focus, the altar, centralised in a circular plan. But Gibberd denied that his design solution was obvious; to him it would have been more obvious to have adopted the shell-dome, the space-frame or the hyperbolic paraboloid, and he objected to the comparison with a wigwam. That was a comparison, he felt, more suited to the new cathedral at Brasilia (1960) by O Niemeyer, and that proposed for Syracuse, Sycily (1957) by M Andrault & P Parat.² The structural system he had used at Liverpool, he believed to be more complex because the central lantern was suspended over the internal void.³

In determining the basic form of the cathedral, Gibberd has been quoted as admitting that 'having read the condition that no worshipper should be more than 60 feet from the altar, he took the compass, set the radius at 60 feet, described the circle and that (with a number of subsidiary apses and recesses around the perimeter) was that'.⁴ If that were so, then surely it was a too simplistic

solution. Catholic worship is a much more complex set of requirements, and its liturgy has many more subtleties than could be designed for by such a method. It is no wonder that Charles Jencks criticised the building's univalent form for being so poor in 'linkage'.⁵ But in his overriding preoccupation with the engineering of a single-structure volume, Gibberd did not deepen his experience of, nor develop his knowledge of, those subtleties. He openly admitted that he knew very little about the design of modern ecclesiastical buildings, and had only the slightest knowledge of the Liturgical Movement.⁶ Instead, he persistently maintained a clear belief in the post-war architect's touchstone of good design - the formulation of the brief. Experience and knowledge of requirements were the concern of the client.

Whatever briefing Gibberd received seems to have left him with the distinct impression that the Catholic Church knew little about the design of ecclesiastical buildings and was ignorant of architects, not knowing how to choose one or to brief him.⁷ So with the Church supposedly 'ignorant' of design, and the architect 'ignorant' of liturgy, Gibberd maintained that any resulting impasse could only be resolved by everything being 'thrown back on to the imagination of the designer'.⁸ Yet it is transparently evident that key elements in Gibberd's design are part of that 'dispassionate aggregation' to which Jencks referred, and not quite the products of a wholly original design imagination.

At least three major church buildings with international design reputations were at various stages of completion, when the competition to design Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral was

announced in 1959, and each possesses elements that can be itemised in Gibberd's design, viz: the bell-frame/entrance-portal at St John's Abbey, Minnesota (1953-61) by M Breuer; the rib-frame construction of Brasilia cathedral (1957-60) by O Niemeyer; and the great lantern over the concrete-framed church of St Joseph, Le Havre (1959) by A Perret. In fact the general feeling is that the whole building is very much the aggregate of an itemised list, with insufficient mediating elements to provide a sense of discovery, surprise or mystery. Instead, as Jencks summarises, inside it is 'just one large, central space that is taken in at a glance and fixed with its univalent meaning'.⁹

The doubts, criticisms and failings (liturgical, aesthetic and technical) associated with Gibberd's design over the past twenty-five years, cannot be separated from its mode of inception - the competition held in 1959 - and the history leading up to it.

Liverpool's efforts to build a cathedral had begun in 1853 with E W Pugin's abortive building in Everton.¹⁰ In 1930 they had been renewed with the purchase of the Brownlow Hill site, only to be dashed once more when Sir Edwin Lutyen's building was interrupted by war, and became cost-prohibitive afterwards.¹¹ So the decision to hold a competition in order to find a new design for a cost of £1,000,000 made by Archbishop Heenan in 1959, had an air of urgency about it. Probably that is partly why such an acknowledged low budget was allocated - a higher amount would have been more likely to produce a more complex design taking longer to complete with the greater attendant risk of interruption and escalation in costs.¹²

The low budget did not daunt the 298 entrants to what was virtually an international competition, though in theory it was intended to be limited to the British Isles and the Commonwealth. Each entrant received a 'Schedule of Requirements and Accommodation' as part of their instructions and conditions of entry. Inter alia these made it clear that the budget included £40,000 for a presbytery and convent, but excluded the seating and artworks. Entrants were allowed just three months to ask questions indirectly in order to formulate a working brief, and ten months altogether for the completion of their entries.

While the covering letter from Archbishop Heenan explicitly stated that the assessors¹³ would not judge the competition 'in the light of any preconceived but undisclosed ideas', and the Schedule itself stated that the architectural style was left to the competitors, there was a strong feeling afterwards that what had been wanted was a manifestly modern building with a central altar. That there were architects who were au fait with the proven difficulties of a geometrically centralised altar in recent liturgical architecture abroad, and so had deliberately not entered such a design, was a cause of some subsequent chagrin.

Just how far the Archbishop was influenced in his judgement of Gibberd's design by his own knowledge of the innovative central altar (e.g. in the pre-war church of the First Martyrs, Bradford)¹⁴ is an uncertain speculation, but neither his letter nor the Schedule prepared by all the assessors can be regarded as having predetermined the centralised solution, as this key extract makes evident:

The Cathedral is required to seat about 3,000 people with a view of the altar. (Including seating in galleries, if provided, to a maximum of 500.) If desired, the seating may nearly encircle the High Altar and Sanctuary to bring the people as near as possible. This is not a condition. 15

That it was not a condition is further evident in contemporary criticisms of the heterogeneous nature of the designs submitted, indicating that the 'basic functional criteria' had not been made clear to competitors! As it was, Gibberd's design was one of fifty circular plan-forms submitted.¹⁶

Just what possibilities might have been otherwise pursued within the same circular perimeter are now endless speculations with the benefit of hindsight: could the Blessed Sacrament Chapel have been more enclosed and projected forward, as at St Catherine, Birmingham; P1 48 could the altar have been more peripheral, as at St Mary, Dunstable; could the floor have been dished, as at St Mary's Priory, Leyland; could the perimeter walls have been lower with a more massive ring beam and without buttresses, as at the De La Salle College chapel, Hopwood Hall, Manchester (1965) by Reynolds and Scott for which P1 59/60 Gibberd was consultant architect?

Despite criticism of the building's obviously univalent internal void, and the manifest intention to give liturgical primacy to the altar, there is a failure in the architectural dynamics to provide a focussing centrality. Instead, there is a worrying sense of disorientation. Perhaps if the floor had been dished, as originally intended, the effect would have been more dynamically vortical. As it is, there is a flatness with a penumbral void above that tends

to dissipate any orienting centrality which the distant lantern might offer. What is externally such a distinctive vertical emphasis, internally is only seen or sensed in a foreshortened way. And horizontally, the intended axial emphasis of the path between the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and the main entrance structure, through the central altar, is insufficiently evident - unless one is actually standing on it.

The brief called for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel and the Lady Chapel to be used for smaller gatherings. Unfortunately, in Gibberd's design they are barely independent of the main space, which has latterly led to thoughts of possibly enclosing them for greater privacy and heating conservation. But in thinking about the great gesture of consolidating support for the liturgical renewal that the cathedral represents, it is perhaps surprising that other elements in the design did not match the boldness of reserving the Blessed Sacrament in a chapel set well away from the main altar - though axially related to it. The baptistry, for example, is not axially related to the altar on one of the principal liturgical paths, but is off-set at the entrance and enclosed in one of the perimeter chapels. And as another example, though the Schedule allowed for a pulpit (albeit outside the sanctuary) no architectural locus was in fact defined for preaching (other than the cathedra) or proclamation of Scripture.¹⁷

Yet despite these deficiencies, the cathedral is undoubtedly a major bench-mark in the development of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles. It consolidated the notion of a 'gathered plan' with the congregation around the altar; the three-dimensionality of

the altar as altar, and not as shelf or pedestal; and the separate reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in its own chapel.

And in its architecture Gibberd's design reinforced the notion of a close association between the liturgical renewal within the Church and the wider cultural renewal outside it. Nor were these significances lost to his successor when Archbishop Heenan was translated to Westminster before the building's completion; in his prolific writings in the Catholic Building Review Archbishop Beck probably did more than any other English prelate to try to arouse an informed and critical approach to post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding.

Over in Ireland, a new cathedral, opened just two years before that at Liverpool, stood 'magnificently alien in Connaught'.¹⁸ Along with the development of the Knock Shrine in the seventies (though for different reasons) the cathedral church of Our Lady Assumed into Heaven and St Nicholas, Galway (1965) must rank among the P1 61/62 foremost anomalies in post-war Catholic churchbuilding in Ireland - if not in the British Isles. Being completed when it was, the cathedral seems to represent not so much a consolidation of a post-Conciliar renewal of the Church, as of a rearguard reaction to it. Certainly that can be the impression it gives when viewed across the river on a gloomy day!

By using an overall traditional form, and by building it in stone, its commissioning bishop (the Most Rev Michael Browne) regarded the cathedral's design as being bracketed with those of Liverpool (Anglican), Guildford and Washington in having eschewed the modern

style and techniques of construction. The history of Christian art and architecture, in his opinion, had developed a repertoire of forms freely available to the present-day designer. So the Hispanic innuendoes were considered justifiable - especially as they could be 'explained' by Galway's sixteenth century connection with Spain!

The style in which the cathedral was actually built was described as 'Renaissance' - though not a slavish copy as that would have been 'mere pedantry'. Yet the extensive use of leading Irish church artists was felt to be in the 'tradition so gloriously maintained in the mediaeval cathedrals'. And though the building was transeptal and with side aisles in the nave, it was claimed that the Gothic style and plan had been rejected because churches designed in that manner tended to be long and narrow with a restricted view of the altar. So it would seem that the whole conceptual process informing the design was more than somewhat confused and confusing. Whether this confusion can be taken as muddle-headed eclecticism or muddle-headed reactivism, is debatable, but it might just be exonerated with the explanation that the designing and building of the cathedral had taken some sixteen years to complete.

In 1941, the gaol buildings which previously occupied the site, were demolished, but war-time restrictions curtailed any progress until 1949 when J J Robinson¹⁹ was appointed as architect. Designing and planning took until 1957, with a delay in 1954 when there was a strong lobby for the building to be located on a city-centre site. But the bishop believed that by utilising the already chosen site, which was adjacent to other principal buildings of the city, the

cathedral would have a 'dignity and grandeur worthy of its noble and beneficent function as the centre of the religious life of the people'.²⁰ So in 1958 construction was started and the cathedral was completed in 1965.

The lowest tender price received was £600,000 for the shell of the building, with the final total (inclusive of equipment, furnishings and artworks) reaching £1,000,000. For a diocesan population of only 58,000 that was a substantial sum to find, and major fund-raising schemes were mounted in Ireland, America, Australia and elsewhere. Galway city itself had a population of only 23,000, and was already adequately served by its existing churches, so it is not surprising that the necessity for the building, and the meeting of its cost, were justified as being an 'act of faith'.

Basically, the cathedral is a cruciform structure accommodating 1,500, with a dome over the crossing, in which is located the sanctuary with its central altar. The congregation is able to sit in all four arms, facing the sanctuary, which has no other canopy over the altar than the dome itself. Originally it was intended to have a baldachino, but it was then decided that concelebrations should not be impeded, and that everyone should have a clear view of the altar 'although Vatican II had not then taken place, or was even thought of' - a comment surely calculated to present this most conservative building in a progressive light.

Since the building of Galway cathedral, no opportunity has arisen in Ireland for one of the truly progressive architects to design a new cathedral. As will be noted, bold reordering schemes intended to

consolidate a commitment to the liturgical renewal have been carried out in several existing cathedrals, but in the only major new building scheme that approached a cathedral in scale, the design is the very epitome of that 'dispassionate aggregation' of which Jenks wrote.

The new basilican church at Knock Shrine, Co Mayo (1976) by D P Hanly, L J Brennan and B Brennan, must surely be one of the externally most over-scaled, and internally under-designed, ham-fisted and cheap architectural conglomerations ever to be assembled. And no amount of decorative and liturgical art, landscaping and rose-beds, can disguise its appalling pretentiousness and overall lack of judgement, from its siting and massing down to its finish and detailing. 'Begun as a shelter to protect pilgrims from the notoriously uncertain weather of the west of Ireland' the claim that it has 'turned out to be one of the most outstanding modern churches of Ireland'²¹ has to be refuted unequivocally - unless one accepts the camp epitome 'it's so bad that it's good'. Far better that it had remained simply as it had begun.

Pl 63/64

Though more informed architectural practices may not have had the opportunity to design a cathedral in Ireland, at least one practice has designed two and built one, outside. For the 1959 competition for Liverpool cathedral, Richard Hurley submitted a design. It was less homogeneous than Gibberd's in that, though it too was a regular plan-form (a bow-sided square) with a central altar and concentric seating plan, its surrounding secondary structures were even less well integrated into the building's perimeter, and no use was made of a podium (as an elevational

Fig 14

extension of Lutyen's crypt) to provide a basement for ancillary requirements. And its over-scaled lantern was far less upward-directed than Gibberd's; it stood squatly on eight great concrete piers rising from the interior. Not even the placing of niches and alcoves for confessionals and altars at their 'base' could lessen their massive intrusion.

So, was Gibberd's design all that deficient for its time, as has been suggested with the benefit of hindsight? Unlike Hurley, whose new and reordered churches have become some of the most exemplary in the British Isles since 1959, Gibberd produced only one other Catholic church (the chapel at Hopwood Hall, Manchester, referred to above), making any assessment of his Liverpool design in terms of his overall architectural development rather difficult. If an architect of Hurley's present high standing in the field of liturgical design could have produced a competition design that was (arguably) inferior to Gibberd's, then it says much for Gibberd. On the other hand, Gibberd could be criticised for apparently being no more committed to the cathedral project than it being for him a momentary and perfunctory venture into solving a series of problems arising from a prepared brief - just as it had been for an airport, a power station, a hospital - making it the one prime reason for all the doubts and paradoxes that remain.²²

Hurley's other cathedral project - the one he has actually been able to build - is at Eldoret, Kenya (1984). There he has been able to increase the scale of his thinking behind the design for his much acclaimed little church at Newtown, Co Kildare (1974). Hurley's design rationale has been very much influenced by Debuyst

Fig 15

Pl 55/66
Fig 16

(as has already been noted).²³ Essentially, it seeks to shift significance from the building to the people using it; and not just to what they do while using it, but to their need for using it. By pursuing an empathy with that need, which no brief, no matter how thoroughly prepared, could provide, Hurley felt for the 'nodes, paths and domains' of the worship environment, and expressed them in a simple and freshly conceived way. The traditional locii are all there, but within the walls of an irregular and ambiguous plan that has been rightly referred to as a piece of 'outdoors/indoors' and as 'anti-architectural'.

Designing a small country church for 330 as an 'anti-architectural' gesture might be successful; designing a cathedral for 1,500 as an 'anti-architectural' gesture is an inherently more difficult proposition, with its attendant problems of scale, status and function. But designing such a new cathedral in Africa is apparently not inherently so much more difficult, as it is aided by a strong desire to avoid the overtones of Western and colonialist architecture.

At Eldoret, Hurley's design seems to unfold from the sanctuary in a great fan-like configuration, with several intentional dislocations that create ambiguities and surprises. While behind the sanctuary, the plan breaks out into a cluster of interpenetrating secondary areas. Externally, a second sanctuary is placed at the entrance, within the wide sweep of the curving perimeter wall, that scales the building down with its low eaves. While the great triangular roof itself, slopes gently upwards in two stages, and comes to rest above a single supporting pillar standing in the rear section

of what Hurley refers to as an 'open-ring' plan - a design concept that owes a great deal to Rudolf Schwarz.²⁴

The whole design of Eldoret is very much a fusion of the meta-physical models of Schwarz, and the pastoral models of Debuyst; of the transcendence of Catholic liturgy with the immanence of a people and their culture. It is also very much a demonstration of an attempt to avoid that 'kind of simplicity that becomes both structure and symbol ...'.²⁵ Hurley's clear intention was to design a building that would be memorable as space, but not easily expressible as motif; a building, like his little church at Newtown, that would have an 'appropriate' outward form that would reveal its inner identity.

In Africa, other architects with other rationales have been producing other cathedrals (e.g. Gordon Cook, of the Churches Community Development Consultancy, at Torero and Kabale in Uganda for the Anglican dioceses of Bukedi and Kigezi).²⁶ But they all provide such a different concept not only of the cathedral as a building-type, but also of the catholic and apostolic Church. For any serious proposal to currently build a new cathedral in the British Isles, whether it be at Cardiff or at Middlesborough, Eldoret would provide an ideal model for response - though at Middlesborough, the opportunity might already have been lost²⁷, while at Cardiff, the traditionalist predilections of the intending donor might well prevail.²⁸

In England, it is more than ten years now since the completion of its newest cathedral - at Bristol. There the predilection of the then bishop (Rt Rev J E Rudderham) was for the new cathedral,

church of St Peter and St Paul, Clifton, proposed in 1965, to be 'something similar to Amiens or Chartres'. But the generosity of the donors, great though it was, did not allow such a flight of fancy to become a reality. For a budget of £500,000²⁹ the building could only be of a simple and modern kind, but that did not prevent a design emerging for (what at least one commentator has referred to as) 'the most enlightened and forward-looking cathedral built in this country in the last hundred years'.³⁰

Pl 67/68
Fig 17

The building of a new cathedral became necessary when it was decided that the old pro-cathedral (begun 1834)³¹ was no longer structurally safe, because of the failure of its substratum. Consultations began with the Sir Percy Thomas Partnership in 1963 in order to draw up a short-list for a limited competition, but to its surprise the practice itself was appointed without a competition. So for the second time, in fifteen years the name of Sir Percy Thomas became associated with a new cathedral in England.³²

Though it had built few Catholic churches prior to its appointment³³, the practice had made a point of informing itself, throughout the fifties and early sixties, of developments in liturgical design, especially on the European mainland. Seemingly, this was exactly the sort of knowledge the commissioning body was seeking - despite the bishop's original preferences! Unusually, the early work of the architects was spent trying to find a site as the existing one could not be redeveloped. A new site was eventually found in the nineteenth century residential area of Clifton, in the upper parts of Bristol. It was not set among other public buildings, nor did

it offer a commanding vista - as at Galway and Liverpool. Instead, the site posed obvious problems of scale, mass and orientation, in order for the proposed new building to fit in with its neighbours. The solution that evolved was for the cathedral to be set back from the site perimeter, with the whole of its lower elevation at the height of the adjacent housing. The main massing would then rise steeply towards the rear of the site and reach its climax over the sanctuary, its increasing verticality being enhanced with the principal structural members breaking through from the interior, as a triple flèche.

Arriving at a final form for any building in a way that meets all spatial requirements, is difficult; but, as the architects recorded, meeting the requirements of 'much more intangible things' inherent in the design of a cathedral church, was particularly difficult. Initially the volute seemed to be the plan-form that most expressed the essential dynamic of the building, but in the end it evolved into the extended hexagon, with a large lower hexagonal structure supporting a taller inner one. It was a solution arrived at through sustained analysis, but if a precedent were sought for it, a useful reference could be made to St Matthews, Perry Beeches, Birmingham (1959) by Maguire and Murray. At Clifton, the construction was of in situ reinforced concrete, with the outer walls acting as a massive ring-beam to the star-beam structure supporting the lantern tower.

The wide sweep of the lower elevation contains a generous internal congregating area or 'narthex', which is entered by two imposing sets of doorways, each approached by an elevated walkway that is also

intended as an external congregating area or 'atrium'. From the narthex the secondary areas of worship are immediately accessible. The Blessed Sacrament chapel, which is also the week-day chapel, is situated at one end near one set of doors, while the Lady chapel is situated at the other end, near the other set of doors. The baptistry, though structurally related to the narthex, is divided from it by a low wall which not only contains convenient seating but also serves to orientate the space towards the worship area. The care and attention given to these 'nodes, paths and domains' of the secondary areas, both inside and outside the building proper, is extremely successful in the degree of 'linkage' that it accomplishes.

Also successful is the congregational domain of the main worship area. Within the extended hexagonal floor-plan, four splayed banks of linked chairs (not fixed curved benches as at Liverpool) are directed towards the low-set projecting sanctuary. The arrangement succeeds in placing the congregation in an arc around the altar in its midst, but in doing so it seems to create problems of scale and spatial dynamics within the sanctuary area.

Somehow, the sanctuary seems to be the least successful area of the design; it appears too flat and with less well-resolved 'linkage' between its principal focii. The already low-set altar and adjacent ambo seem to be depressed further by the sheer visual weight of the structural forms over the congregational area. The attempt to give both altar and ambo some compensatory bulk is only moderately successful. The squat, square stone mass of the altar succeeds best, but is weakened by the awkward and uncomplementary form of the metallicised fibreglass ambo. So in turn, the sign-value of both

altar and ambo as joint liturgical tables - of the Eucharist and of the Word - is also weakened. With such a generous sanctuary, there was a potential for articulating much more clearly the inherent, and yet interdependent, significance of the prime liturgical focii, that has not been realised by the design - unfortunately.

The unfilled void above and the unrelieved wall to the rear seem to create such a volume and area of bland light and surface, that they serve only to accentuate further the flatness of the sanctuary. The liturgical relationship of the altar and ambo should have been better resolved, and then uplifted in a way that would have mediated between the mass of the building's structure and the void above the sanctuary. In Belluschi's cathedral of St Mary, San Francisco (1962), the void above the sanctuary was filled with the shimmering wires of Richard Lippold's sculpture-cum-baldachino.

A more architecturally integral treatment of the bishop's throne might also have produced some more emphasising vertical element. As it is, the wooden structure of the cathedral's surround seems ill at ease in relation to the aperture into the ambulatory space behind, the mass of the sanctuary rear wall above, and two principal liturgical focii in front of it. For what is, after all, the key sign of the bishop among his people hierarchically assembled, the design is far too tentative.

Far less tentative is the visually and physically encroaching form of the organ, console and pipework. They are far too dominant and as such must rank as a prime example of confusing the locational

symbols of Christ's presence in Word (ambo) and Sacrament (altar) with a musical aid to the people's response - albeit superbly constructed and pleasing in appearance. As even designers for the Dutch Reformed Church have recognised:

... Even a thing of beauty must not be allowed to compete with the symbols of Christ's presence, with the Word and Sacraments. The organ must not be allowed to assume the place of the means of grace, any more than the choir.

Unfortunately, at Clifton the choir too is guilty of encroaching upon the sanctuary and of 'taking the stage' rather than being more integral to the congregation.

But though the cathedral has several significant design faults, in use it has proved itself to be a major contribution to a consolidation of the liturgical renewal. Of other major church buildings that stand as wholly new signs of a consolidated commitment to the liturgical renewal, there are several that could be referred to (e.g. the abbey church of Our Lady Help of Christians, Worth (1975) by F Pollen, which is the most committedly modern of monastic contributions to post-war Catholic churchbuilding in England), but in the rank of cathedral the projects at Galway, Liverpool and Clifton stand alone.

Though doubts concerning a justification of cathedrals in the twentieth century have been expressed at times, for a Church that lays such emphasis on the apostolic succession, they are surely the most justifiable of all church buildings. Architecturally, they express their canonical status as churches housing the seat

of episcopal jurisdiction; but they also should express their pastoral function as churches housing the local Church hierarchically assembled with their bishop. While critics might argue that such assemblies can be accommodated in temporary locii (as they were for the Papal visits in 1979 and 1982)³⁴, the opposite argument might also be put. Though in either case the results can have an imposing or appealing provisionality, they nevertheless are expedients, and in time they seem to require a more permanent design resolution.

In the modern history of Catholic cathedrals in the British Isles, the delays, false starts and even complete abandonments of projects, have been most frequently witness to a priority being given to other works, as pastoral strategies or financial stringencies have required it. So when at last a cathedral has been built (as at Galway, Liverpool and Clifton) it has often been as a result of circumstances, resources and commitments finally favouring it as a pastoral, as well as an institutional, priority. In the three cathedral projects discussed, that pastoral priority has been present, to a greater or lesser degree, as a desire to express architecturally an authoritative consolidation of the renewal of pastoral liturgy.

Major Affirmations: Cathedral Reorderings

The post-Conciliar reordering of Catholic cathedrals in the British Isles has probably been an even greater sign of consolidation of the liturgical renewal, than that of erecting completely new buildings.

With new buildings there could be a certain expectation that they would include new architectural and liturgical thinking; but with existing buildings there could have been little expectation that any such new thinking would have had its effect upon them. They represented the binding and stabilising practices of the established Tridentine order, and were regarded as the very seat of that episcopal jurisdiction which maintained the status quo. However, as soon became evident, existing cathedrals were no more to be exempted from the post-Conciliar implementation of the liturgical renewal, than were new cathedrals and lesser buildings.

The reordering of Catholic cathedrals and churches was a direct consequence of implementing the liturgical renewal. As the term implies, a new ordering of the architectural space of Catholic worship was required as an integral aspect of that renewal. Without it, any enactment of the renewed rites and ceremonies would be bereft of a potentially fuller significance. What it required was a thorough-going reappraisal of the total worship space in order to achieve a wholly new architectural scheme of relationships between the traditional 'nodes, paths and domains' of Catholic liturgy. Already before Vatican II, a reappraisal of the congregational relationship to the sanctuary had been begun, and so should have logically formed part of the required thinking related to reordering schemes. In effect, that does not seem to have been the case; most reordering schemes - especially the earlier ones - were restricted to a reordering of the sanctuary.

With the Consilium's instruction that altars should preferably be constructed to allow for the celebration of Mass facing the people,³⁵

the reordering of sanctuaries was, initially, almost exclusively concerned with making altars free-standing. Immediately the attendant problem arose of what was to happen to the existing altar: was it to remain, but unused, with a completely new altar placed somewhere in front of it; was it to have part of itself detached and moved forward as a new altar; or was it to be demolished? And behind such pragmatic considerations there were deeper issues relating to sacramental theology and ecclesiastical patrimony: was devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, so assiduously fostered since Trent, about to be diminished or abandoned with the reordering of the high altar on which the tabernacle had stood; was a dominant and familiar structure, cherished by several generations, and maybe valued by present-day connoisseurs for artistic and historic reasons, about to be destroyed?

The problem was not entirely new; after the war it had repeatedly arisen with the restoration of damaged and substantially destroyed church buildings. On the European mainland, and in Germany in particular, the radical decision was frequently taken not to reinstate buildings, either architecturally or liturgically, according to their pre-war form. In such schemes, the altar was invariably free-standing and placed well forward in a sanctuary empty of most, if not all, of its former furnishings. Occasionally, even more adventurous decisions were taken, as with the placing of the altar across the angle of the L-shaped plan of the Franziskanerkirche, Cologne (1952) by E Steffann. Such schemes were, of course, not introduced without some degree of controversy. The projection of the sanctuary and altar into the centre of the nave of the Liebfrauenkirche, Trier (1952) by R Schwarz was the

object of particularly bitter criticism.³⁶ But despite the controversy, these post-war and pre-Conciliar schemes of the fifties were undoubtedly regarded as precedents for post-Conciliar schemes of reordering.

In the British Isles, the earliest cathedral reordering proved to be devastatingly controversial, not only because it anticipated the Council but also because it was carried out in such an extremely rigorous way. Condemnation of the reordering of the cathedral church of St Mary of the Assumption, Aberdeen (1960) by C Gray, though heightened by a particularly vitriolic campaign led by Peter Anson, contained the issues of 'modishness', 'philistinism' and 'Protestant pandering' which have become three of the classic criticisms of liturgical reordering.

P1 69

Anson's schedule of 'wanton destruction' included the 'smashing to atoms' of the high altar and side altars; the moving of the font to the West wall of the nave and the converting of the baptistry into a Lady chapel; the casting out of the canopied pulpit, the bishop's throne, communion rails, Stations of the Cross, rood and all other sanctuary; and the planing down of mouldings on arches and arcadings. He considered it doubtful that any place of worship erected in the last century had ever been so thoroughly purged.

It has been stated that the purpose of this ambitious and costly renovation scheme was to make the cathedral a model of community worship in the diocese. Elsewhere we are told that it was impossible to make of the building 'a cathedral conforming to modern liturgical law and practice' without replanning and refurnishing the interior, lock, stock and barrel. An objective observer might be inclined to say that the real urge was to conform to what is nothing more than a fleeting phase of ecclesiastical fashion ...

... All that has been done is to erect a plain grey granite holy table between the nave and the chancel, so arranged that the celebrant at Mass may face the people. The new bishop's throne stands on a platform against the east wall ... and dominates the interior. The yellowish brown oak panelling around the lower part of the walls helps to create the illusion of being in a typical modern Presbyterian kirk. Oak floor boards have been substituted for marble. The colour scheme of the interior is composed of vivid forget-me-not blue walls in the aisles, bright grass green in the chancel, and pale purplish grey in the nave ...³⁷

Anson's general theme was that it is safer not to dogmatize about ecclesiastical décor as it was invariably a matter of transient and ephemeral fashion; and fashion was 'the subtle and shifting expression of every age'. Though in the Foreword to his Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940 he acknowledged that most of the changes in ecclesiastical decor in the British Isles were more characteristic of the Anglican than the Catholic Church, he nevertheless regarded the changes brought about as a result of the liturgical renewal, as simply being yet another fashionable phase. And the forever changing direction of fashions in High and Low Church factions was an irony about which he was especially vociferous. He seemed not to see, though, that for the very reason that the decor of Catholic churches had gone through fewer fashionable phases, the changes brought about by the liturgical renewal were that much more significant, and even profound.

The personal object of Anson's criticism of the Aberdeen project was Bishop Francis Walsh, who reciprocated by referring to a certain 'loud-mouthed critic' who had damned the reordering of the cathedral as a reversal towards Calvinism. If simplicity and good taste were a monopoly of Protestants, then Catholics had better take a leaf out of their book, the bishop believed. His intentions

included an unequivocally ecumenical dimension - but they were motivated by that peculiarly Catholic understanding of ecumenism whereby Catholics must first die to themselves before converting others.³⁸ As the Catholic Scottish Herald reported it at the time, 'it was 'the concept of a man with a passionate love of liturgy and an unshakeable belief in its pastoral and catechetical power to cement the faithful more closely into the Mystical Body of Christ, to stem the leakage, and to bring the separated brethren back to a discovery of the Eucharistic Cup in the context of a Scripture brought to life in the Mass'.³⁹

To be the centre towards which those outside the Church are drawn was one of four purposes in building a church, which Bishop Walsh distinguished. The others (in reverse order) were: to be the centre from which the social action of the people of God radiates; to provide a forum for the teaching function of the Church; and to provide a building in which priest and people can carry out the liturgy of the Church. It was in order to achieve a 'living liturgy' that the alterations had been carried out in the cathedral.

For the bishop to truly oversee, the cathedra was placed centrally against the rear wall of the sanctuary facing the people; and so that the Mass could only be celebrated facing the people, a plain free-standing slab of granite was positioned well forward in the sanctuary. The sanctuary also made proper provision for the chapter stalls. Inevitably, the consequence was that the floor levels in the sanctuary had to be considerably altered, and the original high altar (together with its tabernacle) had to be removed. For Anson and others, it was upsetting not only that

the altar had to be thus removed, but that it was found necessary to completely destroy it.⁴⁰

Initially, it was intended that a custom of the early Church would be revived and Communion would be received standing. But a concession had to be made: so movable rails were placed before the side chapels on weekdays and in front of the sanctuary on Sundays. The side chapel dominating the South aisle housed the tabernacle and combined devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Mural images were preferred to statuary which was almost wholly discarded. Only a replica of the original late mediaeval statue of the Madonna and Child was newly commissioned. It was placed in the former baptistry which Bishop Walsh regarded as being too much 'round the corner'. The font in turn was removed to the West end of the nave, on the central axis of the altar, where it was possible to congregate a much greater number of people to assist at a baptism.

Having the people participate in the Mass as fully as possible was a prime intention behind the alterations. So that they would better see that the Gospels and other Sculptures were addressed to them, as well as being a fuller sign of a re-emphasised relationship between Word and Sacrament, twin ambones were placed within, and on either side of, the sanctuary and the pulpit was removed. In addition, a sound reinforcement system was installed. Not being able to bring the organ and choir nearer to the sanctuary as a further reinforcement was a particular disappointment, as to have been able to do so, it was believed, would have given greater encouragement to the people to sing.

Bishop Walsh's motivation for removing the 'ample furnishings with the wealth of ornamentation in glass and statuary' could also be construed as aiming to increase participation by reducing on inhibiting and distracting ambience and thus to make the community at worship of greater significance. Yet one cannot escape the feeling that at the reconsecration of the cathedral Archbishop Gray's very reference to the removal of the 'ample furnishings' and 'wealth of ornamentation' was not without its ironic intention, when he emphasised a need to lend all our faculties in the service of God. As if the destruction and removal of so much within the building had been the result of an opposite intention and the outcome of an enterprise in 'holy folly'.⁴¹

Viewing the building some twenty years later, there is still a sense of a daring, but nevertheless rigorous, undertaking having been attempted. Unfortunately, what was architecturally accomplished was not particularly remarkable, so that one is left in a somewhat disadvantageous position when seeking to make out a case for the end justifying the means. The design sensibility of the architect, Charles Gray, seems significantly inferior to those of his German counterparts, and the feeling is again that which is so often felt in minimal schemes in the British Isles; that the design is one of omission rather than of essence. And in addition, there is the unforgivably sardonic attitude to the patrimony of a previous age, which terminated in its high-minded and heavy-handed destruction. But for this to have been the earliest of the cathedral reordering schemes in the British Isles is, nevertheless, highly remarkable, because in its intentions and in its outcome it exhibits altogether so many of the attitudes and issues that characterise the proposals

and designs for later schemes of reordering. Whether or not the Aberdeen scheme is to be regarded as a salutary experience, few subsequent schemes have been so rigorous and extensive, and one can only surmise that a fear of arousing similar controversy has probably had a sobering effect upon any would-be radical initiatives. But a few such initiatives there have been - complete with attendant controversy.

In 1975 Bishop Cahal Daly was expressing his deep anxiety and concern over the controversy which had grown up around the reordering of the cathedral church, St Mel, Longford. Despite wide PI 70 consultation with parishioners and their general approval of what had been proposed, the bishop felt sufficiently beleaguered by adverse criticism from a vociferous minority that had gained extensive media coverage, to have to publish a special statement.⁴² Central to the opposition's objections was a questioning of the need to remove the high altar at all. But the argument was that the retention of the altar would seriously impede effective reordering of the sanctuary. What was being proposed was alteration to the sanctuary levels and its deeper thrust into the nave, so that a new free-standing altar could be placed well forward. Also, the removal of the existing canons' stalls and their replacement by new stalls located on either side of a cathedra placed centrally in the apsidal East end; with their removal, congregations to the side would have a clearer view of the sanctuary. A celebrant's chair and an ambo would also be incorporated, and so would a font, placed within a further projection of the sanctuary on one side towards the front edge of the sanctuary. The Blessed Sacrament would be reserved in an enlarged tabernacle on an existing side

altar originally dedicated to the Sacred Heart. As the bishop pointed out, it was the common custom to reserve the Blessed Sacrament on a side altar in a cathedral, and had been the custom at Longford for the first one hundred years of the cathedral's existence.

Whether or not the high altar should have been removed another statement from the principal design adviser for the scheme, Ray Carroll, made it clear that neither he nor other competent specialists felt that the altar possessed any intrinsic aesthetic or antiquarian value.⁴³ And in case anyone should think that every old altar was removed when a comprehensive scheme of reordering was being proposed, he referred to two Victorian altars which he had recently conserved. Nevertheless, the strong impression is that there is (or was until more recently) a distinct anti-Victorian strain in reordering design thinking in Ireland. In an article written by Bishop Daly and the original architect for the Longford reordering scheme, Richard Hurley, at the time when the first proposals were being made, such thinking is clearly in evidence.⁴⁴ To those who opposed the removal of the altar, it was some small measure of amelioration that it was re-erected in the crypt - at least as far as the height of the crypt allowed!

There was also some opposition between the specialists involved, which did not help to improve matters. At an early stage in the scheme, there was an obvious difference of opinion between Carroll and Hurley over the form of the altar - a difference similar to those between Cantwell and Hurley discussed earlier.⁴⁵ But later, when Patrick Pyke failed to guarantee delivery of the tapestry



Killarney Cathedral Reordering (1973), D J Kennedy with
R Carroll
Sacrament House by Ray Carroll

which was to hang the full height of the sanctuary wall behind the bishop's throne, and his commission was terminated obliging Carroll to take on the task, Hurley withdrew and Wilfrid Cantwell had to take over. The irony was, again, that the whole operation had been initiated by a bishop who was deeply spiritual and pastorally caring, and who, in this case, had consulted widely with both specialist and layman.

But the final scheme is surely one of the most successful and satisfying schemes of cathedral reordering in the British Isles. While the congregational area was not reordered, and there might be certain misgivings about the use of the existing side altar for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, the superb use of the deeper sanctuary as a domain for the generous placing of the principal liturgical nodes, together with the bishop's throne and the canons' seats, is a most succinct essay in the marrying of the liturgical renewal to an existing architectural form.

Longford cathedral is in the Classical style with a portico completed in the 1890s to a design by Ashlin. Nearly twenty years later, Ashlin with Coleman completed A W N Pugin's design for Killarney cathedral, which (as is to be expected) is in the Gothic style. The reordering of the cathedral church of St Mary, Killarney was a less protracted process; though it began about the same time as the Longford project, it was completed in 1973. The architect was D J Kennedy but again the principal consultant and designer was Ray Carroll. Whereas with Longford the forms and furnishings had a fullness and figuration that had a harmonising humanity, the forms and furnishings at Killarney seem to have a tautness and an austerity that is ascetical and radical.

Carroll's idea was to purge Pugin's romanticism which he considered to be neither true to Pugin's time - nor to ours. What was sought was a manifestation of that strength and severity which Pugin himself had noted as qualities to be seen in the ruins of Ireland. So Carroll proposed the daring removal of not only all the furnishings which had subsequently come to fill and embellish Pugin's shell, but also the 'mechanical surface of plaster' so that the 'fine strong bones' of Pugin's architecture could be revealed.

In redesigning the necessary new positions of the liturgy's elements and the elements themselves, we loyally sought to follow Pugin's thought and feeling. Where the inevitable conflict arose between Pugin's mediaeval philosophy of liturgy and the now-for-next-300-years-established modern one, we deferred to Pugin in matters of mood (namely his sense of the sacred and his sense of mystery); took into account the internal, inbuilt commands of his building; and simultaneously followed as faithfully as we knew how, the new guidelines set down by Rome.⁴⁶

In fulfilling those guidelines, the already deep chancel was projected forward under the crossing with the base of the four tower piers serving as the loci for the bishop's throne, the celebrant's chair, and the font with the ambo placed close to the fourth at the front. Above the altar placed slightly forward of the centre of the crossing, was suspended the sanctuary cross within a system of diagonally placed wires, realising, Carroll believed, Pugin's plan for a rood screen in a way he could not have anticipated. The Blessed Sacrament was reserved in a pinnacled sacrament house set on column and plinth in a chapel to one side of the sanctuary, with public access from the South transept.

Projecting the altar so far forward and making the crossing area the prime theatre of liturgical operation inevitably meant that, apart

from large ceremonial occasions, the area within the old sanctuary chancel is liturgically unused - it is a void that has been likened to a waiting upon Christ's parousia. To 'waste' so much space for God is impressive, but it nevertheless seems more than a little contrived; and when the architect's published balance sheet for the project is inspected, and the 'cutting out of brick panels, arches etc. and replacing in stone' is seen costed, the doubt arises whether the would-be manifestation of the 'heart-stopping' genius of Pugin's vision to be discerned in the essential structure of the building is, perhaps, not a little contrived either.

The Killarney project raises questions related not only to the issues of 'scrape versus anti-scrape'⁴⁷, and the underuse of space, but also to the representation of the costs of reordering. The total cost of the works was £278,000, but of this the essential liturgical reordering element probably came to no more than 15-20%. Of course such extensive schemes are more than merely altering the altar. As has already been discussed, the close association between liturgy and culture inevitably implies that the philosophy of visual forms used (aesthetics) has consequent meaning, and so in the Killarney scheme the decision that such radical steps should be taken to expose the basic fabric was one with a meaning integral to the reordering proper. But once the decision was taken there was an inevitable chain of repercussions in which the building itself, its fabric and functions, would come under close scrutiny, and would lead to many maintenance and improvement works being included. And in fact that is what happened.

In most cases of a thorough-going reordering it has been reckoned that a breakdown of the final cost would be approximately as

follows:⁴⁸

renovation or alteration costs	20%
improvements (e.g. installing heating, lightning conductors)	17.5%
redecorations	12.5%
repairs of defects	50%

The relatively high proportion spent on repairs seems to have arisen simply because it has only been when a reordering has been proposed that the fabric of many church buildings has been closely inspected by an architect for the first time since their completion. In many cases incumbents and diocesan authorities have seemed to be largely unaware of the state of decay of their churches. Obviously the problem gives rise to questions concerning regular inspection schemes and mandatory measures for carrying out any remedial or repair work, but the implication here, in the context of a discussion on reordering, is that undertaking a thorough-going scheme has become synonymous with incurring high expenditure, which in turn has tended to act as a general disincentive.

The remedial work that had to be carried out at St Chad's cathedral, Birmingham (1968) by Weightman and Bullen⁴⁹, and at St John's cathedral, Salford (1973) by Cassidy and Ashton⁵⁰, at the time of their reordering exemplify the problem in England. At Salford it was possible to include part cost of the new sanctuary and the cost of redecoration in the original estimate of £67,000 which was primarily incurred through repairs to the South aisle roof affected extensively by dry rot.⁵¹

At Birmingham repairs to the exterior had begun in 1964 and were extended to the interior in 1967. As at Salford, improvements were

made to the heating system but much more comprehensively, with the installation of an underfloor grid. The new flooring incorporated a deeper sanctuary projected forward to the crossing. Because of this, thought was given to moving the rood screen back to its pre-1854 position across the original sanctuary, and making it a Blessed Sacrament chapel.⁵² But in the end, it was decided to discard with it altogether. After being rescued from near-destruction it went to the Anglican church of Holy Trinity, Reading.⁵³ The gilding and stencilwork of much of Pugin's original design was, however, restored by John Hardman Studios using some of the original stencils. Yet here, as elsewhere, it is the influence of that great Anglican ecclesiologist Percy Dearmer and the principles he set out in The Parson's Handbook (1899) which is most in evidence. As Canon Laurence Isherwood has written: 'His rather drastic remedy for dingy walls and unworthy decor was to paint them white ... to bring out the beauty of gilding and colour of design and furnishings'.⁵⁴

Isherwood was really referring to the scheme of redecoration carried out in conjunction with the reordering of St John's cathedral, Portsmouth (1971) by Williams and Winkley. Of all the cathedral reorderings in England and Wales that at Portsmouth is probably the most extensive and least compromising.

Begun in 1878 to the designs of J Crawley, the cathedral did not receive the elaborately crocketed and pinnacled altar he had intended, but a simpler altar set beneath a great civity within the apse.⁵⁵ In 1906, in a rare example of early liturgical renewal, altar and civity were brought forward into the centre of

the chancel, the floor of which was raised and extended to the western side of the crossing. A wrought-iron screen, placed originally across the chancel arch, was removed to the rear of the new sanctuary to make the apse a capitular chapel. In 1970, when 'it was felt by the Cathedral clergy and people that a redecoration of the Cathedral, made necessary because of dilapidation caused by age and war damage, ought not to be delayed any longer', it was essentially this scheme which was completely done away with.⁵⁶

Winkley's scheme projected the sanctuary yet further into the nave by one bay, but at a slightly lower level than that of the 1906 alteration, to the rear. The new free-standing altar was placed well forward with the intention of its being set more among the people, and the actions upon its surface being more visible. Above the altar was suspended a large corona lucis, which, together with the sculpture around the altar base, the great floor-standing candlesticks and sanctuary cross in the form of the Tau with the rising corpus of Christ upon it, was designed by the sculptor Fritz Stellar. Stellar also designed the font which was set to one side at the front of the sanctuary, and one step below the nave floor. The ambo was placed to the rear of the altar, at the junction of the old and new sanctuary levels. Alterations to floor levels was a key feature of the scheme, and the floor of the apsidal chapel was raised to sanctuary level to provide overspill area to the rear on occasions. Normally though, the apsidal end was screened off with a movable screen⁵⁷, to make it the chapel of reservation and a weekday chapel with an opened-up old entrance giving more direct access. When closed, with the bishop's throne placed centrally in front of it, the screen was designed so that the tabernacle was

still visible. The chevron pattern of its woodwork was repeated much more emphatically in both floors of the sanctuary, where it provided the angle for setting the celebrant's chair to one side on the upper level. Austin Winkley is (with Richard O'mahony, Gerard Goalen, John Newton, Arthur Bullen, Derek Walker and a few others), one of the most painstakingly careful of English architects to apply the sound pastoral needs of the post-Conciliar liturgy to the 'internal, inbuilt commands' of a building. It is, therefore, with some concern that one responds to news of any of his reorderings being reordered. Yet that is precisely what has happened at Portsmouth cathedral just eleven years after the completion of the scheme for Bishop Worlock. The justification offered by the diocese was that in 1979 there was a serious fire in the sacristy, and in 1982 the diocese and cathedral were celebrating their centenary. Also, adjacent buildings became available for redevelopment to be undertaken by Kanavan and Wingfield. Whatever strengths that practice might have, it certainly is not in the forefront of liturgical design and reordering, and one awaits to see whether the bringing forward of the bishop's chair, the removal of the corona and the raising of the altar (regarded as a 'practical conclusion following more than ten years of use') are wholly justified major modifications. But this incident is not isolated; there are many instances where alterations to new work appear arbitrary and prejudicial. Anson may have pleaded for official protection of Victorian buildings (and maybe Portsmouth cathedral should have been so protected) but there is also a case to be made out for good post-war and post-Conciliar design to be similarly protected.

The radical reordering of the Baroque sanctuary of the Franciscan cathedral, Cuernavaca, Mexico in the early sixties, greatly influenced Winkley.⁵⁸ It had a rigorous Miesian clarity appealing to those who saw the post-Conciliar Church establishing a new order which was to be distinguished by its 'noble simplicity'. However, there were those who would call 'near-vandalism' what was perpetrated at Portsmouth. At the cathedral church of Our Lady and St Philip, Arundel⁵⁹, they prided themselves on not having committed an act of 'near-vandalism' though the 'original breath-taking view from the west door to the High Altar in its original position in the Apse' was regarded as having disappeared to some extent by the 'foreshortening of the view with the Altar in its present position and a good deal of empty space behind it ...'.⁶⁰ An excellent example of the illusionary school syndrome!

For some, the requirement to reorder meant carrying out the absolute minimum, and, if at all possible, merely modifying the existing furnishings, even if that meant flouting canons of taste and responsible behaviour towards Church patrimony. Incorporating pastiches and cannibalising existing items seemed to be a perfectly acceptable modus operandi. The intention was wholly illusory. It was deliberately intended to create the impression that the Council had changed little, though it could often be discussed in terms of producing a scheme that was completely harmonious with existing elements. Nevertheless, the comment made by one conservationist with regard to the Irish, that they were 'so benightedly conservative that they had to conceal it under a superficial show of being up-to-date' could, perhaps, be applied to the rest of the British Isles too, and serves to show just what convolutions of meaning can be attached to what is done - or not done!

Though not as illusory as certain others in intention, the reordering of St Marie's cathedral, Sheffield (1973) by the restorer J J Frame provides a typical example of pastiche and cannibalisation. And for convoluted argument, dithering uncertainty, over-deferential politeness, and down-right conservatism, no better examples can be found than the cathedrals of Westminster and Southwark, and those bulwarks of the Catholic establishment, the Jesuit church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street, and the Oratorian church of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Brompton (next to the Victoria and Albert museum). In fact, at the Oratory the free-standing temporary altar has been removed (1984) as part of the scheme of redecoration to mark its centenary, and a return has been made to saying Mass in the Eastward facing position at the old high altar.⁶¹

Doing away with the temporary arrangements and returning to pre-Conciliar practice is not what the Third Institution for the Correct Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1970) had in mind. But sometimes, for extenuating reasons, temporary arrangements have had to last longer than was originally intended. At St Patrick's cathedral, Armagh⁶², McCormick, Tracey and Mullarkey's winning design from the 1969 competition was not implemented until more than ten years later, and then only partially, because of the unfavourable social and political situation. While at St John's cathedral, Norwich, the 1969 temporary reordering has had to remain because of the enormous commitment since 1978 to restoring the fabric of the building at a cost of over £650,000. Purcell, Miller, Tritton and Partners, who carried out the work, in 1982 also completed the much delayed reordering of the chapel in the English College, Rome.⁶³

Other cathedrals have similarly been reordered (some still await a final scheme, e.g. Shrewsbury and Motherwell), and so have other significant buildings including abbey churches (e.g. Douai (1978) by Barton, Willmore and Partners; Belmont (1979) by McLennon, Johnson and Blight), though they too have included cases of protracted delay in reaching a satisfactory permanent solution (e.g. at Glenstal and Ampleforth). The proposal to turn Newcastle cathedral back-to-front has not been carried out; but at least two cathedrals (Kildare and Brentwood) have had an entirely new structure added to one side of their existing nave in order to provide greater congregational space, and have been completely re-oriented through 90°. Both these will be referred to again, later, among other examples of structural and functional change. Here, the concern has been with certain cathedral schemes, which, through a thorough-going reordering of their sanctuaries, have embodied a clear consolidation of the liturgical renewal. Obviously, there are many more churches and chapels which have also sought to embody that intention to a greater or lesser degree, and a consideration of a selection of these offers an opportunity to recapitulate on many of the points arising from cathedral schemes.

Pl 77/78
Fig 19

Reordered Churches

It shouldn't be thought that one minute churches were being built to some traditional design, and the next, after Vatican II, they were suddenly being built and reordered according to some novel prescription. As has already been described in the previous chapter, the process of change was active before the Council took place in the early sixties. In an increasing number of new churches,

designs were including much more open and simple sanctuary schemes, and were assuming configurations of plan that allowed more of the congregation to be gathered around, and closer to, these sanctuaries. And in some existing churches, alterations were being made to project the sanctuary further forward and to provide extra congregational space in order to achieve a 'gathered' plan. St Mary, Bolton (1962) by Greenhalgh and Williams is an interesting example, because it is possible to see how the position of the new altar on its predella would allow for subsequent saying of Mass facing the people - should it be approved. Such a scheme was obviously somewhat speculative.

More frequently, churches were being renovated with schemes of remodelling and redecoration. Though adventurous developments were taking place in new building projects, changes to existing churches were less so. In 1965, a scheme for St Chad, Cheetham Hill, Manchester was prepared by Greenhalgh and Williams to open it up, and make it more attractive and comfortable. There was to be plenty of removing and replacing, rewiring and repainting, determined by an introduction of the liturgical renewal - but no reordering. A generally improved visibility of the altar with the removal of the chancel screen, together with a broadening of the sanctuary levels, was, however, regarded as improving the relationship between nave and sanctuary.

When liturgical changes as a result of Vatican II began to be introduced more widely, of course there were those who rushed to make changes, but many chose to be cautious and make only temporary rearrangements. These included temporary reading desks too, as the renewal gave greater theological significance to the Word, and greater catechetical value to the use of vernacular language. And



L'Ambon nouveau ou le grand bazar électronique!
Illustration from L'Art Sacre (September/October 1965)

concomitant with that was a desire for greater audibility, and an increased use of sound-reinforcement systems. So, as the witty illustrations in the September/October 1965 edition of L'Art Sacre depicted, an innovatory temporary arrangement of a sanctuary could be quite a bizarre spectacle - certainly it could be one of liturgical confusion and clutter. It was not surprising that in 1970 the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship issued its Third Instruction with its emphatic request that temporary arrangements be given a final form.⁶⁴

Fig 20

As has already been pointed out, the essential problem in existing churches was what to do with the single dominant focus of the main altar with its tabernacle: was it to have part of itself detached and moved forward as a new altar; was it to remain, but unused, with a completely new altar placed in front of it; or was it to be demolished? In effect, all three variations are to be found in schemes that sought (and have continued to seek) a 'final form'.

In the scheme at St George, Taunton (1970) by Shirley-Smith and Gibson (with advice from Bartlett and Purnell), the reredos was left in situ while the altar element was detached and brought forward. Levels were altered to accommodate it, and low twin ambos 'tooled to authentic Gothic moulding' were formed on each side of the chancel steps (even though one was immediately adjacent to the pulpit), and the altar rails removed. The tabernacle was raised to the Exposition throne in order to be above the head of the centrally seated celebrant. Ten years later this solution was still being used. At St Mary, Crook (1981) by Gerald Murphy Burles Newton and Partners, despite appeals from conservationists, the front part of Bentley's altar was detached. In both cases, new mensas had to be

made, with that at Crook being accused of not even having the wit to follow Bentley's original mouldings.⁶⁵

The detachment and re-use of the front part of an old altar could, however, be said to satisfy a principle of conservation, viz: the potential for reconstitution of the original. But in liturgical design terms, the practice almost invariably provides an altar that is unnecessarily long and narrow for current usage, and from a distance can create (intentionally or accidentally) the illusion of little or no change. Though the intention might be to minimise the effect of the shock, the fundamental rather than fashionable nature of that change eventually has to be coped with.

In other schemes then, change is acknowledged by demolishing the gradines and reredos, and continuity is emphasised by re-using the detached old altar. (Ironically though, the desire to continue using the altar of one's predecessors was hardly fulfilled, as most altars thus moved had to have new mensas!) At St Cuthbert, Bradford (1977) by J H Langtry-Langton the detached altar was brought forward, shortened and the stone used to make a plinth for the tabernacle still situated in the centre rear of the sanctuary. In an earlier scheme, at St Patrick, Bradford (1970), the reredos was retained and an entirely new altar and tabernacle plinth designed. At Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight (1966) Maguire and Murray re-erected the detached old altar further towards the rear of the sanctuary than had been the location for the preceding temporary altar. In that scheme, a curtain had been erected for closing off the tabernacle on the extant main altar during Mass. The same solution was used at St Joseph, Retford (1968) by G Goalen for a church that had been completed only nine years before by Sandy and Norris.

As with St Patrick's, Bradford, there were schemes which retained the reredos (with or without the tabernacle) but demolished the altar element and erected a new altar instead. At St Mary's College chapel, Oscott (1972) R Granelli removed Pugin's altar but retained the reredos, and designed new sanctuary furniture that was uncompromisingly simple. Square sectioned steel tube upheld seats, book-rest and mensa alike in one of the more satisfying schemes of this kind. Pl 79

A further variation to counterpoint continuity and change was, of course, to design a completely new scheme that incorporated the old altar intact. The scheme in the basilican church of Corpus Christi, Miles Platting, Manchester (1972) by Reynolds and Scott utilised a very generous sanctuary by placing a new and complementary altar and ambo well forward, leaving the old altar intact beneath its civory as the locus for the tabernacle. At the ex-Anglican garrison church of St George, Aldershot (1976) the scheme by Burles Newton and Partners similarly had a generous space. The solidly commanding new altar was positioned (together with a complementary ambo) without interfering with the original, which had the tabernacle placed centrally before it. The repositioning of the communion rails towards the rear of the sanctuary, then served to mark it off as the Blessed Sacrament chapel.

Designating an area to the rear of a sanctuary for reservation is a way of retaining the original altar intact. At St Ethelbert's, Slough⁶⁶ (1981) Seeley and Paget moved the chancel screen Eastward, behind the new altar, to make a chapel containing the old with its tabernacle. (They also brought the font onto the sanctuary where it was 'balanced' by the ambo that replaced the pulpit.) Naturally,

such measures have a higher degree of acceptability for conservationists, and even more so if things are left completely untouched. So the scheme for Pugin's church of St Alban, Macclesfield (1983) by R O'Mahony and Partners, which placed a whole new sanctuary level in front of the original chancel and its screen, was very much commended - but it could only have been carried out because it was possible to lose a number of seats from the front of the nave.

Pl 80

In an earlier scheme, at St Elizabeth's, Litherland (1968) also by O'Mahony, a new sanctuary was thrust out into the nave like a promontory, not because of the architectural merit of the chancel, but because of its shallowness. The new altar was sited at the end of the promontory, while the original was retained, with curtains, enabling it to be closed off, though the tabernacle was set as an aumbry in the chancel arch wall to one side. Near to it was the lightweight ambo, with the more substantial form of the font on the opposite side of the arch. As with other schemes the reordering took place at the same time as a thorough-going programme of maintenance, only this time especially so, as the roof loads had to be taken off the external walls by the insertion of a visible framework of steel bracing.

Retaining the original altar intact, however, raised certain theological difficulties in some quarters because it appeared as though there were two altars in the sanctuary. What the renewal emphasised was the communalty of worship, and the reinforcement of its practice through the use of one altar in each gathering place. Technically, in such instances, there were two altars, the original altar could not be deconsecrated. It could only cease to be an

altar when desecrated, which it was if violently modified. That its significance might be modified in some other way (e.g. by screening it; by reducing its illumination and heightening that of the new altar; by no longer dressing it and adorning it; by no longer using it - not even for Exposition) did not satisfy the legal mind. Nor did it satisfy the pastoral mind; it was felt that so long as the original altar remained, there would be confusion and a potential focus for the continuation of old significances and practices. That its discontinued use as an altar would cause it to recede in importance was given little credence. But surely, it was argued, as time passed and the precedence of the new altar became established and commonplace, the old altar would be seen simply as décor, as a visual backdrop to the sanctuary; besides, its removal would invariably mean the leaving of a void at the rear of the sanctuary. But the possibility that the loss of a pinnacled reredos might allow the East window to be better seen was no liturgical reason for the removal! So would its being left effectively run counter to liturgical renewal? It is hard to think that so long as a new altar with a design and location fully informed by the liturgical renewal was in regular use in a church, the retention of an original altar would run counter to the renewal. However, if the design of the original altar was of no real aesthetic or antiquarian value, then there could be grounds for seeking its removal. With many Catholic churches having a history that goes back to no earlier than the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there has been a widespread belief that their altars and reredoses are of little value. So it is not surprising that there have been quite a number of schemes since Vatican II, which have completely gutted sanctuaries and even whole interiors. But it remains one of the remarkable paradoxes of the post-Conciliar era, that bitter battles have been fought to retain

old altars that have little significance other than nostalgic, while others with aesthetic and historic significance have been altered and demolished with little or no objection.

A certain vacuity caused by merely taking away from a sanctuary and not adequately compensating for the loss with a confidently conceived new scheme is evident in the reordering of Our Lady of Victories, Kensington by Archard and Partners. Much more needed to be done with an alteration to the sanctuary levels in order to provide a more generous space around the altar. Conversely, at St Agnes, Cricklewood (1976) by Campling and Iliffe, the levels were altered to provide extra space but the strength of T H B Scott's original scheme with its monumental civory was completely fragmented - literally. Whereas at St Lawrence, Feltham (1972) which was also a T H B Scott church of the 1930s, Broadbent, Hastings, Reid and Todd achieved a firmly conceived scheme after emptying the sanctuary and side chapels. In a sense, it is not unlike a similarly radical scheme at St Joseph, Salford (1968) by Burles Newton and Partners, with its confident location of key elements. In both these schemes the tabernacle is set on a plinth clearly within its own space in an open side chapel. At St Patrick's, Leeds (1970) by Weightman and Bullen, the tabernacle with its enamelled design of the Meal at Emmaus, is set on a side altar adjacent to the sanctuary. And in the sanctuary there is a significantly simple white marble altar set against the predominantly blue and gold mural on the rear wall of the chancel. An excellent example of how artistic embellishment can off-set austerity of form.

At St Theresa, Abergele (1971) Bowen Dann Davies ably demonstrated just how effective a simple but carefully conceived scheme of repainting can enhance a reordering and give new life to pre-existing elements of a design. The painting of NISI EFFICIAMINI SICUT PARVULI NON INTRABITIS IN REGNUM CAELORUM⁶⁷ on the wall behind a plain repository image of St Theresa, was especially noteworthy in making an ordinary and relatively inexpensive item more poignant.

Incorporating new artworks in reordering schemes requires a special sensitivity both in relation to the new work and to the 'internal, inbuilt commands' of pre-existing work. The scheme for reordering St Mary, Lowe House (1970) by R O'Mahony and Partners included three large fibreglass screens, each with a motif of the Trinity on it. One screen had a panel that could be opened to reveal the tabernacle when Mass was not being celebrated, and the apsidal space behind the screens formed both a Blessed Sacrament chapel and a weekday chapel. But on the whim of the incumbent at the time, the screens were removed in 1979 and the old sanctuary opened up with the Blessed Sacrament more prominently displayed surrounded by a 'wrought-iron' screen. While Kindersley's screens gave cause for some concern because of a certain over-scale in their design, the travesty which replaced them is a sad reflection of the well-intentioned but badly mis-informed action that can be taken. O'Mahony's scheme for Lowe House was widely admired, because it accomplished not only a reordering of the sanctuary and of the place of baptism (on the central axis within the nave), but also of the congregational seating which was set out in radial form centred on the sanctuary. It was a bold reordering of the whole interior, not just one part of it.

Setting seating out in a radial or other 'gathered' arrangement is not always easy in an axially planned building. But by providing good visibility, audibility and circulation, and taking care over the ergonomics of worship practices, it is possible to engender a sense of congregational participation. However, it is important to clearly articulate what it is that a congregation is participating in. Though a thorough-going reordering, inspired and informed by the liturgical renewal, should ideally embody a complex new set of dynamics affecting the whole worship area, it is the significance of the dynamics within the sanctuary space which effects congregational participation the most. So much so, that it could be taken as axiomatic that the greater the clarity of concept and integrity of its design realisation, the greater the participation through perception. With reorderings, such clarity and integrity can prove particularly difficult where too many compromises have to be made.

As has already been suggested, the sanctuary reordering of

St John's cathedral, Portsmouth by Williams and Winkley was one of the more outstanding examples of clarity of concept - but only after many potentially compromising elements had been removed. In almost all their reordering schemes the irony has been that the designs have been so liturgically informed that their success has tended to eclipse any misgivings about what has been lost. At

Pl 86
Fig 18

St Bonaventure, Bristol (1974), St Augustine, Barkingside (1983) and All Saints, Kenton (1983), the articulation of the sanctuary levels, the critical location of key liturgical 'nodes', and the general designing of these tout ensemble, add up to a convincing image of post-Conciliar Catholic worship. The final effects are more assertive than those of Richard O'Mahony's schemes, but they

Fig 21

are neither aggressively nor monumentally so. Both O'Mahony and Winkley have been deeply affected by that desire for discretion, hospitality and celebration emanating from Debuyst: an aspiration especially evident in Winkley's reordering of the seminary chapel at Campion House, Osterly (1973) and of the nun's chapel at St Dominic's Priory, Carisbrooke of the same year. The simplicity, intimacy and care to be sensed in both places is a discreet welcoming and celebration of what takes place there.

Over in Ireland, a similar simplicity is to be found in the reordering of the chapel of St Patrick's College, Carlow (1980) by Tyndall Hogan and Hurley. The strong and precise forms of the new floor and furnishings are off-set by the mellower timber of the ceiling and stalls. The College now houses the Irish Liturgy Institute; and its chapel in an adapted room is reminiscent of Romano Guardini's arrangement carried out by Rudolf Schwarz in the great Saal of Schloss Rothenfels in 1929. At Carlow though, Hurley has designed the altar as a large wooden table set longitudinally and on the same level as the simple seating, with a matching lectern placed at one end. Here, as in his other smaller schemes, is that restrained informality with which he has come to be most closely associated. In his larger and earlier schemes (e.g. St Patrick's cathedral, Armagh (1971 project), St Saviour, Dublin (1972) that informality is less discernible because of a grander gesture required by the scale and status of the buildings.

The altar, ambo, font and chair at St Mary, Granard (1972) by Tyndall, Hogan and Hurley were designed and made by Ray Carroll. As has already been made evident from the Killarney cathedral scheme, Carroll has been a most persuasively influential associate in schemes

of reordering. This has been possible because in the development of post-war churchbuilding in Ireland, the practice of using artists to design sanctuary schemes in association with architects has been greatly encouraged. It can, undoubtedly, be seen as part of that wider acceptance of artists, designers and craftsmen as articulators and shapers of a new cultural consciousness in the Free State. In mainland Britain, the practice of having an artist as associate rather than as sub-contractor, would be viewed with suspicion by many architects. But setting such professional qualms to one side, the notion that an artist should have the particular responsibility for designing the sanctuary does seem as though the 'jewel-in-the-casket' concept promoted by Croegaert is still operative in Ireland. So it does seem consistent that as it is the jewel and its immediate setting which is being modified, an artist should be primarily responsible for the scheme.

Carroll's involvement in the extensive schemes at Killarney and Longford cathedrals has already been mentioned, and his involvement in other schemes (especially new ones) has yet to be discussed. Here perhaps it is sufficient to refer to just three schemes, in unpromising situations, for which he was solely responsible.

In 1973, in the coalmining township of Arigna, Co Roscommon the sanctuary of the unpretentious parish church was completely reordered. Whatever was there originally was removed from the shallow space, and a new stone and wood ensemble of altar, ambo and chair replaced it. The forms were strong, quiet and orderly, with the asymmetry of their arrangement further off-set by a decorated enamel aumbry. At St Brigid, Kiltegan (c1974) an asymmetrical scheme seemed to be the only solution that would open up the

sanctuary in the 'tunnel-like' interior of a converted barn that acted as a missionary society's chapel. Carroll conceded that the problem was 'an exceedingly daunting one'. His solution provided a more proportionate sub-division of the interior as a whole, and of the sanctuary in particular. Even within such a confined and axial space, each prime element in the sanctuary stood clearly in its own space, making each the appropriate focus of stages in the liturgical sequence, and of subsequent devotion. In relation to problems arising from adequately accommodating the devotional focus in the third scheme, Carroll commented that if monetary or other considerations prevented the ideal of having a separate Sacrament chapel, then 'the tabernacle's location should be such that its powerful presence does not dominate the action of the liturgy'.⁶⁸ At Kiltegan, he regarded the tabernacle as being 'retired, yet very evident and a little mysterious'.⁶⁹

That third potentially unpromising location was St Michael's chapel in St Flannan's College, Ennis (1977). In a rather large building with a planed-down post-war styling by J Thompson and Partners, Carroll saw his task as being 'to give new dimensions, liturgical and physical, to the old building, while preserving its good values and eradicating its less desirable ones'. At first sight, the task seemed to be more difficult than that of adapting St Brigid's chapel at Kiltegan. But he succeeded in modifying the hard rectangularity of the interior by emphasising the 'gathered' plan. The horizontal was stressed by lateral spread that required the knocking down of the sacristy wall, and by enclosing the whole scheme within a curving screen whose plan and profile provided a 'rhythmic cadence' and a scale that related human proportion simultaneously to the old building and the new space. The sanctuary itself was circular, with

a circular wooden altar. Ambo and chair were placed to each side of an arc to the rear, and the tabernacle was recessed centrally in a fold and break in the screen beneath the East window. At the front, the seating was set in a wide arc that merged with the ranks of original nave seating, reduced in number and raised on a raked floor. Only part of the original nave was used; in the rear part of the nave there was a completely free-standing 'chapel of reconciliation' or confessional that allowed the sacrament to be administered in more open form.⁷⁰ It is a remarkable scheme in which the 'internal, inbuilt commands' of the building have been far less heeded than at Killarney cathedral.

At Ennis, Carroll firmly believed that he was pursuing not so much an ideal as an imperative, in which neither the 'back-to-the-mediaeval romanticism of Pugin', nor the excesses that followed Trent, had a place. 'Intimate participation by everyone in the prayer action of the Mass' was the imperative he felt should be evident in the optimum number attending and in the design of the space surrounding the altar. In that space there should be a strong sense of quiet and order, and of serene and joyful celebration. 'After all', he maintained, 'we are celebrating, commemorating and re-enacting The Action which opened to us the splendour of the Kingdom of God'.⁷¹

Commitment to the post-Conciliar liturgical renewal seems to have been particularly poignant in schemes of reordering. It has been as if within the decaying fruit of the old, post-Tridentine, Church the seed of a new Church has been germinating. Not every scheme has been fully redolent of a new life ahead; many have been a half-hearted effort, as if half-expecting a return to the former regime.

Others have been enthusiastic, but thoroughly uninformed - demonstrating not only a lack of liturgical knowledge but also of a sensibility towards the patrimony of the Church and of its pastoral value.

Reordering schemes inherently have inhibiting factors. These 'internal, inbuilt commands' of an existing structure need to be taken seriously if architectural sense is to be made of a reordering. But just what is to be expected of an existing worship space must, in part, be determined by an experience of entirely new worship spaces designed without the particular constraints of an already present structure.

New Churches of the 1960s

As the implications of a consolidation of the post-Conciliar liturgical renewal became more evident, so their effect upon Catholic churchbuilding became more pronounced. Though by the mid-sixties, developments indicated that the 'battle for the single volume worship space had been won', it was evident that the single space could assume several forms and was itself susceptible to change. After Vatican II, fundamental changes in the dynamics of Catholic worship made corresponding architectural changes inevitable. None of these was more important than the possibility for the whole of Mass to be celebrated facing the people. The consequential architectural effect was to make the altar completely free-standing and even more clearly the prime focus and principal determinant of the gathered plan by locating it nearer to the midst of the congregational assembly.

In the late fifties and early sixties (even before Vatican II - as has already been noted) there were developments in the plan and construction of churches in order to gather the congregation closer to the altar. Instead of being an apsidal extension, the sanctuary became more of an inward projection, with the congregation gathered around it in variously designed configurations. The altar, though, was still oriented eastwards. But by the mid-sixties and the introduction of the further and more extensive changes fostered by the Council, these developments had produced a repertoire of plans and structures that were readily adaptable to their new requirements. Among these there was the criterion of 'noble simplicity' which the Council sought to promote as an ideal of liturgical design, and which became embodied in several schemes in the British Isles as a search for a certain monumental clarity of form.

Throughout the sixties in Scotland (particularly in and around Glasgow) a celebrated series of churches were designed with a manifestly monumental and 'high principled' clarity by Gillespie, Kidd and Coia. Some early indication of Coia's monumental tendency has already been referred to in the pre-war church of St Anne's, Glasgow; it is in the later churches of St Bride, East Kilbride (1963) and St Patrick, Kilsyth (1965) that the tendency is most developed as a distinctive rationale. At East Kilbride the church stands citadel-like⁷² on rising ground, with high, windowless walls of load-bearing brick concealing the main entrance in an inward fold mid-way along one side. Inside the cavernous rectangular interior, the bare brick, concrete, granite and wood, of walls, subsidiary structures, flooring and furnishings, have a resoluteness that is commanding.

Pl 83/84
Pl 85/86
Fig 22

At Kilsyth, a sloping site is also used to dramatic effect. The building has two access levels; the upper level is almost entirely occupied by the main worship space which is large, cubic, sparse and raked by modulated daylight. A relatively high proportion of this space is allocated to the low-set single-level sanctuary with its massive Portland stone main altar and adjacent side altar. Breaking into the upper level from the lower site level, along most of one side of the interior, is a subsidiary structure housing a suite of auxiliary spaces, including chapel, meeting room, sacristies, stairs and lower entrance. A second, but externally protruding and vertical, structure contains the baptistry on an upper level that opens on to the rear of the main worship space. Overall are deep lattice trusses supporting a copper-covered roof with inward-sloping fascias that give it the appearance of sailing over the building in fine Corbusian style.

Corbusian influence is also evident at East Kilbride, and in the abandoned seminary at Cardross (1966) as it takes certain cues from the French Dominican monastery at La Tourette (1960). The system used by Coia in its main building especially, attracted at least one forcefully poignant criticism; its 'division and interpenetration' were regarded as being 'more of the baroque than of conventional modern design'.⁷³ In other words; not only was Coia's design rationale being considered too monumental, but it was also being associated with the post-Tridentine aesthetic of baroque. For those for whom any allusion to characteristics of that aesthetic were anathema, there was probably little irony in the closure of the seminary just fourteen years after opening, in 1980.⁷⁴

But in the mid-sixties, the thinking was that large concentrations of Catholic populations required large churches. Developments in a more assured handling of the bold and simple forms afforded by modern construction techniques, inevitably gave such buildings a monumental air. Few exhibited the baroque tendencies of Coia's interiors, but they did exhibit similar tendencies towards a dominant compacted mass for their exterior form, indicative of the unifying single-volume worship-space within. The large cubic form of St Anselm, Southall (1968) by Burles Newton and Partners is a fine example, but it is, perhaps, the circular - or near-circular - churches of this period which provide the greatest sense of monumental compactness as an interpretation of 'noble simplicity'; churches such as Our Lady and the English Martyrs, Burnham-on-Sea (1967) by P J W Ware, St Michael, Wolverhampton (1968) by D Williams and Associates, and St Teresa (Marychurch), Hatfield (1970) by G A J Mathers. This latter is also an example of serious delay in the realisation of a project caused by tardy implementation of a local authority redevelopment scheme; the original design was projected in 1963.

In 1964, perhaps the best known of these circular churches was built.

The Benedictine priory church of St Mary, Leyland by Weightman and Bullen was thought of as having both an artistic élan, and an architectural seriousness that was reminiscent of the monumental Castel San Angelo, Rome.⁷⁵ But the flamboyance of many of its external component forms deny the building any comparable sense of sobre compactness. Internally, though, despite a profusion of additive art and finishes, there are strong unifying factors inherent in the design. With a plan strikingly similar to Gibberd's

Pl 87

Fig 23

Pl 88/89
Fig 24

for Liverpool cathedral, the orientation of the diametrically opposed projecting forms of the Blessed Sacrament chapel and the entrance pavilion (which here contains the baptistry), to the main altar, establish a strong axial relationship, but one that is greatly modified by the vortical pull of the dished floor of the main area towards the altar, and by the encircling ambulatory with its pronounced Y-shaped concrete piers and dalle-de-verre glass.⁷⁶ Altogether, 'node, path and domain' are powerfully combined (if not somewhat flamboyantly expressed) in the basically simple plan of a bisected circle.

Another celebrated circular plan is that of the parish church of St Aengus, Burt, Co Donegal (1967) by L McCormick and Partners. P1 90/91

Standing in the countryside of the Ui Neill, Kings of Ulster, the circular stone form was inspired by their ancient royal seat of Grianan Ailigh (the Sun Palace of Aileach), a pre-twelfth century ring fort, higher up the hill. Its low walls appear massive and defensive, but not aggressive. There is a gentle curvature to their battered profile, and to the copper-covered asymmetrical roof which rises in a sweep to a pointed lantern set above the altar beneath. Here, the main axis extends well outside the church enclosure forming the principal path of approach, and bisecting at one point a circular area that seems to anticipate the church proper but which serves as the locus of the Easter vigil fire. In the church itself, the encircling wall seems less massive and more simply protective as it stands outside the ring of slender columns supporting the roof. Thrust forward from between two of these columns is a correspondingly less massively scaled sanctuary, surrounded by continuous rows of curving bench seating. While the attempt to make the interior scale seem more 'people oriented' can be fully appreciated, there is,

nevertheless, a certain disappointment that something of the more environmentally oriented and monumental exterior is not expressed inside. If the sanctuary design had been stronger, and the main floor area less tightly filled with fixed seating, a more commanding and calming collectiveness might have been achieved.

In England, standing in the countryside of ancient long-barrows and burial-mounds, overlooking the sloping Sussex downs, is the abbey church of Our Lady Help of Christians, Worth (1975) by F Pollen, with its shallow conoidal dome hovering just above its rectangular base, but giving a strongly circular emphasis to the interior. And adding further emphasis is the altar, thrust forward from a broad sanctuary to a central point beneath the dome's lantern, with the seating ranged around it in D-form on a gently sloping floor.

While at Burt the site stands gloriously free in the fields of Donegal, at Worth the site was more restricted by an adjacent complex of buildings, but for the new church of St Aloysius, Somerstown, London P1 92/93 (1968) by Burles, Newton and Partners, the site was most awkwardly shaped and confined, with only one side free from encroachments, making any planning approval requirements especially stringent. In order to provide a bold and simple solution the bold and simple form of an elliptical drum was placed on an irregular-sided podium. Along the site's one straight boundary, the podium presented a long, low-scaled, unifying elevation, with the elliptical drum of the main worship area standing commandingly above it. Representing the main level, the podium was raised above the general site level, with ancillary spaces beneath it, and extended back to the protrusions of the irregular perimeter that provided a number of secondary spaces (narthex and baptistry, chapels and parts of the

ambulatory). Within the main space, and on the short axis of its ellipse, was placed the altar with the Blessed Sacrament reserved close-by in a finely decorated recess.⁷⁷ Overall, the building typifies responses made in the sixties to the stringent requirements of developing a cramped site in the metropolis. Other examples would undoubtedly include the elliptical churches by G Goalen of St Gregory, Ruislip (1967), and St Thomas More, Swiss Cottage (1969) which was somehow squeezed into a sloping garden site between houses, while retaining part of the original church as parish rooms.

Fig 26

At St Gabriel, Upper Holloway (1968) Goalen was faced with a cramped corner site on one of the busiest routes out of London. His solution of high, window-less walls to act as a bastion against noise, wrap around the plan, which, in this case, is rectangular though round-cornered. Protecting its entrance are twin pavilions of glass, the one containing the baptistry (though no longer used). Inside, the coffered flat-deck roof is a semi-independent structure separated from the top of the walls by a continuous reversed clerestory, and supported on eighteen slender, reinforced-concrete, columns around its edge. On three sides, the space between the columns and the wall forms an ambulatory surrounding the sloping congregational area with its radial banks of bench-seating. On the fourth side and on the building's short axis is a structural extension of the clerestory, containing the sanctuary, with an adjacent secondary structure housing a glazed chamber and having a choir gallery on top. The arrangement of the sanctuary itself is simple to the point of austerity, which, at the time of its completion, was regarded as lucidly exposing the problem of finding a satisfactory architectural solution to the new liturgical relationship of altar, ambo and presidential chair, vis a vis tabernacle, and congregation.

Pl 94/95

The problem that was defined in the sanctuary of St Gabriel's, was not one of relating the altar alone more closely to the congregation, but of relating all three principal liturgical focii to the congregation - and to each other - while simultaneously retaining a relationship with the traditional locus of the tabernacle (on the central axis of the altar, and at the rear of the sanctuary). It was a problem indicative of a further phase of transitional development in the sixties, but it has remained a problem in many instances, suggesting that the pioneer work of Goalen and others has been little heeded.

One of the more interesting solutions to designing a new relationship of altar and tabernacle can be seen at St Michael, Woodchurch (1965) P1 96/97 by R O'Mahony and Partners (formerly the F X Velarde Partnership). A lateral chapel was placed behind the sanctuary with the tabernacle sited at one end where it would normally be visible, but during Mass would be screened off by a sliding door. The solution provided not only a small chapel for weekday use, but also a sanctuary not dominated by the compromising effect of a tabernacle. Unfortunately, the design gave little prominence to the ambo so that the stone altar standing freely in the large sanctuary appeared to its detractors as an 'isolated monument' and a 'piece of architecture', of much greater importance than the congregation set back from it on three sides of the building's T-plan. And the baptistry did not even act as counter-point on the main axis; it was relegated to a rear corner of the main worship space - in the old manner. But a great deal of attention was paid to a clear resolution of the building's architectural form - as might be expected from those following in the footsteps of Velarde. In the control of materials used, in their natural finish, in the careful modulation of light,

there was a simplicity; and in the clear-cut geometry of its triangulated concrete and aluminium-clad exterior, there was a nobility. But for some they served only to represent a form of monumentalism unsuited to post-Conciliar needs.

While simple architectural form, boldly executed, can be misinterpreted as an inappropriate attempt to be impressive, more complex structural form, expressively executed, cannot be. So where more expressionist form has been used in church design, the criterion of 'noble simplicity' has been aschewed in favour of a latter-day grandiloquence. Such an unequivocal intention to be impressive and draw attention to the actual locus of Catholic worship in an area, lay behind the two Birmingham churches of Our Lady Help of Christians, P1 16/17 Tile Cross (1967) and St Thomas More, Sheldon (1969). Both buildings were originally to be designed by A G Scott, and he did produce a design for a 'massive pile' at Sheldon, similar to that for his church at Poplar in the East End of London.⁷⁸ But with his death, and the impact of Vatican II, two new designs were produced by R G Scott (his nephew) and R Brandt. At Sheldon the plan was a depressed pentagon, with the structure comprising massive reinforced concrete roof beams rising from four of the angles and converging on a similarly massive, but vertical, reinforced concrete pylon that formed the rear of the sanctuary in the fifth angle and extended upwards beyond the roofline as a spire. Both externally and internally, the design exploited the use of structural and non-structural members separated by glass, which gave the building an emphatically ribbed and faceted effect. At Tile Cross, while glazed facetting was integral to the perimeter wall, it was the three folded concrete roofs over each arm of the T-plan which provided the most extrovert aspect of the building, as they swept inwards and

upwards to meet over the sanctuary - despite ten feet of the planned height being lost to a cost-saving exercise.

While both these churches are relatively successful as forms of architectural expressionism, they are less so as structures primarily determined by liturgical priorities and dynamics. In each case, their form is principally determined by visual effect and structural show. Though the intention is to erect an enduring acclamation of the mysteries celebrated within, the priority given to the expressive potential of the building's structure and shell, is done so at the expense of adequately providing for the signifying dynamics of liturgical celebration. While it would be wrong to suggest that it is actually axiomatic that the greater the degree of structural expressiveness, the lesser the degree of liturgical significance, it is often the case. Just to demonstrate otherwise, though, the very form of the helical structure of another Birmingham church, St Dunstan, King's Heath (1969) by D Williams and Associates placed the main altar, subsidiary altar and font in a novel and significant relationship.

In the late sixties, when it was still possible to receive a commission requesting a building with environmental impact, there was an inevitable temptation to be large and impressive. The large and would-be impressive church of St Peter in Chains, Doncaster (1973) by J H Langtry-Langton was sited in a new city centre complex to replace the demolished original building of 1867 by M E Hadfield. The resulting octagonal design was ponderous and pretentious, with seating for nine hundred more in keeping with the requirements of a cathedral than a parish church. Yet despite its size, the off-centre sanctuary space is inadequate in area and levels, and diminished

further by an over-scaled sculptural backdrop. Similar over-statement in structural form and modes of embellishment is evident in many other examples of Langtry-Langton's designs. At St Joseph, Leeds (1971) there is a profusion of 'architect-designed' artworks and a mass of 'architect-designed' furnishings that seem to allow little interim space for focus and movement. In such cases, the faults seem to be largely attributable to a practice's belief in its string of past commissions being critically unassailable. In other cases, they can be attributable to a client's over-zealous but ill-informed personal predilections. St Mary, Levenshulme, Manchester (1975) by Greenhalgh and Williams was designed in the client's firm belief that it was a distillation of the best in recent church design in the West of Ireland.⁷⁹ In effect, the building is a travesty of any such intention.

A preference for grandiloquence and eclecticism, rather than sound design principles, was surely indicative of a fundamental lack of formation in the liturgical renewal. Such formation was taking place among a minority of Catholic architects in England and Wales; some of these were even involved in enunciating a set of working principles published by the Bishops' Conference in 1968.⁸⁰

However, the active implementation of a process of informing developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the liturgical renewal, seemed to be part of too few diocesan building strategies. Yet despite this lack, the notion that a modernity in church architecture fostered a modernity in church worship, was in circulation. By the late sixties it was obviously being increasingly thought that to build in any way traditionally was rather déjà vu. For the future, a church was not to look like a church had 'always' looked. But just what a church should look like, became a consequent preoccupation.

Producing a 'non-church' image that nevertheless had environmental impact, appealed to a certain design conceit and resulted in a diversity of novel plan-forms and structural profiles almost as great as the number of churches built. Inevitably it led to over-zealous beliefs that here had been achieved the hapax legomenon of the new church, while in many instances what had actually been achieved only too self-evidently qualified as examples of Ian Nairn's 'crashing bathos'. St Gregory, Stoke-on-Trent (1971) by Wood, Goldstraw and Yorath, is a case in point, with its exterior reminiscent in part of a minor civic building of the fifties, and an interior that crowns the constricted and sawn-off inadequacies of its sanctuary with a heavily stylised 'architect-designed' polished aluminium crucifix.

At the church of the Blessed Sacrament, Gorseinon (1967) by R Robinson, an illuminated steel and fibreglass cross construction surmounts the folded circular roof and lantern. Cruciform apertures pattern its walls. The whole feel is of a festive fifties pavilion rather than of a church. Internally though, there is a severe linearity and a sense of austere prefabrication, of which even the sanctuary furnishings are part. Comparison has only to be made with the similarly circular churches with folded roofs by Weightman and Bullen at Lowton and Leyland, to see how a certain lightness of structure at Gorseinon has a debilitating effect upon any desire for cohesiveness. The sparse, hard-edged linearity serves only to itemise everything separately and make the final design cumulative rather than integral.

The lighter construction of church buildings for economic reasons undoubtedly fostered greater exploration of the expressive design

potential of modular and prefabricated structures. The slab and rib structure with tall glazed interstices was used to great effect in a number of buildings. At St Peter, Crownhill, Plymouth (1969) by Evans, Powell and Powell, the circular structure had a reinforced concrete ring beam supported by slabs of load-bearing concrete block alternately braced by vertical concrete vanes. But the tightly ribbed exterior is not sustained inside. There is, yet again, the debilitating effect of too much linearity and itemisation, and of a sanctuary that inadequately gives form to its function as the hub of the building's liturgical dynamics. A measure of that inadequacy can be gauged by comparison with the sanctuary in the church of St Peter and St Paul, Lichfield (1967) by Gwilliam and Armstrong. Its firmly defined space corresponds well with the building's strong structural forms, while clearly expressing its function as the hub of liturgical action. The sanctuary is located in the centre of a T-plan under a laterally-set mono-pitch roof structure with the main congregational area defined fanwise in a stepped series of brick slabs.

The use of brick slabs and ribs could well be referred back to buildings designed by Louis Kahn in the USA in the early sixties, in particular, design for the First Unitarian Church, Rochester, New York (1964). Jencks claims that more than any other of Kahn's designs this church embodies a structural integration with light and space that implies a continuity between the prosaic and religious demand.⁸¹

While certain features of Kahn's designs might suggest themselves in some British church buildings of the sixties, their use should not be taken as being entirely superficial. That continuity which Kahn

sought, was also a continuity sought by all architects seriously concerned with modern church architecture. It is evident at Corpus Christi, Wokingham (1971) by Barton, Willmore and Partners, at St Peter and the English Martyrs, Lower Gornal (1968) by H J Harper and B Radford, at St Michael's College Chapel, Kirby Lonsdale (1965) by Building Design Partnership, and at St Augustine, Manchester (1968) by D Williams, among others. The commanding austerity of the chapel interior at Kirby Lonsdale, with its spaciousness and lack of impinging artworks, was softened at St Augustine by Robert Brumby's large scale ceramic wall sculpture at the back of the sanctuary. And a similar softening was evident in several ways at the church of the Holy Family, Pontefract (1966) P1 100/101 by D Walker, which also had a sanctuary wall sculpture by Brumby. In the church's informed liturgical layout, generosity and interpenetration of space, sparingly used keynote embellishments, and overall massing and scale, that continuity between prosaic and religious demand is admirably implied. The building is designed as a functional anatomy for worship, not as a rhetorical statement or a vague derivative of something that looks ecclesiastical. 'The task of the architect', Walker believed, 'is not to design a building that looks like a preconceived image of a church but to create a building that works as a place for the liturgy'.⁸²

That concern for a church as a place that works for the liturgy, was very much a concern for what people did, and with the optimum requirements for them doing what they did. Studies were carried out in the ergonomics of worship.⁸⁸ The intention was to develop a systematic analysis of current worship practices in order to develop a correspondingly systematic design synthesis of new worship practices from which the architecture of a more pastoral liturgical

renewal would grow. Simplicity on a small scale emerged as a principal design criterion. That simplicity of form, which on a large scale tended to be monumental, on a small scale appeared to be more functional. The smaller scale seemed to correspond more readily with human dimensions and needs. So it seemed to be more immediate and supportive, and therefore more 'functional'. 'Only in so far as it controls the environment and complements the activities is the building itself important', was a belief of the architect Richard O'Mahony at the time, and admirably sums up the new thinking.

The church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Donnington (1967) by R O'Mahony and Partners which very much embodied the new simplicity, was described as a 'simple framework (holding) function and a sense of place to a spatial limit with a minimum of self-assertion'.⁸⁵

Pl 102/103
Fig 27

It was a box built with brick and block infill to a reinforced concrete frame. Like St Christophorus, Cologne-Niehl (1960) by R Schwarz, it was a 'working' building showing intimate signs of a design understanding of the work to be done there. Any notion that it was merely a shelter utility, is unfounded when the structural and liturgical nuances are discerned. Its form is without pretension; there was no self-conscious attempt to be popularly modern, as at Gorseinon. It possesses a sense of volume without extravagance and a logic in the matrix of its structural frame. Though by comparison with O'Mahony's preceding project at Woodchurch, the church at Donnington is smaller in size and cost: accommodation was for 300 instead of 650, at a completion cost of £33,000 instead of £75,000. Yet in the subtle asymmetrical articulation of its regular-sided structure, there is a sensitive stimulation of that continuity between the religious and the prosaic. The asymmetry of

the sanctuary levels and layout, and of the total liturgical scheme, raises the building above the ordinary. And no criticism of the altar being distant and in 'monumental isolation' could be levelled here - though criticism could be made of the subsequent monumental intrusion of a pipe-organ from some redundant church in the area.

Monumentalism was the criticism that many churches which sought to be noble and simple in the new architecture of post-Conciliar churchbuilding, fell foul of. It would seem that they did so primarily because they were built to serve accommodation requirements of a pre-war scale. Other buildings sought less simple forms, preferring instead a more structurally expressive image as a confident acclamation of the contemporaneity of the post-Conciliar church. But by the end of the sixties, a trend was emerging towards a more discreet and domestic-scaled design characteristic; and towards an architecture that sought not only a continuity between religious and prosaic forms, but also between sacred and secular functions. It was a trend that developed later in Ireland, where a primarily liturgically informed church architecture continued to develop and flower throughout the seventies, producing some of the finest examples of post-Conciliar churchbuilding in the British Isles.

New Churches in Ireland

Between Dublin, Derry, Kerry, Cork and Carlow a remarkably high proportion of new Catholic churchbuilding demonstrates a successful attempt to consolidate the liturgical renewal in Ireland. Much of it bears comparison with the best examples from the European mainland.

The majority of Ireland's new churches are scattered about the rural communities and townships, north and south of the border.⁸⁶ They can appear surprising to the English eye, because it is conditioned to seeing such settings occupied by some mediaeval Anglican pile. But it is not only their newness which can be surprising; it is often also their size and architectural certainty. Having within a church a chapel that accommodates over a hundred people, described as 'intimate',⁸⁷ can seem somewhat monumentalist to a tainted view of large churchbuilding projects. Yet despite a certain decline in Mass attendance, and shift in population, throughout the sixties and seventies there has remained a requirement for relatively large churches catering for whole communities. The inadequate size of the original church has been a common explanation for a larger replacement in a developing rural community or township. But churches have also sprung up in places where none previously existed, sometimes in the middle of apparently nowhere.

Standing 'magnificently alien' in the middle of a Connemara bog is Our Lady of the Wayside, Letterfrack (1967) by L Mansfield. Its plan is square, with four fully A-frame gables, the one opposite the shallow sanctuary being completely glazed. The building's faceted geometry makes no concession to the old land-hugging huts of stone in the distance. But to the scattered community between Clifden and Leenaun it acts as co-ordinate to their many paths to worship.

In contrast, the sunken block-house exterior of the church at Cong, Co Mayo (1972) by Curley and Dowley is discreet to the point of being camouflaged. In a way that would be vehemently opposed in England, the building nestles against the ruins of a twelfth century Augustinian

abbey, and is sited opposite the shell of a nineteenth century church which it replaced. It stands, too, at the gate of Ashford Castle Hotel, the owner of which contributed to its building. The interior is low, with the remarkable features of a red carpet continuously covering not only the floor but also the seating, and a frame standing adjacent to the sanctuary containing glass by Harry Clarke saved from the old church.

More commonly these new churches are encountered at the roadside, like the hexagonal church at Cloone, Co Leitrim (1970) by Robinson, Keefe and Devane, with its free-standing steel bell-frame, and a greyness that matches local stonework and wall-rendering. It is a good example of an average design, having a sanctuary that is too shallow because it merely cuts across one of the angles. A much deeper sanctuary at St Fintan, Sutton (1973) also by Robinson, Keefe and Devane allows the sculpted ensemble of altar, ambo and tabernacle-support⁸⁸ to articulate the spatial dynamics of this central liturgical area more confidently. But then the church is larger (seating 750 rather than 410) costing £160,000. And its location is quite different; it is sited at the seaside on the popular Howth peninsular to the north-east of Dublin. The plan of the church proper is D-form, but it has a large enclosed circular atrium, with a garden and pool in its open centre, joined to the main entrance.

To have churches designed to accommodate more than 750 has not been unusual in the 1970s. The large circular church of St Joseph, Boyle, Co Roscommon (1980) by P Rooney, built at a cost of £800,000⁸⁹ accommodates 1,350; and the huge square church of St Mary, Strabane

(1971) by P Haughey, which stands in the middle of an extensive car-park like a massive, well-managed, religious supermarket, on the edge of the town, seats over 1,000. Inside, Haughey's favourite colours of orange, red and white predominate, while the bronze glass of the clerestory windows adds to the brassy finish of the furnishings. Yet even this feel of familiar warmth cannot quite off-set the dominance of the vast seating area as it slopes towards the disproportionately small sanctuary. Simply to accommodate a large congregation at Sunday Mass seems to be the sole clear function of the building. There are no communal spaces; even the doorways, though wide, are not deep. They curve into the brick wall that wraps around the lower part of the steel frame, like a podium, while the upper part is copper-clad with large, recessed, clerestory lights. This structural mode is repeated again at Dunmanagher church, Co Derry (1973), but with aluminium cladding over a rag-work stone lower half.

The churches at Boyle and Strabane, though large, have a low profile and a simple form. Having a more pronounced structural form seemed to be more characteristic of the 1960s, so it is not surprising to learn that the church at Abbeydorney, Co Kerry (1967) by D J Kennedy is a product of that era. It is a fairly conventional longitudinal layout of five bays, but with the pitch of each bay roof rising more steeply towards the sanctuary bay that is spanned by what is virtually a steeple. Internally, the pine cladding softens the facets of the rising ceiling, and off-sets the hard finishes of exposed reinforced concrete framework, brick-work and floor tiling. The severity extends to the shallow and laterally extended sanctuary, and to the secondary liturgical areas, but nowhere does the actual building structure forcefully intervene. This may be partly due to the fairly conventional layout.

Where a break is made with the conventions of layout, and an attempt is made to give structural expression to a detailed analysis of Catholic worship, the quest requires such an original synthesis of form that no analyst, no matter how conscientious and well-intentioned, can usually provide it. So it was at the church of the Holy Spirit, St Leonard, Co Wexford (1971) by W Cantwell, where it was claimed that the 'sculptural shape of the building grew naturally out of the basic planning decisions and its changing shapes, from different points of view, reflect the activities within'.⁹⁰ Reluctantly, this building produced by the architect who has been the most assiduous analyst of design implications arising from official Conciliar and post-Conciliar teachings on the liturgical renewal, has to be criticised for failing to be an integrated architectural expression of an integrated liturgical understanding. It is surprising that the design should have allowed the structural form to impinge so forcefully, especially above the sanctuary, where four structural members taper upwards to form a spire with one face serving as lantern, that provides dramatic lighting. Surprising because 'unusual structural forms' and 'dramatic lighting' were two of the characteristics of 'modern' church architecture that Cantwell considered obvious and superficial.⁹¹

By comparison, a more architecturally successful example of a very similar design can be seen in England, at the Anglican church of St Peter, Greenhill, Sheffield (1965) by Oxley and Bussey, with its walls described as arcs of varying radii; and more straightforwardly at the Catholic church of St John, Bolton (1967) by Mather and Nutter. Ironically, just six years after completion, Cantwell's design at St Leonard was changed; in the sanctuary, the altar was moved more

to the rear, and the tabernacle was placed on the back wall; in the Blessed Sacrament chapel, a shrine to Our Lady replaced the tabernacle.⁹³

In his listing of modern Catholic churches in Ireland, Cantwell has given the recognition of being the first church designed for Mass facing the people to the plain little church of St Columcille, Tully, Co Galway (1964) by D J Kennedy. The altar is placed in a full-width low-set sanctuary, with the tabernacle and font on its central axis, the font being located within the main body of the church, between the two entrance doors. Four years later at St Brendan, Tralee (1971) also by D J Kennedy, the sanctuary design has become more complex. Altar, ambo, tabernacle and font form an integrated ensemble gently articulating the levels of the sanctuary with the celebrant's seat at the apex. And the plan has become a square set diamond-wise, with the roof ridge following the main axis on which the sanctuary lies. The orthogonal lines of the roof edge recall the scissor-like main members of the Franciscan church at Athy, with its razzle-dazzle decor; but here the design is much more restrained with the prime liturgical and devotional foci alone providing artistic intensification.⁹⁴

The development in the few years between these two churches reflects well the pace of development in informed churchbuilding design in Ireland. But while they both have a claim to being inwardly significant, they have less of a claim to being outwardly so, in terms of their orientation to their locations. The church at Tully does not respond to its site overlooking Galway Bay (in a way that the low-cost church at Rossguill, Co Donegal of ten years earlier managed to do); and the church at Tralee stands in the middle of a surrounding



106

St Michael Creeslough, Co Donegal (1971), L McCormick & Ptnrs
Tabernacle by Helen Moloney (prior to removal)

tarmac car-park apron. For new churches that do have a distinct design rapport with their environment, while simultaneously being in the forefront of developments in consolidating the liturgical renewal, those by Liam McCormick have been thought to be the 'most beautiful in Ireland'.⁹⁵

As has already been noted with St Aengus, Burt, Co Donegal (1967) in its setting above Lough Swilly, McCormick attributes to his churches a natural monumentality derived from their landscape setting. Also overlooking Lough Swilly is the earlier church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Buncranagh (1964), with its curving forms softening the more consciously additive structure of St Peter, Milford (1961) also in Donegal. In all three designs it is interesting to note how the column supports are set back from the outer wall, and seem to lead progressively to a freeing of the internal space, in a way that makes the practice's earliest church at Ennistymon, Co Clare (1953) with its rectilinear reinforced concrete frame, seem 'little more than the old formalised approach dressed up in contemporary materials and forms'. At Ennistymon and Milford, the longitudinal axis is emphasised by the serried ranks of bench seating - a trait that was to be surprisingly reverted to in later designs at Garrison, Glenties, Fossa and Steelstown. Apparently though, McCormick was paying heed to what was regarded as being more generally acceptable to Irish piety; a sensitive touch which makes what happened at Creeslough not a little scandalous. P1 31/32

St Michael, Creeslough, Co Donegal (1971) overlooks Sheephaven Bay, with its roof contour responding to the line of hills beyond. The land-hugging profile, the rough-cast and stonework walls, the heavy P1 104/5/6
Fig 28

timbers and steel bell-frame give the building a rugged identity that is at once both traditional and modern. Yet despite its ruggedness there is a sense of spatial penetration that relates outside and inside. Through the glazed wall of the Lady chapel can be seen the gorse, rock, hills and sea beyond; while glazing simply forms a weather barrier in the inside/outside S-form of baptistry and pool. Both the baptistry and the Blessed Sacrament chapel are formed as concavities within the double skin of the walls that wrap around the sanctuary. Fanning from the circular sanctuary is the bench-seating. The whole has a curving Baroque feel of mass penetrated by light; unlike at Burt though, the roof is suppressed and reads as a flat tilted plane punctured by roof lights. Unfortunately, barely eight years after completion, the building lost most of its roof in a February storm. For protection, the tabernacle was moved nearer to the altar and has since remained there by 'popular request'; the image of Our Lady has been moved to the tabernacle's original location.⁹⁶ As at Cantwell's church at St Leonard, it is evident such shifting takes place not just because of certain pragmatic reasons, but because there is a willingness to pander to popular piety in the belief that there is greater pastoral benefit to be gained by doing so.

One of the greatest of the Irish pastoral liturgists, Canon J G McGarry, once commented that 'In our tradition, the tabernacle suggested the whole thing'.⁹⁷ He then went on to outline the four options for the post-Conciliar siting of the tabernacle, viz: on the altar; in a secondary chapel; in the sanctuary but not on the altar; and elsewhere in the church. The first and fourth, he believed, could be discounted. While it is possible to see the smaller, casket-sized tabernacles intended to be less of an

impediment (e.g. those by Werner Schurmann at St Teresa, Sion Mills (1964) by P Haughey, and at St Mary, Eglinton, Co Derry (1966) by White and Hegarty), it is extremely rare to see them actually standing on a forward-facing altar used for Mass. It is also extremely rare to see the tabernacle when not on the main altar sited elsewhere in a church other than on the sanctuary or in a chapel close to it, but there is such an example in another church by McCormick, at Glenties. At St Connell, Glenties, Co Donegal (1975) the tabernacle is located in the weekday chapel, which is at the opposite end of the church to the sanctuary. It is set on the central axis of the main altar with which it corresponds in an uninterrupted view. Between the chapel and the main space an entrance area acts as buffer, and extends outside across a shallow moat, which runs the length of the church, to the great steel gateway onto the road. Here the building, instead of figuring in the landscape (as at Burt), seems part of it since it is built against a wooded hillside. The battered wall of Creeslough is residually evident in the concrete abutments to the principal members of the steeply pitched split roof. The clerestory along its ridge being followed in the church below in a change in levels of the seating (vaguely recalling Coia's use of a side gallery e.g. at Our Lady of Good Counsel, Glasgow (1965)). The rough-cast walls, the stone-flagged floor, the timber-board ceiling, the rocks, pebbles, plants and water at the glazed edges, inside and out, create a natural environment ordered by the hand of man for the service of God. It is more regular and unambiguous than the 'indoor/outdoor' space created by Hurley at Newtown. Here the structure does not wrap around the liturgical nodes, nor does it exclude the natural world familiar to this rural community, instead 'it is almost as though the altar and its adjuncts were set up in a field'.⁹⁸

P1 107/108
Fig 29

At Our Lady Queen of Peace, Garrison, Co Fermanagh (1972) close to the troubled border, the church is set on a low spur. The whole wall at the back of the sanctuary is glazed, and looks out towards Lough Melvin and the Leitrim mountains. This uninterrupted natural orientation intentionally brings God's setting into man's shelter for his worship, and is immediately reminiscent of the celebrated university chapel at Otaniemi, Helsinki, Finland (1957) by K & H Siren, but without the honed-down austerity. The device is used again, at the church of Christ Prince of Peace, Fossa, Co Kerry (1977) which overlooks Lough Lerne and the hills of Macgillycuddy's Reeks, but on a smaller scale, because the wall is one side of an octagonal plan, rather than a section of one side of a square plan at Garrison. At Garrison the simplicity is aided by there being no subdivisions of the main worship space; the sacristies and ancillary spaces are on a lower level. But at Fossa sub-structures form extensions providing a Blessed Sacrament chapel, whose roof and fleche echo those of the main structure, and an entrance, the path to which opens out at one point, as a preliminary gathering place (as at Burt). At Garrison the structure is steel-framed; at Fossa it is timber with its battered walls covered with Welsh slate. As its name implies, and as an inscription at the entrance informs the visitor, the church was built by craftsmen from the four Provinces of Ireland and dedicated to Peace and the ideal of Reconciliation.

The church of Our Lady of Lourdes, Steelstown, Derry (1976) is set P1 109/110 on the edge of a new housing estate in one of the most troubled areas of Northern Ireland. Here the surrounding landscape offers less, but the steep-pitched roofs that come down almost to the ground, seem to make the building rise from it. Again the approach path and gateway are important markers - though the similarity of the gate

arch to a torii of a Japanese Shinto precinct might be lost to locals. At Glenties the church entrance is at the side, at Steelstown it is at the west end; at Glenties the weekday chapel is at the west end, at Steelstown it is at the side and looks on to the main space; different too is the location of the sacristies. But in both cases it is the sloping roof planes which exert such a powerful effect, heightened by their use for indirect lighting, of providing shelter, intimacy and volume. And in both cases it is women artists who have made and embellished the principal furnishings: at Glenties, Nell Pollen and Imogen Stuart; at Steelstown, Helen Moloney. At Steelstown the sanctuary furnishings are all clad in pine-boarding like the ceiling and walls, which is remarkable in itself; but what is even more remarkable, is that the altar has a credence table integral to it, and the font incorporates a pool or tank which, presumably, can be used for the immersion of infants and the infusion of adults, and into which water can pour from an ornamental faucet.

Memories of Penal times are not far away in Ireland, when scallions or open-air shelters protected the celebration of Mass on an outcrop of rock or a particular boulder. Near Steelstown there are at least two Mass-rocks which are still occasionally used. And on the other side of the river in Derry, a Mass-rock was moved to a position outside the church of Our Lady Star of the Sea, Faughanvale (1969) by White and Hegarty, when it was built. In 1977 the church was superficially damaged by a hostile explosive. St Anthony, Larne, Co Antrim was less fortunate: opened in 1974, it was 'maliciously burned' a year later.⁹⁹

The temporary church of St Michael, Dun Laoghaire (1966) by P McKenna replaced the earlier church accidentally gutted by fire. Though perhaps not quite so celebrated as the longer lasting 'temporary' church of the Holy Rosary, Limerick (1950) by Corr and McCormick, it nevertheless was designed with care for a congregation of 600. In 1973 McKenna's design for the permanent replacement church, with accommodation for 1,500 was completed. It incorporated the tower and spire of the old church, but otherwise was a completely new building of concrete frame and slab construction. Almost square on plan, its generous proportions are echoed in the size of the sanctuary which projects from one side, with the stone altar, ambo, chair and tabernacle pillar of monolithic character and proportion. And so was the font in its separate baptistry. But (as at Clifton cathedral) a massive pipe organ encroaches on the sanctuary. However the greater coherence of the layout seems to prevent the intruder from being too great a detraction. The scale of organ, sanctuary and interior reflects the fortunate siting of the church in a well-heeled suburb of Dublin that is also a seaside resort and a ferry-port. The cost of the project was £450,000.

By comparison, in a less fortunate area of Dublin the church of The Resurrection, Bayside (1972) by Nolan and Quinlan, designed to accommodate 900 is regarded as being the first to be built according to a 'low cost' brief required by the Archdiocese. Its cost was IR£70,154 which makes an interesting comparison with a similar stricture applied by the diocese of Derry in the building of the church at Steelstown, which was designed to accommodate 800 at a cost of £104,000 plus £12,000 for seating, sanctuary furnishings and artworks. As with the temporary church that was burnt down at Steelstown (which precipitated the building of the permanent church),

and those erected at Limerick, Dun Laoghaire and elsewhere, there was experience in designing to low cost budgets, but such projects were invariably seen as being only temporary. That is why the competition held by the Archdiocese of Dublin in 1976 for new designs for parish churches to be built at a cost of £110,000 plus £8,000 for artworks and furnishings, was such a radical innovation. It will be considered further on, alongside other 'low cost' projects in England and Wales.

Developments in Irish liturgical design seem to be less well known among architectural practices in England and Wales, than might be supposed. And the work of Irish architectural practices, in England and Wales, has also been rather limited. Of the relatively few examples, St Patrick, Newton-le-Willows (1958) was a pre-Conciliar building designed by the Dublin practice of Jones and Kelly. In 1966, the Northern Ireland practice of Corr and McCormick secured a Civic Trust Award commendation for the design of The Holy Family, Southampton (1962). Less significantly (because the practice does not appear to have built a church in Ireland) the church of The Holy Trinity, Baldock (1976) was designed by L R Bannon. Structurally, its simple box-form with articulated salient corners that provide sanctuary, chapel and entrance spaces exemplifies well the possibility of obtaining good design from practices that have not customarily had the Church as client. Conversely, the design for the church at Yate (1980) by I Day, O'Brien and Stephens, exhibits the influence of good design from an Irish source on a practice which has frequently designed for the Church (in the diocese of Clifton). Its structure is remarkably reminiscent of McCormick's church at Steelstown on the outskirts of Derry.

At Steelstown, the sanctuary scheme was designed by the architects, but, as has already been noted, it is quite usual for schemes to be designed wholly by artists, the most notable of whom is Ray Carroll. The sanctuary scheme of stone altar, ambo, chair, pillar and font at St Albert, Liverpool (1976) by J H Black, is one of only eight schemes that he has been commissioned to undertake in England and Wales, for new churches and reorderings.

In 1974 the chapel of the Presentation Convent, Birmingham was reordered by Tyndall, Hogan and Hurley. While Wilfrid Cantwell reordered the chapels of La Sainte Union College, Southampton in 1976, and of St Cuthberts College, Ushaw in 1982. At Ushaw, the 1882 altar of Dunn and Hansom's scheme was left intact but screened off. A new altar was erected on the nave floor, in plano, with A W N Pugin's great brass lectern at the West end facing down the church between the original stepped benches arranged in choir. Cantwell's detailed analysis of the liturgical dynamics possible in so constricted a space, which justified the scheme, demonstrates well the thoroughness of Irish liturgical design practice.

The liturgical design thinking and practice that matured in Ireland and in the 1970s, now faces a challenge that also evolved in the same decade, viz: the low-cost and community-centre church. It is a challenge which is also having to be met in the other two territories of the British Isles: in Scotland, and in England and Wales. As Wilfrid Cantwell has pointed out, such buildings will probably meet very real needs when their nature and function has been properly analysed, but the momentum which has been built up in liturgical design thinking has to continue and remain central to any such analysis.¹⁰⁰ In Ireland, it is to be seen whether the

thoroughness and momentum of developments in its liturgical architecture can be sustained through the requirements of reduced budgets and radical concepts of pastoral ministry. In England and Wales, the end of the decade after Vatican II was reached without the formation of any institutional focus for the liturgical renewal and its architecture. Those scattered early initiatives were followed with a rapid increase in churchbuilding in post-Conciliar vein, but the trend was largely uncritical and uncoordinated in any national or territorial sense. Unlike Ireland, there was no foundation for systematically addressing one of the most prolific periods of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles. Clergy and architects tackled the problems and the projects largely on an individual basis. By the early 1970s, this legacy had to face the realisation that exclusively liturgical and Catholic criteria could no longer form the only rationale for churchbuilding, and that cost-effectiveness would be increasingly tested. The ideals set out twenty-five years earlier in the 'Guiding Principles' of the German Liturgy Commission¹⁰¹, the publication in English of which had heralded the 1960s as a new era of informed church-building for the liturgical renewal, seemed like a star that had appeared, and then disappeared, over the distant horizon.

Footnotes

1 Gibberd F, 'The Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral', Lockett W ed, The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy: Papers Read at a Conference at Liverpool, September 1962 (1964), p. 57.

2 Cf. Gibberd, art cit (1964), p. 64.

In a letter (20 Oct 1983) Gibberd says that for his Liverpool talk he had slides made of the projected design for Syracuse cathedral 'knowing that it was not common knowledge'. He enclosed two pages from an Italian architectural magazine illustrating the design, which he had used. He believed the magazine to be an edition of 'L'Architettura' (sic) for shortly after September 1960. Enquiries have not revealed the precise date nor confirmed that the publication was as cited by Gibberd. However, there was an article in L'Architettura Vol. 3 No. 21 (July 1957) pp. 172-175 and p. 218, and an earlier reference in L'Architettura Vol. 3 No. 20 (June 1957) p. 79.

On one of the pages of the article enclosed by Gibberd was an illustration of Clive Entwistle's projected design for Liverpool, which he had also used to illustrate his talk, and which he recalled having referred to as 'a better solution' than his own design.

3 Cf. Gibberd, art cit (1964) p. 64.

4 Blomfield G, 'The Roman Catholic Cathedral, Clifton: An Appraisal' Research Bulletin: Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture (1975), p. 34.

5 Jencks C, Modern Movements in Architecture (1973) p. 23.

6 Cf. Gibberd, art cit (1964), p. 55.

7 In a letter (21 March 1978) Gibberd wrote:

My opening remark at the (Liverpool) Conference ... was intended to be provocative because I believe the Catholic Church 'knows little about the design of ecclesiastical buildings'.

... I went on to quote the Archbishop's Throne. When Cardinal Heenan was asked where it should be placed, he said 'I shall consult my Liturgist'. As the Church could not write the Brief I made the Throne portable ...

... When I came to Douai Abbey I made it very clear that I knew nothing of the problem. The building was designed through a series of meetings ... My first question was 'What is a cell?' and it took us some months before we arrived at the answer.

... The small chapel was Hopwood Hall and it is my only other Catholic building. The building illustrates what I believe are the three determinants of architectural form, function, environment and construction ...

The reason why I have done no further Catholic churches, and Percy Thomas (the architect of Clifton cathedral) has been neglected, is because, as I said in my lecture, 'the Church is ignorant of architects, it does not know how to choose one, and it does not know how to brief him' ...

- 8 Gibberd F, Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King (1963) p. 12.
- 9 Jencks (1973), p. 23.
- 10 Cf. Little B, Catholic Churches since 1623 (1966), p. 96 and Pevsner N, The Buildings of England: South Lancashire (1969) p. 222.
- 11 Cf. Taylor C Mgr, 'Liverpool's New Metropolitan Cathedral', Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1960), pp. 38/42.

Lutyens' design was to have cost £3,000,000. The Brownlow Hill site was purchased in 1930 for £100,000. After the war the projected cost had risen to £27,000,000. Lutyens' design was first amended (by A G Scott), and then abandoned after completion of the crypt. A completely new structure was to be designed linked to the crypt for £1,000,000.

In a report in the Catholic Herald (6 August 1982) the total cost of the cathedral was quoted as being £4,000,000. This was confirmed by the Diocesan Press Officer (4 January 1985), but was qualified by the comment that 'the original cost of the Cathedral is capable of many answers depending on what is put on the shopping list'. Gibberd's cathedral by itself seemingly cost £2,000,000.

- 12 The cathedral was completed in 1967, ten years after Archbishop Heenan's translation to Liverpool, eight years after the competition, and less than seven years after commencement of building.

- 13 The Assessors were:

The Most Rev John Carmel Heenan DD Archbishop of Liverpool
Basil Spence OBE ARA PRIBA
David Stokes FRIBA

- 14 Cf. Section 3 Chapter 1 p. 331.

Prior to his translation to Liverpool, Archbishop Heenan had been Bishop of Leeds.

- 15 Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King, Liverpool: Architectural Competition: Conditions and Instructions to Competing Architects (October 1959) art 45.
- 16 Many of the competition designs were exhibited in the City Art Gallery, Manchester. They were probably included in an exhibition of Architecture in the North-West (16 June-10 July 1960) organised by the Manchester Society of Architects to mark the occasion of the annual conference of the Royal Institute of British Architects being held in Manchester. This exhibition date was verified by the City Art Gallery, but neither they nor the Manchester Society of Architects, nor the Central Library, Manchester, nor the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, could provide information or comment on the content.
- 17 Apparently, even the location of the cathedra (bishop's seat) was uncertain. Cf. footnote 7 above. In 1980, just prior to the National Pastoral Congress, the seat's superstructure (once referred to as a 'fork-lift truck left behind the altar') was sawn-off. The seat was designed by Professor R D Russell of the Royal College of Art.
- 18 De Breffny B and Mott G, The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland (1976) p. 183.
- The cathedral church of St Patrick and St Felim, Cavan (1942) by R Byrne had also eschewed the modern style by adopting Neo-Classical. Its building had been begun in 1939. Cf. de Breffny & Mott (1976) p. 182.
- 19 J J Robinson was a principal in the practice of Robinson, Keefe and Devane, which in 1964 built Our Lady Queen of Heaven, Dublin Airport regarded by Cantwell as the 'first attempt at designing for the new liturgy in the Archdiocese of Dublin'.
- 20 Browne M Most Rev, Galway Cathedral: A History and Description (1967), p. 18.
- 21 Cunane J Most Rev, 'Foreword', Guide to The Church of Our Lady Queen of Ireland (1979).
- 22 In a letter (21 March 1978) Gibberd wrote:
- ... I would cheerfully design a bingo hall or bawdy house, but have no attachment to either ...
- 23 Cf. above Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 231.
- 24 Reference to the design concept of the 'open ring' is taken from a copy of the architect's notes for the cathedral of St John the Baptist, Eldoret, Kenya, prepared for the Most Rev John Njenga.
- The 'Sacred Parting: The Open Ring' was the second of the six typological plans in Schwarz R, The Church Incarnate (1938/58) p. 67 ff.

- 25 'St Mary's RC Cathedral, San Francisco', Architectural Record ed, Religious Buildings (1979), p. 96.
- 26 Cf. Cook G, Building to the Glory of God (1977) with an introduction by The Most Rev Janani Luwum, Archbishop of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Boga-Zaire. Also Cook G, Cathedral and Church Design in Uganda (1978).
- 27 In 1981 there was a discreet suggestion that the diocese of Middlesborough was seriously considering the building of a new cathedral. Subsequent enquiries to the diocese have all elicited replies which refrain from confirming or denying that a new church at Coulby Newham, by the Swainston Partnership is intended to replace the city-centre church of St Patrick (1876) and become the new cathedral. The replies (9 October 1981; 28 September 1983; 5 October 1984) have repeatedly stated that 'negotiations with the relevant authorities regarding the new church are at a critical stage and any unsubstantiated references to a new Cathedral could be very damaging'.
- 28 In 1981 there were reports in the Catholic press (e.g. the Catholic Herald 2 and 9 October 1981) that the Welsh millionaire financier Sir Julian Hodge was keen to promote the building of a new Catholic cathedral in Cardiff, from a £20,000,000 charitable fund. The site would be next to Cardiff castle on 12 acres of land set aside for that purpose by the Marquess of Bute when he gave the property to the city in 1947. The reports suggested that Sir Julian considered that a concrete construction like Clifton cathedral might not get planning permission because of the location; also, that he realised that such a proposal might not get the support it needed from priests and people. He did not envisage such a building having an extended role for conferences and concerts, but he did see it as a 'symbol of a new era of religious revival'.
- 29 The lowest tender was in fact for £501,000 as confirmed in a letter from the Percy Thomas Partnership Ref FSJ/jp (2 February 1978).
- 30 Blomfield art cit (1975) p. 35.
- 31 The original building begun in 1834 was a Neo-Classical design by H E Goodridge, a Bath architect. In addition to the geological problem (as simultaneously affected the construction of the Clifton Suspension Bridge) funds ran out and building ceased in 1836. In 1846 Charles Hansom covered the incomplete interior with a light-weight timber structure. Further work was done by Hansom in the 1870s including a start on the complete restyling of the building in North Italian Romanesque. Cf. Guide to the Cathedral Church of SS Peter and Paul, Clifton (1973) p. 4.
- 32 In 1951 the Assessors for the competition designs for the reconstruction of Coventry cathedral were:
 Edward Maufe RA LLD FRIBA
 Howard Robertson MC ARA FRIBA PRIBA
 Percy Thomas OBE LLD FRIBA PPRIBA
 There were 219 entrants.

- 33 Cf. Appendix 2.1.
- 34 Cf. Appendix 2.5.
- 35 Cf. Inter Oecumenici: Instruction on the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1964) art 91.
- 36 Cf. Schnell H, Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany (1974) p. 78.
- 37 Anson P F, 'Destruction at Aberdeen', Architectural Review (December 1960) p. 394.
- 38 Anson P, Fashions in Church Furnishing: 1840-1940 (1959) p. 366.
- 39 'Bishop Francis Walsh', Scottish Catholic Herald (14 October 1960), p. 1.
- 40 After being smashed to bits the 'relics' of the carved angels and saints were taken to Pluscarden Priory. Eventually the monks used most of them to make a rockery. Other pieces of the discarded reredos were fitted into part of an interior wall, where they may puzzle antiquarians of some future generation.
- Anson (1959) p. 260.
- 41 In his address at the reconsecration of Aberdeen cathedral, Archbishop Gordon Gray referred to a spring within Bishop Walsh 'ever ready to take that calculated leap in the dark which, in its enterprise of holy folly, is the secret of the saints' success'. Art cit Scottish Catholic Herald (14:10:1960)
- 42 St Mel's Cathedral: Re-Styling of the Sanctuary: A Message from the Bishop (Sunday 6 July 1975)
- 43 Additional statements were jointly published from the priests of the parish, the parish council and from Ray Carroll (member of the Advisory Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland, and member of An Taisce).
- It was Carroll in particular who declared that the existing high altar was 'not of intrinsic artistic value', nor possessed 'features which would make its preservation a matter of concern to members of any of those bodies who are working for the preservation of our artistic and architectural heritage'. And he added that 'any attempt to preserve it would render completely impossible the re-arranging of the sanctuary for the proper celebration of the liturgy'.
- 44 Cf. Daly C Most Rev and Hurley R, 'Adaptation of Existing Altars in Neo-Romanesque and Neo-Gothic Churches', New Liturgy No. 18, (1972/3).

- 45 Cf. above Section 2, Chapter 2, p. 230 ff.
- 46 St Mary's Cathedral, Killarney (1973) pp. 33/4.
- 47 Whether medieval churches should be scraped clean of their plaster (with the immediate consequence of destroying any fresco painting), was one of the issues which led to the founding of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877.
- 48 These figures are based on information primarily supplied by Wilfrid Cantwell (2 February 1979).
- 49 Originally designed by A W N Pugin (1841).
- 50 Originally designed by Weightman and Hadfield (1848).
- 51 Cf. Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1972).
- 52 In 1854 the chancel screen was moved one bay to allow the choir and organ to be relocated in the chancel, where they remained until 1967.
- 53 Cf. A Guide to The Metropolitan Cathedral Church of St Chad (1969) p. 17.
- 54 Isherwood L, Saint John's Cathedral, Portsmouth: An Outline of its History, Architecture and Decoration (1971).

Percy Dearmer became Professor of Ecclesiastical Art at King's College, London. His book The Parson's Handbook, first published in 1899 (sixth edition 1907) caused a revolution in the decoration of church interiors. It had an effect upon Catholic interiors too, promoting the simpler 'English Altar' with its dossals and riddel posts. Interestingly, Dearmer's work was to purge the Church of England of Anglo-Catholic practices and to return to indigenous practices and the correct rubric of the Book of Common Prayer which prescribed that church 'ornaments' should conform to those in use during the second year of the reign of Edward VI.

Dearmer's Handbook was founded on the scholarly work of the Alcuin Club, and realised in the productions of the Warham Guild. For a fuller description cf. Anson (1959) p. 303 ff.

- 55 The civory and altar were erected c.1893 to the design of J S Hansom who succeeded Crawley as architect.
- 56 The cathedral was damaged by blast in January 1941. Exposure caused deterioration to Westlake's painted decoration of the plasterwork. Between 1945 and 1950 restoration was carried out under Canon Burrett with the architects Scoles and Raymond and the glass studios of Goddard and Gibbs.

- 57 Another example of this practice could be seen up to the mid-1970s at St Joseph, Retford (1959) by Sandy and Norris (NB not listed in Appendix) after its reordering (1968) by G Goalen.
- 58 The reordering was carried out by Ricardo de Robina in collaboration with Fray Gabriel (Chavaz de la Mora) under the direction of Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo. Winkley saw the reordering on a visit to Mexico.
- 59 Originally designed by J A Hansom (1873).
- 60 This, and the previous comments, were contained in a letter from the cathedral administrator (17 May 1978).
- 61 An example of the thinking behind this rejection of a Eucharistic celebration versus populum is in an article by a member of the Oratorians at Brompton. In the article he argued that no such requirement was contained in any official document of the Church, that the arguments used in support of a celebration versus populum were much more vulnerable than had been supposed, and that such a practice had positive disadvantages. Cf. Napier C, 'The Altar in the Contemporary Church', The Clergy Review (August 1972) pp. 624/632.
- 62 The sculptor for the new altar, ambo and tabernacle tower was Peter McTigue.
- 63 The sculptor for the new altar and ambo was David John, who also assisted with the resolution of the overall scheme. Cf. Bennett C G, 'Reordering the Chapel of the English College, Rome', Liturgy Vol. 6, No. 3 (Feb/March 1982), pp. 118/124.
- The original design for St John's cathedral, Norwich was by George Gilbert Scott (1882/94) and completed by his brother, John Oldrid Scott (1910).
- 64 Liturgiae Instaurationes: Third Instruction on the Correct Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1970).
- 65 This view was expressed by a member of the Victorian Society, who advised that not too much importance should be attached to Bentley's later deprecatory opinion of his altar at Crook: 'The less you say about that altar the better - I was but a boy when I designed it!'. Seemingly the altar would have looked excessively foreign and very crude to the mature Bentley.
- Cf. de L'Hopital W, Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect, Vol. II, (1919), pp. 382/3.
- 66 Originally designed by Fr B Williamson (1910).
- 67 Unless you become like little children you will not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.
- Cf. Matthew Ch. 18, V. 3.

- 68 Carroll R, 'Adaptation of St Flannan's College Chapel, Ennis', New Liturgy, No. 16 (1977/78), p. 13.
- 69 St Brigid's Chapel Commemorative leaflet (c.1975).
- 70 The new Ordo Penitentiae: Rite of Penance (1973) while not specifying the design requirements of confessionals, implicitly suggested that they should have provisions for both discreet confession (i.e. with a grille providing a degree of anonymity and protection) and 'open' confession (i.e. face to face). The first would need a cubicle; the second, a room.
- Cf. 'Confessionals' New Liturgy No. 21 (Spring 1979) pp. 15/22; Champlin J M, Together in Peace (1975); Hagreen J, 'Confessionals for the New Rite', The Clergy Review No. 67 (1982) pp. 321/4
- 71 Carroll art cit (1977/78) p. 9.
- 72 Locally it has the nickname of 'Fort Apache'.
- 73 Nuttgens P, 'Review of New Seminary: St Peter's College, Cardross' The Clergy Review (March 1967) p. 248.
- 74 Since 1980 the seminary has been put on the market. At one stage an American consortium was interested in developing it as a country club, but the project fell through. The site has development potential and seemingly permission to demolish the buildings has been granted.
- 75 St Mary's, Leyland: Guide Book (c.1965).
- 76 The dalle-de-verre glass is by Patrick Reyntiens. In the fork of the concrete piers are free-standing Stations of the Cross sculptures by Arthur Dooley. Other artists include: Adam Kossowski, David John, Robin McGhie, Jerzy Faczynski, H Tyson-Smith, and Charles and May Blakeman.
- 77 The recess was embellished with Ceramic tiles by Adam Kossowski.
- 78 Cf. above Section 3 chapter 1 p. 339.
- 79 Cf. St Mary of the Angels and St Clare: Commemorative booklet for the opening of the church (22 December 1975): 'In the search to find the most satisfactory form for the new Church which would answer all the requirements of the new liturgy, the Parish Priest ... together with the Architect, visited a number of recently built Churches in the Diocese and in Western Ireland'.
- 80 This was the Pastoral Directory for Church Building of the National Liturgical Commission of England and Wales (1968). Originally it was intended to produce it in two slender volumes, but the second, which was to have included model examples, was never published.
- The architects involved in the Directory's publication included John Newton, Gerald Goalen and Austin Winkley.

- 81 Cf. Jencks (1973) p. 235.
- 82 Church of the Holy Family, Pontefract: Commemorative booklet for the opening of the church (30 November 1964).
- 83 E.g. 'Planning and Dimensional Studies: Baptism; Church Seating', Churchbuilding No. 14 (January 1965) pp. 20/24. Church Buildings: reprinted information supplements from The Architects Journal (9 August - 22 August 1967).
- 84 Cf. Nugent K SJ, 'Review of New Church: Our Lady of the Rosary, Donnington, Shropshire', The Clergy Review (December 1967) pp. 1001/6.
- 85 Nugent art cit (1967) p. 1004.
- 86 The Catholic Church in Ireland is a single territory, with its primatial see at Armagh.
- 87 Cf. de Breffny and Mott (1976) p. 189.
- 88 Altar, ambo and tabernacle support were by Christopher Ryan.
- 89 The church of St Joseph, Boyle replaced an earlier building designed by G Goldie (1882) and destroyed by fire in 1977.
- 90 St Leonard's Review 1971 (1971) p. 10.
- 91 From Modern Churches in Ireland: A public lecture at the Community Centre, Tuam, Co Galway (8 December 1974). Text kindly supplied by Wilfrid Cantwell.
- 92 Cf. Churchbuilding No. 18 (April 1966) pp. 17/19.
- 93 No explanation was offered by the parish priest for these changes. In addition he mentioned in a letter (5 December 1983) that the spire had been replaced by a simple cross because rain 'leaked through the last effort'.
- 94 These focii include a magnificent copper sculpture of Our Lady by Ian Stuart.
- 95 De Breffny and Mott (1976) p. 189.
- 96 In a letter (18 February 1983) the parish priest pointed out that at the designing stage they did not agree to a separate Blessed Sacrament chapel nor to a Baptismal chapel. As the new Rite of Baptism was being introduced at the time, he felt that its administration would be best sited in the sanctuary. But since the changes, the church had become a place of prayer, he believed, and not just a shell with the Blessed Sacrament 'tuck away out of sight'.

- 97 McGarry J G Canon, The Permanent Reorganisation of the Sanctuary an unpublished paper (n/d but prior to 4 August 1977).
- 98 Architectural Review (March 1978), p. 172.
- 99 Cf. De Breffny and Mott (1976) p. 194.
- More detailed information sought on three occasions from the diocese of Down and Connor but unfortunately it has not been forthcoming.
- 100 Cantwell, Tuam paper (1974).
- 101 Cf. Appendix Hammond P ed, Towards a Church Architecture (1962) pp. 248/254.

Chapter Three

Diversity and Dispersal

In the 1970s, churchbuilding, especially in England and Wales, has been marked by a steep decline not only in the number of new churches being completed, but also in their size, reflecting both reduced resources and a reappraisal of pastoral strategies.

Reference has already been made to discussions regarding the optimum size of a church building.¹ A typical argument was that for ordinary parish Mass needs, the Church would best succeed pastorally where a hundred to a hundred and fifty people could celebrate and meet in fellowship together. While the optimum number might vary slightly (e.g. Debuyst thought it should be between two and three hundred) it was never more than half of one thousand, which seems to have been the generally regarded optimum size for a Catholic city centre church for over a century.

The concern of these discussions was not primarily intended as a criticism of churches which in the past had been built to accommodate large numbers. But they certainly took into account the disheartening effect which large old churches could have on currently depleted assemblies using them. The more heartening effects of small shelters and of temporary forms of accommodation were often referred to. A reduction in scale and an increase in provisionality were increasingly regarded as being positively beneficial factors in the church architecture of a post-Conciliar pastoral strategy.

Greater social mobility was also causing problems in the strategic planning of resources. Within a generation after the war, not only had the size of Catholic families and regular attendance at Sunday Mass declined, but young Catholic adults had followed the general social trend of their generation and had moved well away from their parent parish. The significance of the trend was not that the Catholic population was becoming more migrant, but that it was becoming more dispersed. Neither the numbers, the distribution nor the needs of post-war Catholics justified the scale and sort of building that happened in inner-city concentrations of immigrants in the nineteenth century, and had continued to serve until the advent of post-war inner-city redevelopment. In the early 1960s many Irish Catholics in England, Wales and Scotland, within their lifetime had known large active churches that had served several generations of close-knit working-class communities, and were within easy walking distance of each other. In 1930 in Liverpool, for instance, within two square miles of the Everton district there were 80,000 Catholics served by eleven churches, the largest of which seated more than one thousand people.²

While a detailed demographic analysis of the Catholic population in the British Isles in the post-war period lies outside the scope of this study, it is clear that any churchbuilding strategy has to take account of it, and that if the trend has been towards a more dispersed Catholic community without significant increases in numbers and resources, then it would almost inevitably follow that any new churchbuilding would be 'small scale' and 'low cost'.

Again, a detailed economic analysis of the three Catholic territories in the British Isles is a consideration that also lies outside the

scope of this study (assuming that such a consideration could ever yield sufficient data to be critically evaluated). So it is not possible to say whether the pursuit of 'low cost' churches is to be regarded as a direct effect of overall economic stringencies; or of pragmatic planning for a more mobile society whose demography is continually shifting, thus making churchbuilding redundancies a potentially more frequent occurrence; or of a symbolic intention derived from a less triumphalist post-Conciliar Church - or of all three. Certainly, superficially, it would seem that because many churches built in the 1970s and 1980s are smaller in size and in structure, and appear to be less substantially constructed (which is qualified by a reduced life-expectancy)³, they are therefore relatively cheaper. And it would seem that not only are churches built in England and Wales relatively cheaper than their immediate predecessors, but that they are also below the general trend in rising building costs.

Yet again, a comparative analysis of the costs of individual buildings lies outside the scope of this study. But it is safe to say that the straight comparison of published cost totals is meaningless without knowing precisely how the costs are made up. There are so many variables and uncertainties that every precaution has to be taken that the figures do not give rise to false comparisons. For instance, it is not always clear whether published figures are for estimated or final costs; whether they include the cost of a presbytery or secondary structures, siteworks, artworks, furnishings or landscaping; what the basic unit of costing was (per person, per place, per ft² or per m²); what form of contract was used; or what amount of voluntary or community project labour was employed (which is one of the increasingly more notable trends,

especially in certain dioceses). Nevertheless, despite all these hedgings, it is still possible to state that in Catholic church-building in the 1970s a distinct trend towards small-scale and low-cost structures can be discerned.

The general trend towards small-scale low-cost churches has not meant that all projects have followed suit. A few still have managed to exhibit a quality of formal determinism, by which is meant a greater degree of interest in the expressive potential of structural form. Holy Innocents, Orpington (1980) by the Blee Whittaker Partnership seating 200 (600 with the use of ancillary spaces) and costing £537,320, is a good example. Its distinctive 'faceted random helix involving a complex three-dimensional geometry in which no right angles are present' was intended to signify a 'tree cluster', 'axis mundi' or 'world column'. The design won an RIBA competition shortly after the same practice had received an RIBA Architecture Award commendation for their even more notable design of Our Lady's Priory, Sayers Common (1980). There the chapel, conference and retreat centre were arranged around an existing pool with a character and quality that seemed to be derived from sources as disparate as local Sussex barns and Japanese temples.⁴ The natural and symbolic harmony of such 'place-making' (as Blee likes to describe his designing) might well indeed be attributed to Eastern inspiration as such an understanding of architecture, especially religious architecture, is currently rather rare among the pastoral pragmatists of the Western Church.

A certain deterministic quality was also intended for the cluster of structures that comprise the church of St John Ogilvie, Irvine New Town, Scotland (1979) by Niven and Connolly. The splayed plinth

around the building, the fluted block piers inside the sanctuary, and the main roof construction with its timbers punctuated by their connector bolts, was thought to evoke traditional idioms without cliché. Whilst the use of light and space which 'flows around and beyond structure and offers a variety of ever-changing experience' was especially meant to be evocative and build up to the area of 'high significance' (i.e. the sanctuary). But in fact the sanctuary's pronounced lateral orientation, which was emphasised by the parallel levels of the stepped congregational space, offers little pivotal dynamic to the liturgical articulation of the building. Yet this building too won an architectural award.

Doubts about formal determinism led Clive Broad to instigate a number of surveys among parishioners when he was designing Our Lady of Lourdes, Harrow Rd, London (1976). This he did in collaboration with Byron Mikellides of Oxford Polytechnic who was keenly propogating the notion of 'architecture for people'.⁵ The surveys were intended to assess people's reactions to the post-Conciliar liturgy and its architectural expression. What they finally demonstrated was that the older parishioners adhered to older preferences, the younger to younger, with the Irish, Polish, West Indian and English constituencies each slightly at variance. Broad's hope was that an analysis would produce a building that would be 'comprehensible to the users and with which they could identify easily in the context of their social circumstances'.⁶ In fact it was very much the building's context which determined key parameters of its design; traffic noise, vandalism and site redevelopment restrictions all constrained to produce a compact structure with a windowless frontage. Yet surely a real desire to produce an 'architecture for people'

would not have produced such a boxy structure or commissioned Robin Denny to paint an abstract altarpiece (not surprising that it has subsequently been covered by a curtain decorated by children, however regrettable). Though an initial effort was made to analyse the preconceptions and understandings of parishioners, in the end it proved unhelpful, and the formal determinism of the final design did not correspond with popularly conceived expectations.

If referring to an analysis of popular preferences can prove unhelpful, there would seem to be some logic in turning to the more quantifiable determinants of churchbuilding. That is precisely what the dioceses of Northampton and Shrewsbury did in the late 1960s, as an exercise in producing cost guidelines for developments in new-town areas. Reference has already been made to the Church Building for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns Report (1969) - commonly known as the 'Grant and Grasar Report'.⁷

One of the churches obviously influenced by the report is Our Lady of Lourdes, Milton Keynes (1976) by P & S Barker (Development Corporation Architects). In determining the design parameters several decisions had to be taken and it is worth just considering what they were. P1 114/115

The provision of temporary churches (such as Wells-Thorpe's 'relocatable church')⁸ was ruled out as being likely to increase the final overall cost of the building programme. Participation in new shared-church projects was also generally ruled out - on pragmatic rather than theological grounds.⁹ So the task eventually became one of seeking to provide at the smallest capital cost¹⁰ an optimum

number of churches that would meet the needs of the city as it developed, bearing in mind a complementary need to make the optimum use of a limited number of clergy. As the provision of many small churches, each serving a small neighbourhood, would have demanded more clergy than were available (or were likely to be available), this option too was ruled out.

In the end, the compromise decision was to provide a number of churches each of a size that would serve a parish with a total population of about 28,000 people. With the help of the Development Corporation their judicious placing was eventually intended to provide full cover for the area. As there was no immediate need to provide all the churches, further decisions had to be taken regarding the sequence of sites to be developed. In the case of Our Lady of Lourdes, which was the first of the new Catholic churches to be built, the intention was that it would serve the central area. Unfortunately, the ideal site was earmarked for the District General Hospital. Nevertheless, that development would form a key aspect of the parish's ministry in due course, as would the development of a large education campus that would include a Catholic provision. So for a while, the new church appeared an isolated, but distinct, Catholic presence.

When it came to the design of the church itself, a decision was taken to engage the Development Corporation as architects - especially as the Chief Architect was Derek Walker who had been responsible for several notable churches in the diocese of Leeds.¹¹ Unfortunately he was unable to be closely involved and two relatively inexperienced staff architects assumed the design responsibility. The integral

design that resulted was very much determined by the stress made in the brief on the relatively high cost of providing a presbytery. Its solution was to provide an accommodation suite at first-floor level around four sides of a hollow square, with the central area of the church filling the hollow and the whole of the ground floor.

Despite some difficulty in finding common comparisons, seemingly the design does represent a saving in cost¹², though when it is critically considered, the doubt does arise as to whether it was wholly determined by cost yardsticks. The elevational similarity to the Villa Savoie, Poissy (1929) by le Corbusier makes the design questionably preconceived. However, it is possible to accept that it does, in part, derive from one or more of the model schemes proposed in the 'Grant and Grasar Report' (e.g. Scheme 3).

The new projects policy of the diocese of Northampton has been to build independent non-shared churches, as with the pronounced pyramidal form of Sacred Heart, Weston Favell (1977) by Williams and Mathers that has its parish hall beneath, and entrance at first floor level. It stands in visible proximity to, but quite distinct from, the bridging form of the shared church (Anglican, Baptist and Methodist) of Emmanuel (1974) by G Redfern (Weston Favell Development Corporation chief architect)¹³ with G Cook of the Churches Community Development Consultancy (CCDC). This remarkable building literally forms part of the bridging spine of a large shopping complex, and is regarded by CCDC as the first realised example of their 'chapel-in-the-midst' concept.

Such reference to non-Catholic churchbuilding in England is characteristic of an increasing difficulty in the 1970s of discussing

developments in Catholic churchbuilding independently from developments in the other Churches. And not only has it become increasingly more difficult to consider church buildings as structures used solely for Catholic purposes, but also as structures used solely for worship. For the moment though, any further discussion of the multi-purpose and shared-use joint-ownership types of building must be set aside, but they are aspects of small-scale low-cost design solutions.

For the exclusively small-scale low-cost church building the concomitant design effect is a generally simpler unifying structural geometry, with the roof form assuming greater importance, even to the extent of it actually becoming the principal structure.

Rainer Senn's chapel of Saint-Andre, Nice (1955) built for a community of rag-pickers was regarded as the epitome of the simple structure. Constructed of rough timber with a geometry determined by four principal members, which stretched from beyond each of the corners to an apex above the centre, it was regarded as the true architecture of 'transparent poverty' for a pays de mission. The structural principle can be clearly seen reflected in such churches as St Margaret Clitheroe, Threshfield (1973) by J H Langtry-Langton and St Jerome, Formby (1976) by Weightman and Bullen, though both use concrete and steel for the main members, and neither can really be regarded as examples of 'transparent poverty'.

A virtual missionary situation, however, did exist on the new housing estates which sprang up after the war throughout the United Kingdom. Like others, the Catholic Church made use of available accommodation (often the assembly hall of the local school), and erected temporary structures. Mention has already been made of such

temporary structures as the commandeered workman's hut at St Christopher, Speke used because the building of a new church was delayed by war. But after the war there was also the prospect of delay due to a shortage of materials, or finance, or to a priority given to Catholic schoolbuilding. So a number of prefabricated structures were erected as a solution e.g. St Pius X, Middlesborough (1955) by T A Crawford using the 'Orlit' system at a cost of £15,000; St Matthews, Winton (1956) by A Farebrother and D Williams at a cost of £17,000 and St William of York, Thornton (1955) by Weightman and Bullen both using the 'Derwent' (or 'Hallam') system supplied by Messrs Vic Hallam Ltd. The superstructure of the latter comprised a large hall which could be subdivided into three classrooms, a secondary seating area adjacent to the sanctuary for weekday Masses, and a sacristy extended to provide a small flat, all for a cost of £10,300.

Even in Ireland post-war shortages meant that emergency measures had to be taken, on occasion, as with the 'temporary' church of The Holy Rosary, Limerick (1950) by Corr and McCormick. Built to serve the needs of a growing population to the West of the city, the building is a large timber-clad steel-framed structure seating over six hundred. Its utilitarian appearance has been subsequently embellished by the accumulation of notable examples of Irish church art.¹⁴

In the mid-1950s when materials became more available for public buildings, the general trend in Catholic churchbuilding was to build big. So a small church such as St Paul, Glenrothes (1958) by Gillespie Kidd and Coia, was rather exceptional. Built for a

congregation of 300 at a cost of £20,000 it was a regular trapezium on plan with the sanctuary at the broad end and extending beyond it beneath a light tower with a West-facing dormer. The whole of the narrower West end was also glazed but better braced against the wind than the dormer has proved to be.¹⁵

In the Outer Hebrides, the high West wall of Our Lady of Sorrows, South Uist (1966) by R McCarron was braced well against the prevailing wind and its windows were simply tall and narrow. Like Glenrothes, it too was built for a congregation of 300 and at a cost of £20,000. But distinctly unlike Glenrothes, it was built some sixty miles off-shore and for a scattered rural community.

The designing of new churches in rural areas, especially ones with expanding populations, was one of the problems projected by the New Churches Research Group after Lance Wright became its chairman in 1964. In 1966 Churchbuilding published several design solutions, including one by Robert Maguire and Keith Murray. They had defined the problem as one of providing for an initially small congregation a 'permanent' church in the sense that it was a church and not a 'general purpose hutment'. The solution should be capable of a good lease of life without being 'permanent' in the sense that it would be totally uneconomic either to dismantle or demolish.¹⁶ But for it to be fully economic, several needed to be built more or less simultaneously. Unfortunately, only one site could be found at the time and so no prototype was ever built. However, a design with which Wright himself was associated, was built, and in three versions, only the first of which, and the smallest, was intended to be expandable.

St Cecilia, Trimley (1966) by Wright, Bellalta and Evans was a square seating just 112 on three sides around a central altar. The perimeter walls were of timber and could be removed to allow expansion on each of the four sides. A simple concrete frame carried the pitched timber roof with its high dormer set over the sanctuary. Altogether it cost £12,400. Many of its characteristics were included in the designs for St Gregory, Alresford (1968) seating 178 and costing £21,000, and Christ Our Hope, Beare Green (1970) seating 154 and costing £19,000, both by Melhuish, Wright and Evans as the practice had by then become. All three have central dormers, and all three have narrow glazing bands at the eaves with either internal or external baffles. At Beare Green the entrance is set at a right-angle and in a pavilion; at Beare Green and Alresford there was need for a baptistry, but not at Trimley. There, with the light coming from over the altar and around the perimeter embracing the whole congregation, there is potential for the interior to correspond to that simple 'Eucharistic room' envisaged by Rudolf Schwarz.¹⁷

P1 120/1
Fig 31B

Fig 31C

Fig 31A

In the design origination of St Oswald, Burghfield (1976) by Barton, Willmore and Partners, Wright was also involved; but if some even more typical example of a continuation of the New Churches Research Group thinking were being sought, then it would be found in Maguire and Murray's belated first commission for a Catholic parish church.

The design for St Augustine, Tunbridge Wells (1975) is in direct line of descent from St Paul, Bow Common (1958) via All Saints, Crewe (1962) - both Anglican. The brief emphasised the importance of a church as 'the meeting place of the people of God' and corresponded well with Maguire and Murray's own predilection for the

P1 15

architectural enclosure being a sign of the priority of the Eucharistic assembly.

The resulting design was a low perimeter wall enclosing an almost square space, within which four columns support the roof canopy. As the brief had also emphasised the use of light in 'impelling a spiritual response', the roof canopy was devised as a diffusing 'space net' suggestive of the infinite, but comprising standard trussed rafters that were unequivocally ordinary and finite.

For Maguire and Murray ordinariness is essential for achieving that 'nearness to need' which is the hallmark of their design rationale. But though there was great sensitivity in the 'right making' of the canopy for the assembly, it had the concomitant effect of causing the forms of the key liturgical nodes to almost vapourise out of deference. Whether or not that is to be regarded as a good thing will depend on one's theological viewpoint, but in seeking to ascertain just what that might be, it is worth referring to Richard Hurley's contemporary building at Newtown, Co Kildare. There too the liturgical nodes are human in scale and openly accessible, but they are also quite clearly the focii and expression of the assembly's sacramental raison d'etre.¹⁸

P1 65/66

Though the use of light at St Augustine's might well 'impell a spiritual response' it could not be regarded as regressing into 'the myth of the sacred place' of which Peter Smith has been so critical. Here there could be no criticism. There is no stained glass to recall a primordial glow or sacred grove, and the diffused light could hardly be regarded as a 'move towards the selective

baroque use of light to give a transcendental quality to space or objects'.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the deliberately indirect use of light brackets the building with all those that have used some variation of the clerestory, the dormer, the lantern or the 'northern truss'. Interestingly, Smith, who attaches such significance to this latter device in his own church buildings, first began using it in the mid-1960s²⁰, just at the time when it was appearing in Catholic churches in both lateral and longitudinal form.

Catholic examples of truss lights in split-pitch roofs can be seen in longitudinal form at St Bernadette, Bolsover (1965) by J Rochford and Partners, and St Benedict, Whitehaven (1975) by Cassidy and Ashton. A need for a common height at the eaves generally means that the main body of the church is found beneath the taller roof pitch, but there are exceptions, as at St Patrick, Clinkham Wood (1965) by R O'Mahony and Partners, where it is under the lower.

Pl 122/123

St Patricks is also interesting for its use of the concrete box girder in providing a clear longitudinal span of support for the roof, with the truss light set above it.

In Scotland Gillespie, Kidd and Coia have provided two interesting examples of lateral truss lights: at St Benedict, Easterhouse (1966) it is straightforwardly set squarely across the main body of the church, but at St Benedict, Drumchapel (1969) it is set from corner to corner across an irregular square plan at the top of two dramatically upward-sweeping split-pitch roofs. Here, indeed, there might well be some ground for criticisms of 'baroque', but as in the other examples, the device is not used selectively in order to evoke a 'greater density of deity'.

In Ireland too, the device has been used successfully as has already been noted in the longitudinal split-pitch roof arrangement of St Connell, Glenties (1975) by L McCormick and Partners.

P1 107/108
Fig 29

Interestingly, in the Assessors' Report on a projected design for another church (by Pearse McKenna, which used this lighting device, the comment was made that the 'quality of the interior space was not reposeful' perhaps because of the 'main roof light which dissected the nave'.²¹ The implication must be, that to have satisfied that particular sense of repose a more suffused and directed mode of lighting was required.

The Assessors' Report referred to was that produced in 1977 after the 'Single Stage Competition for the Design of a Parish Church' promoted by the Archdiocese of Dublin in 1976. In order to cope with the speed of housing development in Dublin, the archdiocese decided that there was an urgent need to plan for a number of new churches integral to the social facilities of the new neighbourhood centres, each serving districts of approximately 1,200 houses. The emphasis was on economy. The overall cost of the completed building inclusive of professional fees was not to exceed £110,000 for a building accommodating one thousand people (eight hundred of whom were to be seated). Yet the brief required that 'the quality of design and detail of the building and its contents must be worthy of the House of God, notwithstanding the admittedly severe limitations of content and cost which it has been found necessary to impose at this time.'²²

Almost immediately after the launch of the competition, seasoned commentators were complaining that for the accommodation required,

the 'absolute minimum for an austerity building should have been £160,000'. Also that the whole notion of the competition demonstrated a lack of understanding of churchbuilding and liturgical design problems, which would result in despair and an incentive to turn to the package builder in future.²³ The price set for each building, it was pointed out, was slightly below the standard prevailing for warehouses.²⁴

Commenting on one of the commended designs that was actually built (Holy Trinity, Grangemore (1980) by A & D Wejchert) Lance Wright wrote:

In this age of aesthetic flagellation the virtue of doing away with the walls in church building and of leaving everything to the roof has long been apparent. Indoors, it gives intimacy round the edges and uplift in the middle: outdoors, it provides the topographical advantages of a tower at much less than a tower's cost.²⁵

Granted that starkness is a danger with cut-price building, the faceted form of the structure derived from four roof planes interpenetrating each other on a pin-wheel plan, did provide a degree of satisfying complexity. But despite a potential sense of rigidity, the infill of the planes is such that internally it feels like sheltering in a house of cards, which wryly might be thought of as a virtue in a church, according to Wright: 'a reminder to the Christian that down here, there is no abiding city'.²⁶

It was apparent to the assessors that the cost limitations proved a handicap to many competitors; some completely ignored the limit while others appeared solely to be concerned with the provision of 'cheap' buildings. Of ten designs that were finally selected from

the 193 entries as being of high merit, five were excluded from the prizes because it was found unlikely that they could be built within the cost limit, though alterations could be made which would help them do so. The design by A & D Wejchert was one of them.

Of the design that won (by Hope Cuffe Associates), apart from its minimal liturgical articulation of the interior, it amazingly proposed itself to be a 'subterranean church which would serve as a retreat from the noise and bustle of many busy neighbourhood centres'.²⁷ Seemingly the assessors felt that there were situations in the Dublin suburbs that it would suit. If the Dublin competition were to be seen as an exercise in discovering 'how cheaply you could throw a roof over a congregation',²⁸ then it would appear to have achieved its objective if comparisons were to be made with low-cost churches in England and Wales. Taking just two examples, St Guthlac, Deeping-St James (1969) one of several monopitch-roof churches by T E Wilson, seating two hundred and costing £24,500, and St Joseph, Rotherham (1977) by J Rochford and Partners, with its blockwork walls and space-frame roof also seating two hundred, and costing £56,000, the figures would seem to indicate that on the crude basis of cost-per-place the much larger Irish churches designed according to the competition criteria, are as cheap, if not cheaper, than their smaller English counterparts. But any such comparisons of building costs are fraught with problems, as has already been stressed, and especially so here, where costs are being compared from different economies and dates, taking no account of disparities in inflation or in any other variable factor.

Similarly, one has to be wary of suggesting that design inadequacies and failures are always directly attributable to cost-cutting. The

collapse of the timber-frame church of St Benedict, Garforth by D J Walker in 1964 when nearing completion, was more to do with causes arising from abnormal wind-stress, than from any skimping on construction costs - though the use of a timber frame was intended to produce a low-cost building.²⁹

Actual and potential collapses of buildings due to mining subsidence can also necessitate the erection of light-weight structures, as with St Matthew, Winton (1956) by A Farebrother and D Williams (already referred to above), where the original design for a conventional brick building was abandoned following a mining engineers report on probable effects of proposed mining operations in the area. Instead a prefabricated structure standing on an articulated reinforced concrete raft was erected using the Hallam 'Derwent' system. While at St Michael, Wombwell (1967) the church which had been built in only 1952 had to be demolished because of mining subsidence, and was replaced with a structure using the CLASP Mk IV prefabricated system designed by Weightman and Bullen.

A greater use of prefabricated elements in churchbuilding in the post-war period has tended to follow the general trend. Of course, precisely what is or is not to be described as a prefabricated construction, is a moot point, for example, because one of the commonest elements - the brick - is a prefabricated unit. But there has been greater evidence of standardised, industrially produced construction elements of all kinds. Just taking one example, vinyl-coated ribbed steel cladding, this was used successfully at the church of Our Lady and St Winifrede, Trefriw (1965) by S Powell Bowen, and at the church of Our Lady of the Assumption, Briton Ferry (1966) by F R Bates, Son and Price.

While at St Wulstan, High Wycombe (1970) by G A J Mathers, the limited budget led to the use of a steel-framed factory unit clad with unplastered blockwork and brick, and to having a concrete slab floor and industrial roof lighting - an approach that seems to pursue the notion of using the ordinary in the service of the extraordinary as preached by Maguire and Murray.³⁰

In theory, adopting an industrial building in order to provide the basic shelter for a worship environment seems perfectly reasonable. It also seems reasonable that an industrialised modular system could be used for building churches. Where doubts begin to creep in, is when the limited versatility of a modular system begins to be experienced; when the quality of finish and durability of prefabricated units begins to wear; and when a system is marketed as a 'design-build-furnish' package deal.

Commenting on the pressing necessity to provide an increasing number of low-cost churches in Ireland, Bishop Daly categorically censured 'package deal' churches as being no part of a solution.

One cannot have liturgy in a 'package'. One cannot prefabricate a liturgical sanctuary ... The last element which should be subjected to so-called 'economic considerations' is the liturgical design of the church and sanctuary. So-called 'economies' effected here, at the cost of liturgical quality, will be false economies and a perversion of the purpose for which a church is built.³¹

Just how great a threat 'package deal' buildings have posed in Ireland in order to prompt such strong sentiments, cannot be estimated precisely, but the Bishop's comment was made just one year after one of the most active 'package deal' firms went out of business in England, at a time when they were busy with a promotional campaign in Ireland.

Messrs Lanner Ltd of Chevet near Wakefield, specialised in laminated timber portal frame church buildings. From the late 1950s for over twenty years they successfully promoted their low-cost buildings, along with their associate company Richwood (Glulam) Ltd, which made the timber furnishings. The attraction for many priests was that the firm provided a complete service that obtained statutory approvals, provided estimates speedily (because design variants were marginal), drew up contracts, supervised the building, and generally completed on deadline and to the budget.

The earliest Catholic church erected by Lanner seems to have been Our Lady of the Nativity, Ardsley (1958), which was a longitudinal structure with the laminated timber portal frames set along its length.

In the 1960s Lanner developed an octagonal structure with the portal frames joined at the apex. Of these, the most ambitious was the twin construction of the church and shrine of St Anne and the Blessed Dominic, St Helens (1974) for the Passionist Fathers. The original nineteenth century church had been severely damaged by mining subsidence, and so it was decided to build a new shrine for the tombs of Blessed Dominic Barberi, Fr Ignatius Spencer and Mother Mary Joseph.

P1 126/127

Though an exceptional project the church and shrine are typical of Lanner's work. The portal frames and bracing members are visually pronounced, all furnishing timbers are hardwoods, soft furnishings are plush, and in addition there is plenty of marble and gilt embellishments in the chapel. The whole feel is of clutter, veneer

and garishness. There is little sense of proportion, of placing or of resolution (i.e. harmony of form, materials and colour). The sanctuary appears neither reposeful nor ample, and the final verdict can only be that it is a tasteless conglomeration derived more from contractual schedules than creative vision.

Other Catholic churches have also been built using commercial modular systems e.g. Corpus Christi Church, Weston-Super-Mare (1980) by Reema Construction Ltd; and St Matthew, Allerton (1980) by Stocks Brothers (Buildings) Ltd. Like the latter, with its screened-off 'peep-show' sanctuary, the limitations of these structures seem too often to be accepted as de facto, and to condition an impoverished liturgy - but they need not. If such provisional measures have to be taken, then more should be done to understand how a much more positive liturgical realisation of the simple facilities can be achieved.

In concluding this consideration of small-scale low-cost churches, it is worth taking up this point re a more positive attitude to the trend. The Irish examples have served to point up the fact that low-cost does not necessarily mean small-scale; and the small-scale examples, that economy should not mean parsimony. The little church at Trimley has shown how the simplest of shelters can be ordered to create a sense of ecclesia. To this could be added the several exemplary small-scale churches in the diocese of Menevia, North Wales, by Bowen, Dann Davies e.g. Our Lady of Lourdes, Benllech (1966) and St Illtyd, Rhuddlan (1976) the low profiles of both of which fit discreetly into their surroundings. While in the archdiocese of Liverpool, in the more robust surroundings of local authority housing in one instance, Richard O'Mahony and Partners marry Maguire and Murray's sense of the 'ordinary' vernacular of

P1 128

P1 129/130

brick wall and tiled roof, to Frederic Debuyst's sense of domestic hospitality in their churches of St Peter and St Paul, Kirby (1977) and Corpus Christi, Rainford (1980).

Yet in all these five examples of building for economy, the main space is used exclusively for worship. To some that would appear to be neither the fullest economic use of the building, nor its fullest instrumental use. For them a church building would be only justifiable if it were to serve a reintegration of the sacred within the secular in the most cost-effective way.

The 'Multi-Purpose' Church

The term 'multi-purpose' requires immediate clarification because it has come to be universally applied to any church building in which secular activities take place in some, or all, of the space used for worship. It has also come to imply low-cost, contingency building. As the earlier discussion of the 'multi-purpose church' concept that derived from the thinking of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture disclosed,³² it was not specifically intended to produce a low-cost building. However, it was intended to produce a building that declared a sense of responsible Christian stewardship in the optimum use of capital resources.

Professor J G Davies in particular presented the issue as a theological question regarding the sort of God it was that required exclusive places of worship in the twentieth century. He did so

especially in The Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968). In a criticism of Rudolf Otto's Idea of the Holy Professor Davies argued that Christ was not a 'holy object' to be screened from profane gaze, nor to be exposed solely on solemn occasions. He had lived amidst every aspect of human life. So he further argued for the reality of the sacred to be rediscovered through the promotion of 'circumstances in which it might be encountered in and through the secular'. As these circumstances were to be lived, a beginning needed to be made by building churches in which the sacred and secular were integrated and not separated. Spaces that were exclusively sacral, were considered to be redolent of the Old Testament Holy of Holies, or the strictly clerical ecclesiola in ecclesia. So what was envisaged by the term 'multi-purpose' was not a 'dual-purpose' building simply divided into two compartments or polarised around two opposing foci, but a building with a comprehensively integrated space that would be used for a range of activities, including worship, but without any extra-special emphasis being given to worship needs vis-a-vis those required for other activities.

The argument in favour of multi-purpose' churches was reinforced by many historical examples of the secular use of church buildings. In particular, reference was made to the numerous public purposes to which the nave of medieval churches was put; it was very much a covered secular precinct in front of a sacred locus. Even where subsidiary altars were erected within it, they could be regarded as being for secular purpose. And the nave remained very much a public precinct, though with fewer profane abuses, after the reforms of Trent. Catholic examples of the Counter-Reformation nave were generally unknown in this country until the nineteenth century, and then mainly

in neo-Gothic guise, after Pugin had 'sanctified' Gothic as the true Christian architecture and had attempted to revive the enclosed chancel as the locus of a discreet holiness.³³ But regardless of the norms of St Charles Borromeo (republished in 1857)³⁴, and of the propaganda of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, both of whom seemed to see the nave as a congregational threshold to the sacred, the notion of the complete inviolability of a church interior could be regarded as having arisen from the increased use of fixed-bench seating. While in Protestant worship a more organised accommodation of the congregation introduced at the Reformation expressed a greater corporate sacrality and complementary contribution to the conduct of worship, in Catholic circles it seems to have induced a greater passivity and privacy. But in both circles, the heightening of the nave's use as an auditorium lessened its function for any other purpose. Not surprisingly, with such an exclusive recent history, the concept of the fully 'multi-purpose' church interior has not been one that has been readily adopted in the Catholic territories of the British Isles - though the frequent misuse of the term would suggest that it had.

The distinct secularist bias of the 'multi-purpose' concept formulated at a time when there was much talk of the 'death of God' and of 'letting the world write the agenda for the Church',³⁵ has always been potentially at variance with a Catholic understanding of a church building. Though as a result of Vatican II, a greater emphasis has been put on the pastoral aspect of worship, and greater recognition has been given to the cultural forms and secular demands of the modern world, a church has still been defined as the 'house of prayer in which the most holy Eucharist is celebrated and reserved'.³⁶ In other words, a church building is still to be regarded

as a sacred structure made so not only by the transient presence of the assembled faithful, but also by the permanent presence of the Blessed Sacrament. For this, not only is a space required for active celebration, but also for passive devotion, and it is that need for an oratory containing the tabernacled presence of the Blessed Sacrament which makes the use of the term 'multi-purpose' in connection with a Catholic church, a complete misnomer. The provision of any specially distinct area for worship - especially private worship - would completely invalidate the distinctly secularist concept of the 'multi-purpose' church.³⁷

Yet the need to provide an exclusively sacred locus for the public reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, is not to invalidate the use of Catholic places of worship for secular use. While there might be distinctions between the extent of areas to be enclosed, and between their modes of enclosure and the kind of uses to which they are put, the number of nineteenth century Catholic chapels that were built under the same roof as a parish hall alone testify to a Catholic tradition of secular use of church buildings. St Mary, Bradford (1825) and Sacred Heart, Bingley (1877) by M E Hadfield are but two examples identified by Dr David Chappell in his study of Catholic Churches - Diocese of Leeds - 1793-1916.³⁸ Each was built over a hall that was used as a school and a meeting room. Such buildings, while not conforming to the 'open plan' notion of the Birmingham Institute definition of 'multi-purpose', do, nevertheless, conform to Dom Frederic Debuyst's more cellular interpretation, which allows a single cell within an interconnecting multi-cellular structure, to be used exclusively for worship, or very selectively for other purposes.³⁹

The incorporation of secular activities with sacred, within a single building, expresses materially how liturgy and diakonia interrelate. But even if there were no such provision, it would be far too narrow a definition to say that an exclusively sacred function restricted the building to a single purpose. Catholic worship has many liturgies and para-liturgies. In a parish, the Sunday Mass may well be the paramount liturgy, but the building serves other worship purposes as well - though it has to be admitted that traditional devotional practices and attendances at mid-week Masses, have generally declined; while a need to keep churches locked because of increased vandalism, together with a falling number of parish clergy, has tended to concentrate the weekly worship life of most parishes on the Sunday Mass.

So when using the term 'multi-purpose' generically in relation to Catholic church buildings, it is too simplistic to say a 'church is either dual-purpose or multi-purpose or it is not'.⁴⁰ When Ian Caveen criticises me in his otherwise admirable study of Multi-purpose Churches (1979) for a suspect use of the term 'dual purpose' he is instinctively attempting to correct the inadequacy of both that term and the term 'multi-purpose'. I too would wish to amend it, but he wishes to do it with the crude criterion of 'either it is or it is not'. Such a criterion might suit a straightforward use of the term 'dual-purpose', which separates and polarises the sense of sacred and secular, but they would need greater qualification to attempt any finer classification of current examples of Catholic churchbuilding that included secular usage. But if one prefers not to use the term 'multi-purpose' because of its over-biased secularist connotation of a minimally identified and unfixed worship focus,

then one is left with some adjectival qualification of 'dual-purpose' such as 'partial dual-purpose'. Perhaps then one should settle for the hybrid term of 'dual/multi-purpose' in order to signify a type of building which includes a distinctly fixed sacred element together with a secular provision that is much more complementary and informal.

Any consideration of an integrated secular provision in the design of Catholic church buildings could begin with those schemes which relate several buildings within a parish complex. Perhaps the most common building to be related to a church is, of course, the presbytery with not only its domestic accommodation but also a parish office and interview room. At Our Lady of Lourdes, Milton Keynes P1 114/115 (1976) an interesting attempt to actually incorporate the presbytery within the shell of the church has already been noted. While at the church of the Sacred Heart, Wythenshawe (1972) by T E Wilson, church, presbytery and hall are arranged in a line under a continuous roof.

Occasionally, as at Our Lady and St Kenelm, Halesowen (1967) by R and M Granelli, the presbytery is not even adjacent to the church, but here the church is, nevertheless, devised as a two-building complex of main worship space and sacristies, and baptistry and weekday chapel, with a common narthex and a walled garden. Usually though, the presbytery is a distinct structure forming part of the complex. At St Patrick, St Helens (1965) by R O'Mahony, presbytery, hall and church stand separate but adjacent in a common courtyard. While at Our Lady of Lourdes, Benllech (1965) by S Powell Bowen and Our Lady of the Portal, Truro (1971) by Marshman, Fig 32

Warren and Taylor, presbytery, hall and church are compacted together and distinguished by their individual roofs. Such a move towards a more integrated form on the same level can also be seen in two churches for the diocese of Middlesborough: at St Mary, Cullercoats (1969) by A Rossi, the hall is linked to the church with a suite of ancillary rooms in a way that now makes it look as though it was separated by them. Whereas at Christ the King, Thornaby (1970) by J H Black the plan is a much more complex integration of church, weekday chapel, hall, ancillary spaces and presbytery - but with the church and hall remaining distinctly separate with no provision for opening onto each other.

The compacting of churchbuilding designs has also taken place vertically, often in order to maximise the use of a restricted or sloping site. The restricted sites of St Aloysius, Somerstown (1968) by Burles, Newton and Partners, St Robert, Longsight, Manchester (1970) by Mather and Nutter, St Finbar, Dingle, Liverpool (1964) all provide ancillary and social accommodation in a basement, as do the sloping sites of St Theresa, Warsop (1972) by J Rochford and Partners, and St David, Newton-le-Willows (1969) by W and J B Ellis. While at Our Lady Star of the Sea, Brixham (1967) by Evans, Powell and Powell, the site was so steep that a car park was provided on the roof.

P1 92/93

P1 131

The sort of problem encountered when trying to develop a restricted site, is well illustrated by the church and pastoral liturgy centre of St Thomas More, Manor House (1975) by Burles, Newton and Partners. On an expensive London site of approximately one-fifth of an acre there was a brief to provide a church with a variable congregational

capacity of 50 to 400, social centre, lecture rooms, offices and ancillary spaces, and a presbytery, while local planning regulations required off-street car-parking spaces. The only solution was to design a compact complex of structures on three levels, on the lower of which was the hall, on the middle the church and on the third (in the presbytery only), domestic accommodation. The resulting building has provided not only a resource base for the Society of St Gregory, but has also served a new parish.

Trying to develop a new or small parish on a restricted budget has often meant that a prefabricated or simply constructed dual-purpose building has been used. Reference has already been made to St Pius X, Middlesborough (1954) by T A Crawford, and St William of York, Thornton (1955) by Weightman and Bullen, both were dual-purpose in the sense that they had a sanctuary at one end that could be closed off, so the 'nave' could be used for secular purposes oriented towards the opposite end. Such structures were particularly common in the 1950s, and suited the prefabricated and 'package deal' systems, as at Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Bolton-on-Dearne (1957) by Lanner Ltd. Surprisingly, later examples can be found, when it seemed that such primitive solutions had been superseded by more sophisticated adaptations of the 'multi-purpose' concept. St Martin, Swallownest (1970) by J Rochford, St John, Rickmansworth (1971) by Cluttons, and Holy Innocent, Bradford (1975) by J H Langtry-Langton, are three cases in point.

Many dual-purpose structures were intended to be only temporary, and became the church hall when a more permanent church building was erected.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s a number of permanent church hall structures were built as the first phase of a parish complex development. Many included a chapel with separate access (a facility not characteristic of a dual-purpose church), in which the Blessed Sacrament was reserved, and which opened onto the hall for Sunday use. Such an arrangement was designed for Holy Spirit, Dronfield (1967) by J Rochford, St John the Baptist, Chelmsley Wood (1972) by B Rush, Our Lady of the Assumption, Tooting (1974) by Sanders and Michelmores and St Anthony of Padua, West Moors (1972) by Cross and Kellaway. At the same time, churches such as St Augustine, Daventry (1972) by the Ellis Williams Partnership, were evidence that this type of building was being considered as a more permanent solution and not just a temporary expedient.

The acceptance of the 'dual/multi-purpose' type of church design as a permanent solution was not without its doubts and hesitations. The church of St John Stone, Woodvale (1971) by R O'Mahony and Partners took longer than usual to receive approval from the archdiocese of Liverpool. Here, as in similar designs, the provision allowed by the Instruction on Putting into Effect the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1964) that followed Vatican II, for the Blessed Sacrament to be reserved in some place other than in the centre of the main altar,⁴¹ was taken up and given the form of a separate chapel as suggested by the further Instruction on the Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery (1967).⁴² As was

P1 132/133

recognised, it 'enabled the remaining volume of the church building to be seen as not only capable of other uses, but also, at times as appropriate to them'.⁴³ It was a recognition that represented a radical distinction between buildings erected as halls and used on occasions as churches, and buildings which were primarily churches

but not limited to that purpose alone - as was the church at Woodvale. It eschewed both old and new formalistic approaches, with only a suggestion that the arrangement of the main worship space should be on a diagonal, and that the altar and congregational seating should be completely removable. In the flexibility of its main space, and in its small-scale light-weight structure the building expressed a provisionality that pursued no notion of an ideal shape for a church; a pursuit of which progressive church building designs had been somewhat susceptible in the 1960s.

A much more substantial venture was embarked upon two years earlier at St Thomas More Parish Centre, Sheffield (1969) by J Rochford and P1 134 Partners. At the time it was described as being the 'first building of its type to be designed and built as an entity to form a focal point for a parish'.⁴⁴ That might be a bold claim but the building certainly provided a most generous set of integrated facilities. They included: church and hall (which could act as overflow to the church on occasions) with main kitchen; old persons' clubroom with secondary kitchen; and youth clubroom with coffee bar, dance floor, activity areas, workshop, meeting and leader's rooms, and various ancillary provisions. Strictly speaking though, such a building is neither multi-purpose nor dual-purpose; its main space remains exclusively for worship.

The same comment could be made of St Margaret, Twickenham (1969) by Williams and Winkley, which is very similar in size⁴⁵, but does not have the same extent of social provision as the parish centre at Sheffield. The overall plan is square superimposed by a diagonal grid that creates a greater sense of flowing space, but externally produces a set of structural forms that are somewhat baffling to

P1 135/136
Fig 33

interpret. Internally, there are a series of spaces on five different levels. One of these is for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, so it might have been thought that the main worship area would have been available for other uses. But not so; it is exclusively for worship. Also it might have been thought that the 'narthex' area to the rear of the worship room would have been available as overflow space. But again, not so; the 'narthex' is primarily intended as a space to be filled by the departing congregation for their social benefit, and access to it is strictly regulated.⁴⁶ On an upper level it also contains a reading-room, and can be used for meetings and social occasions. What is particularly interesting about this design concept is that the social area is not described as a 'hall' but as a 'narthex (or hall-way)'; in other words, it is conceived as being more of a 'buffer-zone' on the path from (rather than on the way to) the main worship area.

A development of the 'narthex' or entrance area in a church, for social gatherings is evident in several churches of the early 1970s e.g. St John Lloyd, Cardiff (1975) by F R Bates Son and Price, and St Edward the Confessor, Keymer (1973) by Hothersall and Associates, where the 'narthex' also acts as an overflow area though separated by a glass screen. It also acts as an overflow area at St Monica, Blackpool (1973) by T Mellor and Partners, where the overflow can extend across it to the parish hall. But none of these examples use the 'narthex' in the deliberately controlled way intended at Twickenham.

The overflow of the worship space into an adjacent secular area is a practice that could be inverted, and part of a worship space could

be appropriated for secular usage. At both Christ Church, Sutton Courtenay (1969) by Burles, Newton and Partners, and St Christopher, Cranford (1969) by G Goalen, a side portion or 'aisle' is capable of being screened off. At Cranford the portion is common between the church and an exclusively secular area; at Sutton Courtenay it constitutes the whole of the social facility.

Where overflow areas are most in demand, are where there are considerable fluctuations in the size of the congregations. Of course, this happens within the majority of churches; attendances at weekday Masses are much lower than on Sundays. But fluctuations in Sunday attendances are most seasonal at holiday resorts and leisure centres. In Wales, in the diocese of Menevia in particular, a number of small chapels-of-ease small enough for the local population have included the provision of both indoor and outdoor overflow areas in their design brief, e.g. St David, Tywyn (1969) by Weightman and Bullen, and St Iltydd, Rhuddlan (1976) by Bowenn, Dann Davies. While up in the Yorkshire Dales, St Margaret Clitherow, Threshfield (1973) by J H Langtry-Langton follows suit.

P1 129/15C

At St Mary, Rhyl (1975) Weightman and Bullen provided a design which allowed a considerable degree of overflow and flexibility. It was another variant of the designs for St Joseph, Winsford (1974) and St Helen, Crosby (1974). At Crosby and Rhyl the plans can be generally characterised as quartered squares with one quarter made larger and forming the main worship area; the other three quarters being the social areas and ancillary facilities. At Winsford the plan is similar but the one quarter forming the entrance area is less well developed, so the plan appears more L-shape. In all three

P1 137/15E

Fig 34

designs the principal axis through the complex is diagonal as determined by the orientation of the altar. At Crosby the altar is located across the central corner of the worship area with ancillary spaces separating it from the L-shaped social areas, two quarters of which are common to the worship area. At Winsford the altar is located across an outer corner, which abutts the presbytery. Here the two remaining quarters form separate social areas common to the church, but one is extended and doubles back on itself to form a square and the largest roof of the complex.

At Rhyl the concept is probably realised to its fullest. There, the altar is located across an external corner of the square worship area, the three remaining quarters extend from this on the diagonal, the ancillary spaces extend further the quarter on the diagonal, and beyond them is projected yet another L-shape structure to form the proposed youth club. The whole concept seems capable of being extended along the diagonal and of wrapping around previous structures ad infinitum. In this scheme two of the quarters can be opened up to increase the seating from 200 to 500, or all three can be used increasing the capacity to 700. As in all three schemes, the social areas are intended to be opened up for worship use, but the worship area is not intended for social use. Together, these designs represent a rare example of a design concept being thoroughly explored to discover its potential variants.

The church at Winsford was the first of the three designs and was developed from the thinking of the 'Grant and Grasar Report' of which the diocese of Shrewsbury in which it is located, was responsible for co-commissioning.⁴⁷ Another unusual design that



141

St Edmund Campion, Wellingborough (1972), Ellis Williams
Partnership
Banner by Peter Koenig

was developed from one of the model schemes in the Report was that of utilising a school assembly hall as an extension arm of a small permanent church abutting it. In the diocese of Shrewsbury, the concept was used at Our Lady, Mother of the Saviour, Runcorn (1976) by Weightman and Bullen. But it was better used by the other co-commissioning diocese, Northampton, for the church and school of St Edmund Campion, Wellingborough (1972) by the Ellis Williams Partnership.⁴⁸

P1 139/140/141
Fig 35
cf Fig 5

Both at Runcorn and Wellingborough churches were needed for these new-town development areas. At Wellingborough the diocesan authorities originally thought of providing a Mass centre, but in reviewing the whole strategy of seeking to provide for areas of expansion, the idea of providing a small chapel abutting a school assembly hall was floated. As the idea was explored, the seating capacity of the church was increased to 250, with a further 250 in the assembly hall. As the concept was without a design precedent, it presented certain architectural, planning approval and funding problems, but these were all resolved - the latter with the introduction of a 50% grant from the diocese for new projects in areas of expansion. At a cost of £40,000 for the church and £77,500 for the school, the whole scheme was completed at a saving of £20,000 over a conventional design,⁴⁹ of which the Church paid 15% and the DES 85%.

At Runcorn the total cost was nearly £250,000. There the church was no bigger than a chapel, seating just sixty people, and the school assembly hall, though seating as many as at Wellingborough, was located on the same axis as the chapel on the opposite side of the sanctuary, meaning that the priest has his back to those in the chapel when the hall is used.

At Wellingborough the seating accommodation of church and hall is about the same, and the two areas are set at right angles to each other with a generous sanctuary splayed across their joining corner. The hall is separated from the church by twin screens, which (as with the four Weightman and Bullen schemes mentioned above) act as chair stores too. Despite the screens giving it an inevitable sense of being annexed when opened, the hall provides an important spatial link between the relatively large single-cell of the permanent worship space and the smaller, multi-cell, elements of the school.

Inevitably, what these 'dual/multi-purpose' buildings indicate, is a sense of great diversity and ingenuity in the flexible use of space. But it seems that the greater the sense of flexibility, the greater the concomitant effect of indeterminacy and sense of provisionality. Where that has been the tendency, its promoters have regarded it as beneficial because it supposedly induces an openness to change and a willingness to conceive of the sacred within the secular. With their implied consecration of all aspects of social activity, the 'dual/multi-purpose' churches suggest a religion that has become 'increasingly turned towards the world and cheerfully secular'.⁵⁰

Ecumenical Shared-Use and Joint Ownership Churches

Churches owned by one denomination but used additionally by one or more other, and churches owned jointly on behalf of two or more denominations and used by them, are known as 'shared-use' and 'joint-ownership' buildings respectively. The ad hoc sharing of church buildings has many precedents, but the notion of regularly

sharing buildings and of jointly owning them in order to create an ecumenical centre, developed in the late 1960s, and is an extension of the 'multi-purpose' church concept.

In other words, the idea of the ecumenical centre is planted firmly in the reality of secular life and the life of society.⁵¹

Such a non-exclusive concept that saw ecumenical centres as being 'open to as many community groups, political parties, churches, pressure groups and individuals as possible'⁵², and of providing 'facilities for any human activity - including the worship of God'⁵³, was a most radical departure from both traditional notions of the function and significance of church architecture, and recent liturgical preoccupations with such function and significance. But though a highly-charged secularist concept, it could not, by the very nature of its concern, stand wholly outside liturgical, theological, ecclesiological and moral issues of the day. Indeed, it could very well be regarded as their progeny.

In the 1960s, there were commentators who thought the liturgy was 'the whole work of the people of God' and not just cultus⁵⁴; that belief in God was impossible, and theology meaningless, in the modern world; that the institutional structures and authority of the Church was to be doubted and even challenged; and that the erection of edifices which would be used for only a few hours each week when there was so much social deprivation and need of care was a moral scandal. The current nostrum was to talk about 'letting the world write the agenda for the Church'⁵⁵, and to find true Christian fulfilment by being immersed in the secular life of the world. Where

unity of the Churches aided that fulfilment, then ecumenical centres were considered valid, because ecumenical meant about the world and not about the Church.⁵⁶

Developments in inter-denominational shared-use church buildings in England and Wales were accelerated by a realisation that the New Towns Act (1965) which covered the designation, building and management of several new towns being proposed, would cause major shifts in population distribution and thus a flux of opportunities for the Churches to share in a common and radical reappraisal of their ministry and mission. The increased interest in wanting to share resources led to parliamentary approval of the Pastoral Measure (1968) which legally eased the disposal (and demolition) of redundant Anglican churches and buildings, and of the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) which facilitated sharing agreements.

Legislation provided for two concepts: that of churches owned by one denomination but shared with one or more others, and that of churches owned jointly on behalf of two or more denominations and used by them. Seemingly the Act was drafted envisaging the sharing of existing churches rather than of new churches.⁵⁷ Certainly the Act was not drafted envisaging churches to be built and jointly owned or leased in new areas. Yet these new areas were precisely where the Act was most exploited in order to produce the 'ecumenical centre' as a resource for 'team ministries'.

Catholic impetus was given to the trend by the publication of two reports to the Ecumenical Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales: Shared Premises and Team Ministry (1970) and

The Sharing of Resources (1972). They both expressed the belief that the question of shared premises could not be effectively discussed separately from the question of team ministries.⁵⁸ In fact they both regarded a consideration of team ministries to be more fundamental than the question of shared premises, yet had to concede that for the foreseeable future ministry on a geographical basis would remain the basic pattern.⁵⁹ So shared churches were to retain a distinct parochial significance, and be an effective sacramental sign through mission, work and worship of building for a future unity.

All churches that were shared and all that were jointly owned, were to retain a distinct practice of denominational worship. This was a specific requirement of the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) though it did allow for the holding of occasional joint services. It was a legal safeguard for the central authorities of each denomination to retain a controlling influence, as was the clause permitting any one denomination to bring the experiment to an end. While each jointly owned church was in the ownership of a body of Trustees and managed by a Joint Council (as the Act required specific persons or bodies to be parties to any sharing agreement) it was regarded as essential for denominations to control any likelihood of an 'experiment' becoming too independent and forming a denomination of its own.⁶⁰ So churches were not to be altered or newly designed with the primary intention of forming each local denominational congregation into an 'ecumenical Church'. The distinct worship practices of each sharing denomination were to be provided for.

From the Catholic position a need to safeguard its sacramental and devotional practices, was stressed by the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity in 1975.⁶¹ It regarded the building of 'inter-confessional' places of worship as an exception, but where they occurred it required the provisions to be 'consonant with sound sacramental theology, as well as respectful of the sensitivities of those who use the building'. Above all, it required that judicious consideration be given to the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.

Providing for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in shared churches has proved to be somewhat problematic. While the font, chair, altar/table and ambo (lectern/pulpit) have all been generally accepted as the principal liturgical furnishings by the denominations involved in sharing schemes, the form and location of the tabernacle has been much more of a compromise, and especially so where there has been a desire for reservation of the Eucharist by the Anglican party. The problem was dealt with in a further report to the Ecumenical Commission.

Joint Reservation in Shared Churches (1974) proffered four modes of joint reservation, viz: separate tabernacles/aumbries in separate denominational chapels; separate tabernacles/aumbries in one area; one tabernacle with two compartments and separate doors; one tabernacle with one compartment but still with separate ciboria.

The report thought that the third mode was the most appropriate 'in the present theological and pastoral situations in which shared churches are being built'.⁶²

What the buildings which actually house joint reservations show, is that as yet there seems to be no optimum mode for accommodating the joint practice especially where this occurs within the worship nucleus of an essentially secular ecumenical complex.

By 1977 the Consultative Committee for Local Ecumenical Projects in England listed some 289 projects, of which Catholic parishes were involved in 26. Of these, 21 involved the sharing of buildings, and of those 7 were newly designed and in joint-ownership.⁶³

By 1984 the numbers had risen to some 401 projects, of which Catholic parishes were involved in 75. Of these 47 involved the sharing of buildings, and were at various stages of sharing and joint-ownership agreements, the following being indicative examples: St Basil and All Saints, Widnes (1983) by R O'Mahony and Partners (Anglican/Catholic); Holy Trinity, South Woodham Ferrers (1982) by the Architects Department, Essex County Council (Project Architect: J Breavington) (Anglican/Catholic/Methodist); St Paul, Roundshaw (1981) by Pickford and Rose (Anglican/Catholic/Methodist/Baptist/United Reformed); Christ the Lord, Crawley (1980) by Woodruff, Buchanan and Coulter (Anglican/Catholic/United Reformed); The Cresset, Bretton (1978) by Ellis/Williams Partnership (Anglican/Catholic) with Gordon Cook of The Churches Community Development Consultancy responsible for the development of the rest of the complex; St James the Great, High Wycombe (1977) by A D Copcutt (Anglican/Catholic); and Christ the King, Basingstoke (1977) by Maguire and Murray (Anglican/Catholic).

At Bretton the building is situated in the Township Centre complex built by Peterborough Development Corporation and is to be completed

in two phases: the first provides for separate Anglican and Catholic areas with a jointly owned area opening on to each of the denominational chapels, with ancillary facilities; the second is to provide a separate Catholic church building on an adjacent site. The situation is somewhat similar to that at Killingworth on Tyneside, where the planners have provided a central complex to meet 'all the social, physical and spiritual needs of the community' known as the 'Communicare and Recreation Building' containing the Holy Family Ecumenical Church. While the Catholics contribute weekly to the use of this centre, they have expressed a desire to build their own separate church. However that has not been possible because of low numbers and lack of finance.⁶⁴

A Catholic contribution was also made to Skelmersdale Ecumenical Centre (1972) by P Bridges and M Purdy but without full participation in joint-ownership. So that, when St Basils, Hough Green, Widnes (1983) was opened it was described as the 'first shared church in the North of England built to be shared by Catholics and Anglicans'.⁶⁵ In this case, the Catholics had a site on which was a presbytery and a hall serving also for worship. In 1980 it was decided that a new church would be built by the Catholics but that it would be shared by the Anglicans, who would build a vicarage and vestry attached to the church, at the same time.

Of the more 'dual/multi-purpose' type of shared-use joint-ownership building involving Catholics, the first five to be built are particularly interesting. At St Pauls Centre, Thamesmead Anglican/Catholic/Methodist/United Reformed (1977) by Hinton, Brown, Madden and Langstone, the generally square plan has two polarised worship spaces that can open into secular activity areas in the corners

and onto each other across a central corridor. Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament is at the Catholic end only.

At Grove Hill, Hemel Hempstead Anglican/Catholic/Baptist (1977) Fig 36
by Melvin, Lansley and Mark, the worship area is exclusively for worship. It is oriented on the diagonal with the Blessed Sacrament reserved in the wall dividing the rear of the corner sanctuary from a small chapel. To one side of the sanctuary is a sunken baptistry, which though a fuller sign of baptism than would be normal in a Catholic church, is not so unusual as there are several examples of baptistries incorporated into sanctuaries.⁶⁶ Adjacent to the worship area is a suite of social facilities integrated with a local authority community centre. So here too, as at Bretton and Killingworth, the church is located within a larger secular complex.

At All Saints, Stirchley Anglican/Catholic (1976) by P Bosanquet and R Diplock, as the result of close co-operation with Telford Development Corporation, the centre provides many of the facilities which would have been provided separately by the Corporation. The final design was arrived at after moving from an initial stage in the early 1960s of two churches close to each other being planned, through a second stage of two churches joined by shared facilities. The suite of social facilities intended for community use, have in practice proved problematic to manage.⁶⁷ In theory though, the design allows for the central worship area to open up into secular activity areas on each side. Marking the sanctuary area are the four legs of a reinforced concrete pylon which rises through the roof and gives visual prominence to the building externally. Here there is only a Catholic tabernacle, which is at the rear of the sanctuary and can be hidden by a curtain.

Pl 143/144
Fig 37

The tabernacle at All Saints, Pin Green Anglican/Catholic/Methodist (1974) by Stevenage Development Corporation, has two doors (as was proposed for Christ the King, Basingstoke) and is set traditionally at the centre rear of the sanctuary. The total worship area occupies the major part of a square within a larger complex that contains a community centre owned by Stevenage Development Corporation (as at the Grove Hill centre). The orientation of the central part of the worship area is on the diagonal, so that the areas to either side can be screened off for secular activities.

Fig 37

The functioning of all these 'dual/multi-purpose' buildings is very dependent on the ability to successfully manipulate the volume of space required. The brief for St Andrew, Cippenham Anglican/Catholic (1970) by M Hattrell, called for a space which could be used for religious and non-religious assemblies of four hundred people, not necessarily all seated, and which could be subdivided for use by smaller and possibly simultaneous gatherings. The solution was the eccentric cruciform subdivision of a square plan by parallel sets of screens. What it provided was two intermediate sized rectangular spaces, one small square space and one large square space which was the nuclear worship area. All or any of the spaces could be opened up to each other by moving the appropriate set of double screens, which otherwise formed corridors.

P1 145/146
Fig 38

An optimum height had to be chosen for spaces which would vary between 20 ft x 20 ft for the smallest subdivision and 60 ft x 60 ft for the whole undivided interior. As the height of the sliding walls was predetermined, a greater ceiling height was obtained by running them

on the underside of the main trusses, from which the ceilings and roofs were suspended. Around the edge of the ceilings of each enclosable space were ranged continuous top-lights, with extra lanterns over the corridor crossing and the 'preferred position' for the movable altar and platform.⁶⁸

The idea for the flexible cruciform subdivision of the interior seemingly developed from similar exercises in subdividing spaces in schools. Other practices' use of the device probably also stemmed from similar exercises. In particular, it is interesting to note how Weightman and Bullen used it in the three 'dual/multi-purpose' buildings referred to earlier, especially at Rhyl; and how that scheme and the one at Crosby literally extended the Cippenham concept along the main diagonal axis.

The Cippenham building has earned itself a number of epithets: Hattrell himself has referred to it as a 'fortress', 'castle or khan'; Gilbert Cope to its being a 'liturgical workshop or cultic studio'; Ian Caveen to its being a 'bit like a French covered market'; and Brian Frost to its being locally described as the 'best looking factory in Slough'⁶⁹, a description which Frost feels is particularly apt in relation to the nearby factories of the Slough Trading Estate. For should the building become redundant as a church it would not look like an 'architectural relic which will have to be preserved at all costs', but could be used 'for quite different purposes'.

Frost also felt that 'the building can be thrown open for large secular gatherings without giving the impression that religion is

being concealed or that the place is claustrophobic', since 'all the furniture in the building is movable, including the sanctuary platform, and since the organ and tabernacle recess have sliding screens to conceal them'.⁷⁰ (Here there is a single tabernacle divided horizontally for separate reservation.) The building has also been 'thrown open' at least on one occasion for a Sikh wedding.

Immigrants from Ireland and Central Europe had swelled the post-war Catholic population, and it was as a result of looking for a site for a chapel-of-ease to the parish church of Our Lady Queen of Peace, Burnham (1958) by H Bingham Towner, that negotiations began with the Anglicans over the joint use of their underdeveloped site in Cippenham. By 1966 ideas to share a church, or a church-hall owned by one or other party, had been explored and dismissed, as international trends in ecumenical dialogue seemed to suggest the greater building-up of local partnership schemes.⁷¹ Such schemes at that time though, represented complex legal negotiations and to facilitate matters a limited liability company had to be formed - the Shared Church Trust Co. Ltd. After calming episcopal fears that a church was being built 'outside the normal Church of England system and with implications which might go further than the Roman Catholics Church was prepared to go at that time',⁷² donations of £15,000 from each of the two Churches were given towards the projected cost of £64,000. Following the Sharing of Church Buildings Act (1969) a sharing agreement was drawn up to its model requirements, and the building was opened in late 1970.

As the first of the parochial 'shared-use, joint-ownership, dual/multi-purpose ecumenical centres' in which the Catholic Church in

England and Wales was fully involved, the building is of particular significance. For those who see such buildings as the way forward for greater ecumenical partnership, St Andrew, Cippenham does 'not make a false theological statement ... it suggests a relation of the sacred to the secular. It encourages rather than discourages openness to the world around. It provides a focus but doesn't demand a total interest. It has answered the Christian's moral obligation to construct, own and use buildings that reflect an appropriate church/world relationship'.⁷³

While St Andrews was the first jointly-owned parochial building, the Catholic Church had been involved in several other newly designed shared schemes e.g. St Georges Chapel, Heathrow Airport (1968) by F Gibberd and Partners, which superseded a projected design by J Rochford and Partners for a church just outside the airport perimeter. The building is underground and circular with three apses for Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Church services. Knowing from the designing of the Metropolitan Cathedral at Liverpool, Gibberd's propensity to crib his church designs, it seems worth speculating whether the design for the Museum of the Treasury, San Lorenzo Cathedral, Genoa (1956) by F Albin, was the source of inspiration for this simple little building.⁷⁴

Other shared schemes prior to Cippenham also include a 'clover-leaf' plan. At the Chaplaincy, the University of Lancaster (1969) by Cassidy and Ashton, there is a common circular central space that opens onto two separate circular 'leaves' of the plan, which are the Catholic and Protestant chapels. The third 'leaf' includes a Jewish meeting area, library and living accommodation. While the protruberances of the Catholic and Non-Conformist chapels of the

Chapel Complex, University of Keele (1965) by G Pace give the impression of it being a primarily Anglican building with the other denominations 'tucked in' behind. But it was clearly an organic development of the original design of 1958⁷⁵, which had three distinct chapels linked together. Three chapels which were distinctly not linked together, were the three erected at the Army Apprentices College, Harrogate (1968) by A M Gear (for the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works) Pl 147. Like the other two, but with slightly different external patternings, the Catholic chapel of Christ the King was a pyramidal laminated timber construction. Standing on the edge of the parade ground, they were described as being aesthetically banal and worthy of publication only as a 'cautionary tale'.⁷⁶

Whether erecting two or more church buildings near to each other is something to be cautioned against, will depend entirely on particular attitudes to ecumenism and its progress. In a pluralistic, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-faith society it can sometimes seem strange that the denominations of the Christian Church would wish to represent their confessional and historical diversity as a scandal. What would seem to be the real scandal, is not diversity per se but intolerance towards diversity. On confessional grounds it would seem to be perfectly legitimate to foster a distinct identity and outlook. It would then seem to be perfectly consistent to order denominational worship in a way that effects the environmental and social order of its adherents, so that the environmental and social order both forms and expresses each denominational sense of ecclesiology. Where in shared premises there is a lessening of such determinancy, there is a proportionately higher probability of that 'indifferentism' of which the Vatican Secretariat on Christian Unity warned, being fostered.

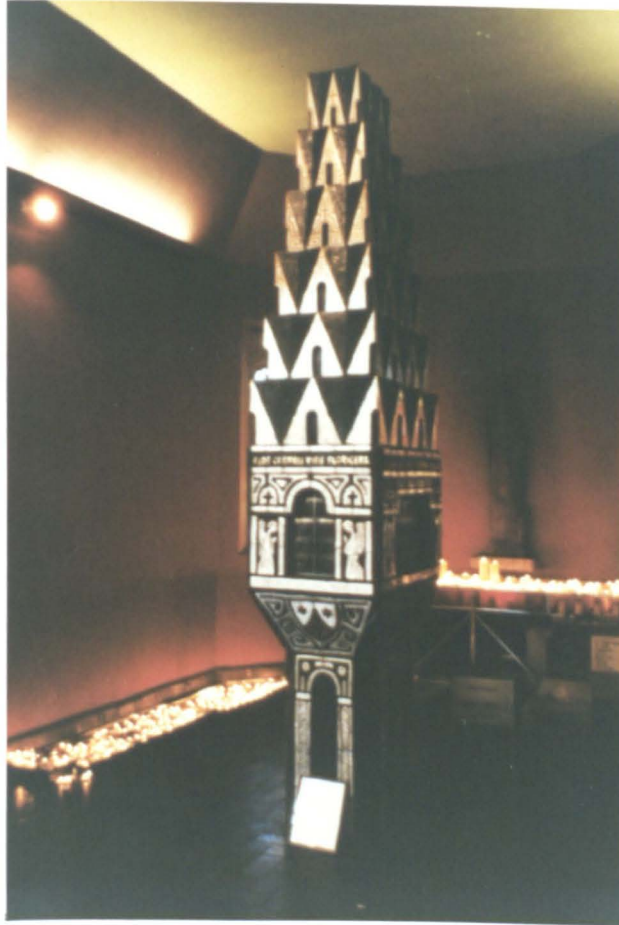
On a more pragmatic level, there can be many practical and financial advantages of sharing church buildings, but the degree to which ecumenism should be invoked in its favour should be viewed with some considerable caution. And it should be especially viewed with caution when it is invoked by local authorities to relieve themselves of the task of providing sites for separate ecclesiastical projects; and to provide instead a more or less indeterminate space within a local authority controlled social facility, even though it might appear to have attractive pastoral prospects for an integrated secular Christian ministry. So it is interesting to observe that the trend of more recent ecumenical centres in which the Catholic Church has been involved, seems to be away from such situations; but more need to be built before the trend can be described as being marked. And more ecumenical centres in general need to be built before they can be described as having an impact on the overall trend of Catholic churchbuilding. While, since 1970, they seem to represent approximately 5% of all new projects on average, they are less than 0.4% of the total number of parochial buildings used for Catholic worship. And as the total number of new churches built each year in England and Wales has dropped from approximately 66 in 1969 to 17 in 1980, it has to be recognised that any widespread impact will be a long time coming.

Adapted and Redundant Church Buildings

Not every post-war church building project has been concerned with building a new church, or building on a new site. As has already been discussed, the liturgical renewal, given approval and impetus

by Vatican II, has caused just about every Catholic church to be altered to a greater or lesser extent. Such alterations to the environmental order of Catholic worship are not meant to be arbitrary; they are intended to be indicative of a new ordering of the Church and its understandings, perceptions, structures and relationships. Consequently, there is a continuing desire to make the environmental order of worship consonant with that indicative function. But so often, the constraints of practical realities and popular sentiments seem to impinge and indicate a quite different set of values. Yet thought of in constructive terms, such constraints are the very stuff of an encounter between worship and the material world it, in part, seeks to order. So if a church building is acquired from another denomination, or from a secular proprietor; or if it is now too large or too small; or if it is dilapidated or surplus to need, then what happens to it will also be indicative of meaning.

If the three chapels at the Army Apprentices College, Harrogate were an example of a government department doing things in triplicate, then the garrison church of St Michael and St George, Aldershot (1893) by Major Pitt and Lt Michie is an example of army surplus. It was made available for Catholic use in 1973 after the nineteenth century timber structure used up to then, was considered uneconomic to maintain. The building was generously spacious with many memorial embellishments that had to be retained (e.g. the altar-rails, which were moved from the chancel chord to a position further back, forming a devotional area around the Blessed Sacrament itself housed in a tabernacle erected in front of the old high altar). Work on its adaptation was completed in 1975 by Burles, Newton and Partners. P1 147



148

Pilgrimage Shrine, The Friars, Aylesford (1964), A G Scott
Reliquary of St Simon Stock by Adam Kossowski

Another example of an adaptation by Burles, Newton and Partners, was Our Lady of Lourdes, Kentish Town (1971). In this case an exchange was made with the nearby Methodists, whose congregation size suited the smaller Catholic church. While the original platform and pulpit were removed, the organ and choir gallery were left, though made slightly less dominant by the use of a large fabric hanging at the rear of the sanctuary. The side galleries were also retained. The side galleries were also retained in the ex-Primitive Methodist church of St Laurence, Manchester, which had become redundant at the beginning of World War II, and used as a mortuary during the war and then a store. It was adapted for Catholic use in 1961 by A Farebrother.

After the war there was a significant influx of Polish and Ukrainian immigrants who wished to keep their cultural identity. In Bradford two ex-Methodist churches were acquired and adapted for the communities there: Holy Trinity was adapted in 1966 by J H Langtry-Langton for the Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainians; Our Lady of Czestochowa was originally adapted in 1960 but was reordered in 1981 by Greenalgh and Williams, who in 1959 had adapted the Church of Divine Mercy, Moss-Side, Manchester from an ex-Welsh Presbyterian chapel. Yet another example of accommodating a Polish community is provided by St Michael, Birmingham (1976) by Horsley, Currall and Associates. The building was a redundant 'Georgian non-conformist preaching house' and was DoE listed. As compensation was due for the loss of the parish hall caused by the construction of the inner-ring road, the decision was taken to reorder the building and include a social facility. Being the most central of the city's Catholic churches, the renewal gave its pastoral role - including that of a focus for the Polish community - fresh impetus.

In passing, recognition should be given to the contribution made to post-war liturgical art in this country by the Polish artist Adam Kossowski. If there is one thing which tends to distinguish Catholic churches from other denominational environmental orderings for worship (with the possible exception of Anglican churches) it is the use of liturgical and devotional art. In England and Wales, such art has been greatly upgraded by the contribution made by Kossowski, since 1945.⁷⁷

Pl 148

Another artist, Jill Messenger, made a significant contribution to the outstanding adaptation of an ex-Methodist church in Leeds by Walker and Biggin in 1959. At Our Lady of Lourdes, Headingley she produced a fine free-standing altar with a figurative base in cement fondu. For its date the complete adaptation of the sanctuary area was quite anticipatory of Vatican II. Yet, sometime in the 1970s, it was thought fit to reorder the church and introduce a marble altar from Messrs Alberti Lupton. The fate of the Messenger altar is undisclosed, but presumably it was destroyed.⁷⁸ Such an incident can only be an indictment of the general Catholic lack of a systematic way of safeguarding churches from interference by often ill-informed (but frequently well-intentioned) enthusiasts of one kind or another.

The Anglican system of controlling churchbuilding works is much tighter. For the adaptation of the medieval church of St Mary the Less, Thetford (1981) by Marshall Sisson, the scheme not only had to be approved by the Catholic authorities but also by the Anglican Norwich Diocesan Advisory Committee, and Board of Finance, and by the Church Commissioners. The church had been made redundant for

several years until 1980, when it was leased to the Catholic Church for 99 years on the payment of 'a rose at mid-summer' - a splendid ecumenical gesture!

For some time the Church of England has had to face the problem of redundancy among its 18,000 churches, 11,000 of which are listed Grade I by the Department of the Environment. The Methodist Church too has had a considerable problem in reducing its heritage of 13,500 Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodist chapels in 1940 to less than 9,000 in the 1970s.⁷⁹ And so, proportionately, have other non-Conformist Churches. But even among the churches that have been retained many have been internally altered to reduce the size of the congregational spaces to make them more economic to heat and maintain; and to provide a suite of social facilities of use to the community, e.g. the church of St Michael and All Angels with St Hilda, Sunderland (1983) by Charlewood, Curry, Wilson and Atkinson. As is now common in Anglican circles, the whole scheme of alteration to the interior was referred to as a 'reordering':⁸⁰

Latterly, there have been examples of Catholic adaptations to church interiors that are now too large for their congregations. At its simplest this has involved suspending a false ceiling over part of the nave and of turning the orientation of altar and people through 90° or 45° in order to create a shorter axis and more gathered plan. The cavernous interiors of Liverpool churches of Our Lady of Lourdes and St Bernard (1901) by Pugin and Pugin, and Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette (1860) by E W Pugin, were both treated in this way in 1981 by the Vis Williams Partnership. While both schemes could have benefited from some finer design detailing considerations, in principle they appear to be a reasonable compromise - and they are reversible. P1 149

Of the churches which have subdivided their interiors, all three examples noted were of post-war origin. At St Laurence, Kirkby Roy Croft and Partners in 1975 reduced the size of the building by half with a vertical division of the interior. While at St Peter and St Paul, Longbenton D Brown and Associates in 1981 reduced the size of the church they had built in 1964 by one-third and created a 'chapel-cum-meeting room' downstairs and a social hall upstairs. And at St Augustine, High Wycombe Mathers Thomas Associates put in a floor across the central section of a building designed in 1956 by J S Comper.

The number of churches reducing their interior space because of declining congregations, seems to be fewer than the number increasing the space because of increasing congregations. That is not to imply that generally congregations are increasing, because projected statistics suggest the probability of a continuing gradual decline.⁸¹ But in certain areas there will be an increase in the local Catholic population that cannot be fully accommodated in the existing church building.

A solution to providing more space for larger congregations has been to open up one side of a church building and put another arm on at right angles to the existing nave, and then to move the sanctuary to the junction. Mention has already been made to the occurrence of the T-plan which this solution produces, in certain older Catholic churches in Ireland. And there are more recent notable examples at St Mary, Tallaght, Dublin (1970) by E Brady, and at St Brigid, Kildare (1974) by Tyndall, Hogan and Hurley, where the church is narrowly opened up on the far side of the central sanctuary from

the new congregational space, to provide a Blessed Sacrament chapel with an adjacent confessional or 'reconciliation room'.⁸²

In England, the church of St Mary the Immaculate, Grantham (1832) by E Willson, was opened up on one side by G Goalen in 1966. But it was not an extension for extra seating that was provided, but an apsidal space for a reorientated altar. In its lifetime, the building had known an altar at the East end, then the West end and now on the North side. The space vacated by the old altar was used for relocating the font; while additional space in the nave allowed three blocks of seating to be angled towards and face the new altar.

In 1974, a more conventional T-plan extension was designed by J H Langtry-Langton for St Francis of Assissi, Bradford (1938) but it had a parish room incorporated at the end of the extension. Using the complete extension in a dual-purpose way was the solution provided by R O'Mahony and Partners in 1973 at Our Lady of Pity, Greasby (1951) by F X Velarde, and by Broadbent, Hastings, Reid and Todd in 1974 at St Andrew, Thornton Heath. Opening up part of a side wall in order to add an extension is daring enough, but to open up the whole of a side elevation creates even more daring feats of structural engineering. The most ambitious scheme of this kind in England has been at the cathedral church of St Helen, Brentwood (1861) P1 78 by G Blount. Originally a small neo-Gothic country church, it became a cathedral in 1917; but not until the late 1960s, when the need to reorder it to suit the post-Vatican II liturgy became inevitable, was a decision finally taken to enlarge it, rather than demolish it and build anew.

The design by Burles, Newton and Partners, completed in 1974, turned the original building's length into the new building's breadth, and extended the North side from the nave arcading (which had been replaced by a trabeated steel beam) to form a virtual square. So almost the whole of the original nave became the sanctuary and ceremonial focus, while the extension housed the congregation in four radial blocks of seating. For normal parish services, the seating was for 450, but when overflow areas to the North and West were used, the total could rise to 1,000. When not in use as overflows these spaces were to be used for meetings and other purposes. Yet despite its beneficial provision of these extra spaces, and a cost (of £104,000) that was obviously less than what it would have been for a new building, the extension has an impact on the interior of the existing building that makes it not only less than cohesive, but also structurally less than complementary.

Doubts about extensions to notable church buildings can develop into vociferous objections and become very much a cause célèbre. The objections raised against proposals to add an extension to St Augustine, Solihull (1838) by A W N Pugin (believed to be the earliest extant church by him), were dismissed as 'premature'.⁸³ Exercising the legal right of 'ecclesiastical exemption' the design by B A Rush and Partners went ahead in 1980. As at Brentwood, the whole of the North elevation was opened up, with the new sanctuary at 90° to the old nave - though not sited in it. Rush also opened up another Victorian church, St Mary, Harborne (1876) in 1980, but here the result is a new worship space seating 500 oriented on the diagonal away from the original building to which it is joined, and which is used for smaller services seating up to 100. This solution

was more acceptable to conservationists and followed the concept used ten years earlier in 1970 by Brett and Pollen in their extension of St Peter, Marlow (1844) by A W N Pugin. Here the original church was designed to seat only 70 in the nave and 30 in the side chapel. Brett and Pollen's design was for a fan-shaped worship space seating 350 'architecturally complementary to the existing building but uncompromising in its form to suit the present liturgy'.⁸⁴

Pl 150

Not every neo-Gothic church has been as fortunate as Pugin's building at Marlow. The church of the Holy Rood, Swindon (1905) by E Doran Webb was completely re-oriented through 90° to the axis of the original building, by 'partially' demolishing it. All that were left standing were the original chancel and Lady chapel, which became the Lady chapel and Blessed Sacraments chapels respectively, in the new structure, completed in 1971 by Ivor Day and O'Brien. While the new structure is more consonant with the dynamics of the post-Vatican II liturgy, the method of achieving it was very reminiscent of other ploys to use the 'ecclesiastical exemption' from listed building consent, to its fullest.

Of the buildings left more intact by extensions, the church of the English Martyrs, Reading (1926) by W C Mangan provides an excellent example of a sensitively integrated suite of new social facilities linked to an existing church. The scheme was carried out in 1970 by R Sheppard, Robson and Partners. Its purpose was not so much to provide for extra congregational seating (which it nevertheless did), as to provide greater opportunities for gathering socially. Only part of one side elevation was opened up to form a week-day chapel

which together with some ancillary spaces behind it, and a glazed concourse corridor at the West end of the church, formed a link with the meeting rooms, hall and presbytery. And the whole was carried out in scale and in materials sympathetic to the Italianate design of the original building.

Initiatives such as those taken at Tilehurst, Greasby, Bradford and Thornton Heath, to integrate social facilities with an extension of the church building, can take a neat twist when coupled with the idea of enlarging the building by abutting a completely new worship space and turning the original into a chapel for smaller gatherings, as at Marlow, Harborne and Solihull. Obviously, there are many examples of where a temporary structure, or a more permanent dual-purpose building, have been converted to exclusively social use after a 'church proper' has been built on the site. Where the neat twist comes is when a 'church proper' is partially or wholly converted to secular use as part of the redevelopment of a site initiated by the need to build a larger church building, and is integrated with it.

An example of an ad hoc worship space being incorporated into a new building can be seen at St Thomas More, Swiss Cottage (1969) by G Goalen, where the structure was originally an artist's studio, before being extended, in the grounds of the house which became the presbytery.

But at St Thomas More, Eastcote (1976) by Burles, Newton and Partners, and especially at St Elphege, Wallington (1972) and the Sacred Heart, Coventry (1979), both by Williams and Winkley, it is possible to see examples of churches built in the 1930s converted to secular use. At

Eastcoate, Hatfield and Wallington this is completely so; at Coventry Fig 23 only half is converted, the remainder is adapted as a weekday chapel. The conversions at Coventry and Wallington were both intended to include a two-storey link with the new church building, but in neither case was the link completed.⁸⁵

Keeping the original church building as part of the redevelopment plans for a parish site, does not seem to feature as a viable option in all cases. In some instances where the building is no longer structurally sound, and there can be no thought of incorporating it or adapting it, then demolition has to be contemplated - though why a building should be structurally unsound, is a question worth asking. Unfortunately, the answer too often would probably be that it has not been properly maintained.⁸⁶ But in the case of a temporary structure, it may well have come to the end of its useful life. The timber church of Christ the King, Coventry is such an example. After thirty years of use, it was considered necessary to demolish it and replace it with a more permanent structure. As the site was restricted, W H Saunders and Son designed the new building to be constructed over the original, before it was finally demolished in 1972.

At St Mary and St Ethelburga, East Barking the ravages of time were blamed for making the small church of 1869 unsuitable for extension, and so it was demolished as part of the second stage of erecting the new building designed by Burles, Newton and Partners, and completed in 1972. Several items from the old building were, however, incorporated (e.g. the font, memorial stones, selected stained glass). It was a practice which seemed to become more evident in the 1970s -

as if there were developed a sudden sensitivity towards the possible pastoral effects of a 'culture shock' brought about by too swift a change in the dynamics and aesthetics of the new environmental ordering of Catholic liturgy. Quite amazing conglomerations of 'much loved' and 'beautiful' 'features' could then adorn a new building, as at St Francis, Holbeck, Leeds (1980) by J H Langtry-Langton, which replaced the church of 1896 by J Kelly marooned in an area scheduled for industrial development. At times though, such gestures of concern for the patrimony of the Church seem hollow, especially when the precise motives for demolition remain unclear and suspiciously subjective; as with the demolition of Our Lady of the Assumption (St Mary), Rhyl (1863) by J Hungerford P1 137/138 Pollen, in order to replace it with the 'dual/multi-purpose' structure by Weightman and Bullen (already referred to above). The re-use of an altar and other items from the old church, seem particularly at odds with their new setting. That is not to say that old and 'much loved' items do not suit new settings per se, but it does say that the motives for retention have to be genuine and informed, and the mode of incorporation has to be very sensitively designed - as with the circular window at Barking.

With the right design skills and a genuine and informed motivation, wonders can often be worked on the most unpromising of buildings in order to rescue them from decrepitude. The heavy slate roof of the Victorian church of St Winefride, St Asaph was proving too much for the roof timbers and the walls. After considering the options, the decision was taken to re-use the foundations, floor and lower walls of the church, and create a small-scale structure in keeping with the town. The resulting low-profile buildings completed in 1979, are typical of the skilful and informed designing by the Bowen, Dann Davies Partnership.

At St Asaph it was the weight of the roof which was causing the walls to collapse; usually though, the major cause of collapse is subsidence. Reference has already been made to the need to replace the churches of St Michael, Wombwell and St Gregory, Stoke-on-Trent because of mining subsidence. But there have been few more embarrassing cases than that of St Anne, Custom House, Barking. In 1966 at a cost of £18,000 Burles, Newton and Partners added a whole new bay to the neo-Gothic church of 1897. Indeed, the contractors Messrs Manser and Fisk Ltd were awarded a Certificate of Craftsmanship by the Local Chapter of the Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire Society of Architects, for their work on the project. But in 1978 the church had to be demolished 'due to severe structural defects caused by settlement of the foundations', and a new building designed by the Weal and Pozzoni Partnership replaced it in 1981 at a cost of approximately £130,000.⁸⁷

Other accidental causes adversely affecting the structural condition of church buildings includes fires, such as occurred at St Gregory, Kingskerswell in 1977. The church was completely restored by Evans Powell Associates, according to their original design of 1962. In Northern Ireland two years earlier, the only complete destruction of a Catholic church that has been noted, took place, when St Anthony, Larne was 'maliciously burned'. The building had only been completed in 1974.

Structural design faults or failures have also adversely affected church buildings, requiring them to be rebuilt or radically modified. The collapse of the timber-framed structure of St Benedict, Garforth in 1964 just as it was being completed, has already been referred to;

as has the more insidious near-collapse of St Winefride, St Asaph. Another example of a church building being reduced in height because of its structural condition was the post-war church of St Joseph, Stevenage (1956) by Sterret and Blouet. In the late 1970s, Williams and Winkley undertook the task, and were also invited to survey the church of Our Lady Queen of All Creation, Hemel Hempstead (1958) P1 21/22 by Archard and Partners. At the time, there were fears over reinforced concrete members being affected by High Alumina Cement (HAC), but seemingly faults could be attributed to an accumulated number of design weaknesses and not just one. In the end, though, it was decided for cost-effective reasons that the church would be better demolished, which would have taken its architect aback as only a few years before he had referred to it as having 'some good, honest, traditional bonework'.⁸⁸

Another notable case is provided in Scotland: in the late 1970s, questions began to be raised over the condition of the brickwork (especially of the tower and parapets) of St Bride, East Kilbride (1963) by Gillespie, Kidd and Coia. Protective measures were taken and a video inspection was made. The provisional prognosis was that because of inadequate, or failed, cover the brickwork was subject to heavy saturation. Remedial work was obviously called for, and approaches were made by the Scottish Civic Trust and the Scottish Churches Architectural Heritage Trust inviting applications for help, because the building is otherwise architecturally noteworthy. The Historic Buildings Council for Scotland also offered to have a survey undertaken by Edinburgh University. To each of these approaches, the Motherwell diocesan authorities apparently made no formal reply. The last initiative to be noted was that of the Scottish Civic Trust which

was about to approach the Scottish Catholic Heritage Commission, in the hope that it could elicit some positive response from the diocesan authorities concerned.⁸⁹

But probably the most notable case is that of the Metropolitan Cathedral, Liverpool (1967) by Sir F Gibberd and Partners, about which reports began being publicised just ten years after completion, of serious cracks in the roof's aluminium skin, and in the covering to the piazza area.⁹⁰ In 1982 the condition of the building became the subject of reports concerning possible litigation against the architect, his practice and the consultant engineers at the time (Lowe and Rodin). Interestingly, Bickerdike Allen, the consultant architects/engineers engaged to investigate the failures, have also been engaged in enquiries concerning other prestigious buildings of the 1960s (e.g. the Engineering Building, University of Leicester (1964) by Stirling and Gowan, and the Faculty of History Building, University of Cambridge (1968) also by Stirling). Obviously, failures in such widely acclaimed buildings have contributed much to a public disenchantment with the architecture of the modern movement. It seems indefensible to claim that the roofing system used on the cathedral was without precedent, especially when it may be demonstrated that at the time finer calculations could have been made. However, it should be remembered that the design was chosen precisely because it appeared to be without precedent, and was wholly novel, emphasising and giving impetus to the renewals and innovations of Vatican II. So the building has become a motif of the Council, and to its detractors its failures are indicative of wider failures in the post-Conciliar Church.

Church buildings can fail in ways other than structurally, too - they can fail by being over-sized motifs. In a sense, Liverpool cathedral fails in that way, but in a sense too, it was almost inevitably likely to, because of an implicit obligation to match the Anglican cathedral and to justify the beginnings made by Lutyens.

Wishing to have greater environmental 'presence' for a church building can lead to difficult decisions regarding the fate of existing buildings. In Doncaster the church of St Peter in Chains (1867) by M E Hadfield and Son, was a compact building on a crowded town-centre site with no room for expansion. So the decision was taken to negotiate a new 2.5 acre site prominently situated in a redevelopment area that included the new museum and art gallery. The new church was completed in 1973 by J H Langtry-Langton, and the original church was demolished except for a few furnishings (including the tabernacle designed by J F Bentley) which were incorporated in the new Blessed Sacrament chapel. The church has proportions greater than a normal parish church, and one can only speculate as to whether it was conceived as being a prime contender for the cathedral of the proposed new diocese of 'South Yorkshire'.⁹¹

Similarly in Middlesborough, one can only speculate as to whether the church of St Patrick, Coulby Newham by the Swainston Partnership, which is intended to replace the city-centre church of St Patrick (1901), is really intended to be a contender for the replacement of the cathedral church of St Mary (1876) by G Goldie. Certainly, the structural condition of the existing cathedral will 'eventually lead to the closure of the building due to the uneconomic nature of the necessary repairs'.⁹²

Having to cope with church buildings that are no longer economic to maintain, and no longer serve a clear pastoral function, is a problem for Catholic authorities in England and Wales. And is especially so where a church is DoE listed. The example of St Francis Xavier, Liverpool (1849) by J J Scoles, which has become a cause célèbre, has already been referred to at length.⁹³ In 1930 the area of some two square miles in which it stood, had a Catholic population of over 80,000; in 1976 it had only 20,000 but was still being catered for by eleven churches. The particular parish had over 13,000 parishioners in 1930, but by the mid-1970s it had less than 1,000 of which only 450 attended Sunday Mass regularly. Decline in the population meant that the adjacent schools were also affected, so that a large redundant complex looked ripe for redevelopment. Two housing associations were approached, and plans were drawn up for the site to be redeveloped as a housing scheme following the departure of the last of the schools. The scheme involved the 'partial' demolition of the church, which would have been perfectly legal under the 'ecclesiastical exemption' from listed building consent. But it was at that point, when that part of the plan was publicised, that the conservation lobbyists got to work, and the proposals for demolishing the building had to be withdrawn.

The 'Pastoral Plan' for the northern sector of the inner-city of Liverpool had recommended the closure of four parishes, of which that of St Francis Xavier was one. The church of 'SFX' was reprieved from demolition, but the churches of St Gerard Majella (1915) and of St Joseph (1878) by J O'Byrne, were not. As the explanation for the latter was put: 'Soaring maintenance costs, and a congregation first decimated and then isolated by surrounding

major roadworks and slum clearance, finally left the Archdioces with no alternative but to demolish'.⁹⁴ A gable end of the old building abutting the four-storey presbytery, was left standing, and the site made into a playground. The presbytery was refurbished for parish use, and the chapel in the nearby school made available for parish worship.

Developing a simple 'shelter for the liturgy' was the intention in each of the cases at Burnely, when the church of St Mary Magdalene (1904) had to be demolished because of the construction of the Calder Valley Motorway. The compensation received, substantially paid for the new churches of St Mary Magdalene (1980) seating 300 P1 151 and St Teresa (1980) seating 200, both by D Williams Associates, at P1 152 a total cost of £400,000. Externally, the simple geometry, straightforward vernacular and domestic-scale suggest not only an eye to being cost-effective but also an eye to a discreet sense of order. Simple shelters they may be, but externally there is a sense of them being more than provisional. Internally, however, it is different, and especially in the church of St Mary Magdalene. There the new sanctuary is dominated by an appalling wooden reredos from the old church, which the weak forms and poor placing of the new liturgical focii fail to off-set. All the values signalled by the exterior, internally disintegrate. The sacred geometry of the supposedly ordered environment of worship, as it were, fails to sustain the secular geometry of the simple structure. This is not to argue for the imposing geometry of monumentalism, but for that discreet and complex geometry arising from the 'slow dance of the liturgy', which produces a beauty that has no need of gratuitous art and mis-placed sentiments. What the sanctuary at Burnley

indicates is that it is not so much the demolition of the past that is disturbing, as a continuing general inability to construct a truly liturgically ordered environment of Catholic worship in England and Wales for the future. If it were truly liturgically informed its aesthetic would look after itself.

Abstract concepts and ideal models of liturgical design are fine; and it is not impossible to find exemplary concrete examples. But in the last part of this chapter especially, it has been particularly borne in mind just how often the Church has to take what is available and exercise the art of the possible. If it has to take redundant cinemas and convert them, as at Our Lady of Lourdes, Huddersfield (1961) by J Rochford, St Paul, Guide Bridge (1966) by Burles, Newton and Partners, St Mary, Manchester (1957) by Mather and Nutter, and Our Lady Star of the Sea, Mumbles (1979) by F R Bates Son and Price, or even a redundant telephone exchange as at St Joseph, Tewkesbury (1977) by G Mathers Associates, then that is what it has to do. But it is no excuse for liturgically uninformed design. Looking at what was done in the bare barn-like chapel of the missionary fathers at Kiltegan, Co Wicklow by Ray Carroll, there can be no excuse that ad hoc locations do not lend themselves to a flowering of liturgical design.

Attempting to maintain the post-Conciliar renewal of the liturgy has been one of the principal challenges within the Church during the 1970s. The resulting tendencies have been both reactive and hyper-active, and have been manifestly evident in churchbuilding developments in the British Isles. While in Ireland their years of grounding in the basic issues of liturgical design have produced

a new orthodoxy of criteria, the situation in England and Wales, and in Scotland, has been generally less well informed, yet subject to a greater, or more pronounced, set of issues affecting church-building. There has been such diversity, that more issues seem to have been raised than during almost any other period - and that despite a steep decline in the number of churches built. They have stemmed from a desire to relate more pastorally with the laity, more ecumenically with other Churches, and more inter-actively with the secular world and its cultural forms; and also from a desire to increase the stewardship of resources, not excluding the patrimony of the Church. These then must be prominent among the criteria by which a concluding assessment is made not only of this chapter, but also of this whole undertaking to survey post-war developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles.

Footnotes

- 1 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 footnote 103.
- 2 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 301 ff.
- 3 Cf. Appendix 4.52.
- 4 Cf. Ansdell-Evans P 'Our Lady's Priory, Sayers Common, Sussex' Architectural Review (January 1981) p. 25.

The architect Michael Blee is himself a Buddhist.

- 5 Cf. Mikellides B, Architecture for People (1980).
- 6 In a letter (18 July 1980) Broad wrote:

... The surveys were intended to assess their reaction to the new thinking on liturgical planning and the preferred characteristics of the environment that they considered appropriate. Our findings did not in the end help a great deal, and not unexpectedly the parishioners fell into two camps, the older members adhering to very traditional views, the younger ones to more modern and progressive views. The ethnic make up of the parish, i.e. mainly Irish and West Indian also brought unusual influences to bear on our researches. In addition, at a more practical level, vandalism and other social problems of the area played a considerable part in influencing the design and finishes of the complex.

It seemed to me that what was required was a relatively 'straightforward' building that in all respects would be comprehensible to the users and with which they could identify easily in the context of their own social circumstances ...

Cf. Also Our Lady of Lourdes and St Vincent de Paul: Commemorative brochure for the Solemn Consecration (10 September 1976).

- 7 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 275 ff.
- 8 John Wells-Thorpe was co-author with Desmond Williams of Buildings for the Church in Milton Keynes (1970) Cf. Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 274.
- 9 Information in letter (27 January 1978) from the Diocese of Northampton, Diocesan Officer for Areas of Expansion, the Very Rev Canon N Burditt.

10 In his letter (27 Jan 78) Canon Burditt wrote:

... This provision also had to conform to a programme that had some relation to the income from accumulated funds (slight) and expected contributions raised in the parishes in Milton Keynes and throughout the diocese.

11 Cf. Appendix 1.1.

12 In his letter (27 Jan 78) Canon Burditt wrote:

... It is very difficult to find reasonable comparisons with other churches, but our quantity surveyors confirmed the architects' opinions that there is an actual saving of cost.

How and on what assumptions such a comparative assessment was made, was not disclosed, and no actual figures were quoted.

13 Cf. Harman L Rev 'Emmanuel Church: An Integral Part of the Weston Favell Centre, Northampton' Research Bulletin 1975: Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture (1975) pp. 48/52.

14 The artists include: Oisín Kelly, Ian Stuart, Evie Hone, John and Roisin Murphy, Thomas Quinn, Eamon Costello, Rev Jack Hanlon, and Andrew O'Connor whose Deposition from the Cross is a plaster model of the bronze in the Tate Gallery, London.

15 The church has subsequently been altered and extended by Lind of Dunfermline.

Some have deprecatingly referred to the building as a 'horse stable' and a 'public jakes'.

16 Cf. 'Expendable Churches' Churchbuilding No. 17 (January 1966) p. 5.

17 For the celebration of the Lord's supper a moderately large, well-proportioned room is needed, in its centre a table and on the table a bowl of bread and a cup of wine. The table may be decorated with candles and surrounded by seats for the congregation.

Schwarz R The Church Incarnate (1938/58) p. 35.

18 Making the sacramental locii discreet in order to give greater prominence to the assembly can have the effect of their being regarded as mere utilities. It can also convey the notion that the faithful can attain salvation by their own efforts apart from Divine Grace derived from the Sacraments as the Word made flesh. It seems to suggest that the sacramental system is incidental, rather than central, to the Catholic life. Though there are those who would hold a differing view, here the view

is that a Catholic church is not only the house of the people of God, but also the shrine of God's tabernacled presence in the Blessed Sacrament as the sacrament par excellence. As such it is the sanctifying locus to which a community of the faithful is drawn in order to be the Church in communion with God and the Church universal.

- 19 Smith P F Third Millenium Churches (1972) p. 87.
- 20 E.g. at St Martin Higher, Poynton, Cheshire (1965).
- 21 Final Assessors Report: Single Stage Competition for the Design of a Parish Church: Archdiocese of Dublin (1977) p. 30.
- 22 Competition Conditions: Single Stage Competition for the Design of a Parish Church: Archdiocese of Dublin (1976) art Cl. 4.
- 23 These are sentiments and views expressed by Wilfrid Cantwell in a letter (13 August 1976). His own design submission was unsuccessful.
- 24 Cf. Wright L 'Dublin Angles' Architectural Review (July 1980) p. 25.
- 25 Wright art cit (1980).
- 26 Wright art cit (1980).
- 27 Final Assessors Report (1977) p. 6.

Of the prize-winning and highly commended designs the following comments have been made by Mr R J Hogan, Secretary to the Commission for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Archdiocese of Dublin in a letter (31 January 1985), in the order set out in the Report:

Messrs Hope Cuffe & Associates: not commissioned for a church building since the competition. Design No 40.

Robert L Kingston: commissioned for parish churches at Bawnoge and Beaumont - each church commissioned to the design of that premiated in the competition - Beaumont church opened December 1977 and Bawnoge church opened November 1980. Design No 58.

Messrs Kidney Burke-Kennedy & Doyle: commissioned as architects for permanent church at Kilbarrack/Foxfield. Design different to that premiated in the competition - church opened in October 1982. Design No 74.

Messrs Scott Tallon Walker (Robin Walker): commissioned for a new church at Castleview - design different to that premiated in the competition - opened May 1982. Design No 96.

John Meagher: commissioned as architect for new church at Firhouse - design essentially the same as that premiated in the competition - church opened May 1979. Design No 174.

Messrs Patrick Campbell, Brian Conroy, Arthur Hickey: commissioned as architects for new parish church at Castleknock - design different to that highly commended in the competition - church opened in March 1983. Design No 12.

Hugh Desmond & Donal McCarthy: offered a commission for a parish in one of the developing parishes, but later withdrew. Design No 13.

Messrs A & D Wejchert: church built at Donaghmede (Grangemore) essentially to the competition design - opened December 1978. Design No 91.

John Meagher: not undertaken. Design No 132.

Peter & Mary Doyle: offered a commission but withdrew. Design No 166.

Messrs Tyndall Hogan Hurley (Richard Hurley): commissioned for church at Knocklyon - final design similar to plan of competition design but with some alternative structural features - church opened April 1980. Design No 21.

Philip Black: not undertaken. Design No 55.

Pearse McKenna: appointed for new church at Killiney - final design not similar to competition design - church opened March 1982. Design No 145.

Naish O'Dowd & Associates: appointed for new parish church at Priorswood - design essentially that of competition design - church opened February 1980. Design No 154.

On the question of the cost of those churches built; taking into account the different starting dates of the contracts and inflationary trends most of the churches seemingly have each been built for a cost comparable to that of IR £110,000 in 1976.

On the value of such a competition the view of the Commission for Sacred Art & Architecture was that it does bring new talent to the notice of Church authorities, but that the number of commissions which can actually be awarded are necessarily few. Consequently, many architects will be disappointed having put considerable time and effort into preparing proposals etc. It concluded that a more limited exercise might be more beneficial, with an invited number of architects preparing proposals for a specific site. The Commission was presently considering adequate procedures for interviewing practises.

The final view of the Commission seemed to be that it would probably be unwise to have a competition on such a large scale again.

28 Wright art cit (1980).

29 A substantial portion of the church building collapsed during the night of 18/19 November 1964, ten days before it was to have been opened by Dom Basil Hume, then Abbot of Ampleforth and responsible for the parish of St Benedict, Garforth, in the diocese of Leeds.

The architect and consulting engineer engaged Dr R H Evans, Professor of Engineering at Leeds University to prepare a report. Ampleforth Abbey commissioned a second report, and in 1965 it was reported that three reports had finally been submitted.

The reports seemingly suggested different reasons for the collapse, but a high wind and heavy rainfall were major contributory factors. The procedure of the collapse was assessed as beginning on the previous Sunday when 'the main entrance doors were left open for a considerable period allowing wind forces in excess of 70 mph to act from within the incomplete structure seriously weakening certain truss members and connections and the corner posts'. (The Skyrack Express (8 October 1965))

The failure of the structure that followed the heavy rain on 18 November 1964 apparently involved certain trusses, the fabrication of the corner posts and the West gable wall connections.

The building was rebuilt to the original concept with fresh calculations for the structure, and opened on 18 November 1966, two years after the date of the disaster. The parish paid the original contract price of £40,000 with the Ampleforth Abbey Trustees agreeing not to charge interest until five years after completion.

Information from: The Yorkshire Post (19 November 1964; 20 November 1964; 21 November 1964; 8 December 1964), The Yorkshire Evening Post (19 November 1964; 20 November 1964; 21 January 1965; 22 October 1966), The Skyrack Express (8 October 1965).

Neither the parish nor the archives of the diocese of Leeds seem to have any documentation of the event. No enquiry was made to Ampleforth Abbey. The above information was obtained from Leeds City Libraries.

30 E.g. at St Paul, Bow Common (1960) Maguire and Murray had used ordinary paving for the floor, a copper industrial vat for the font and a motorised hoist for raising the font cover.

31 Daly C B Most Rev 'Low Cost Churches' New Liturgy No 29 (Spring 1981). Cf. also 'System-Built Churches' New Liturgy No 3 (Autumn 1974).

32 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 213 ff, also Davies J G The Secular Use of Church Buildings (1968).

- 33 Cf. Pugin A W N Contrasts (1836); The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841); An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England (1843); Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume (1844); A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts (1851).
- 34 Cf. Wigley G J tr St Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building (1857)
- 35 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 219.
- 36 Presbyterorum Ordinis: Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (1965) art 5.
- 37 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 218.
- 38 An unpublished study submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Sheffield (1972).
- Dr Chapell also refers to Sacred Heart and St Helen, Elscar (1865) by M E Hadfield and St Joseph, Pudsey (1884) by E Simpson, both with chapel and school on the same level divided by partitions. Altogether he lists 31 school-chapels in the diocese of Leeds built between 1825 and 1912.
- 39 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 228.
- 40 Caveen I K Multi-Purpose Churches an unpublished study submitted for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Sheffield (1979) p. 50.
- 41 Cf. Inter Oecumenici: Instruction on the Proper Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (1964) art 95.
- 42 Cf. Eucharisticum Mysterium: Instruction on the Worship of the Eucharistic Myster (1967) art 53.
- 43 Nugent K SJ 'Architecture for Eschatologists: Church of St John Stone, Woodvale, Lancashire' The Clergy Review (March 1971) p. 245/6.
- 44 Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1969) p. 62.
- 45 St Thomas More Parish Centre, Sheffield (1969) cost £74,000 plus £4,000 for 12,500 sq ft; St Margaret, Twickenham (1969) cost £76,000 for 10,000 sq ft.
- 46 In a letter to Ian Caveen re St Margaret's church, Austin Winkley wrote:

St Margaret's is a parish complex rather than a multi-purpose church and the sliding door between

the mass room and narthex is for ease of exit of the congregation crush into a reservoir space of the narthex where a tea counter and bar provide refreshments. I stress this because many people think that the sliding door is to provide overflow congregation space. To avoid any risk of that happening the mass room was provided with a generous circulation space, ensuring the unity of the congregation. The sliding door has a dropped head to provide spatial separation.

Caveen (1979) p. 50.

- 47 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 275 ff.
- 48 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 277 where it states incorrectly that this model was used only at St Edmund Campion, Wellingborough.
- 49 Cf. Nugent K SJ 'St Edmund Campion, Wellingborough' The Clergy Review (March 1975) p. 204 NB Caveen cites the cost for the school as being £65,000 not £77,500 as cited by Nugent.
- 50 Guardini R The Spirit of the Liturgy (1921/37) p. 222.
- 51 Frost B The Secular in the Sacred (1972) p. 22.
- 52 Frost (1972) p. 23.
- 53 Promotional leaflet for St Andrew, Cippenham.
- 54 E.g. Cope G 'Shared Churches' Research Bulletin 1972: Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham (1972) p. 42. Cope wrote:
- Liturgy is more than cultus, and worship itself can and should be both traditional and experimental. Total liturgy - 'the whole work of the people of God' - comprises first, corporate worship offered to God, secondly, mutual strengthening of the faithful in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit through social recreation and study, and, thirdly, continuation of Christ's reconciling care for human need. What kind of building is required to shelter all these activities?
- 55 Cf. Section 2 Chapter 2 p. 219 footnote 89.
- 56 Frost (1972) p. 22.
- 57 Cf. Faull D W 'Shared Churches' Research Bulletin 1973 ISWRA University of Birmingham (1973) pp. 76/78.

- 58 Cf. Shared Premises and Team Ministry (1970) art 101.
- 59 Cf. The Sharing of Resources (1972) art 99.
- 60 Cf. Faull art cit (1973) p. 77.
- 61 Cf. Ecumenical Collaboration at the Regional, National and Local Levels Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (1975)
- 62 Joint Reservation in Shared Churches (1974) art 31(ii).

It is of interest to note that art 31(v) reflected that 'the whole idea of reservation might be more appreciated by other traditions if the veneration of the Word of God in Scripture went side by side with the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament: 'The Church has always venerated the divine Scriptures just as she venerates the Body of the Lord, since from the table of both the Word of God and the Body of Christ she unceasingly receives and offers to the faithful the bread of life' (Constitution on the Divine Revelation par 21)'.

- 63 The Register of Local Ecumenical Projects (1984) lists 410 projects of which the Catholic Church is involved in 75, and of these 47 involve the sharing of buildings. The number of new jointly-owned churches is approximately 12.
- 64 In The Sharing of Resources (1972) art 58 states: 'Catholics have their own church and school but will go in with the Killingworth Christian Council for joint use of other facilities. The whole complex, owned by the civic authorities, on which building commenced in Spring 1972, will include two swimming pools, three sports halls, two squash courts, a youth and an adult community centre, a library, a health centre and a pastoral centre for the Christian Council, together with a decked car park for 232 cars'.

In a letter (12 February 1985) a local correspondent writes: 'The planners indeed provided a central complex which includes things such as doctors' surgery, swimming baths etc. It also contains the 'Holy Family Ecumenical Church'. This is a large barn-like structure used during the week for football, indoor sports etc.

The idea was that this should be used on Sundays for church services. In fact the non-Catholics have a combined service i.e. for C of E, Methodists, United Reform; but this is not popular and the 40 who turn up use the lounge attached which is smaller and a good deal less cold. The Catholics have their Sunday Mass in the 'barn' for about 120 at 11.15 a.m.

... The Catholics did not pay towards the building of the Ecumenical Church and are charged £20 a week for its use. There is no Catholic school in the township and the Catholic children are collected and taken by bus to the mother church at Forest Hall. The present PP at the request of the people made enquiries

about building a separate Catholic church. The Township planners told him that the option on the site was still open. But the diocese refused him permission on the grounds of low numbers and lack of finance.'

- 65 Catholic Herald (25 March 1983) and cf. Church Building (Easter 1984) pp. 54/56.
- 66 E.g. Our Lady of Lourdes, Steelstown, Derry (1976) by L McCormick and Partners; St Brendan, Tralee (1971) by D J Kennedy.
- 67 Cf. Caveen (1979) p. 165. Caveen's detailed comments reinforce the observations made during the visit for this study in May 1979. However, the schedule of use suggested that the building was well used, and not underused as Caveen suggests. However, its use was controlled; there didn't seem to be any casual access. While no activity was taking place, it was evident that sound insulation between areas would be a problem. There was a generally pervading air that the building was being regarded as a 'church' in which a certain decorum was implicitly expected. If the intention was that the building should 'feel' like any other community centre, then it failed. But the question is, of course, should it?
- 68 Cf. Hattrell M 'Architect's Account' The Architects Journal (12 May 1971) p. 1058.
- 69 Hattrell art cit (1971) and fund-raising leaflet (n/d); Cope art cit (1972) p. 47; Caveen (1979) p. 135; Frost (1972) p. 18.
- 70 Frost (1972) p. 19.
- 71 During the exploratory stage of the project (c.1967) a 'preliminary meeting of the Anglican/Catholic International Commission was held at Huntercombe Manor, in Cippenham, and in the press release which followed there was a recommendation that the Churches should share buildings where possible'. Carey A Rev 'A Practical Step in Ecumenism' (1974) Newsletter by Anglican priest of St Andrew, Cippenham.
- 72 Carey (1974) p. 3.
- 73 Frost (1972) p. 19 quoting Fr Nicholas Lash of the RC parish involved.
- 74 Cf. Brawn M The New Museums: Architecture and Display (1965) p. 48.
- 75 Cf. Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture (1960) p. 134 and Pace G E 'Shared Church Buildings' Churchbuilding No 27 (April 1969) p. 5.

76 Editorial Churchbuilding No 27 (April 1969).

77 Kossowski has not been as prolific as David John and Ray Carroll, and has not been listed with them in Appendix 2.4. However, it is worth noting some of the information he enclosed in two letters (10 July 1979 and 25 September 1982):

1905 born Poland; 1925-1930 at Cracow and Warsaw Academies of Art, and in Rome; 1930 settles in Warsaw - murals in public buildings and churches; 1938 Senior Assistant/Lecturer Murals Dept, Warsaw Academy; 1939 captured by Russians and deported; two and a half years hard labour Pechora Gulag; 1942 released, comes to Britain via Middle East, Suez and South Africa; 1943 with the Polish army.

1945 second prize in the international competition of religious art held at the Leger Galleries, London, organised by the Central Institute for Art and Design for Messrs Mowbrays (Cf. Art Notes Vol. IX No 2 (Summer 1945) p. 18); invited by Goodhardt Rendell and Philip Lindsay Clark to join the Catholic Guild of Artists and Craftsmen; 1949 invited by Fr Malachy Lynch (O Carm) to do work for Aylesford Priory.

Location of 'more important' works in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland includes:

1950-71	The Friars	Aylesford	SWK	England	Sh/Stn/Etc
1955	O/L of Mt Carmel	Faversham	SWK	England	Sh/ - /Etc
1955	St Alban	Pontypool	CDFF	Wales	- /Stn/Etc
1956	Benedictine Abbey	Downside	CLFN	England	- / - /Etc
1958	St Thomas	Rainham	SWK	England	- / - /Etc
1958	St David Cathedral	Cardiff	CDFF	Wales	- /Stn/ -
1959	?	Moycullen	GLWY	Ireland	- /Stn/ -
1959	St Francis	Cardiff	CDFF	Wales	- /Stn/Etc
1960	St Ambrose	Speke	LVPL	England	- /Stn/ -
1961	St Alban	Pontypool	CDFF	Wales	- / - /Etc
1961	St Aidan	East Acton	WSTR	England	- / - /Etc
1963	St Peter	Aberdeen	ABDN	Scotland	- /Stn/Etc
1963	St Basil	Basildon	BTWD	England	- /Stn/Etc
1963	St Mary Priory	Leyland	LVPL	England	- / - /Etc
1964	St Benet Chapel	London Uni	WSTR	England	- / - /Etc
1968	St Aloysius	Somerstown	WSTR	England	- / - /Etc
1968	?	Preston	LNCS	England	Sh/ - / -
1969-70	St Gregory	Leeds	LDS	England	- / - /Etc
1970	Christ the King	Milnthorpe	LNCS	England	Sh/ - /Etc
1970-71	St Joseph	Blundellsands	LVPL	England	- / - /Etc
1971-72	Christ the King	Milnthorpe	LNCS	England	- /Stn/ -
1975	O/L & 40 Martyrs	Hazlewood	LDS	England	- /Stn/Etc

Sh: Shrine
 Stn: Stations of the Cross
 Etc: Mural/Tympanum/Font/Plaque

Kossowski has also done work for churches in the USA; and for schools in the UK.

78 Enquiries have not revealed the precise fate of the altar.

A similar incident occurred at the Franciscan church of St Clare, Blackley, Manchester (1958) by Weightman and Bullen, where the altar sculpted by G Mayer-Martin disappeared when the church was reordered, and enquiries again failed to reveal its fate.

These are just two incidents; there must be many more.

79 Cf. Cope G ed Problem Churches (1972) p. 107.

80 Cf. Murta K 'Liturgical Reordering and Conversion' Cope ed (1972) p. 50/64 and Cope G The Liturgical Reordering of Parish Churches (1979) p. 10.

81 Cf. Census Report Prospect for the Eighties (1980) p. 96 which projects an increase in adult membership of the RC Church in England 79/84 of 0.2% and a decrease in church attendance of the same constituency in the same period of 2.3%.

82 Cf. above Section 3 Chapter 2 footnote 70.

83 Cf. Solihull News (3 December 1977) pp. 1 & 48.

84 Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1970) p. 47.

85 Cf. for Wallington Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1969) p. 70, for Coventry Catholic Building Review: Southern Edition (1977) p. 72.

86 More dioceses now have a system of regular inspection of churches e.g. in 1977 the diocese of Leeds introduced its Diocesan Scheme for the Regular Inspection of Church Premises. The frequency of reports called for was related to the frequency of the bishop's Visitation to parishes (i.e. about once every three years). This has now been modified to once every second Visitation. The scheme, with this modification, has been adopted by the diocese of Hallam. Four other dioceses known to have operative schemes are: Liverpool, Lancaster, East Anglia and Hexham and Newcastle.

87 Seemingly even the building of the replacement church was not without its problems. The main contractor went into liquidation in 1980. As negotiations with other main contractors indicated that completion could cost an additional £25,000, the decision was taken to use a form of direct labour, retaining the sub-contractors.

Cf. Catholic Building Review (1981) p. 24.

88 Correspondence RIBA Journal (July 1974).

In 1977 cracks were noted in and close by the brick buttresses at the outer corners of each transept. These were reported to the Westminster Diocesan Controller of Maintenance and a series of regular observations were begun.

From November 1978 to September 1980 measurements were made of the variations in latitudinal and longitudinal movement of the four worst cracks. Little movement was noted except for the crack in the South West corner of the South transept, which steadily opened by a total of 0.0025" over the two year period. Sliding was minimal everywhere.

During the taking of these readings, a thorough inspection of the whole fabric was made, and the following faults were noted:

- Roofs: Tarred-felt over aisles leaking badly; gutters and down-pipes broken or missing; fixing screws not in stainless steel rusted and broken.
- Walls: Brickwork generally sound apart from cracks; all precast reinforced-concrete window-frames spalling and reinforcement rusting; this latter particularly bad in the canopy over the main entrance.
- Interior: Ceiling panels coming away over the entire area; the underfloor electric heating system not working at all.

In January 1981 the subsidiary roofs were given temporary protection.

Taking account of all the above, three possibilities were considered:

1. To carry on with the existing building, with the necessary considerable maintenance. Until the end of its 'natural' life (say 10 to 15 years time). Estimated cost in 1982 was £70/80,000.
2. To partially demolish and rebuild - as had been done at St Joseph, Stevenage by Williams and Winkley (cf. text). This practice was therefore invited to report on the possibility of doing the same in this case. Proposals were produced projecting a life of 50 to 70 years. Estimated cost in 1982 was £300,000.
3. To demolish completely and rebuild anew. After consultation and deliberation, outline proposals for a 'combined church and hall (the latter being a 'shell' only for the time being)' by Watkinson and Cosgrave have been accepted, and a contract for the demolition of the existing church has been arranged. Estimated cost in 1985 was £300,000.

The above information was kindly supplied by J W Ward OBE MA FRIC, an adviser to the Archdiocese of Westminster, following correspondence with the Estates Surveyor and Maintenance Controller of the Archdiocese (29 March 1985).

It is to be wondered whether the deterioration in the fabric and detailing, referred to in the above inspection report on the building, might not have been avoided, or minimised, by more regular inspection and maintenance.

- 89 Information from Rev K Nugent SJ, member of the Scottish Catholic Heritage Trust.
- 90 Cf. Building Design No 375 (9 December 1977) p. 1; Construction News (29 July 1982); Catholic Herald (6 August 1982; 17 September 1982).

The Press Officer for the Archdiocese of Liverpool in a letter (4 January 1985) confirmed that a 'thorough multi-disciplinary report from a firm of consultants in order to identify the cause of the problems and to suggest means of fixing them' had been commissioned. Also that the archdiocesan authorities were now trying to ascertain who is financially responsible for these repairs. He would not confirm that writs had been, or were about to be, issued, and that litigation had begun.

- 91 The name of the new diocese was subsequently 'Hallam' with the church of St Marie, Sheffield becoming its cathedral.
- 92 Letter from Bishop of Middlesborough's Secretary (9 October 1981).

Since drafting the text it has been publically confirmed that planning permission has been gained for a new cathedral at Coulby Newham, and that the existing cathedral building is to be demolished 'probably at the end of the year' ('Sad Farewell to 'the Boro' Cathedral' Catholic Herald (24 May 1985) p.1)

From 29 September 1981 enquiries were made to succeeding Bishop's Secretaries of the diocese of Middlesborough seeking confirmation, clarification and information, but in written replies (9 Oct 1981; 28 Sep 1983; 5 Oct 1984) the response was repeatedly circumspect because 'the negotiations with the relevant authorities regarding the new church (were) at a critical stage and any unsubstantiated reference to a new cathedral could (have been) very damaging'.

Enquiries suggested that the architects for the new cathedral would be the Swainston Partnership, but they were instructed by their 'clients' not to release any information (letter 26 Sep 1983), though they themselves would very much have liked to have done so, bearing in mind the purpose of the enquiry apropos this study.

- 93 Cf. above Section 2 Chapter 3 p. 301 ff.
- 94 Catholic Building Review: Northern Edition (1981) p. 33.

Conclusion

Developments in post-war Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles have been both extensive and varied. In order to understand them this study has considered a number of corresponding developments: in Catholic worship and mores; in the impinging modern cultural context; in theoretical architectural models of the contemporary ecclesia and its pastoral, social and ecumenical 'outreach'; and in the planning, reordering and conservation of churches.

Developments were already apparent before 1940. Modern idioms and techniques were beginning to give architectural expression to a more fundamental setting of Catholic worship. Received notions were beginning to be questioned. Though more tentative than those being raised on the mainland of Europe, the questions marked a new trend. They should have been sustained during the war - if only theoretically, because of the inevitable general hiatus in building. If they had been sustained, then the principles of a new church design rationale could have been at a more advanced stage of formulation, when it again became possible to pursue a churchbuilding programme, in the early 1950s. But they were not. None of the hierarchies of the British Isles produced anything remotely comparable with the Guiding Principles For The Design Of Churches According To The Spirit Of The Roman Liturgy published in 1947 by the German hierarchy.

War-time devastation was not as extensive as in Germany, but Catholic property in the United Kingdom nevertheless suffered its share of the damage and destruction - especially as much of it lay in inner-city

areas. The first reaction of Catholic officialdom seems to have been its lasting reaction: that it was a ghastly but temporary aberration, and that things would return to a pre-war normality when it was all over. The intention clearly seems to have been that the status quo ante would be preserved: Catholic churches would be restored strictly according to historical precedent. It was almost as though it was secretly hoped that the war would put an end to Modernism, and that a revitalisation of distinctively traditional Catholic values would provide a bastion against any expectations for its post-war progress in the British Isles.

To adopt modern architecture for churchbuilding was seen as challenging the venerability of historical precedent. Its nihilism and functionalism, in particular, were regarded as being wholly iconoclastic and unsuited to the needs of Catholic mores. The consequent effect of its use upon Catholic worship could only be adverse. Commentators such as Roulin, Watkin and Anson argued that any progress of modern art and architecture in the service of the Church was not to be regarded as ineluctable. The Church was to discriminate rigorously against fundamental forms derived from a Modernist aesthetic, in preference of fundamental forms derived from Christian archeology. An architecture that complemented the repristination of the liturgy, could be accommodated as yet another 'fashionable' revival - an architecture that flouted the venerability of precedent, could not.

For more than half a millenium, the venerability of precedent had characterised the architecture of Europe in a series of revivals. But in the cultural recovery of war-torn Europe, revivalism was generally eschewed. Instead, it was those forms derived from

Modernism, and redolent of a utopian future, that prevailed. On the mainland of Europe, where the programme of recovery was greater, and the influence of Modernism was stronger, there was an early realisation that the speed and scale of developments would induce a need for Catholic churchbuilding to express a much more contemporary authenticity. Even the Holy See realised this, when it warned against liturgical 'archeologism' and cautiously admitted the role to be played by modern art and architecture in the task of 'restoring and rebuilding all the churches ... ruined and destroyed during the war'.¹ But though such things were being so authoritatively said on the eve of the commencement of one of the most concentrated periods of Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles, the officially approved guidelines for churchbuilding remained very much a 'study in liturgical law'.² More than a decade after the end of the war, there was still nothing comparable to the German 'Guidelines'. Without doubt, when the churchbuilding programmes began in earnest in the 1950s, they were (with only a few notable exceptions) thoroughly orthodox.

While Catholic officialdom could indulge itself in maintaining an orthodoxy of Catholic worship and its architecture without deference to any other authority, in the United Kingdom it found itself increasingly far less able to make independent decisions regarding the location and development of its property - whether or not it was church buildings.

Planning for the post-war rehabilitation of the population began very early on in the war. The Catholic Church found itself caught up with other mainstream Churches in the process of dealing with central government in matters related not only to war damage, but to all

aspects of civil legislation where it impinged upon Church planning and administration. The Education Act (1944), New Towns Act (1946) and Town and Country Planning Act (1947), in particular, faced the Church with an urgent double programme of school and churchbuilding that was not of its own making. The inevitable cost of the programme was a massive burden for the Church to shoulder, and the need to make a statutory contribution to the educational programme often meant that it was blamed for impairing the quality of the churchbuilding programme. Whereas the paucity of design, which Pevsner later so bemoaned³, more plausibly stemmed from that reluctance to re-think places of worship in relation to liturgical and cultural renewal, and to persist instead with some historical pretence - no matter how squared-off or planed-down it was.

But ineluctable Modernism proved to be. With Pius XII's qualified acceptance of modern art and architecture in the service of the Church, the anti-modernists could only fight a rearguard action. The most celebrated controversy was, of course, that which raged around the French hierarchy's directive that art should be adapted to the necessities and conditions of the present times. Accusations confused stylistic with doctrinal distortions: Trent and Canon Law were invoked - and misquoted. The Thomist view that 'the manner of action follows the dispositions of the agent and as a man is, so are his works' foundered upon the 'heavy waters of genius'. Engaging the genius of leading modern artists, who were of many creeds and of none at all, provoked such a radical questioning of the cultural manifestation of the Church in the modern world that its reverberations are still being felt. For what style would say what is Christian and what is not; who is Christian and who is not, or is not on the road to becoming? How could

it continue to be argued that there was a repertoire of styles exclusively sanctified for Catholic use? The adoption of Modernism no longer made it possible. And what it finally achieved was a European application of the long-established missionary principle of 'sanctification by adaptation' - after all, France was regarded as a pays de mission!

To the English mind in the immediate post-war period, the modern aesthetic was best exemplified by the French. Their's was very much a celebration of creative genius, which greatly appealed to English aestheticism and individualism. The tectonic discipline of the Teutonic aesthetic was too rigorous, austere - and adversely associative. What appealed to the English was an applied art; architectural quality was assessed by its elevational treatment rather than its spatial dynamic. Surfaces rather than voids were the object of criticism. It was a bias in direct descent from the Pre-Raphaelites. En route the Arts and Crafts Movement had inculcated a delight in the inherent quality of objects and in their 'right making' and 'fitness for purpose'. But that delight had been inherited as a glorification of creative genius and a near mystical regard for the object made. As such it remained a typically pretentious English predilection. It purported to be a traditional conjunction of public requirement with private need; while being thoroughly modern in emphasising a private compulsion regardless of a public need. It was a personal delight which the English did not readily transfer to depersonalised industrial processes and their products - as happened in Germany and the USA.

For a trading nation it is amazing that in Britain an economy of goods seems rarely to have been understood as a form of creative social interaction, but has instead been frequently damned as 'consumerism' and 'materialism', with the products of mass production being looked down upon as having only a practical and pecuniary value. The private and extra-utile act of artistic production alone has been regarded as a celebration of creative genius.

After the war, it was as if this notion of the arts had to be enhanced to an extreme degree in order to compensate for the brutalising utilitarianism of the war-effort, and to promote liberalism in the face of totalitarianism. The spirit of Western Europe was to be revived by the charisma of artistic genius; the artist was to be fêted - and the Church, diffidently at first, went along with it.

The empathy induced by French Expressionism was particularly appealing to English tastes. It was emotional rather than cerebral; tactile rather than tectonic. Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp may have been later described as an architectural hapax legomenon, but in the early 1950s its uniqueness was greatly appealing to the English sense of modern art's eccentricity. However, it was the two churches at Audincourt and Assy, built in the late 1940s, which proved most satisfying to the English search for what was contemporary in churchbuilding design. Embellished by the work of leading French artists, their environmental impact was a summation of their artworks. Liturgically, they were conventional. To an eye unfamiliar with the new dynamics of Catholic worship that were emerging from the

liturgical renewal in Germany, they would have appeared very avant garde. A decade later, Hammond was perhaps a little too hard on the effect these buildings had had on English notions of progressive churchbuilding in the 1950s, but he was absolutely right when he inferred that their appeal was largely as 'pavilions of religious art'.

In Catholic circles in England and Wales, the effect of what was happening in progressive churchbuilding in France was mainly channelled through a Church patronised secular body - the Guild of Catholic Artists and Craftsmen.⁴ That was how things were conceived then: the secular world was the province of the laity, and their professional, or other, associations formed to promote some particular cause, would be patronised by the Church, if favoured. Artists and craftsmen obviously felt a need to associate in order to work out a Catholic response to developments in the Modernist aesthetic. But they also felt a need to associate on the basis on which similar bodies had previously been formed, viz: to counter the commercialisation of liturgical art and artefact; and the industrialisation of their mode of production.

A more distinctive commitment to forming a greater understanding of the liturgical use of art and artefact in the architectural setting developed within the wider interests of the association prior to the war. Its preference for a richness of embellishment coupled with a strict orthodoxy of rubrical observance, had an appeal which lasted as long as the handbook prepared by Webb for lay altar societies continued to be used.⁵ Certainly though, it was de rigeur for some thirty years, including those during which post-war churchbuilding got under way.

But for those increasingly susceptible to what was happening on the Continent, and especially in France, the demise of Webb's influence in 1946 provided an opportunity to develop an English application of the Modernist aesthetic to liturgical settings. Yet without anything comparable to the 'Guidelines' published by the German hierarchy, any development in the aesthetic of liturgical settings would tend to happen without an informing framework of pastoral theology. Changes in the design of liturgical settings would be seen as satisfying only the Modernist aesthetic of the avant-garde, and not the liturgical renewal of the ecclesia. In order to accomplish that, a critique would have to be developed from a radically new understanding not only of Catholic worship, but also of the Church - and not only of the Church in England and Wales.

When, in 1968, guidelines on churchbuilding for the liturgical renewal were at last published by the hierarchy of England and Wales, they were already too late, as thereafter churchbuilding would be in an increasingly steep decline. In addition, they did not grow out of an already well-established context of centrally co-ordinated initiatives for promoting a comprehensive and informed liturgical renewal - unlike their Irish counterparts which were published in 1966 and revised in 1972. Unlike their Irish counterparts too, as published, they did not embody a fully pastoral concern. Only much later, in 1984, was there at last published in England and Wales a set of guiding principles prepared for the Bishops' Conference that were firmly rooted in pastoral and practical experience - but if a directory had been considered too late in 1968, it must have seemed almost irrelevant in 1984 when the number of new churches built was less than one-fifth of that for the late 1960s.

In Ireland, the situation was (and has remained) very different. The patronised body of artists and craftsmen that had been formed before the war, met its complete demise in 1946. In 1949 the country was declared a Republic; an event which seems to have aroused a national desire for a cultural renewal. To those sufficiently percipient in the Church, the desire provided an opportunity that could not be overlooked.

From the early 1950s there was an active, critical and theoretical recognition of the cultural implications of liturgical renewal. The architectural setting was accepted as being utterly integral. Its design principles could not be meaningfully formulated or applied without sound liturgical formation. Initially, this recognition was rather limited in effect, but, significantly, as the initiatives to inform a liturgical renewal in Ireland grew, so its effectiveness increased. Significantly too, it was in the monastic context of Glenstal Abbey that these initiatives were first promoted, no doubt explaining a certain rigorousness of approach. Though there was a complementary forum of lay professionals to devise a modus operandi for the emerging design rationale, its informing centre lay very definitely within a spiritual context. And when that informing operation became much more the responsibility of the local hierarchy, as post-Conciliar ecclesiology required in the 1960s, the close co-operation of an Institute for Pastoral Liturgy with a Committee for Sacred Art and Architecture of the Episcopal Conference, ensured that all architectural practices had the opportunity of a fully informed liturgical context in which to develop.

In England and Wales an advisory body of the Bishops' Conference for matters of liturgical art and architecture was not formed until 1977.

It has had only a limited and interrupted effect upon official thinking and grass-roots needs. In Scotland no such body has ever existed.

Without doubt, the maturity of liturgical understanding to be found in the design and reordering of many Catholic churches in Ireland is attributable to the informed liturgical renewal promoted within the Irish Church over more than thirty years. But it should be remembered that this level of development has been considerably aided by a situation in which church buildings have largely continued to be designed exclusively for worship, and for a population (in the Republic) that is almost wholly Catholic.⁶ Consequently, there has been little need or desire to accommodate concepts of churchbuilding that are not exclusively Catholic or are not exclusively related to worship use - as has been the case in England and, to a lesser extent, in Scotland and Wales.

While in none of the three Catholic territories of the British Isles could it be said that their respective hierarchies in the immediate post-war period exhibited any collective regard for churchbuilding as part of any cultural recovery of their countries, let alone as part of any liturgical renewal of the Church, it is clear that the failure to develop any initiative in England and Wales, and in Scotland, comparable to that developed in Ireland, meant that during the period when most of their post-war churches were being built (i.e. from the early 1950s to the late 1960s), projects were undertaken without any nationally formulated guidelines derived from a sound pastoral theology of liturgical renewal; or without any agency formed under the aegis of influence of the Church to promote an applied

understanding of that theology and renewal. Any initiatives approximating to what the Church should have been doing, were developed outside it by groups of like-minded professionals, academics, clerics and others, or by heroic individuals through their exemplary work - such as Coia in Scotland.

The size and speed of the churchbuilding programmes as they get under way in the 1950s, threw up a clear profile of what form any developments were taking. What was seen by those few who had appraised themselves of what was happening on the wider European scene, was an alarming number of church buildings that, where they were not pastiche they were avant-garde, and where they were not avant-garde they were utilitarian. Few at all seemed informed by any sense of the liturgical renewal, and of the radical re-appraisal it required of the function of places of worship. And at the centre of the scrutiny was the new Anglican cathedral at Coventry, whose design, construction and embellishment throughout the 1950s and early 1960s gave a piquancy to the surrounding debate. Here, indeed, was a 'pavilion of religious art' that 'expressed' a literal idea (re-birth), embraced the avant-garde and yet ensured the traditional ordinances of worship. To the popular mind these were (and still are) sufficient qualities by which to discern and accept a modern notion of the Church. But to those like-minded professionals, academics, clerics and others who wished to promote the liturgical renewal they were insufficiently fundamental and functional.

With a simultaneous concern for the promotion of the avant-garde and the preservation of craftsmanship primarily preoccupying Catholic artists, and without an agency within the Church in England and Wales

that was working to inform a liturgical renewal (or a renewal which incorporated churchbuilding sine qua non), it is not surprising that those Catholic architects who perceived the liturgical renewal as requiring a correspondingly fundamental and functional architecture, should have joined with the like-minded - even though (or, especially as) they were of other denominations. What these protagonists of a radical re-appraisal realised, was that the functionalism of modern architecture required a much more objective briefing apropos the liturgical use of churches, and so they sought a much more functionalist re-appraisal of Catholic worship, which could be formulated as the 'liturgical brief'. Preparing the brief seemed to replace the rubric as the ritual touchstone of designing for worship.

A functional understanding of Catholic churchbuilding in England and Wales undoubtedly developed as a direct consequence of the programmatic rationale that underpinned the preparation of the brief, promoted by the New Churches Research Group throughout the 1960s. The rationale sought to inform the programming of a building's spatial dynamics as determined by a structured understanding of liturgy, and not only as it embodied the Sacramental system but as it responded, or came near, to the worship needs of the people. Indeed, 'Nearness to need' became perhaps its most characteristic criterion. As addressed to architecture and artefacts, it was in direct descent from Pugin via Lethaby with their concern for a 'fitness for purpose'. But as addressed to the pastoral dimension of the liturgical renewal, it was derived from a desire for a more psychological and sociological understanding of worship. An understanding that was purportedly more 'people-centred'.

Inevitably, such a pragmatic bias made it susceptible to seeming as though it regarded the architectural setting of Christian worship as nothing more than the provision of a number of utilities for the benefit of those assembled. At best this narrow interpretation allowed that 'the glory of God may be served just as much if not more by getting the acoustics and the heating right', than by being concerned with 'terra cotta twiddles and inferior stained glass', or 'some expensive piece of junk passing as a work of art'. But such an interpretation was far from what was intended, and was heavily criticised by members of the New Churches Research Group:

The key word, function, is open to misunderstanding and has in fact been constantly misunderstood, not only by the architectural layman but by architects ... both frequently deny function its full meaning, limiting it to the severely practical operation of a building; a failure to recognise that a building can have a comprehensible function which transcends circulation patterns, aspect or heating.⁷

The comprehensible function was that discerned in the meanings inherent in the setting aside of a place of meeting between men and God, and between man and man. They were to be found in the celebration of the building as a place: in its 'nodes', 'paths' and 'domains', as they formed part of, and were activated by, the shared memorative function of Christian liturgy. Historical styles had a memorative function, but of the wrong kind; they referred back to some previous age. The memorative function of Christian liturgy, embodied in the Eucharist, was to make the past present. It was the job of modern churchbuilding to imbue its contemporary forms with that function.

It was also regarded as being the job of modern churchbuilding to use a less hierarchical notion of materials and construction techniques. In relation to the construction of a church, 'nearness to need' meant no excess and 'truth to materials'. The intrinsic value and ordinariness of material things only was to be valued, not their relative costliness and rarity. In the hands of the proponents of this rationale, buildings exhibited that sort of straightforwardness common to vernacular structures. But the rationale had also an appeal to 'practical men and their needs'; in their hands it became a justification for architectural materialism. For them steel was steel, brick was brick, glass was glass, wood was wood, and little else mattered other than that they were put together in a competent and cost-effective way to keep out the weather, keep in the heat, last a reasonable length of time, and then be discarded without much fuss.

In retrospect, that pragmatic understanding of churchbuilding seems to have been consistent with the notion that by responding more to the practical 'needs' of people, church buildings would become more 'transparent' and less of a material barrier to spiritual growth and social relevance. Socio-religious studies served to reinforce the belief: worship could take place anywhere - it was a matter of behavioural attitudes not architectural determinants. Determinants were deterrents. But the irony was that what presumed to be anti-materialistic, was just the opposite. Regarding material things as being merely what they were, intrinsically, and so denying them a capacity for pointing beyond themselves towards an incarnate Creator 'in whom and by whom they may be fitly joined together in praise', was all part of that notion of a 'religionless Christianity', which caused such a paroxysm in the 1960s.

Not surprisingly, while basic measures were acceptable as a means of dealing with specific exigencies, when they appeared to be promoted as the actual criteria of model church buildings, commissioning Catholic authorities initially regarded them as being wholly inappropriate for the Church's liturgy. But they steadily penetrated that initial resistance, and as they did so they left their mark on the critical and theoretical language of Catholic churchbuilding, by referring to places of worship as 'plant'.

Though they did not necessarily begin with the concept of a church as 'plant', notional costing exercises undertaken in the late 1960s by certain Catholic dioceses in order to determine planning parameters for churchbuilding programmes in new-town areas, especially, favoured a model which fully embodied the concept, viz: a utility resource providing cost-effective shelter together with certain practical and social facilities - including those-for worship. Much less favoured, because it was the least cost-effective model, was a church building designed exclusively for liturgical use. However, pragmatism did not fully prevail; churches built exclusively for Catholic worship continued to be built throughout the 1970s and early 1980s - though generally much more cost consciously.

The more favoured, cost-effective, model was really a development of the dual-purpose church building that was intended to meet the exigencies of many parishes in urban over-spill and new-town areas after the war. However, it wasn't a new concept: there were examples of varying kinds of Catholic church buildings housing the sacred and secular under one roof, from the years before the war going back to those of the resurgence of the faith in the nineteenth century.

Ironically though, it was the nineteenth century which was generally regarded by commentators as having promoted a romantic notion of church buildings as exclusively sacred places - just as the sixteenth century was generally regarded as having initiated a notion of church buildings as primarily sedentary auditoria. In the view of J G Davies, a dual-purpose function was the historic character of all church buildings; essentially, a church was a bi-cameral structure with a sacred chamber and a larger, secular, chamber in front of it. The temporary bipolar dual-purpose post-war structures were being utterly consistent with this notion.

Davies and those who aligned themselves with the thinking of his Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham, argued that the bipolar contradistinction of sacred and secular no longer had any meaning in the twentieth century. Indeed, it should never have had, because one chamber, not two, was what was required for housing the local ecclesia and its communal commitments - including worship. A church was not to be regarded as the exclusive house of God (the domus dei), but as the house of the people of God (the domus ecclesiae). No liturgical furnishing was to be fixed; no portion of the building was to be a 'holy of holies' or screened off from secular use or profane gaze. There was to be minimum determinancy and maximum flexibility, so that in such a 'multi-purpose' church the sacred would be seen to be secular, and the secular to be sacred.

The concept of the 'multi-purpose' church was too radically secularist to be fully acceptable - especially in Catholic circles, though one or two buildings came close to it. But the term 'multi-purpose' passed

into the nomenclature of church building types and was generally mis-applied to a range of flexible-space buildings, which, in essence, were really only more versatile variations of the dual-purpose model, because they contained a 'holy of holies' or a system of screening-off liturgical foci. That is why the term 'dual/multi-purpose' church has been applied here to those Catholic examples which are independent structures of this type, or are abutments to other structures, or form part of secular community centre complexes, or are structures shared with other denominations (whether or not the worship is also used for secular purposes).

Why structures which are purportedly designed to be shared by Catholics and others should be so categorised is simply because the evidence would suggest that they have a tendency to promote a degree of indifference towards the externals of Catholic liturgy and devotion. Just as those structures in which the formal presence of liturgical foci is minimised with the intention of their serving rather than subordinating the people, have a tendency to promote a more incidental and Pelagian attitude to worship; so those structures in which the formal presence of liturgical foci is minimised with the intention of causing little or no offence to other denominational users, have a tendency to promote an indifferent and adiaphorist attitude, which ultimately induces secularism.

These developments in Catholic churchbuilding in England hopefully fully qualify the earlier comment that they have been far more diverse than those in Ireland. In Ireland there has been a trend towards greater cost-effectiveness and there have been a few examples of the 'dual/multi-purpose' type of church building - though these have been referred to

as 'community centre churches' and are closer in concept to the multi-cellular model derived from an extended house architecture by Debuyst.

In England, the developments which have been foregrounded in this study, have had to accommodate a situation in which the Catholic population is a small minority of the total. Currently, Catholic Church membership represents less than 8% of the country's population, of which only 18% considers itself to be a member of any Christian denomination. Since 1945, England has steadily become a multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-faith society, but above all, an increasingly secular society, in which it is possible to refer to whole areas as being 'unchurched'. Secularism, with its attendant elements of relativism, pragmatism and existentialism, has been the predominant cultural trend of which the Church has had to take account. For a while in the more immediate post-war period, churchbuilding seemed to embody an optimism and spiritual growth; but over the intervening years it has become more and more susceptible to secularist tendencies. The effect upon churchbuilding has been that instead of a church being envisaged as the place of assembly for the local ecclesia on the threshold of heaven, it has become its locus of assembly on the threshold of the world.

In Catholic circles, the Second Vatican Council has been blamed for an apparent inversion in the stance of the Church. Indeed, the inversion is well supported by a theology that is more pastoral than dogmatic; and the Council did modify a traditional notion of the Church as the guardian of an 'agenda' exclusively entrusted to it for implementation in the world, to one of its discerning an agenda in the affairs and concerns of the world and of its responding to them in the light of the Gospel.

Though the Council promoted a greater involvement of the Church in the affairs of the world, it nevertheless reinforced what had been increasingly recognised through the Liturgical Movement: that the liturgy was the source and centre, summit and fountain of the life of the Church. But as a sign of that greater willingness to be involved, the Church lessened its expectation of the liturgy having an exclusively Roman character imprinted uniformly and universally upon it. Instead, it encouraged further a sense of respect for indigenous cultures, by promoting an inculturation of the liturgy: the forms peculiar to particular peoples and societies were to be more openly incorporated and sanctified by adaptation.

In a society whose cultural preoccupations are overwhelmingly secular, it would inevitably follow from an application of the inculturation principle, that the forms adopted for liturgical use would be correspondingly secular. Such an assumption is perfectly reasonable, because - church furnishes notwithstanding - there is no such thing as a prescribed design style for liturgical use. So using secular forms per se is not particularly problematic; what is problematic is improving the degree to which the meaning of their use is informed by the elevated purpose of their use in constructing an enabling environment for liturgy. But as any such informing on the part of the Church in England and Wales (and in Scotland) has been so deficient and lacking, one is left almost despairing at the banality of much of the secularisation tendency.

With a post-Conciliar liturgical renewal that seems to have little effected that post-war 'crashing bathos' in newly designed Catholic churchbuilding, one can offer more than a degree of sympathy to



153

St Charles, Ogle St, London, Reordering (1985)
Baptismal Font by parishioners professionally supervised

those who are now sternly seeking to conserve those remaining notable examples of earlier periods that have escaped the hands of the indifferent and the uninformed. It remains to be seen whether their lobbying (with others) will succeed in having the so-called 'ecclesiastical exemption' revoked. But if they do, it is to be hoped that the motivation will prove itself to have been one of conservation and not of preservation. Lobbyists have done little so far to demonstrate they recognise that the completion of the liturgical renewal requires that even the churches they wish to protect, are reordered. So if it is against reordering itself that they have set themselves, then it will be evident that their motivation was not one of concern for even the preservation of the building, but of objecting to the very requirement and the theology of its Conciliar source.

Reconciling the legitimate concerns of the conservationist with the equally legitimate concerns of the informed liturgist, has assumed a much higher degree of importance in England and Wales of late. Inevitably, so has the reconciling of conservationist concerns with cost-effective stewardship in relation to redundant church buildings. But here again the lobbyists need to demonstrate a greater sympathy towards the strategic planning decisions which dioceses are having to face with regard to buildings that are now redundant or semi-redundant. Conversely though, dioceses need to demonstrate a much greater sensitivity towards the implications of the manner in which they do away with redundancies. The egregious blunders associated with one or two well-publicised cases must lead to a reconsideration of the range of advice taken by diocesan authorities. Quantifying a redundant church by the volume of hard-core it would produce regardless of its intrinsic or environmental architectural worth, must inevitably raise questions about the sort of

interests and values the Church is prepared to apply in such situations - especially when there would appear to be an exonerating motive to provide some more immediately useful facility for the local community, such as sheltered housing.

Nevertheless, the increasing tendency in all three Catholic territories of the British Isles to apply rigorous cost-effective criteria formulated by administrators or consultants whose first concern is not the creation of the fullest enabling environment for liturgy, is worrying because such environments are demonstrably not cost-effective according to the usual yardsticks. Yet to plead otherwise would currently seem out of vogue.⁸

Again foregrounding England and Wales; the desire to exercise a more judicious control of churchbuilding criteria does have some justification in view of the number of post-war churches which now appear to have been built too ambitiously (perhaps because insufficient account was taken of demographic projections - such as the under-funded churchbuilding aspect of the Newman Demographic Survey tried to provide in the 1950s); or in view of the number of churches which have developed defects (perhaps because insufficient attention was paid to their regular inspection and maintenance - particularly necessary in buildings designed to new (i.e. non-traditional) structural specifications). The consequences of such miscalculations and failings have been increasingly felt and seen to be in need of redress. So it is not surprising that there has been a consequent reluctance, on the grounds of cost-effectiveness, to provide that generosity of ambience which a fully enabling environment for liturgy requires; but it is a reluctance to be seriously questioned when it seems to revert to the 'plain brick boxes with no tricks' criteria of the War Damage Commission era.

Of course, to say that liturgy needs a constructed ambience - and a generously constructed ambience at that - will immediately elicit the criticism from certain quarters that liturgy requires no such constructions, generous or otherwise; that the Church is people not buildings. Both assertions are, of course, true, but liturgy by its very nature is characterised by an objective and concrete reality that extends from the focus to the locus of its transaction. It is that very particular way by which the divine work of the Church engages with the world of human action and its material productions. As the words over the 'Preparation of the Gifts' in the Mass signify it: wine, before it becomes our spiritual drink, is not only the fruit of the natural vine, but also the work of human hands. So liturgy gives meaning not only to the objects it uses, but also to the work which produces them; it cannot be separated from the world of work and its products - whether or not they are works of art or destined for liturgical use. Worship which is careless of the meanings and values of its setting, is suspect liturgy, because it exhibits a disregard for potential Christian meanings and values in the ordering of the wider environment in which we live. (Conversely, so is worship which is exclusive in its meanings and values.)

Though the architectural form which any specific liturgical locus might assume, will vary according to a number of impinging factors, the meanings and values of which it speaks as a model Christian environment, will be principally affected by the degree to which it draws those meanings and values from its liturgical centre. As Robert Maguire once put it so succinctly in his oft-quoted statement:

If you are going to build a church
 you are going to create a thing which speaks.
 It will speak of meanings and of values,
 and it will go on speaking.
 And if it speaks of the wrong values
 it will go on destroying.

There is responsibility here.⁹

To order and use an environment for Christian worship is to accept a responsibility for being seen and understood as the practising Church. So a church is utterly integral to those who order it in building and in continuing use for worship.¹⁰ It does not occur of its own volition but is formed by people with a propensity to build and assemble in order to meet a deep human need to participate in divine order. Yet a Christian church is not now so readily regarded as being wholly of divine order (i.e. sacred); but neither is it wholly of human order (i.e. secular). Rather is it of both; with its form of this world and its meaning of another, so that it is best characterised as 'threshold'.

This ambiguity of a church building's nature is redolent of the dynamic of liturgy itself as it unfolds into the secular and enfolds into the sacred. A great diversity of inherited forms manifest this continuously repeated dynamic in varying degrees of bias - sometimes more sacred, sometimes more secular. Even in the earliest years of the Church, there was great diversity in the form and meaning of places of Christian gathering - as the four distinct models from the primitive Church hopefully suggested, at the very beginning of this study. And the theoretical and constructed models of post-war developments in church-building have added considerably to that diversity in attempts to make it a meaningful Christian activity in the second half of the twentieth century.

At times, and perhaps increasingly, Catholic churchbuilding has met exigencies which have reduced the meanings and values of a distinctly Catholic locus of worship to the level of indistinguishability and indifference. The exigencies presented by a new town development corporation's provision for places of worship, or by certain ecumenical initiatives, might oblige a low-key Catholic environment, but they should not induce liturgical deficiency, indistinguishability or indifference. It is still absolutely necessary to inform such situations with the fullest set of meanings and values that can be derived from Catholic liturgy.

Whatever is to be done in the three Catholic territories of the British Isles, wherever a failure to inform churchbuilding liturgically according to the full spirit and norms of Vatican II exists, can now only be remedial - but done it must if Catholic churchbuilding is going to provide an architecture of meaningful content that will act as an effective instrument of ecclesial formation for the future. In order to imbue its structures with a renewed sense of meaning beyond the intrinsically material, churchbuilding needs to unlock the wealth of potential for symbology that lies within the post-Conciliar liturgy. It needs to demonstrate once again that, despite austerities and purges it has known, the tradition of Catholic churchbuilding is essentially one of generosity. Patrimony needs to be revalued, any bias towards parsimony needs to be corrected and any trend towards indifference and indistinguishability needs to be redressed. But above all, developments in Catholic churchbuilding in the British Isles need to demonstrate, where they are not doing so already, that liturgy is truly the generous, informing and distinguishing source of the Church's life, and that church buildings are the particular and customary loci of its continuing and effective celebration.

Footnotes

- 1 Mediator Dei (1947) art 209 Papal Encyclical on Catholic Worship.
- 2 Cf O'Connell J B Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way: A Study in Liturgical Law (1955) A book much valued as a manual of informed comment on liturgical rubrics and the Canon Law of Catholic worship.
- 3 Cf Pevsner N The Buildings of England: Lancashire (1969) p 51.
- 4 In 1964 the Guild's name was changed to the Society of Catholic Artists. Cf Insoll A Fifty Years of Catholic Art (1982) p 6.
- 5 Cf Webb G The Liturgical Altar (1933/39)
- 6 The Roman Catholic Population of England and Wales was 2,392,083 in 1945 and 4,298,050 in 1980 these being respectively 5.6% and 8.7% of the total population. The Roman Catholic population of Scotland was 621,398 in 1944 (no figure for 1945 is available) and 823,600 in 1980, these being respectively 12.0% and 15.9% of the total population.

Exact comparable figures for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland are not available. The Roman Catholic Dioceses straddle the political border and few attempts have been made to estimate the number on each side. The number of Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland was estimated at 471,329 in 1951 which was 33.9% of the 1951 population. The number of Roman Catholics in the Republic of Ireland was estimated at 2,786,033 in 1946 which was 94.3% of their population then. The total Roman Catholic population of both Irelands was 3,603,776 in 1980 or 73.5% of the combined population. 31% of the combined population lives in Northern Ireland.

Information provided by P Brierley, Programme Director, Bible Society, London, in letter (6 February 1981). Brierley previously compiled statistics on religion in the Central Statistical Office.

- 7 Murray K 'Material Fabric and Symbolic Pattern' Hammond P ed Towards A Church Architecture (1962) pp 83/4.
- 8 For example the report of a joint working party on pastoral strategy made the following comments on building costs and stewardship:

It is necessary to have an examination of the use of finances in the Church, and a reappraisal of building programmes of churches and schools. The work of mission which we suggest in this report will be possible only if money is being used to maintain what is of little practical use to the mission of the Church. The present high building costs indicate that we could cripple future mission because of commitments to bricks and mortar. We

have also to consider the possibilities of sharing facilities with other Christian bodies. All this is part of our Christian stewardship of resources and accountability for their use.

A Time for Building: Report of the Joint Working Party on Pastoral Strategy (1976) art 40.

9 Maguire R 'Meaning and Understanding' Hammond P ed (1962) p 66.

10 This point is particularly expressed in the Introduction to the 'Rite of Dedication of a Church' (art 8):

The celebration of the eucharist is inseparably bound up with the rite of dedication of a church ...

On the 'Nature and Dignity of Churches' the Introduction has this to say:

1 Through his death and resurrection, Christ became the true and perfect temple of the New Covenant, and gathered together a people to be his own.

This holy people, unified through the unity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, is the Church, that is, the temple of God built of living stones, where the Father is worshipped in spirit and in truth.

Rightly, then, from early times the name 'church' has also been given to the building in which the Christian community gathers to hear the word of God, to pray together, to celebrate the sacraments, and to participate in the eucharist.

2 Because the church is a visible building, it stands as a special sign of the pilgrim Church on earth and reflects the Church dwelling in heaven.

When a church is erected as a building destined solely and permanently for assembling the people of God and for carrying out sacred functions, it is fitting that it be dedicated to God with a solemn rite, and in accordance with the ancient custom of the Church.

3 A church, as its nature requires, should be suitable for sacred celebrations. It should be dignified, evincing a noble beauty, not just costly display, and it should stand as a sign and symbol of heavenly things. The general plan of the sacred building should be such that it reflects in some way the whole assembly. It should allow for the distribution of all in due order and facilitate each one's proper function. Moreover, in what concerns the sanctuary, the altar, the chair, the lectern, and the place for the reservation of the blessed sacrament, the norms of the General Instruction of the Roman Missal are to be followed.

Also, those norms must be carefully observed which concern things and places destined for the celebration of other sacraments, especially baptism and penance.

In the 'Decree' announcing the publication and effect of the new Rite of Dedication of a Church and an Altar (29 May 1977) Cardinal Knox, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Sacraments and Divine Worship, had this to say about a church:

A church is the place where the Christian community is gathered to hear the word of God, to offer prayers of intercession and praise to God, and above all to celebrate the holy mysteries; and it is the place where the holy sacrament of the eucharist is kept. Thus it stands as a special kind of image of the Church itself, which is God's temple built from living stones. And the altar of a church, where the holy people of God gathers to take part in the Lord's sacrifice and to be refreshed by the heavenly meal, stands as a sign of Christ himself, who is the priest, the victim, and the altar of his own sacrifice.

All the above abstracts are from The Roman Pontifical (Revised by Decree of the Second Vatican Council and Published by Authority of Pope Paul VI): Dedication of a Church and of an Altar for study and comment by the bishops of the member and associate member countries of the International Commission on English in the Liturgy. . International Committee on English in the Liturgy, Inc., Toronto (Eng tr 1978).

Bibliography

Books and Miscellaneous Publications

- Addleshaw G W O & Etchells F The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship Faber & Faber, London (1948)
- Anson P F Churches: Their Plan and Furnishing Bruce, Milwaukee (1948)
- Anson P F Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940 Faith Press, London (1959)
- Anson P F The Building of Churches Burns & Oates, London (1960)
- Anson P F The Building of Churches Hawthorne Books, New York (1964)
- Baldwin-Brown G From Schola to Cathedral David Douglas, Edinburgh (1886)
- Banham R 'The Style: 'Flimsy ... Effeminate'?' A Tonic to the Nation The Festival of Britain 1951, Thames & Hudson, London (1976)
- Baynes K & K Art and Society: Worship Lund Humphries, London (1971)
- Beckwith R T 'The Jewish Background to Christian Worship', The Study of Liturgy Jones C Wainwright, G Yarnold E edd, SPCK, London (1978)
- Benoit J D Liturgical Renewal: Studies in Catholic and Protestant Developments on the Continent, SCM Press, London (1958)
- Bible Society Prospects for the Eighties: From a Census of the Churches in 1979 Undertaken by the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism, Bible Society, London (1980)
- Biedrzyński R Kirchen Unserer Zeit Hirmer Verlag, Munich (1958)
- Bieler A Architecture in Worship (1961) Elliott O & D tr Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh & London (1965)
- Binney M & Burman P Change and Decay: The Future of Our Churches Studio Vista, London (1977)
- Binney M & Burman P Chapels and Churches: Who Cares? British Tourist Authority (1977)
- Bloomer K C & Moore C W Body, Memory and Architecture Yale University, New Haven & London (1977)
- Bolam D W & Henderson J L Art and Belief Hamish Hamilton, London, (1967)
- Boocock R Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England George Allen & Unwin, London (1974)
- Borromeo C Acta Ecclesiae Medialanensis: Acts of the Church of Milan (1599) Wigley C J tr St Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical Building Dolman, London (1857)

- Botte B Le Mouvement Liturgique Desclée, Paris (1973)
- Bouyer L Life and Liturgy Sheed & Ward, London (1956)
- Bouyer L Liturgy and Architecture University of Notre Dame (1962)
- Bouyer L Life and Liturgy Sheed & Ward, London (1956)
- Braun J Der Christliche Altar in seines geschichtlichen Entwicklung
Munich (1924)
- Breffny B de & Mott G The Churches and Abbeys of Ireland Thames &
Hudson, London (1976)
- Bruggink D J & Droppers C H Christ and Architecture William B
Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan (1965)
- Bukowski et al Churches Built and Constructed in Poland Ars
Christiana (1966)
- Burman P & Nugent K edd Prophecy and Vision Essays and Catalogue
of Contributors to Exhibition, Committee for Prophecy and Vision,
Bristol (1982)
- Butler J F The Holiness of Art Epworth Press (1961)
- Cabrol F & Leclercq H d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie
Letouzey & Ané, Paris (1907-53)
- Cantwell C Church Design: The Architect's Brief: Paper given at
a seminar for clergy of the diocese of Kerry (Nov 1972)
- Caveen I K Multipurpose Churches Thesis presented for Master of
Arts Degree, University of Sheffield (1979)
- Chappell D The Development of the Sanctuary and Furnishing from
Early Christian Times to the Present Day Thesis presented
for Master of Arts Degree, University of Sheffield (1963)
- Chappell D Catholic Churches - Diocese of Leeds - 1793/1916
Thesis presented for Doctor of Philosophy Degree, University
of Sheffield (1972)
- Chassé C 'Links Between the Nabis and Sacred Art Through the
Intermediary of the Abbey of Beuron' The Nabis and Their
Period (1960) Bullock M tr Lund Humphries, London (1969)
- Clowney P & T Exploring Churches Lion Publishing, Tring (1982)
- Cole G D H William Morris: Selected Writings Nonesuch Press, London
(1948)
- Collins H E The Church Edifice and its Appointments The Newman
Bookshop, Westminster (1946)
- Comper J N Of the Christian Altar and the Buildings Which Contain It
SPCK, London (1950)

- Comper J N Of the Atmosphere of a Church Sheldon Press, London (1947)
- Conlay I & Anson P F The Art of the Church Burns & Oates, London (1964)
- Cook G Cathedral and Church Design in Uganda (Typescript) Churches Community Development Consultancy, Bromley (1978)
- Cook G Building to the Glory of God Uganda Bookshop Press, Kampala (1977) Author's typescript circulated in UK by The Churches Community Development Consultancy (1979)
- Cook G Sacred Places? Chapels in the Midst (Typescript) Churches Community Development Consultancy, Bromley (1980)
- Cope G Symbolism in the Bible and the Church SCM, London (1959)
- Cope G Making the Building Serve the Liturgy: Studies in the reordering of churches. Mowbray, London (1962)
- Cope G Ecclesiology Then and Now: A few more words to church builders. Ecclesiological Society, London (1963)
- Cope G Christianity and the Visual Arts Faith Press, London (1964)
- Council for the Care of Churches German Church Architecture of the 20th Century Catalogue for Exhibition in co-operation with the Kulturabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn. Schnell & Steiner, Munich (1964)
- Clarke B ed Architectural Stained Glass Murray, London (1979)
- Coulson J Religion and Imagination Clarendon, Oxford (1981)
- Cox H The Feast of Fools A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy. Harvard U.P. (1969)
- Coyle T This Is Our Mass Collins, London (1982)
- Crichton J D ed The Liturgy and the Future Fowler Wright Book, London (1966)
- Crichton J D Christian Celebration: The Mass Chapman, London (1971)
- Crichton J D The Dedication of a Church: A Commentary. Veritas Publications, Dublin (1980)
- Croegart A The Mass of the Catechumens (first published as The Mass: A Liturgical commentary, Vol 1 (1958)), Holland Smith J abridged tr, Burns & Oates, London (1963)
- Currie R, Gilbert A & Horsley L Churches and Church-Goers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700, O.U.P (1977)
- Dahinden J New Trends in Church Architecture Studio Vista, London (1967)

- Danielou J The Bible and the Liturgy Darton, Longman & Todd, London (1962)
- Davies J G The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture SCM Press, London (1952)
- Davies J G The Architectural Setting of Baptism Barrie & Rockliff, London (1962)
- Davies J G The Secular Use of Church Buildings SCM, London (1968)
- Davies J G Temples, Churches and Mosques: A Guide to the Appreciation of Religious Architecture Basil Blackwell, Oxford (1982)
- Davis C Liturgy and Doctrine: The Doctrinal Basis of the Liturgical Movement. Sheed and Ward, London (1960)
- Davis C 'The Christian Altar' The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy Lockett W E A ed SPCK, London (1962/4)
- Day M Modern Art in Church: A Gazetteer of Twentieth Century Works of Art in English and Welsh Churches. RCA Papers No 12, Royal College of Art, London (1982)
- Day M Modern Art in English Churches Mowbray, London (1984)
- Dearmer P The Parson's Handbook Grant Richards, London (1890)
- Debuyst F Modern Architecture and Christian Celebration Lutterworth Press, London (1968)
- Devonshire-Jones T P N Draft List of post-1945 Paintings, Murals and Tapestries in Churches and Chapels in the United Kingdom (Typescript) T P N Devonshire-Jones, Portsmouth (1969)
- Dijk S J P van & Hazelden Walker J The Myth of the Aumbry: Notes on Mediaeval Reservation Practice and Eucharistic Devotion with Special Reference to the Findings of Dom Gregory Dix. Burns & Oates, London (1957)
- Dillenberger J Secular Art With Sacred Themes Abingdon Press, Tennessee (1969)
- Dix G The Shape of the Liturgy Dacre Press, Westminster (1945)
- Donovan K 'The Sanctoral' The Study of Liturgy Jones C, Wainwright G, Yarnold E edd SPCK, London (1978)
- Dorfles G Kitsch: An Anthology of Bad Taste (1968) Studio Vista, London (1969)
- Egenter R The Desecration of Christ (1958) tr Burns & Oates, London (1967)
- Eliade M Images and Symbols Harvill Press (1961)

- Ferrazza M & Pignatti P The Borgia Apartment and Contemporary Art in the Vatican: Complete Catalogue. Tr Counihan C & Fajardo R, Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie (1974)
- Finke U German Painting (from Romanticism to Expressionism) Thames & Hudson, London (1974)
- Flannery A ed Liturgy: Renewal and Adaptation (First published as Vatican II: The Liturgy Constitution (1964)), Scepter, Dublin (1968)
- Flannery A ed Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents Dominican Publications and Talbot Press, Dublin (1975)
- Fortescue A Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described Burns & Oates, London (1917)
- Frère-Cook G The Decorative Arts of the Christian Church Cassell, London (1972)
- Frost B ed The Secular in the Sacred Galliard, Great Yarmouth (1972)
- Gaines M Pastoral Policies: Pastoral Investigation of Social Trends: Working Paper No 8 published on behalf of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors of England and Wales, Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies, Liverpool (1977)
- Gay B ed De Stijl Exhibition Catalogue. Camden Arts Centre (1968)
- Gelineau J The Liturgy Today and Tomorrow Darton, Longman & Todd, London (1978)
- Gennep A van Les Rites de Passage Nourry (1908) tr Routledge & Kegan Paul, London (1960)
- Gerard D Roman Catholic Opinion: a summary of the joint University of Surrey and Gallup Poll Survey 1980. Incorporated Catholic Truth Society, London (1980)
- Gibberd F Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King Architectural Press, London (1963)
- Gieselmann R Contemporary Church Architecture Thames & Hudson, London (1972)
- Gill A E R Sacred and Secular & C Dent, London (1940)
- Gill E R . ed Bibliography of Eric Gill Dawsons, London (1973)
- Gordon E A Handbook on The Principles of Church Building: Furnishing, Equipment and Decoration. Church of Scotland Advisory Committee on Artistic Questions (1963)
- Guardini R The Spirit of the Liturgy (1921) Lane A tr Sheed & Ward (1937)
- Gueranger P The Liturgical Year (1841-66) Shepherd L tr 12 vols, J Duffy, Dublin (1868-90)

- Hallis D C Church Without A Church (Typescript) Churches Community Development Consultancy, Bromley (n/d)
- Hammond P Liturgy and Architecture Barrie & Rockliff, London (1960)
- Hammond P Towards a Church Architecture Architectural Press, London (1962)
- Hardy A The Spiritual Nature of Man: A Study of Contemporary Religious Experience. Clarendon, Oxford (1979)
- Harman L Church and Local Authority: A Report on a Working Partnership between the Diocese of Peterborough and the County of Northamptonshire (Typescript), Churches Community Development Consultancy (c1975)
- Harman L The Anglican Diocese of Peterborough Responds to Change and Development Published paper for the Conference Internationale de Sociologie Religieuse, Lloret de Mar, Spain (Sep 1975)
- Harrison M Victorian Stained Glass Barrie & Jenkins, London (1980)
- Henze A & Filthaut T Contemporary Church Art Hastings C tr Lavanoux M ed Sheed & Ward, New York (1956)
- Herwegens I The Art-Principle of the Liturgy (1916) Busch W tr The Liturgical Press, Collegeville, Minnesota (1931)
- Heyer G S Signs of Our Times: Theological Essays on Art in the Twentieth Century. Handsel Press, Edinburgh (1980)
- Hillier B & Banham M A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain 1951. Thames & Hudson, London (1976)
- Hitchcock J The Recovery of the Sacred The Seabury Press, New York (1975)
- Holmes A Church, Property and People: The Results of a Survey in Bradford, Derby and Lambeth - Three Multi-Racial, Multi-Faith Areas. British Council of Churches, London (1973)
- Holmes J D & Bickers W A Short History of the Catholic Church Burns & Oates, London (1983)
- Hopital W de Westminster Cathedral and Its Architect 2 vols Hutchinson, London (1919)
- Hornsby-Smith M P & Lee R M Roman Catholic Opinion: A Study of Roman Catholics in England and Wales in the 1970s: Final Report. Department of Sociology, University of Surrey (1979)
- Howard R T Ruined and Rebuilt: The Story of Coventry Cathedral 1939-62. The Council of Coventry Cathedral (1962)
- Hunt R L ed Revolution, Place and Symbol: Journal of the First International Congress on Religion, Architecture and the Visual Arts. New York & Montreal (1969)

- Hurley R & Cantwell W Contemporary Irish Church Architecture 1933-83
Gill & McMillan, Dublin (1985)
- Hussey W Patron of Art Weidenfeld, London (1985)
- ICBS Fifty Modern Churches (1930/45) Incorporated Church Building
Society, London (1947)
- Ison L & W English Church Architecture Through The Ages Barker,
London (1972)
- Jaffe H L C Dutch Plastic Art: The 'de Stijl' Group Edwards R tr
J M Meulenhoff, Amsterdam (1967)
- Jencks C Modern Movements in Architecture Penguin, London (1973)
- Jeremias J Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (Study ed) Cave F H &
C H tr SCM Press, London (1969)
- Johnson P British Cathedrals Morrow, US (1980)
- Johnson P A History of Christianity Atheneum (1976)
- Johnson S & C Planning for Liturgy St Michaels Abbey Press,
Farnborough (1984)
- Jones C, Wainwright G & Yarnold E edd The Study of the Liturgy
SPCK, London (1978)
- Jungmann J A Public Worship Howell C tr Challoner Publications,
London (1957)
- Jungmann J A The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development
Burns & Oates, London (1959)
- Jungmann J A Liturgical Renewal in Retrospect and Prospect tr
Howell C SJ With a section on the liturgical movement in
Great Britain and Ireland by J B O'Connell. Burns & Oates,
London (1965)
- Kidder-Smith G E The New Churches of Europe Architectural Press,
London (1964)
- King A Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church Mowbray, London
(1965)
- Klauser T The Western Liturgy and Its History (1943) Cross F L tr
Mowbray, London (1952)
- Knapp-Fisher A B The Future of Church Building Incorporated Church
Building Society, London (1951)

- Koenker E B The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church The University of Chicago Press (1954)
- Krautheimer R Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture Penguin, London
- Küng H Art and the Question of Meaning (1980) tr SCM Press, London (1981)
- Le Corbusier The Chapel at Ronchamp Architectural Press, London (1957)
- Leeuw G van der Sacred and Profane Beauty: The Holy in Art Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London (1964)
- Lethaby W R Architecture, Mysticism and Myth (1891) Architectural Press, London (1974)
- Little B Catholic Churches Since 1623 Robert Hale, London (1966)
- Lockett W E A ed The Modern Architectural Setting of the Liturgy: SPCK, London (1964)
- Lockett W E A ed Church Architecture and Social Responsibility: Papers read at the Liverpool Conference. John Catt, Billericay (1968)
- Lovejoy A O & Boas G Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity Octagon, New York (1965)
- MacCarthy F A History of British Design 1830-1970 George Allen & Unwin, London (1979)
- McKenzie J L The Roman Catholic Church Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London (1969)
- Maguire R & Murray K Modern Churches of the World Studio Vista, London (1965)
- Maritain J Art and Scholasticism (1920) tr (1930) tr Evans J W, C Scribners & Sons, New York (1962)
- Martin D F Art and the Religious Experience: The Language of the Sacred. Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg (1972)
- Martindale C C The Mind of the Missal Burns & Oates, London (1929)
- Martindale C C What You See in a Catholic Church Catholic Truth Society, London (1962)
- Maufe E Modern Church Architecture Incorporated Church Building Society, London (1948)
- Mayer-Thurman C C Raiment for the Lord's Supper: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments. The Art Institute of Chicago (1975)

- Meer F van der & Mohrmann C Atlas of the Early Christian World
Hedlund M F & Rowley H H tr Nelson, London (1958)
- Mellor R Modern Church Design Skeffington, London (1948)
- Mersey Enterprise Forum 'Chips with Everything' - Or Technology with a Human Face A Report by the Panel Established by the Mersey Enterprise Forum under the Chairmanship of the Rt Rev D Worlock, Archbishop of Liverpool, to Consider the Social Implications of Advancing Technology (1980)
- Mikellides B Architecture for People Studio Vista, London (1980)
- Mills E D The Modern Church Architectural Press, London (1956)
- Mirsky J Houses of God Constable & Co, London (1966)
- Moore P The Arts and Practices of Living Religions: Christianity Ward Lock Educational, London (1983)
- Morris J Modern Sacred Art Sands & Co, London (1938)
- Münchner Stadtmuseum Kirchenbau in der Diskussion Exhibition Catalogue of Die Deutscher Gesellschaft für christliche Kunst, Munich (1973)
- Murphy M The Roman Catholic Church Pergamon, Oxford (1977)
- N.C.R.G. Church Buildings The collated supplements on the Design of Church Buildings published in The Architects' Journal (9 Aug to 22 Oct 1967), New Churches Research Group, London (1967)
- Nichols A The Art of God Incarnate: Theology and Image in Christian Tradition. Darton, Longman & Todd (1980)
- Norberg-Schulz C Existence Space and Architecture Studio Vista, London (1971)
- Norberg-Schulz C Meaning in Western Architecture Studio Vista, London (1975)
- Nuttgens P Reginald Fairlie 1883-1952: A Scottish Architect. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh (1959)
- Nuttgens P The Landscape of Ideas Faber, London (1972) Formed the Annual Lectures delivered to the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham under the title 'The Landscape of Ideas: Sacred and Secular' in 1967/8. Chapters 2 and 4 based on material prepared for lectures to the Royal Institute of British Architects under the title 'The Man-Made Environment' in 1963. Chapter 3 first delivered as a lecture to the Art Workers' Guild under the title 'Architecture and the Metaphysics of Light' in 1965.

- O'Connell J B 'The Liturgical Movement in Great Britain and Ireland'
Supplement to Jungmann J Liturgical Renewal Burns & Oates, London
(1965)
- O'Connell J B Church Building and Furnishing: The Church's Way
Burns & Oates, London (1955)
- O'Connell J B Active Sharing in Public Worship: A Commentary on
the Chief Purpose of the Second Vatican Council's Constitution
on the Sacred Liturgy. Burns & Oates (1964)
- O'Callaghan J The Eucharistic Triumph Sands, London (1933)
- Otto R Idea of the Holy University Press, Oxford (1968)
- Paluzzi C G The Ecumenical Councils Ente Provinciale per il
Turismo di Roma (1962)
- Pevsner N The Buildings of South Lancashire (Buildings of England
Series) Penguin, London (1969/79)
- Pocknee C E The Christian Altar Mowbray, London (1963)
- Pugin A W N Contrasts Dolman (1836) reprint Leicester U.P. (1969)
- Pugin A W N The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture
(1841) Academy Editions (1973)
- Pugin A W N The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in
England (1843) St Barnabas Press (1969)
- Pugin A W N A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts Dolman,
London (1851)
- Purdy W A Seeing and Believing: Theology and Art Mercier, Cork (1976)
- Randall G Church Furnishing and Decoration in England and Wales
Batsford, London (1980)
- Randall-Blacking W H The Arrangement and Furnishing of a Church
Incorporated Church Building Society, London (c1950)
- Régamey P-R Religious Art in the Twentieth Century (1952) tr Herder
& Herder, New York (1963)
- Rookmaaker H R Modern Art and the Death of a Culture Inter-Varsity
Press, London (1970)
- Roulin E Modern Church Architecture (1938) Craigie C C & Southwell J A
tr Herder, St Louis & London (1947)
- Rykwert J Church Building Burns & Oates, London (1966)
- Rykwert J On Adams House in Paradise Museum of Modern Art, New York
(1972)

- Schnell H Twentieth Century Church Architecture in Germany Dine P J
tr Schnell & Steiner, Munich & Zürich (1974)
- Schumacher E F Small is Beautiful Abacus, London (1973)
- Schwarz R The Church Incarnate: The Sacred Function of Christian
Architecture (1938) Harris C tr Henry Regnery, Chicago (1958)
- Shear J K Religious Buildings for Today Dodge Corporation (1957)
- Shewring W ed Letters of Eric Gill Jonathan Cape, London (1947)
- Short E Post War Church Building Hollis & Carter, London (1947)
- Smith P F Third Millenium Churches Galliard, London (1972)
- Spence B Phoenix at Coventry Geoffrey Bles, London (1962)
- Spon Spon's Architects and Builders Price Book 1984 (109th ed)
Spon 1983. Also (108th ed) 1982; (107th ed) 1981; (106th ed) 1980
- Sutherland G Christ in Glory in the Tetramorph: The Genesis of
the Great Tapestry in Coventry Cathedral. Zwemmer, London
(1964)
- Swayne S Communion: The New Rite of Mass Veritas, Dublin (1976)
- Taylor H M & J Anglo Saxon Architecture Vol II, Cambridge U.P. (1965)
- Tillich P Theology of Culture O.U.P. (1959)
- V&A Victorian Church Art: Exhibition Catalogue, Victoria & Albert
Museum, London (1971)
- Vincent J L S The Present Trend in Roman Catholic Churches in England
Thesis (1947) RIBA Library, London, Unpublished
- Vizedom M Rites and Relationships: Rites of Passage and Contemporary
Anthropology. Sage Publications (1976)
- Waissenberger R Vienna Secession (1971) tr Academy Editions, London
(1977)
- Wall D R 'Church Architecture' New Catholic Encyclopaedia Vol 8
Catholic University of America, Washington (1967)
- Walsh C intro Instructions on the Revised Roman Rites compilation
Collins, London (1979)
- Warner M Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin
Mary. Quartet, London (1976)

- Watkin D Morality and Architecture University Press, Oxford (1977)
- Watkin E I Catholic Art and Culture Hollis & Carter, London (1942/7)
- Webb G The Liturgical Altar Burns, Oates & Washbourne, London (1933/9)
- Weber E J Catholic Church Buildings - Their Planning and Furnishing
B Herder, London (1927)
- Wesseling T Liturgy and Life Longmans, London (1938)
- White J & Wynne M Irish Stained Glass Gill, Dublin (1963)
- White J F Protestant Worship and Church Architecture O.U.P. (1965)
- Wigley C J St Charles Borromeo's Instructions on Ecclesiastical
Building Dolman, London (1857)
- Willet J Art in a City Methuen, London (1967)
- Wilson W Christian Art Since The Romantic Movement Burns & Oates
(1965)
- Winstone H ed Pastoral Liturgy: A Symposium Collins, London (1975)
- Yorke M Eric Gill: Man of Flesh and Spirit Constable, London (1981)

Articles, Published Letters and Unpublished Papers

- Anson P F 'Destruction at Aberdeen' Architectural Review (Dec 1960)
- Barrett C 'Art and the Council' The Month Vol 31 (Jan 1964)
- Baumann J B 'Guide for Planning the RC Church' (with Glossary and Bibliography) American Institute for Architects Journal (Jan 1962)
- Berrigan D 'The Tension Between Art and Faith' The Critic (Aug/Sep 1967)
- Béthune A 'Acoustics Light and Seating for the People's Participation in the Mass' Liturgical Arts (Feb 1962)
- Béthune A & Drain T A 'Some Plans on Renovating the Sanctuary for the Renewed Liturgy' Liturgical Arts (Aug 1965)
- Billott M 'Le Père Couturier et l'Art Sacre' Paris 37/Paris 57 Centre Georges Pompidou (1981)
- Blee M 'Politics and Vision: Making Architecture for the Church' Prophecy and Vision Burman P & Nugent K edd Committee for Prophecy and Vision (1982)
- Boran D I 'Pastoral Guidelines on Sacred Art' by the Bishop of Teruel, Spain The Furrow (Nov 1980)
- Breen C 'Glenstal Liturgical Congress' Liturgical Arts (Aug 1951)
- Burman P & Nugent K edd Prophecy and Vision Essays for an Exhibition Committee for Prophecy and Vision (1982)
- Butler J F 'The New Factors in Missionary Art: Developments Since 1950' Research Bulletin I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1972)
- Cachemaille-Day N F 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Present Age' Journal of the RIBA (14 Oct 1933) pp 825-838
- Cantwell C 'Design of Churches and Altars' Churchbuilding No 16 (Oct 1965)
- Cantwell W 'The Brief for a Church' The Furrow (1965) pp 599-607
- Cantwell W 'Modern Churches in Ireland' Unpublished paper delivered at the Community Centre, Tuam, Ireland (8 Dec 1974)
- Cantwell W 'The Gospels and Architecture' Unpublished paper delivered at the La Sainte Union, College of Further Education, Southampton (16 Nov 1976)
- Cantwell W 'Sacred Art and Architecture in Ireland' Papers Read at the Inaugural Conference of the Department of Art and Architecture of the (RC) Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1978)
- Cantwell W 'Church Architecture in Ireland' Liturgy 2 (1978) pp 187-189

- Capellades M-R 'Transparent Poverty' Churchbuilding (7 Oct 1962)
- Catich E M 'The Image of Christ in Art' The Furrow (Jan 1957)
- Clement S A Short History of the War Damage Commission: 1941-1962 (1962) Unpublished
- Cope G 'Church Building in the Twentieth Century' Church Building No 19 (Oct 1966)
- Cope G 'Church Building in the Twentieth Century' (Seminar on church buildings: RIBA Conference, Dublin 2) RIBA Journal (Nov 1966)
- Cope G 'What is the True Cost of Industrialised Church Buildings?' Church of England Newspaper (10 Feb 1967)
- Cope G 'Church Building in the Twentieth Century' Research Bulletin 1967 I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1967)
- Crichton J D 'A Dream Church' Liturgy (June 1943)
- Crichton J D 'The Church - The House of God's People' Liturgy 28 (1959) pp 41-50
- Crichton J D 'Building Churches' Clergy Review (1963) pp 279-285
- Crichton J D 'The Design of Churches and Altars' Church Building No 16 (Oct 1963)
- Crichton J D 'A Theology of Worship' The Study of Liturgy Jones C, Wainwright G, Yarnold E edd SPCK, London (1978)
- Crichton J D 'The Dawn of a Liturgical Movement' English Catholic Worship: Liturgical Renewal in England Since 1900 Crichton J D, Winstone H E, Ainslie J R edd Chapman, London (1979)
- Crichton J D 'The Liturgical Movement from 1940 to Vatican II' *ibid*
- Crichton J D 'Canon J B O'Connell' The Clergy Review (June 1970)
- Critchlow K 'Temenos or Temples, Cosmic Rhythms and the Universality of Space' Temenos No 1 (1981)
- Davies J G 'The Role of the Church in the Twentieth Century' Churchbuilding No 19 (Oct 1966)
- Davies J G 'The Role of the Church in the Twentieth Century' Research Bulletin 1967 I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1967)
- Davies J G 'The Multi-Purpose Church: A Clarification' Research Bulletin 1969 I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1969)

- Debuyst F 'Church Architecture and Christian Celebration'
Liturgical Arts (Nov 1963)
- Debuyst F 'New Churches After The Council' Art d'Eglise Nos 134/
135/136 (1966)
- Debuyst F 'The Assembly' Espace 3
- Debuyst F 'Towards a New House Church: Attempts at Adapting Old
Churches' Art d'Eglise No 161 (1972)
- Debuyst F 'Recent Church Building in Belgium' Papers Read at
the Inaugural Conference of the Department of Art and Architecture
of the (RC) Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1978)
- Debuyst F 'Vers une Réévaluation des 'Classiques' ' Espace 11 (1981)
Pruden W tr
- Devonshire-Jones T P N Draft list of Post-1945 Paintings, Murals
and Tapestries in Churches and Chapels in the United Kingdom
and Ireland (n/d)
- Devonshire-Jones T P N 'A Survey of Contemporary Art in English
Churches 1944-82' Prophecy and Vision Burman P & Nugent K edd
Committee for Prophecy and Vision (1982)
- Devlin B P 'Churches for Our Times' The Furrow (July 1966)
- Douglas M 'Why Do People Want Goods' The Listener (8 & 15 Sep 1977)
- Dussel E 'Christian Art of the Oppressed in Latin America'
Concilium (Feb 1980)
- Ede D 'Contemporary Christian Presence and Ministry - An Appraisal
of Hodge Hill Multipurpose Church' Research Bulletin I.S.W.R.A.
University of Birmingham (1975)
- Edwards E 'A Consumer's View of Ecclesiastical Architecture' Lockett
ed Church Architecture and Social Responsibility John Catt,
Billericay (1968)
- Ethrington J The Church and Art Ethrington (1964)
- Flanagan K 'Competitive Assemblies of God: Lies and Mistakes in
Liturgy' Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1981 I.S.W.R.A.
University of Birmingham (1981)
- Fleetwood-Walker C 'The Invisible Church' Church Building No 20
(Jan 1967) reprinted from The Clergy Review (June 1966)

- Gaines M Pastoral Policies Liverpool Institute of Socio-Religious Studies (1977)
- Gerard D Roman Catholic Opinion: A Summary. CTS, London (1980)
See also Statistics Section of Bibliography
- Gibney A 'Design for Worship' Interior Design (Dec 1972)
- Gill E. 'Mass for the Masses' Sacred and Secular & C Dent, London (1940)
- Gombrich E 'The Primitive and Its Value in Art' The Listener
(15 Feb/22 Feb/1 Mar/8 Mar 1979)
- Gomme A H 'Who Cares What A Church Looks Like' Church Building
No 6 (Apr 1962)
- Gray N 'William Morris, Eric Gill and Catholicism' Architectural Review (Apr 1941)
- Grisbrooke W J 'The Multipurpose Church: A Critical Consideration'
Research Bulletin I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1968)
- Guardini R 'Sacred Images and the Invisible God' The Furrow (June 1957)
- Gy P-M 'The Constitution in the Making' Liturgy: Renewal and Adaptation Flannery ed Sceptre, Dublin (1968)
- Hammond P 'Contemporary Architecture and the Church' The Listener
(23 May 1957)
- Hammond P ed Guide to New French Churches New Churches Research Group
Pamphlet No 1 (1958)
- Hammond P 'A Liturgical Brief' Architectural Review (Apr 1958)
- Hanson A 'Simpering Madonna' Letter to The Times (13 Nov 1976)
- Hinton D 'The Pastoral Role of the Architect' Christian Ministry in New Towns Cope G Ed I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1967)
- Holmes U T 'Liminality and Liturgy' Worship Vol 47, No 7 (Aug/Sep 1973)
- Hood H J 'London's Bombed Catholic Churches', The Tablet (8 Jul 1950)
- Hood H J 'Exhibition of Sacred Art from Missionary Countries'
The Tablet (9 Dec 1950)
- Howell C 'From Trent to Vatican II' The Study of Worship Jones, Wainwright, Yarnold edd SPCK, London (1978)
- Hurley R 'Recent Developments' Paper given at Mount St Anne's Liturgy Centre, Co Laois, Ireland (28 Jan 1975) Unpublished
- Hurley R 'Architectural Philosophy - Rudolf Schwarz' Paper given at Mount St Anne's Liturgy Centre, Co Laois, Ireland (17 Feb 1975) Unpublished

- Hurley R 'The Elements of Church Design' Paper given at Mount St Anne's Liturgy Centre, Co Laois, Ireland (19 Feb 1976)
Unpublished
- Hussey C 'Cathedral Church of Christ the King, Liverpool: Sir Edwin Lutyen's Academy Designs' Country Life (30 Apr 1932)
- Insoll A Fifty Years of Catholic Art: Being a History of the Guild of Catholic Artists and Craftsmen/Society of Catholic Artists Society of Catholic Artists (1982)
- Jenkins G 'The Development of the Eucharist' Liturgy Vol 1 No 4 (Apr/May 1977)
- Jones D Letter to The Tablet (7 Dec 1967)
- Jones P 'Irish Traditions and Liturgical Renewal from 1903 to 1962' Liturgical Institute of San Anselmo, Rome (1977) Unpublished
- Kavanagh A J 'The Politics of Symbol and Art in Liturgical Expression' Concilium 132 (Feb 1980)
- Langtreay-Langton J 'The Church of the First Martyrs' Parthenon (Mar 1937)
- Langtreay-Langton J 'Church of the First Martyrs' The Builder (14 May 1937)
- Lercaro G 'The Christian Church' The Furrow (Jun 1957)
- McGarry J G in Liturgical Arts (Aug 1961)
- McGarry J G 'The Permanent Reorganisation of the Sanctuary' Unpublished paper (prior to 4 August 1977)
- McLuhan M & Hoskins H 'Electric Consciousness and the Church' The Listener (26 Mar 1970)
- McNamee J J 'Our Silent Congregations' The Irish Ecclesiastical Record
- Maddison J 'Ecclesiastical Exemption: Church Buildings and the Law' Victorian Society Annual (1981)
- Maguire R 'Meaning and Understanding' Towards a Church Architecture Hammond P ed Architectural Press, London (1962)

- Marchetti-Salvagiani Osservatore Romano (24 Jun 1914)
- Marchetti-Salvagiani Osservatore Romano (19 Mar 1932)
- Matthews E 'History of Penance' Liturgy Vol 1 No 1 (Oct/Nov 1976)
- Maufe E 'Modern Church Architecture' Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects (12 Jan 1935) pp 293-307
- Meinberg C 'The New Churches of Europe' The Furrow Vol 18 No 6 (Jun 1957)
- Melhuish N 'An Impression of Hodge Hill' Research Bulletin
I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1969)
- Melhuish N 'Three Country Churches' Clergy Review (Sep 1970)
- Miller S 'Sacred Space in a Secular Age' Theology Today XIX
No 2 (Jul 1962)
- Mills E D Letter in Churchbuilding No 16 (Oct 1965) p 22
- Mills E D 'Places of Worship: Tomorrow's Church' Interior Design
(Dec 1973)
- Murphy J A 'Catholic Confidence' Advent letter from Archbishop of
Cardiff (27 Nov 1977) Position Paper: Applications of Catholic
Church Teaching No 50 (Feb 1978)
- Murray K 'Material Fabric and Symbolic Pattern' Towards a Church
Architecture Hammond P ed Architectural Press, London (1962)
- Nairn I 'Lansbury Centrepiece' Architectural Review (Dec 1954)
- Napier C 'What is a Church for?' Church Building No 6 (Apr 1962)
- Napier C 'The Altar in the Contemporary Church' The Clergy Review
(Aug 1972)
- Nolan J R M 'Modern Church Architecture: The Elements of the Problem'
The Furrow (Jun 1957)
- Noy M de la 'Coventry Cathedral - Triumph or Failure?' Wiseman Review
No 492 (Summer 1962)
- Nuttgen S 'The Church and the Community' Towards a Church Architecture
Hammond P ed Architectural Press, London (1962)
- Nuttgens P 'St Brides RC Church' Lecture at the Royal Institute
of British Architects (7 Dec 1965)
- O'Connell J B 'The International Congress at Assisi' The Clergy
Review (Jun 1970)
- O'Connell J B 'The Case of the Blessed Sacrament' The Clergy Review
(Jan 1958)

- O'Connell J B 'The New Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy' The Clergy Review (Feb 1964)
- O'Connell J B 'Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and Mass Facing the People' The Clergy Review (Dec 1965)
- O'Connell J B 'The General Instruction on the Roman Missal' The Clergy Review (Oct 1969)
- O'Floinn D 'Integral Irish Tradition' The Furrow (Dec 1954)
- Oury G-M 'Les Limites Necessaire de la Creativité en Liturgie' Instauratio Liturgica Notitiae 131 (Jun/Jul 1977) Reprinted from Esprit et Vie 17 (28 Apr 1977) Review in Liturgy Vol. 2 No 1 (Oct/Nov 1977) Fletcher W tr
- Oliver P ed Shelter Sign and Symbol Barrie & Jenkins, London (1975)
- Pickering W S F 'The Future of Religious Sociology in England' Looking to the Future J G Davies ed Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham (1976)
- Purdy M 'Some Thoughts on Recent Church Building and Its Future' Research Bulletin I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1975)
- Quinn P J 'The Symbolic Function of a Church Building' Church-building No 10 (Oct 1963)
- Quinn P J 'Architectural Implications of the Choir in the Worshipping Community' Liturgical Arts (Feb 1966)
- Quinn P J 'Whither Church Building? An American Perspective' Looking to the Future J G Davies ed I.S.W.R.A. University of Birmingham (1976)
- Reinhold H A 'A Revolution in Church Architecture' Liturgical Arts VI (Mar 1938)
- Reinhold H A 'The Architecture of Rudolf Schwarz' Architectural Forum (Jan 1939)
- Reinhold H A 'What About England' Orate Fratres Vol XXII No 6 (18 Apr 1948)
- Rosenberg G 'The Seven Lamps of Rudolf Schwarz' Architectural Review Vol 112 No 670 (Oct 1952)
- Sherrard P 'The Artist and the Sacred: Where the Battle Lies' Temenos 2 (1982)

- Sittler J 'Faith and Form' Theology Today XIX 2 (Jul 1962)
- Smith P F 'Third Millenium Churches - Part 1' Churchbuilding
No 26 (Jan 1969)
- Smith P F 'Third Millenium Churches - Part 2' Churchbuilding
No 26 (Jan 1969)
- Smith P F 'Habituation: Friend or Foe of Architecture?'
The Architects Journal (25 Sep 1974)
- Smith P F 'Peter Smith on Post Religious Churches' RIBA Journal
(May 1974)
- Smith P F 'One Attitude to Church Design' Yorkshire Architect
(Nov/Dec 1977)
- Smith P F 'Meeting the Brief: The Church on Site' The Architect
(Mar 1976)
- Smithson A & P 'Design for Coventry Cathedral' Churchbuilding
No 8 (Jan 1963)
- Spencer A E C W 'The Newman Demographic Survey 1953-62: Nine Years
of Progress' Wiseman Review No 492 (1962) See also Statistics
Section of Bibliography
- Spencer A E C W 'Pastoral Planning in Urban Areas' Churchbuilding
No 14 (Jan 1965)
- Stanton P B 'Pugin: Principles of Design Versus Revivalism'
Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (USA) Vol XIII
(1954)
- Summerson J 'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' Architectural
Review (Dec 1960)
- Summerson J 'Arches of Triumph: The Design for Liverpool Cathedral'
Edwin Lutyens Exhibition Catalogue, Hayward Gallery, London
(1981)
- Swain L Review of Riches J 'Jesus and the Transformation of Judaism'
The Month (Jul 1981)
- Todd J M 'New Christian Art' The Sign (May 1951)
- Turner V 'Passage, Margins and Poverty: Religious Symbols of
Communities' Worship Vol 46 No 7 (Sep 1972)
- Turner V 'Ritual Tribal and Catholic' Worship Vol 50 No 6
(Nov 1976)
- Vogel C 'Symbols in Christian Worship: Food and Drink' Concilium
132 (Feb 1980)

- Walker P 'Liturgy, Poesis and Initiative' Prophecy and Vision
Burman P & Nugent K edd, Committee for Prophecy and Vision
(1982)
- Wall D R 'Church Architecture' New Catholic Encyclopaedia Vol 8
Catholic University of America, Washington (1967)
- Walsh C J 'The Living Temple' The Ushaw Magazine No 217 (Mar 1963)
- Williams C 'Deviance and Diversity in Roman Catholic Worship:
Ritual and Social Processes in the Post-Conciliar Catholic
Community in England'. Unpublished paper produced at Clare
Hall, Cambridge, and in collection of author (Mar 1979)
- Winkley A S 'Directions in Church Building Since the Vatican
Council' The Dublin Review (Summer 1968)
- Winkley A 'The Place of Celebration' Winstone H ed Pastoral
Liturgy: A Symposium (1975)
- Winkley A S 'A Time for Building' The Way (Jul 1979)
- Winzen D 'Progress and Tradition in Maria Laach Art'
Liturgical Arts X (1941)
- Wright L 'Architectural Seriousness' Towards a Church Architecture
Hammond P ed Architectural Press, London (1962)
- Wright L 'Church Design: A Reappraisal' The Month Vol 29 (1963)
- Wright L 'Conclusions: A Pattern for Living' Manplan 5:
Religion Architectural Review (Mar 1970)
- Yarnold E J 'The Fourth and Fifth Centuries' The Study of the
Liturgy Jones C, Wainwright G, Yarnold E J edd SPCK, London
(1978)
- Zucker W M 'Religious Buildings and Philosophical Aesthetics'
Churchbuilding No 15 (Apr 1965)

Author Unidentified

- 'Documents' The Furrow (Oct 1956 & Nov 1956)
- 'The Versailles 'Conclusions' ' The Furrow Vol 18 No 6 (Jun 1957)
- 'The Vernacular Can't be Copied' The Architects Journal (21 Jul 1976)
- 'A Modern Church on Liturgical Principles' Architectural Review (Dec 1960)

Lausanne Occasional Papers No 2 'The Willowbank Report - Gospel and Culture' (1978)

International Review of Mission Vol 67 No 266 (1978)

'A Church for All Seasons: The Winners of the Competition to Redesign St Columba's Church in Sunderland' Architects Journal
(8 Oct 1980)

New Churches Research Group Papers and Publications in the RIBA Library

- Hammond P Guide to New French Churches Pamphlet No 1 NCRG (1958)
- Maguire R Does Modern Architecture Provide Sufficient Basis For Church Design? Modern Architecture and Church Series NCRG (1959)
- Green H A Liturgical Brief Pamphlet No 3 Paper in Series of Lectures on 'Modern Architecture and the Church' University of London, NCRG (Jan 1959)
- Year Book NCRG (1959)
- Melhuish N Liturgy and the Modern Movement in Architecture Pamphlet No 4 Paper in Series of Lectures on 'Modern Architecture and the Church' University of London, NCRG (1959)
- Wright L Architectural Seriousness: Paper at 1961 Leeds Conference NCRG (1961)
- Maguire R & Murray K Architecture and Christian Meanings Joint Paper at Ecumenical Liturgical Conference, Swanwick, NCRG (Jan 1961)
- Jackson M Sociology and Church Building: Paper at 1961 Leeds Conference, NCRG (1961)
- Senn O Church Building and Liturgy in the Protestant Church Paper at 1962 International Conference on Church Architecture, Lucerne, NCRG (1962)
- Quinn P J Real Determinants of Significant Church Building Paper at 1962 Liturgical Conference, Seattle, Washington, NCRG (1962)
- Every G The Setting of Liturgical Change: Building for Change in the Liturgy. Appendix: Forward from the Font, NCRG (1962)
- Wright L ed Information on Church Design Papers at Course on 'Churchbuilding: A Programme of Research' April 1963, at Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, York, NCRG (1963)
- Hinton D User Studies Paper at above Course, NCRG (1963)
- The Appraisal of New Churches: Proposals for the Study of New Anglican Churches by a Working Party, NCRG (Nov 1966)
- Church Buildings: Compilation of Briefing Guides published in The Architects Journal (9 Aug/22 Oct 1967), NCRG (1967)

Churchbuilding:Articles

Churchbuilding was first published in October 1960 as Church Buildings Today which lasted for five editions. It ceased publication after its 29th edition in January 1970. Church Building, which began its twice per year publication in 1984, has no connection with the original.

- Catt J ed No 1 (Oct 1960): The Architect Must Ask Questions. New Churches for Old. Plans of New Churches - Here and Abroad. Christian Art.
- Catt J ed No 2 (Jan 1961): The House of God. The Church Centre. House of God and Church Centre. Church Building Today. Christian Art.
- Catt J ed No 3 (Apr 1961) No known extant copy.
- Catt J ed No 4 (Oct 1961): A Survey of Six Continental Churches Part I. Bells for the New Churches. The Future of English Stained Glass (Introduction: Conditions of Artistic Achievement. Architect's View. Comments).
- Catt J & Maguire R edd No 5 (Jan 1962): Five Church Buildings in Kenya. Mission and Liturgy, The New Town Field. A Survey of Continental Churches Part II.
- Catt J & Maguire R edd No 6 (Apr 1962): What Is A Church For? Who Cares What A Church Looks Like? Otaniemi. Forward from the Font. Presbyterian Church at Glenrothes. Transfiguration. The Anrep Mosaics.
- Maguire R & Murray K edd No 7 (Oct 1962): Transparent Poverty. Church and Music. Anglican Church in Stepney. Open Letter to Church Furnishers.
- Maguire, Murray & Catt edd No 8 (Jan 1963): Design for Coventry Cathedral 1951
- Maguire, Murray & Catt edd No 9 (Apr 1963): A Place for the Preaching of the Word. No Style? The Versailles 'Conclusions'. Lutheran Church in Stepney. The Spirit of Poverty.
- Maguire, Murray & Catt edd No 10 (Oct 1963): The Symbolic Function of Church-Building. Some New Churches in Belgium, Holland, and the Paris Region. Anglican Church at Rugby. Place and People.
- Maguire, Murray & Catt edd No 11 (Jan 1964): A Place for the Choir. The Graphic Word. Roman Catholic Church at Ewell. An American Exhibition of Synagogues.
- Maguire, Murray & Catt edd No 12 (Apr 1964): Churches and Society. Milan and Cologne: Two Churches. Seats in Church. A Letter from the USA.

- Catt J ed No 13 (Oct 1964): St Mary's Priory Church, Leyland. Uppingham School Chapel Engagement. Textile Applique Hangings. Christ in Glory. No Way In. Royal Australian Naval Memorial Chapel, Sydney. New Church and Hall at East Ewell. Shaping the Church. A New Small English Organ.
- Catt J ed No 14 (Jan 1965): Church Building in the Next Decade. Pastoral Planning in Urban Areas. Church Building and New Construction Techniques. Church System Building in Chile. Prospects for Future Church Building. Planning and Dimensional Studies. The Organ at St George's, Letchworth.
- Catt J ed No 15 (Apr 1965) Building for the Church. Client and Architect - A Mock Interview. The Conversion of St Jude's. Some Further Thoughts on Converting St Jude's. Religious Building and Philosophical Aesthetics. Design Entry for a System Built Church. Study of a Prototype Church.
- Catt J ed No 16 (Oct 1965): Upper Norwood Methodist Church. Design of Churches and Altars. Remarks on the 'Design of Churches and Altars'. Re-Modelling the Interior of a Church. The Small Organ - Its Problems and Opportunities. Taking Shape. Design Entry for a System-Built Church.
- Catt J ed No 17 (Jan 1966): Expandable Churches. Blackbird Leys Anglican Church. Designs for System Built Churches. Design for a Small Church. Mass at St Elizabeth's, Hardenburg. Design of Churches and Altars.
- Catt J ed No 18 (Apr 1966): Prototype Mission Churches: Mission Churches in a New Nation. New Churches: A Critical Look. The Upper Room at St Gabriel's, Leicester. Liturgical Art. St Peter's, Greenhill.
- Catt J ed No 19 (Oct 1966): Some Mission Churches. A Holy Place? Design Study for a Baptist Church. RIBA Conference. Design for a Small Church.
- Catt J ed No 20 (Jan 1966): Woodchurch Roman Catholic Church. Music and Church Design. Church of St Francis, Duston. Mission Areas, Pastoral Units and Ecumenical Centres. A Holy Place? Part II. The 'Invisible' Church.
- Catt J ed No 21 (Apr 1967): Music and Church Design, Part II. The Church of Scotland Building Programme, Part I. Flexible Parsonages? Civic Trust Awards for 1966. Community Centre Project St Catherine's, Hatcham.
- Catt J ed No 22 (Oct 1967): The Church of Scotland Building Programme, Part II. The Legal Consequences of Consecration in the Church of England. The Chapel at Silver End. Is Sound Reinforcement Necessary? Norway's Ancient Stave Churches.
- Catt J ed No 23 (Jan 1968): Some Reflections on Cathedral Building in the Twentieth Century. Paper by Kenzo Tange. Emmanuel Church and Youth Centre. Anglican Cathedral - Kaduna N. Nigeria. Holy Communion Series 2 and the Church Building. Re-Building Holy Rood Church. Wombwell - St Michael and All Angels. Environmental Comfort in Churches.

- Catt J ed No 24 (Apr 1968): Is There a Place for the Church in the Future City? A Plan for Pastoral Re-organisation. Church Building in the 1970s, Part I. St Matthews, Reading. Missionary Architecture. New Town Ministers' Association. Church Architecture and Social Responsibility. Irish Ecclesiastical Furnishings.
- Catt J ed No 25 (Oct 1968): Church Building in the 1970s, Part II. Some Recent Churches in the East Midlands. New Churches in England and Scotland. A Study of the Needs of Children in New Church Buildings. Churchill College Chapel. Series 2 Baptism and Confirmation and the Font. User Report: St Frances, Duston.
- Catt J ed No 26 (Jan 1969): Nine New Church Buildings in the South West. Christchurch Chapel, New Zealand. The Function of a Christian Church Building. World's Oldest Wooden Church. Third Millenium Churches, Part I. Proposed Church Centre, St Mark's, Portsea. Congregational Church, Worksop.
- Catt J ed No 27 (Apr 1969): Shared Church Buildings. Church Buildings and Ecumenical Experiments. Relocatable Church Project. Some Recent Church Buildings in the North West. Third Millenium Churches, Part II. St Chad's Church, Leicester. A Note on the Pastoral Measure.
- Catt J ed No 28 (Oct 1969): Church Design in East Africa. St John's Church Centre, North Woolwich. Youth Clubs for Churches. Some Recent Churches in the North of England. The New Church of St Mark, Gadalfa, Cardiff. Civic Trust Awards for 1968.
- Catt J ed No 29 (Jan 1970): Policy for Expansion. St Thomas More RC Church, Cheltenham. Lessons from Geneva. Church Theatre and Series II. A Report on SIAC World Congress, Salzburg. A Survey of West Scottish Churches.

Annual and Occasional Research Publications of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture, University of Birmingham

- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1966: Establishment of the Institute. Hodge Hill Project - First Report. Hodge Hill Sociological Survey - Preliminary Analysis. A Study of Accoustics in some Post-War Anglican Churches. Recommendations for Development of the Church's Mission in Dawley New Town. The Function of the Pastoral Centre. The Work of the Chichester Diocesan Buildings Group.
- Wells-Thorpe J Buildings and Breakthrough (1966): A Report of the Diocese of Chichester Buildings Study Group on Pastoral Planning and having special reference to the relevance of industrialised system techniques to ecclesiastical buildings.
- Bridges P Socio Religious Institutes, Lay Academies, Pastoral Care and Church Buildings in Holland, The Rhineland, Belgium and Northern France: A report concerned with Catholic and Protestant pastoral studies and experiments.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1967: The Role of the Church in the Twentieth Century. Church Building in the Twentieth Century. The Hodge Hill Project - Second Report Part I and Part II. Seating the Assembly - An Anthropometric Study of Church Seating. Highgate Baptist Church. The Balsall Heath Survey - A Report. The Use of Flowers in Worship.
- Cope G ed Christian Ministry in New Towns: The New Town Situation. Sociology and Pastoral Planning in New Towns, Kingdom, Church and Ministry. The Liturgical Environment - Today and Tomorrow. Buildings and Breakthrough. The Pastoral Role of the Architect. New Pastoral and Ministerial Responsibilities. Development Corporations and the Churches.
- Davies J G Research Bulletin 1968: Architectural Theory and the Appraisal of 'Religious' Buildings. Signs and Symbols. New Towns and the Church. Pastoral Centres. Church and Community: Hodge Hill Survey. Service Centre at Hodge Hill. Legal Consequences of 'Consecration' in the Church of England. Church Seating. Multi-Purpose Church: A Critical Consideration.
- Cope G Cathedral and Mission (1968): Role of a Cathedral in the Past. Cathedral and Human Zone. Role of a Cathedral Today. Cathedrals and State Aid. Southwark Cathedral - the Previous Question. Southwark Cathedral in Use. Southwark - Preliminary Physical Survey. Postscript.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1969: Recommendations for the Development of the Church's Mission in Redditch New Town. An Impression of Hodge Hill. The Movable Church: Idea and Reality. Church Furnishings and Decor. The Possibilities of System Building in Church Design. The Multipurpose Church: A Clarification. A Comment on the 'Multipurpose Church: A Critical Consideration'.

- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1970: Reordering (a) The Changing Pattern (b) Why and How (c) Methodist Churches. Architectural Problems of Large Churches. Highgate Baptist Church Centre, Chichester 5-Year Church. Report on Use of Liturgically Designed Church Buildings. Pastoral Centres in Telford. Pastoral Measure and C of E Churches. Church Vestments and Embroidery. Cult and Association.
- Grisbrooke W J The Eucharist Through The Centuries (1970) The full text, with rubrics and notes, of three historic eucharistic liturgies - The Sarum Rite, The First English Rite 1549, and The Order for Holy Communion 1662.
- Nelson G K & Clews R Mobility and Religious Commitment (1971): Man and Religion. Who Goes to Church? The Church Attended. Religion and Education. Geographical and Urban Mobility. Social Mobility. Religious Beliefs.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1971: Old Churches and New Requirements. Re-ordering. The Acoustics of New Churches and the Hodge Hill Project. Congregational Cluster Patterns in Hemel Hempstead New Town. Carrs Lane Congregational Church. Mission and the Social Gospel. Reservation of the Sacrament in a Modern Church. Liturgical colours.
- Davies J G ed The Multipurpose Church, Hodge Hill - St Philip and St James (1971) The Institute and Hodge Hill. The Architecture of St Philip and St James. The Role of the Birmingham School of Architecture. Hodge Hill Church Centre, 1968-1970. Building a New Parsonage and Church - Committees and Procedure.
- Wilson M The Hospital. A Place of Truth. A Study of the Role of Hospital Chaplain (1972) The Primary Task of the Hospital. The Meaning of Health. The Church in a Hospital. Hospital Chaplains: the Present Position. The Role of the Chaplain in a Changing Hospital and in relation to Death and Serious Illness. Beliefs and Buildings. Selection, Training and Preparation Surveys.
- Cope G ed Problem Churches (1972) Existing Churches - Use and Dis-Use. Theological Considerations. State Aid - Pros and Cons. Laws, Regulations and Procedures. Liturgical Reordering and Conversion. Churches in Redevelopment Areas. Churches in Expanding Towns. Re-development of Church Sites. Modern Architectural Techniques of Preservation. Short Term Protection. Methodist Church Buildings. Problem Churches in France.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1972: Worship and the Underground Church. Missionary Art. Shape of the Liturgical Assembly. Shared Churches. Ecumenical Centre. Pastoral Centres and Shopping Centres. Church Problems in an Expanding Town. New Towns and the Churches. Sociology and Religious Architecture.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1973: Creative Liturgy. Church Archeology. Redundant Churches. Ugandan Churches. Church Reordering and Design. Church Buildings for New Housing Estates. Shared Churches. Lay Perceptions of Church Issues.

- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1974: Church and Theatre. Romanesque Sculptures and Symbolism. The Dichotomy of Art and Architecture. Multipurpose Church in USA. Oratory and Multipurpose Church. Ecumenical Centre Re-orderings. Immovable Church. Buildings for Monastic Communities. Sociological Reflection on the Ecumenical Movement. Co-decision in Industry.
- Davies J G ed Worship and Dance (1975): Dancing in the Old Testament. Dancing in Church Buildings. Worship and Dance. Meeting People. The Theology of the Dance. Creative Liturgy. Pentecostal Dance. Hindu Dance.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1975: Worship and Humour. Church Archeology. Reorderings. Roman Catholic Cathedral, Clifton. New Church Buildings. Hodge Hill. Recent Church Buildings and the Future. Replanning Parochial Structures. Community Work. Academics and Parochial Clergy.
- Bryman A ed Religion in the Birmingham Area, Essays in the Sociology of Religion (1975): Churchmen and Society in Early Victorian Birmingham. 1892 Birmingham Religious Census. Birmingham Dissenters 1750-1870. Religious Groups and Changing Environment. Black Christian Communities. Church, Clergy and Community Relations. Religiosity in Town and Country. Clergy and Change. Spiritualism in the Midlands. Organisations for Orders.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1976: Institute for Pastoral Liturgy. New Churches. The Church as an 'Agora'. Third World and Intermediate Technology. Reordering. The Re-Use of Redundant Churches. Christ Symbol. Class, Culture and Clerisy. Bibliography of Non-Conformist Architecture.
- Davies J G ed Looking to the Future (Papers read at an International Symposium on Prospects for Worship, Church Architecture and Socio-Religious Studies) (1976): Limitations of Liturgical Revision. Leitourgia in a Given Social and Political Context. Whither Church Building - Europe, USA? Urban Mission. Reordering. Church and Planning. Symbolism and Art. Future of Religious Sociology.
- Davies J G & Moss B S The Cathedral and the Arts (1976): The Church and the Arts. Worship and Artistic Experience. Religious Experience or Aesthetic Indulgence? The Function of Music in a Cathedral. Music and Worship. Liberation and Constraints in the Use of Birmingham Cathedral. Recommendations.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1977: Participation in Worship. Chantries. Methodist Architecture and Liturgy. Re-orderings. Arbitration Report. Remodelling. The Church for Others.
- Davies J G ed The Recreational Use of Churches (1978) Importance of Providing Sports Facilities. Playing Games in Churches. Role of the Local Authority. An Example of Remodelling for Recreational Use. Economic Aspects of Dual Use. Location of Sports Facilities in Light of Area Plan.

- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1978 Islamic Worship and Architecture. Dance. Aesthetic and Religious Experience. Church Archeology. Religion and Superstition in a Fishing Community. Job Satisfaction Among Clergy. Problems in Sociological Research. Intercultural Theology.
- Cope G The Liturgical Reordering of Parish Churches (1979): Liturgy. Principles. Changing Attitudes. Reservation of the Sacrament. Architectural Considerations. Economics.
- Cities, Race and Faith (1979) The Urban Situation. Housing. Education. Unemployment. Gospel and Race. Identity. Discrimination and Prejudice. Pastoral Care.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1980: Rearrangement of Lichfield Cathedral in Nineteenth Century. Architectural Setting of Baptism in Finland. Religious Organizations in New Towns. Theoretical Issues in Sociological Analysis of RC Parish. Charismatic Renewal in Third World - Implications for Mission.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1981: Aspects of the Byzantine and Gothic Styles. Submersion Font. Religious Kitsch. Sociological Implications of Liturgical Revision. Theology and Social Codes. Church Schools in Ireland. Tendencies in Protestantism. Narrative Theology.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1982: Appreciating Architecture. Reordering Village Church. St Teresa and Architectural Symbolism. Arbitration Report (Edinburgh). Social Need in an Archdeaconry (Hereford). Mission History.
- Davies J G ed Research Bulletin 1983: Chancel Screens and Roods. New Church. Appraisal of Woodgate Valley Church Centre: The Fit Between Liturgy and Architecture. Norman Adams' Religious Paintings. Religiosity. Folk Religion. Defining a Fellowship of Believers.
- Newton D ed Liturgy and Change (1983) Opposition to Liturgical Change. Liturgy: Mystery or Mystification? Theology and Ideology in Christian Symbols. Idolatry and Symbolism: Contrasting Styles of Proclamation. Sociology's Contribution to an Understanding of Liturgical-Sacramental Efficacy. Lay Conceptions of Liturgical Practice in the Roman Catholic Church. The Sociology of Liturgical Singing in a California Greek Orthodox Community. Lay Communicants. Attitudes to the Eucharist in Relation to Liturgical Change in the Church of England.

Catholic Building Review : Articles

The Review was published in separate Northern and Southern editions from 1953 to 1981. George Beck, Bishop of Salford (1955-64) and Archbishop of Liverpool (1964-76) was its principal contributor for many years.

- Beck G A 'After Ten Years' (1956)
- Beck G A 'Value for Money' (1958)
- Beck G A 'Plans and Prices' (1959)
- Beck G A 'Design, Price and Value' (1960)
- Beck G A 'Cost and Cost Allocations' (1961)
- Beck G A 'Liturgy and Church Building' (1962)
- Beck G A 'Buildings and Costs' (1964)
- Beck G A 'Renewal and Adaptation' (1968)
- Gillham J M 'Are the Catholic Laity Getting the Best Value for Money with the Catholic School Building Programme?' (1971)
- Bartlett P 'Package Deal - Best Deal?' (1972)
- Dees N 'Building Shared Churches' (1977)
- Duffy P 'Church Building - A Musician's Eyeview (1978)

Shortly after the death of its editor, Mgr Cyril Taylor, the Review ceased publication. In 1984 it was replaced by Church Building, a twice per year publication for the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales and the Church of England.

The Clergy Review Articles

- Velarde R & F X 'Modern Church Architecture and Some of its Problems'
(Sep 1953)
- Walsh F 'Aberdeen Cathedral' Clergy Review (Apr 1961)
- Maguire R 'Our Lady of Fatima, Harlow New Town, Essex' (Jan 1963)
- Lawson F J J 'Victor Mortis' (Apr 1963)
- Harding D G 'Wood Carvings in Edinburgh' (Apr 1963)
- Scott-Moncrief 'Madonna at Motherwell' (Apr 1963)
- Nuttgens P 'St Martin's, Castlemilk, Glasgow' (Jul 1963)
- Wright L 'Church of the Holy Rood, Folly Bridge, Oxford' (Oct 1963)
- Reyntieus P 'Altarpiece at East Acton' (Feb 1964)
- Wright L 'Modern Architecture and Churches' (Feb 1964)
- Harding D G 'William Wilson: Stained Glass Artist' (Mar 1964)
- Wright L 'Review of a New Church: St Thomas More, Patcham' (Jul 1964)
- Blomfield G 'Review of Two New Churches in Belgium and Holland'
(Oct 1964)
- Pace G G 'Review of New Church: St Mary's Priory, Leyland' (Jan 1965)
- Corbold E 'The New Churches of Europe' (Jun 1965)
- Wells-Thorpe J A 'Review of New Church: De Ark, Amsterdam - Slotvaart'
(Jul 1965)
- Winkley A S 'Some Changes in Existing Churches: Westminster Cathedral
and Waxwell Farm Chapel, Pinner, Middlesex' (Oct 1965)
- Hinton D 'Review of New Church: The Good Shepherd, Nottingham' (Jan 1966)
- Parker M 'A New Brief for the Parish Church' (Jan 1966)
- McCarron R 'The Experience of Building a New Church: Our Lady of
Sorrows, South Uist by the Architect' (May 1966)
- Hickley D 'Review of New Church. The Holy Family, Blackbird Leys'
(Jul 1966)
- Fleetwood-Walker C 'Review of New Church: St Michael and All Angels
Woodchurch, Birkenhead' (Oct 1966)
- Nuttgens P 'Review of New Seminary: St Peter's College, Cardross'
(Mar 1967)
- Nugent K 'Living at Cardross' (Mar 1967)

- Fleetwood-Walker C 'Making a Gathered Plan' (Jun 1967)
- Hickley D 'A Design for Clifton' (Jun 1967)
- Lockett W E A 'The Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King'
(Sep 1967)
- Nugent K 'Review of New Church: Our Lady of the Rosary, Donnington,
Shropshire' (Dec 1967)
- Carroll K 'Church Art and Architecture in Nigeria' (Mar 1968)
- White W 'Client Intentions Expressed in Building: St Michael's,
Underley Hall, Kirby Lonsdale' (June 1968)
- Winkley A 'St Gabriel's, Holloway, London' (Dec 1968)
- Bridges P 'Saints Phillip and James, Hodge Hill, Birmingham' (Mar 1969)
- Nugent K 'Holy Redeemer, Slough' (Jun 1969)
- Goalen G 'Remodelling a Church: St Mary the Immaculate, Grantham'
(Sep 1969)
- Wells-Thorpe J 'Relevance in Church Building' (Jan 1970)
- Wright L 'Evolution of the Multi-Cell Church' (Jun 1970)
- Melhuish N 'Three Country Churches' (Sep 1970)
- Wilson W 'Four Birmingham Churches' (Dec 1970)
- Nugent K 'Architecture for Eschatologists: St John Stone, Woodvale,
Lancs' (Mar 1971)
- Noalen K 'Architect and Sculptor' (Mar 1971)
- Little B 'The New Prinknash Abbey' (Dec 1972)
- Nugent K 'Re-ordering the Church: St Brigids, Baillieston; Lowe
House' (Mar 1973)
- Haig H 'Clifton Cathedral: Designing and Making the Windows'
(Jan 1974)
- Garner S 'St Peter's Church and Presbytery, Dunbarton' (Mar 1974)
- Nugent K 'St Edmund Campion School and Church, Wellingborough' (Mar 1975)
- Payne K & Cheng M 'Scriptural Stations of the Cross, SS Philip and James,
Bedford' (Jun 1975)
- Little B 'Worth Abbey Church' (Mar 1976)
- Nugent K 'St Joseph, Tollcross, Glasgow' (Jun 1976)
- Hurley R 'Newtown Church, Co Kildare' (Sep 1976)

- Little B 'Infill at Downside' (Jun 1977)
- Newton J 'The Reconstruction of Brentwood Cathedral (1977)
- Murray K 'St Augustine, Tunbridge Wells' (Jan 1978)
- Platt W 'The New Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico City'
(Feb 1978)
- O'Mahony R 'SS Peter & Paul, Tower Hill, Kirkby, Liverpool' (Jul 1978)
- Nugent K 'A New Church at Condorrat' (Sep 1978)
- Willet F 'St Francis, Modakeke, Nigeria' (Jan 1979)
- Cantwell W 'A New Church at Donaghamede' (Apr 1979)
- Harris L 'Stone for Sacrifice' (Jul 1979)
- Nugent K 'The Air Force Chapel Centre, Chicksand' (Oct 1979)
- Berridge A 'A Priest as Artist' (Jan 1980)
- Nugent K 'A Re-ordered Chapel at Broadstairs' (Apr 1980)
- Pruden W 'Graham Sutherland: An Appreciation' (Jul 1980)
- Blacker T 'The Creation Banners at Winchester Cathedral' (1980)
- Nugent K 'Our Lady's Priory, Sayers Common' (Apr 1981)
- Dees N 'The Disabled Church' (Jul 1981)
- Walker P D 'Fifty Years of Church Building' (Dec 1981)
- Hagreen J 'Confessionals for the New Rite' (1982)
- Nugent K 'An Exhibition of Ourselves' (Jan 1983)
- Hattrell M 'Two Churches Re-ordered: St Augustine, Barkingside,
All Saints, Kenton, Middlesex' (May 1983)
- O'Mahony R 'A Shared Church at Hough Green' (Nov 1983)
- Buttress D 'A Matter of Style' (Jun 1984)
- Nugent K 'A New Life for an Old Church' (Oct 1984)
- Nugent K 'A Coming of Age' (Nov 1984)

Liturgy

Published through the Liturgy Commission (1977-83) and the Liturgy Office (1984 et seq) of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales.

- 'A Place for Announcing the Message', Vol 1, No 6 (Aug/Sep 1977)
- Debuyst F 'Churches on a Human Scale', Vol 2, No 5 (Jun/Jul 1978)
- Cantwell W 'Church Architecture in Ireland', Vol 2, No 5 (Jun/Jul 1978)
- Dees N 'Shared Churches', Vol 2, No 5 (Jun/Jul 1978)
- 'Wall Hangings for Lent', Vol 3, No 3 (Feb/Mar 1979)
- Dean S M 'Exposition and Benediction', Vol 1, No 4 (Apr/May 1979)
- Dean S M 'Exposition and Benediction II', Vol 3, No 6 (Aug/Sep 1979)
- Nugent K 'Reordering the Church', Vol. 4, No 1 (Oct/Nov 1979)
- Howell P A 'Adapting Older Churches', Vol 4, No 1 (Oct/Nov 1979)
- Winkley A 'Architectural Aspects of Reordering', Vol 4, No 1 (Oct/Nov 1979)
- Pruden W 'The Artist's Contribution', Vol 4, No 1 (Oct/Nov 1979)
- Dolan G 'A Parish Worships: A Chapel is Born', Vol 4, No 5 (Jun/Jul 1980)
- Bennett C G 'Reordering the Chapel of the English College, Rome',
Vol 6, No 3 (Feb/Mar 1982)
- Porter A 'Letting Our Symbols Speak', Vol 6, No 5 (Jun/Jul 1982)
- Dees N 'The Altar in a Shared Church', Vol 7, No 1 (Oct/Nov 1982)
- Nichols A 'The Church and the Arts', Vol 7, No 2 (Dec/Jan 1982/3)

New Liturgy

Quarterly Bulletin of the Liturgy Commission of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin Nos 1-21 (Autumn 1968-Autumn 1973).

Quarterly Bulletin of the National Secretariat of the Irish Episcopal Commission for Liturgy Nos 1 et seq (from 1974).

- Daly C & Hurley R 'Adaptation of Existing Altars in Neo-Romanesque and Neo Gothic Churches', No 18 (Winter 1972/3)
- Hurley R 'The Visual in Worship', No 3 (Autumn 1974)
- 'System-Built Churches', No 3 (Autumn 1974)
 - 'New Parish Church in Inniskeen Co Monaghan', No 5 (Autumn 1975)
- Hurley R 'Newtown Church Co Kildare', No 6 (Summer 1975)
- Bugnini A 'The Senses in Worship', No 7 (Autumn 1975)
- Williams J 'Old Irish Village Churches', No 8 (Winter 1975)
- 'Postures at Mass', No 10 (Summer 1976)
 - 'Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament', No 10 (Summer 1976)
 - 'Renewal of Sanctuaries: Adaptation of Existing Altars', No 12 (Winter 1976)
 - 'Designing Confessionals for the New Rite of Penance', No 12, (Winter 1976)
- Swayne S 'The 'Oleography' Bait', No 14 (Summer 1977)
- Biggs F 'The Way of the Cross', No 15 (Autumn 1977)
- Carroll R 'St Flannan's College Chapel', No 16 (Winter 1977)
- O'Brien I 'Altar and Table', No 20 (Winter 1978)
- 'Confessionals', No 21 (Spring 1979)
 - 'Disposal of Liturgical and Devotional Objects', No 21 (Spring 1979)
- Hurley R 'Eldoret Cathedral', No 22 (Summer 1979)
- Daly C B 'Low Cost Churches', No 29 (Spring 1981)
- Biggs M 'St Mary's Church, Clonmel' (Winter 1982)
- 'Alterations in Newly-Built or Re-ordered Churches' (Winter 1982)

Pastoral Directories, Guidelines and Reports

'Guiding Principles for the Design of Churches According to the Spirit of The Roman Liturgy', German Liturgy Commission (1947). Cf Documents for Sacred Architecture, Liturgical Press, Collegetown, Minnesota (1957) and Hammond P ed Towards a Church Architecture, Appendix, Architectural Press, London 1962

'Diocesan Church Building Directives', Superior, Wisconsin (1957) Cf Hammond P ed Towards a Church Architecture, Appendix, Architectural Press, London 1962

'Pastoral Directory on the Building and Reorganisation of Churches', Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland. Cf The Furrow (Jul 1966)

Pastoral Directory on the Building and Reorganisation of Churches Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland, Veritas Publications, Dublin (1972). Cf. Also The Furrow (Mar & Aug 1970)

Pastoral Directory for Church Building of the National Liturgical Commission of England and Wales, Burns & Oates, London (1968)

The Parish Church: Principles of Liturgical Design and Reordering A Directory Prepared by the Liturgy Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, C.T.S., London (1984)

Guidelines for the Design and Reordering of Churches Liturgy Commission, Archdiocese of Liverpool, Liverpool (1981)

Design Reference Standards for Liturgical Art and Architecture Art and Architecture Commission, Diocese of Brooklyn, New York (1971)

Directives for Art and Architecture for Worship Liturgical Commission, Archdiocese of Louisville, Louisville (1977)

Environment and Art in Catholic Worship Bishops Committee on the Liturgy: United States Catholic Conference, Washington (1978)

'House of the Church', National Bulletin on Liturgy, Vol 13, No 74, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Ottawa (May/June 1980)

Shared Premises and Team Ministry A Report Prepared for the Ecumenical Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1970)

Sharing of Resources of the Bishops' A Report Prepared for the Ecumenical Commission Conference of England and Wales (1972)

Joint Reservation in Shared Churches A Report Prepared for the Ecumenical Commission of the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales (1974)

The Church 2000 An Interim Report of the Joint Working Party set up to discuss the preparation of national pastoral strategy for England and Wales (1973)

A Time For Building Report of the Joint Working Party on Pastoral Strategy, Catholic Information Services (1976)

Congress Report The Principal Documents of the 1980 National Pastoral Congress of England and Wales. Catholic Truth Society (1980)

The Easter People A Message from the Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales in light of the National Pastoral Congress, Liverpool 1980 (1980)

Living Liturgy A Report to the Bishops of England and Wales prepared by Rev Anthony B Boylan JCT National Adviser for Liturgical Formation. St Paul Publications (1981)

Church Buildings for Roman Catholics in New and Expanded Towns
A Report by a Working Party of Church Officials and professional advisers under the direction of the Rt Rev C A Grant LCL BA, Bishop of Northampton, and the Rt Rev W C Grasar DCL STL, Bishop of Shrewsbury, to investigate the various arrangements available to the Church for the religious and social activities of parishes in new and expanded towns having due regard to the limited financial resources which exist (Oct 1969)

Buildings for the Church in Milton Keynes: A Report to the Churches' Provisional Sponsoring Body prepared by J Wells-Thorpe and D Williams (Nov 1970)

Community Centre Churches in Holland: A Report to the Advisory Committee on Sacred Art and Architecture to the Episcopal Liturgical Commission of Ireland prepared by W Cantwell (1973)

A Single Stage Competition for the Design of a Parish Church: Final Assessors' Report. Archdiocese of Dublin (Mar 1977)

British Council of Churches : Selected Publications

Building Together in Christ Second Report of the joint working party between white-led and black-led Churches to the British Council of Churches (1978)

Coming Together in Christ First Report of the joint working party between white-led and black-led Churches to the British Council of Churches (1974)

Building a Better Community Advice and architectural blueprints for making maximum use of church buildings for community purposes. Community Work Resources Unit (undated)

Carver G Place to Meet Survey of the Use of church premises in Birmingham and Bristol. Community and Race Relations Unit (1978)

Gerloff R et al Partnership in Black and White: A Test Case for the Mission of the British Churches Methodist Home Division (undated)

Holmes A Church Property and People The Results of a Survey in Bradford, Derby and Lambeth - Three Multi-Racial, Multi-Faith Areas (1973) Appendix H to the following:

The Use of Church Properties for Community Activities in Multi-Racial Areas An Interim Report of a Working Party (1972)

Statistics

Catholic Directory for England and Wales An annual publication currently published by The Universe - Associated Catholic Publications, London (ref 1945-81 editions)

The Catholic Directory for Scotland An annual publication currently published by J S Burns & Sons, Glasgow (ref 1981 edition and various)

Irish Catholic Directory An annual publication currently published by Associated Catholic Publications, Liverpool (ref 1980 edition and various)

Report of the Demographic Survey Newman Association, London (Jun 1963)

Roman Catholic Opinion Survey (1980) Joint University of Surrey and Gallup Poll

Prospects for the Eighties: From a Census of the Churches in 1979 undertaken by the Nationwide Initiative in Evangelism. Bible Society (1980)

Guide to Official Statistics An occasional publication. Central Statistical Office, London (1975)

Sources of Statistics on Religion: Supplement to the Guide to Official Statistics compiled by the Central Statistical Office (Oct 1976)

Social Trends, 1976 An annual publication. Central Statistical Office, London (1977)